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Thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Teachers' Emotions towards Assessment:
What can be learned from taking the emotions seriously?

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TEACHERS' EMOTIONS TOWARDS ASSESSMENT: WHAT CAN BE LEARNED FROM TAKING THE EMOTIONS SERIOUSLY?

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ABSTRACT

This doctoral thesis investigates a relatively under-researched aspect of teachers' emotions: namely, teachers' emotions towards assessment. It generates a conceptual framework and methodological tool for the investigation into and analysis of teachers' assessment practice, which consists of three concepts: emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour. Following Nussbaum (2001), emotions are viewed as cognitive, i.e. as evaluative judgements of objects important to a person's flourishing. Following Turner (2007, 2010), emotions are understood as a generalised symbolic medium exchanged between people within institutions, making positive emotions a desirable resource that enhance a person's flourishing. The thesis also draws on Hochschild (1983/2003), Zembylas (2005), Theodosius (2008) and Archer (2000), to expand, systematize and operationalize the concepts of emotional rules and labour, which increase the visibility of teachers' emotions and illustrate how assessment, like teaching, is an "emotional practice" (Hargreaves, 1998). This conceptual frame opens possibilities for further research into the nascent field of teachers' emotions and assessment.

Data was collected through seven focus group interviews with nineteen teachers. The teachers were selected as a purposive sample: committed to their work of enabling learner achievement, engaged in professional development and working in functional schools. A thick description of teachers' emotions foregrounded three main 'objects' of assessment: learner achievement, the assessment practices of marking and giving feedback, and accountability demands. Findings show the identity of committed teachers' as interdependent with learner achievement: teachers gain positive emotions and the motivation to continue their work when learners do well, but are disappointed and filled with self-doubt when learners do badly. In their assessment practice, committed teachers are often overwhelmed by endless marking, yet continuously strive to make judgements and give feedback in ways that are fair, just and empowering for learners. The "panic accountability" of departmental demands undermines and demeans teachers, generating outrage and alienation. Key claims arising from the research are: 1. Teachers' emotions occupy a strategic position as an inevitable filter through which all policy aimed at achieving the national project of high learner achievement must pass, so teachers' emotions towards assessment and accountability have the power to enhance or destabilise learner achievement and are thus a valid concern for educational research, policy and practice. 2. As seen through their emotional rules, committed teachers strive to live up to high ethical ideals and take responsibility not only for learner success but also learner failure. 3. Teachers' emotional labour makes visible how they strive to fulfil their moral purpose of learner achievement, yet are deeply demoralised by not receiving acknowledgement and respect from education authorities.

Keywords: Teachers' Emotions, Emotional Rules, Emotional Labour, Assessment, Accountability

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

Carola Steinberg
February 2013

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS EMANATING FROM THIS RESEARCH

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Developing a Theoretical Framework for Using Teachers' Emotions as a Lens to Gain Insights into Assessment Practice. Presentation at Kenton Conference, October 2007

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C2005	Curriculum 2005 (policy 1999-2003)
CAPS	Curriculum Assessment Policy Standards (policy since 2012)
CASS	Continuous Assessment
DBE	Department of Basic Education (new name since 2010)
DoE	Department of Education
HoD	Head of Department
LSEN	Learners with Special Educational Needs
OBE	Outcomes-Based Education
(R)NCS	(Revised) National Curriculum Standards (policy 2003-11)
SACE	South African Council for Educators

Chapter 1: Introduction - Why emotions and assessment?

1.1 The Nature of the Problem

As a teacher educator, I have become aware of my own, my colleagues' and my teacher-students' strong emotions of anxiety, irritation and even despair during times of assessment, either as the person being assessed or as the assessor. These emotions are strongly felt, but given expression only in the private sphere and remain confined to offices, corridors, telephones and homes. When assessment reaches the public sphere in policy forums, decision-making meetings, classrooms, or in the research literature on assessment, emotions around assessment are seldom mentioned, and hardly ever taken seriously, or explored. In the lives of the people involved, assessment appears to be a highly emotional experience, whereas at public and policy levels of educational interactions, it is treated as an emotionless, objective reality.

Internationally, and in South Africa, assessment is moving to centre stage in the education system. There are many reasons why assessment is a pivotal aspect of education. Firstly, assessment is a key institutional structure in the struggle for increased social justice (Gipps, 1998; Madaus, 1997; Shohamy, 2004). It acts as a gatekeeper that enables or denies access to higher education, work, increased income / social status. Secondly, assessment is a leverage point used by education policy makers to generate educational reform. They rely on the backwash effect, assuming that externally-set examinations which use different types of questions or approaches to displaying knowledge will push teachers into changing their pedagogy and teaching more effectively (Fuhrman, 1999; Stecher & Barron, 1999). Thirdly, through externally-set, standardised testing, schools are held accountable for educational quality (Winch & Gingel, 1999). The World Bank argues that the quality of education, as recognised through the "systematic measurement of learning achievement" (p vii), is a key long-term factor in national economic growth (Hanushek & Wössmann, 2007). In addition,

through international standardised tests (e.g. TIMSS, SACMEQ, PIRLS [1]), assessment accords status to countries through the ranking of these tests' results. Assessment is a powerful component of the education system because it shapes the future of people, bureaucracies and countries.

According to Nussbaum's (2001) theory of emotion, any component that is so important to individuals, institutional systems and society will of necessity evoke strong emotions. Nussbaum defines emotions as

> "appraisals or value judgements [which are] our ways of registering how things are with respect to the external (i.e. uncontrolled) items that we view as salient for our well-being … or flourishing" (p4).

Emotions are thus the expression of an instant, often subconscious, appraisal of any 'object', (i.e. thing, person, event, situation, idea, etc.) that is not under the person's control yet important to their sense of well-being. Emotions provide information about our relationship with the situation that evokes the emotion. The intensity of emotion indicates the level of importance of the situation in relation to our purpose, while the quality of the emotion, be it pleasurable or distressing, indicates the nature of the relationship with what is valued. When emotions are pleasurable, the relationship with whatever we have the feelings towards is judged to be beneficial, but not so when the emotions are uncomfortable.

The contradiction that led me to engage with this doctoral research was that assessment attracted primarily negative emotions yet received strong positive approval. At an anecdotal level, most of the emotions expressed by teacher educators and teachers about assessment were intense and negative, thus indicating that assessment was being inwardly appraised as not conducive to well-being. But externally, in the world of educational discourse, the same people supported assessment as a lever for educational quality and personal advancement. That left me wondering how an 'item' that is emotionally appraised as not fostering our 'flourishing' (Nussbaum, 2001), can simultaneously be universally accepted as a beneficial component of education policy and practice? It was a contradiction I needed to resolve if I wanted to have integrity as a teacher educator offering courses about assessment.

[1] Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS); Southern and East Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality SACMEQ); Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS)

I turned to the burgeoning literature on teacher emotions and found that Hargreaves (1998, 2000, 2001a, 2001b) presents convincing evidence that "teaching is an emotional practice" which "activates, colours and expresses" (1998, p838) the feelings of teachers and those with whom they work. He describes how emotions shape teachers' relationships with students, school structures, pedagogy, curriculum planning, parents, colleagues and educational change / reform. He creates a central place for emotions by arguing that "teachers' emotions are inextricably bound up with the basic purposes of schooling" (1998, p841) because emotions are evoked by what is important. In the case of teachers, what is important is often linked to their educational ideals and thus their professional identity. In his study of teachers' professional biographies, Kelchtermans (2005) found that "emotions reflect the fact that deeply held beliefs on good education are part of teachers' self-understanding" (p995). But Hargreaves barely mentions assessment. Nor do most of the other researchers who have written about teacher emotions. Are the emotions about assessment so intense that they need to be kept under a private lid for fear of explosion?

In this study I am starting from two assumptions. The first is that inasmuch as teaching is an emotional practice that is linked to teachers' moral purposes, so is assessment. In an educational context in which assessment is fore-grounded as a key tool for educational quality, teachers' emotions around assessment become a reflection of how they judge assessment to affect their (and their students') 'flourishing' (Nussbaum, 2001). If teachers feel irritated and despairing during times of assessment, it tells a very different story compared to if they are excited and satisfied. The second is that the nature of teachers' emotions in response to assessment is worthy of exploration for the insights that can be gained. If we investigate the emotions teachers have in relation to different aspects of assessment, it can open up their beliefs and understandings of assessment practice in new ways. Maybe it can even point us in directions for understanding and doing assessment differently, in ways that are not so stressful for everybody involved.[2]

[2] As Dorothee Soelle, a German theologian says, "A language that takes our emotions seriously and gives them real weight in our lives encourages us to think and be and act differently." Quoted in O'Reilley, 2005, pxi

1.2 The research question

In order to investigate the nature of the emotional practice of assessment, I developed the following research questions:

Central research question:
What can be learned about the practice of assessment from studying teachers' emotions towards assessment?

Two critical research questions with subordinate empirical questions:

1. Which emotions arise in teachers 'towards' various 'objects' of assessment and in what ways they are conflictual? (Nussbaum, 2001)
    - What are the 'objects' of teachers' emotions, e.g. students, scripts to be marked, particular assessment policies or changes in those policies, particular assessment practices like formative or criterion-referenced assessment, reporting procedures, or whatever?
    - What is the range of emotions that teachers experience in relation to assessment, e.g. anger / sympathy, frustration / enthusiasm, despair / hope?
    - How do the emotions cluster around particular 'objects'?

2. What implicit cultural and institutional 'emotional rules' do teachers hold in relation to assessment and what 'emotional labour' do they engage in? (Zembylas, 2002b)
    - What are teachers' professional norms, beliefs and emotional rules regarding the purpose and practice of assessment and accountability?
    - What is the alignment or not between their emotions and their beliefs?
    - Do teachers change their emotional rules when they are working with different forms of assessment, e.g. formative or summative?
    - Are there differences in the patterns of emotional labour across teachers from schools in different socio-economic circumstances? If so, what are they?
    - How do teachers manage their emotions with regards to successful and failing students? In what ways do they take responsibility for student results?
    - Do teachers make 'functional' or 'dysfunctional' use of their emotions? (Winograd, 2003)

1.3 Rationale for the significance of this study

This research project is about teachers, emotions and assessment, which is a novel combination. I have not found any research in South Africa that directly investigates teachers' emotions towards assessment, so it's a pioneering study. Internationally, research has been done on the emotions of students, i.e. the test anxiety of those being assessed (Zeidner, 2007), but practically nothing on the emotions of teachers, i.e. the assessors. I found Stough & Emmer (1998) and Reyna & Weiner (2001) who address teacher emotions and assessment directly. Other researchers have interesting things to say about teachers' emotions and assessment, but they come at it from a focus on school reform (Hargreaves, 2004) (and Vandeyar 2005 in SA), accountability (Smith 1991, Jeffrey & Woods 1996, Kornfeld et al 2007) or achievement emotions (Pekrun, 2006).

1.3.1 Why teacher emotions?

Research shows that positive emotions are a crucial factor in teachers' effectiveness. Palmer (1993) talks about the "fear of feelings - and especially the feeling of fear" (p84) as a major barrier to learning. He calls for teachers who are "not afraid of feelings" (p84) to bring emotions into the classroom. He argues that attention to feelings does not detract from cognitive understanding, on the contrary, it is precisely by creating a space for feelings that the students' "capacity for tough-mindedness grows" (p87). A longitudinal research study conducted by Pianta, et al. (2008) shows emotions to be a statistically significant factor in learning. The "emotional quality of the classroom setting – the warmth of adult-child interactions, as well as the adults' skill in detecting and responding to individual children's needs – was a consistent predictor of both reading and maths skill growth" (p393). Day, et al. (2007) found that "to be successful, teachers themselves must be passionately motivated and committed" (p233), and that "teachers' well-being and positive professional identity are fundamental to their capacities to become and remain effective" (p237). Christie, et al. (2007) argue convincingly that the quality of teachers is dependent on their sense of purpose and motivation (p105), their knowledge of what they are teaching, and on the confidence they have in their own competence (p107). Kwo & Intrator (2004) argue that teacher education should pay attention to the "dynamic interplay between the inner lives of spirit, self-knowledge and emotional presence and the outer lives of work in schools" (p283) so that

teachers can uncover their power to cope with new challenges and meaningful teaching. The personal states of being that teachers need in order to teach well - their well-being, motivation, passion, commitment, sense of competent self and resilience - are all grounded in their emotional state. Maintaining commitment and resilience over time thus requires a predominantly positive emotional state. When teachers experience negative emotions such as frustration, anger or hopelessness over a period of time, their motivation and commitment fades, which diminishes their effectiveness. As noted by Jeffrey & Woods (1996), "teachers need to feel right in order to do their job" (p325). "Therefore it only makes sense to attend closely to the affective aspects of teachers' workplaces, and to the ways that emotions inform what are commonly seen as the purely academic aspects of their labours" (Levykh, 2008, p92).

1.3.2 Why assessment?

Assessment is both the end point and a central determinant of teaching. MacIntyre's (1982) conception of the "external" and "internal" "goods of a practice" (p175) illuminates the structural position of assessment in relation to schooling[3], and thus to a teachers' sense of professional self. 'External goods' are the social and financial rewards provided by the institutions responsible for maintaining the practice. 'Internal goods' are the skills and knowledge of a practice, which can only be gained through participation in the activities that make up the practice. In relation to the external and internal goods of schooling, assessment operates as a dispenser of both the outer and the inner rewards. For example, the external goods of schooling are provided by high marks, which enable the status and potential financial rewards of passing the gateways into higher levels of learning and beyond. The internal goods are less visible. For students, they consist of the learning that is taken into adult life. For teachers, the internal goods of assessment are the pride and pleasure of observing students' progress in understanding. Assessment thus connects the inner satisfaction that gives meaning to a teacher's professional purpose with the outer world of success.

Yet there is a tension for teachers between the internal and external goods of assessment. The internal goods are related to student progress and are usually noticed during momentary

[3] Thank you to Lynne Slonimsky for this insight.

interactions or insights in relation to where the student comes from, i.e. when noticing ipsative, or self-referenced growth. The external goods are made visible in the permanent form of marks. Marks are by their nature comparative, be they norm or criterion-referenced. As soon as students' knowledge and skills are compared against public norms or criteria, it is inevitable that many students, particularly those from less advantaged socio-economic backgrounds, are assessed as mediocre or failures. Thus, when assessment becomes public, it no longer shows progress for all, but instead highlights the lack of achievement for many. In this way, the reality that many students do not achieve the external goods of schooling can overshadow the teacher's sense of the internal goods of assessment and teaching. Then pride and pleasure at progress become overshadowed by the disappointment and frustration of failure.

1.3.3 The significance of relating teacher emotions and assessment

The significance of research that connects assessment with teachers' emotions lies in the ways in which assessment practice shapes and is shaped by teachers' emotions, which in turn influences teachers' effectiveness. Research shows how many of the emotions that teachers experience during assessment processes are difficult (Stough and Emmer, 1998) and even demoralising (Smith, 1991). When accountability pressures are added to this mix, i.e. when teachers are held responsible for student results and blamed for student failure, the emotions evoked in teachers can undermine their ability to be effective. It is thus worth investigating what it is in particular that generates negative emotions towards assessment in teachers, because that could point to possibilities for personal, organizational and structural changes and regeneration. Gaining insight into this relationship could be of interest to people making assessment policy as well as to teacher educators, and of course to teachers themselves.

As mentioned above, this area is currently under-researched. Hargreaves claims that teaching is "always irretrievably emotional in character, in a good way or a bad way, by design or default" (2000, p812) and the literature review chapter will showcase some of the many research studies that have illustrated this claim. But as yet there is little understanding of how assessment, as an aspect of teaching, is an emotional practice too, i.e. which emotions teachers experience in relation to assessment or how these emotions shape their decisions about what forms of assessment practice to enact. At the same time, there is a large body of

literature about the need for teachers to change their assessment practices so as to promote student learning and more valid learner outcomes (e.g. Shepard 2000, Gipps 1998, Black et al 2003, Clarke 2005, Stiggins 2004), which occasionally hints at, but does not explore, teachers' emotions in relation to assessment in general or the changes to a more constructivist, formative assessment in particular. Internationally, the literatures on teachers' emotions and on assessment are not yet talking to each other.

In South Africa, there is insightful research on teachers and their work (Chisholm and Hoadley et al, 2005; Hoadley, 2008; Jansen, 2006; Taylor and Vinjevold, 1999; Winkler, 2002; Hayward, 2003; Pienaar and Van Wyk, 2006; Shalem and Hoadley, 2009) which describes a teacher corps who feel insecure in their authority, knowledge and skill of how to teach, as well as under pressure and dissatisfied with their profession. There is professional development literature about why assessment practices need to change and how to do assessment differently (Joffe, 1993; DoE Subject Assessment Guideline, 2008; Killen, 2007; Siebörger, 1998; NAPTOSA assessment course, 2007). There is some research into the confusions and difficulties teachers are experiencing when they begin to implement the new ideas of formative assessment (Nagabugo and Siebörger, 2001; Vandeyar, 2005; Wilson-Thompson, 2005). It is only Jansen (2001, 2006, 2008) who is exploring emotions in education explicitly. Again, there is no literature directly linking teachers' emotions with assessment.

The contribution of this study is to illuminate the relationship between teachers' emotions and assessment practice, an under-researched area that is useful for teacher education. As Zembylas suggests, "more research is needed to examine the significance of emotions as sources of knowledge that teachers use in constructing their understandings" (2004a, p319). In the assessment courses we teach for practicing teachers, there are two key themes pertinent to this study. One is the importance of using assessment for learning, which is advocated by current curriculum and assessment policy. The other is the increasing emphasis on externally set, standardised assessments for systemic evaluation and accountability purposes. The policy of criterion-referenced, continuous, assessment for learning requires teachers to change their classroom practices while the results of standardised systemic evaluations judge teachers alongside their learners. Formative assessment is concerned with the internal good of assessment, whereas systemic assessment and accountability measures are concerned with the external good. This puts contradictory pressures on teachers.

Formative 'assessment for learning' requires teachers to make a conceptual shift in their understanding of assessment and develop new assessment skills. For example, they need to ask the kinds of (oral and written) questions that make learners think and show their thinking. They need to engage with learners' responses not only by evaluating right or wrong, but also by analysing the nature of the learners' misunderstandings. They need to formulate feedback in ways that boosts the learner's self-esteem while clarifying the misconceptions in the answer. That is, they need to deeply engage with the learners' thinking, taking the subject knowledge, context, a learner's stage of development and the needs of other learners into account. When concerned only with teaching and learning, these are the skills of knowledge mediation. Continuous, formative assessment creates the additional demand that learners' responses need to be quantified and recorded as marks or as ticks against a list of outcomes or competencies. Thus, for the purposes of formative assessment, teachers are expected to be developing, conscientious professionals. Yet under the banner of standards-based accountability (Taylor, 2006) an increasing number of provincially, nationally, regionally and internationally designed, standardised assessments are administered to learners at various grades. All of these systemic assessments show "extremely low average primary education achievement levels" (Fleisch, 2007, p30). Education authorities and the media generally hold teachers accountable. Thus teachers are assessed alongside their learners. As a result of these contradictory pressures, many teachers and education officials drop the core purpose of formative assessment and instead implement regular (continuous) summative assessment to prepare for standardised tests.

These confusions become an issue for teacher education. Policy thinking assumes that if only teachers could receive good pre- or in-service training, they would soon add the new assessment skills to their repertoire, seamlessly using formative assessment for learning to prepare their learners for standardized, summative assessment. But actually, teachers' ability to change their assessment practice may be inhibited by an emotional attachment to deep-seated beliefs about assessment as judgement or to habitual ways of treating assessment as 'objective'. Is it only a different cognitive understanding that is required to implement new assessment practice or is there also a need for a different emotionally-grounded understanding? Could there be emotional barriers to arriving at a different understanding of assessment?

I am hoping that by investigating 'emotions as sources of knowledge that teachers use in constructing their understandings', this study might provide unexpected insights into the tensions teachers experience when implementing both formative and summative aspects of assessment.

1.4 The order of chapters

This doctoral thesis consists of 10 chapters. You have just read the introduction. Chapter 2 contains the literature review and conceptual frame for the study, while chapter 3 describes the methodology used to make the study trustworthy. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the basic findings of what teachers feel in response to the key 'objects' or issues of assessment. Chapters 7 and 8 excavate the emotional rules and analyse the emotional labour of teachers. Chapter 9 presents an analysis in the form of claims that encapsulate the main learning of this study. Chapter 10 concludes with a reflection: on the significance of the findings, on the value of using emotions as a methodological lens, and on the limitations yet also possibilities for future research offered by this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review - Towards understanding teachers' emotions so as to more fully understand assessment

There are five sections to this literature review. The first elaborates the conception of emotions that this study uses, the second outlines insights from the field of teacher emotions, the third explores research into teachers' emotions in relation to assessment and accountability, while the fourth section theorises emotional rules and labour, exploring them as possible conceptual tools for analysing the functioning of teachers' emotions. The last section presents a conceptual frame that places these different aspects of teachers' emotions towards assessment in relation to each other.

2.1 What are emotions?

Although (maybe because?) emotions come as naturally as breathing, they are difficult to define and describe. I am drawing primarily on the philosopher Martha Nussbaum (2001)[4] and the sociologist Jonathan Turner (2007, 2010) to present my academic understanding of what emotions, their value and their functions in our lives are.

2.1.1 Emotions are hardwired into our bodies

Charles Darwin argued that "emotions of human beings the world over are as constitutive and as regular as our bone structure" (Walton 2004, p xiii) and have an evolutionary value (Evans 2003, Hammond 2005), i.e. emotions have been essential to human survival and development. Following Darwin, some emotions have been agreed on as basic: satisfaction-happiness, aversion-fear, assertion-anger, disappointment-fear, and also surprise and disgust

[4] I have since read other philosophers on emotion (Oakley 1993, Wollheim 1999, Goldie 2000 and 2002, Solomon 2003) but as I am not a trained philosopher, Nussbaum has remained the most accessible to me. She is concerned to provide a broad picture of the emotions by drawing not only on philosophy, but also on the disciplines of neuroscience, psychology and anthropology as well as personal experience to make her argument. By providing an introduction to key concepts of emotion by drawing from various disciplines, she is useful to someone writing in education.

(Turner, 2007, p3/7). These emotions support our evolutionary survival – the anticipation of happiness or sadness encourages us to seek out different possibilities, fear provides us with a quick way of assessing and responding to a situation, anger leads to various forms of self-defence, disgust prevents us from being infected or poisoned, surprise forces us to pay attention. Other emotions, which Evans calls 'higher cognitive emotions', are more complex, less obviously visible and more culturally shaped – like love, sympathy, hope, pride, jealously or guilt. Turner (2007, ch2) shows how natural selection enhanced the emotional capacities of the brain so as to increase the degree of social organization and thus ensure human survival. Modern neuroscience (e.g. Le Doux 1999, Damasio 1994, Pert 1997, McGaugh 2003) has uncovered many neurological and chemical ways in which emotions flow through our bodies as "forms of intelligent awareness" (Nussbaum, p115) outside of our conscious awareness – forms of awareness without which we would not be able to make decisions, interact with others, have a sense of self, or engage in directed action.[5] As Turner (2007) claims: "there is very little about humans and their actions that is not simultaneously sociocultural and biological" (p14).

Yet asserting emotions as a basic reality of being human feels like a radical claim in an academic world that generally ignores that emotions are an inevitable factor in shaping all educational situations. If emotions are physiologically in-built and essential for meaning- and decision-making, it makes no sense to ignore them as key factors in education and assessment in particular. Yet there is far less research available on the emotions of assessment as compared to the purposes, technicalities or structures of assessment. Nussbaum explains this reluctance to acknowledge emotions by arguing that emotions make people aware of their neediness. Humans are "the only emotional beings who wish not to be emotional, who wish to withhold these acknowledgements of neediness" (p137), which they do by rejecting their vulnerability and suppressing their awareness of the attachments involved. This presents an interesting dilemma: we often repress or ignore emotions because we don't like feeling needy and vulnerable, yet for appropriate decision-making (be it in our personal/professional lives, when designing research or developing policy) we need to use and consider the very thing we try to ignore.

[5] From the perspective of psychology, Levykh (2008) would appear to agree when he claims that Vygotsky's notion of cultural development is based in part on the assumption that "the individual emotional experience (being part of personality) seems to be foundational to (consciously, subconsciously, and unconsciously) the person's perception, attention, memory, decision-making, behavioural mastery, and overall world orientation" (p84).

2.1.2 Emotions are cognitive: they are value-judgements of and commentaries on objects in the world in relation to self

Turner (2007) claims that "thought involves a constant tagging of images with emotional valences" (p59) and that "it is the interaction between cognitive and emotional capacities that makes rationality and memory possible on a human scale" (p37). He is concerned to give emotions their rightful place in the complex decision-making processes of people, but he refuses to offer a general definition, because "depending on the (disciplinary) vantage point, the definition will vary" (p2). Nevertheless, this study needs to be more specific about what is involved when thinking about the nature and function of emotions, so I turn to Nussbaum (2001) and Archer (2000) for that.

Nussbaum (2001) presents a "cognitive-evaluative" (p23) theory of emotions, linking emotions inextricably with our thoughts, beliefs and moral values regarding events and people that touch our lives. "Emotions … involve judgements about important things, judgements in which, appraising an external object as salient for our own well-being, we acknowledge our own neediness and incompleteness before parts of the world that we do not fully control" (p19), or, phrased slightly differently, "emotions are forms of evaluative judgement that ascribe to certain things and persons outside a person's own control great importance for the person's own flourishing" (p22). She counters the argument that emotions are "unthinking forces" (p26) by showing how emotions are "*about* something: they have an object" (p27). She argues that this object is an "*intentional object*: that is, it figures in the emotion as it is seen or interpreted by the person whose emotion it is" (p27), or, phrased differently, "emotions direct us to an important component of our well-being and register the way things are with that important component" (p135). Emotions also "embody … *beliefs* – often very complex – about the object" (p28), beliefs which might be true or false, conscious or unconscious. Bodily feelings are usually present, but on their own they do not tell us what emotion we are experiencing, instead, it requires "an inspection of the thoughts" (p29) in order to discriminate between the different types and intensities of emotions. She illustrates how these thoughts are "concerned with *value*, they see their object as invested with value and importance" (p30) and thus "emotions are acknowledgements of our goals and their status" (p135). Yet in spite of the object's importance, we cannot control it, and so "the emotion records that sense of vulnerability and imperfect control" (p43). The intensity of the

emotion is proportional to the significance of the object in our own scheme of things. Thus, intense emotions are indicators of vulnerability in relation to things of high value to us.

Nussbaum makes a useful distinction between "*background* and *situational* emotion-judgements" (p69), which is the difference between judgements that are similar across a variety of situations and form the background emotions of our life, as compared to emotion-judgements we experience in a particular situation. Our background emotions will shape and intensify (or not) the emotions in any particular situation. Regarding assessment, for example, teachers' background emotions about OBE curriculum reform in general would colour their responses to changes in assessment procedures, or, if they experienced a general discontent about working conditions, it would affect their emotions towards a change in assessment policy. Background emotion-judgements are often not consciously brought to the situation, and emotions are thus embedded in a "network of judgements at many levels of generality and specificity" (p76).

Nussbaum stresses the intrinsic interdependence of emotions and cognition. Firstly, our emotions are evoked by events or situations that touch the meaning and purpose of our lives as we believe and perceive it to be. "The world enters into the self in emotion, with enormous power to hurt and to heal. For it enters in a cognitive way, in our perceptions and beliefs about what matters" (p78). Regarding assessment, our general perceptions and beliefs are that both its gate-keeping and its feedback function matter a lot to our identity, which gives high impact to our emotions about it. Secondly, changing our emotions requires a change in our thoughts and evaluations, which involves us in becoming to some extent a different person. This shift in belief affects our sense of self and identity, yet "if the belief is really stably altered, the emotion alters with it" (p131). An assessment example might be a teacher who has for years maintained an objective distance when marking multiple-choice tests, but in response to new policies is now required to mark projects and empathetically engage with students' writing. Such a change from emotional distance to empathy requires a deep-seated change in beliefs about one's relationship with the students being assessed, about objectivity, the function of assessment, etc. Thirdly, emotions are often in conflict with each other, because our cognitive judgments of the situation are not simplistic: they are made in relation to a web of beliefs. We debate within ourselves "about what is really the case in the world" (p86). Depending on how we judge the situation in relation to our own flourishing, we might swing between fear and hope, anger and acceptance, grief and gratitude. With

regards to assessment, teachers might judge it both as a challenging spur to action and as an unfair gatekeeper, giving rise to excited determination and frustration in turn.

Archer (2000)[6] presents an interesting perspective on how this inner conflict and debate plays itself out. She understands emotions as "commentaries on human concerns" (p193), which resonates with Nussbaum's (2001) "value-laden-intentional attitudes towards objects" (p79). What Archer does in addition, is explain the nature of the conflict between the emotions. Archer posits "three orders of reality" (p162), which each have their own form of knowledge and which each give rise to intense emotions. There is the natural order, which involves our relationship with the physical world, requires us to gain embodied knowledge in order to viscerally respond to our environment and generates concerns about our physical well-being. There is the practical order, which involves our relationship with material culture, requires us to gain practical knowledge in order to competently shape our world and generates concerns about our performative achievement. There is the social order, which involves our relationship with other people and institutions, requires us to gain discursive knowledge so as to behave appropriately in a normative interactional space and generates concerns about our self-worth (p162/198/199). When working with assessment, teachers are operating simultaneously in the practical and the social order and are thus concerned with both their performance and their self-worth. Archer (2000) makes two provisos about the resulting emotions/commentaries. Firstly, it is inevitable that the emotions/commentaries that arise in relation to our physical well-being, performative achievement and self-worth are at times conflictual and thus complex. Because "we confront the three orders of reality simultaneously" (p200), conflict often arises between them and this generates an "inner conversation where the self corrects and prioritises her concerns" (p209). Secondly, although the commentaries "reflect and express what the individual is concerned with", this does not imply "their infallibility, nor their functionality, nor their uncontrollability" (p208). The emotions may get things wrong, be counter-functional because they are about mis-placed concerns, and can be evaluated and changed. Thus emotions in relation to assessment can be volatile, responding to changing contexts and beliefs.

[6] I met Archer (2000) through Theodosius (2008) and her theorization about the emotional labour of professionals (see section 4 of this chapter). Here I use Archer directly, while in section 4, which was written earlier in time, I describe additional ideas from Archer through the eyes of Theodosius.

Understanding emotions as value judgements in relation to significant objects, which can be conflictual because we are simultaneously dealing with objects from different orders of reality is useful for this study because it allows for detailed analysis of which emotions are expressed towards which objects and why.

2.1.3 Personal emotions are both constructed by and construct the social order

Both Nussbaum (2001) and Turner (2007, 2010) theorise how the emotions of individuals are constructed by, and in turn construct, social interaction and institutional structures.

Nussbaum draws on anthropological research to illustrate the complexities of the "social construction" (p172) of emotion. There is extensive cultural variety regarding how people give expression to the universally recognised emotions of joy, fear, anger, sadness or disgust and on which objects they focus their emotions. Nussbaum describes several examples of how physical conditions, metaphysical beliefs, practices and routines, language and the cultural norms of a society shape the types, intensities and objects of people's emotional experiences, clarifying that people experience, talk about and display emotions in ways that are shaped by social norms. At the same time, she carves a space for "human freedom" by arguing that "any plausible view of social construction must do justice to the narrative history of the individual personality" (p173). She then draws on psychoanalyst Winnicott to argue that "emotions have a history" (p175) and cannot be fully understood outside of a complex narrative "that is at once commonly human, socially constructed, and idiosyncratic" (p177). She claims there are "mysterious and ungoverned aspects of the emotional life" (p232) which a developmental narrative of emotions helps to explain. She argues that emotions make their first appearances in infancy when our neediness is at its greatest, and that the patterns laid down then inform emotional experience in adulthood, colouring the present with intense images of the past. She argues that anger and love become closely linked in the infant's relationship with her caretaker; and so "shame at one's weakness and impotence is probably a basic and universal feature of the emotional life" (p197). She illustrates the "profound ambivalence" at the core of human attachments, as the neediness of the infant gives rise to love, anger, jealousy, shame all rolled up together. And she describes the "holding" (p217) function required of the caretaker, which facilitates the development of a sense of morality in the child. This "holding" is necessary for acquiring a "mature interdependence" (p224) that

allows for the human imperfection of self and others. From this developmental story, Nussbaum arrives at the question of what a normative understanding of emotion could entail. She is emphatic that expecting perfection of one's emotions, by following Aristotle's edict to be angry with the right person, in the right way, at the right time, is tyrannical and "excessively violent towards human complexity and frailty" (p235). Instead, she advocates that political and social institutions should be structured to support a "facilitating environment … capable of supporting the adult's continued search for health … (and) their efforts to develop their capacities for love and reparation" (p226). Emotional health thus involves the sense that "all are permitted to be imperfect and needy" (p227).

Nussbaum's account begins with the power of social norms and individual history to shape emotions and moves on to the power that individual choice and the norms of political and social institutions[7] have to take responsibility for emotional health. It enables a perspective of hope, in which it becomes possible to work with emotions both individually and institutionally in ways that can generate increased human flourishing.

Turner (2007, 2010) is concerned to create a sociological theory of emotions that can explain how social structures and culture "constrain emotional arousal and, conversely, how emotions reproduce or change the culture and structure" (2007, p81) of meso-level social units and macrostructures. He understands emotions as "one of the most critical micro-level social forces because they are what hold all levels of social reality together or, in the end, breach encounters or break mesostructures and macrostructures apart (2007, p208). He makes the claim that "emotions are embedded in social structure and culture" in a two way process: "emotions are systematically generated under sociocultural conditions and, once aroused, they have effects on these conditions" (2007, p66). He develops a conceptual scheme through which he can show how "emotions generated in micro-level encounters are often the fuel for either change of, or commitment to, meso and macrostructures and their respective cultures" even though "most of the time" micro-encounters and meso processes are constrained by the culture and structure of the level above (2010, p171). He argues that love / loyalty / strong positive emotions are "symbolic media", which, like the symbolic media of money, power or knowledge, are distributed by institutional domains (2010, p173) and once acquired, can be used to accumulate not only more positive emotions but also more of other

[7] Which, in Turner's language, are aspects of the meso and macro-structures.

symbolic media. Thus positive emotions are a valued resource both intrinsically and socially. Yet, like money and knowledge, they are distributed unequally, so that the "distribution of positive and negative emotional energies among members of a population will generally correspond to the distribution of other resources such as money, power, prestige, influence and love" (2010, p175).

Turner's theory is rich and complex, yet for the purposes of this study I can use only a few of his concepts. In the fourth section of this chapter, on emotional rules and labour, I will describe his understanding of the expectations for self-verification that shape social norms for emotions and the need states that generate individual emotional arousal (see section 2.4.2.2). Here, I want to describe his emphasis on the psychoanalytic concepts of repression and attribution as being important for a sociological analysis.

Turner argues that the "psychodynamics of repression" are important to consider because "when emotions are repressed, they intensify and often transmute" (2007, p93). Repressing negative emotions protects the self against negative sanctions coming from others (or self). When the self is protected by repression, the list of targets (in Nussbaum's language, "objects") that the negative emotions are then aimed at expand away from the self to include other people, encounters, social institutions, the whole society or even systems of societies (2007, p93). Repression can be relatively mild and temporary, resulting in "defensive strategies" like selective interpretation, withdrawal from the situation or disavowal of the legitimacy of the negative sanctions (p93-94). Yet when the sense of self is important in the situation and the negative sanctions cannot be ignored, strong negative emotions like shame and guilt are evoked. And when shame and guilt are "sufficiently intense and chronic" (p94), it is "not surprising" that they are denied and repressed (p95).

Turner highlights "attribution" as a key "defence mechanism" when there is full repression of negative emotions. When people repress their "anger, sadness, fear, shame and guilt" and attribute the cause of the problem to others, then these emotions are "transmuted" into intense anger, which is then directed against "others, corporate units or categoric units" i.e. social institutions (p96). This mechanism enables a deeper understanding of why and how emotions are directed at particular objects as well as clarifying how blame (and thus shame) is distributed in society. Turner (2007) explains how "individuals are constantly making causal attributions as to the sources of various outcomes". There are "internal or self-attributions",

i.e. “causal assessments directed at self” when people blame themselves and take responsibility for negative outcomes. There are “external attributions”, i.e. “assessments that others are responsible” for negative outcomes when people blame and give responsibility to others for negative outcomes. These external attributions can be accurate, i.e. the designated others are indeed responsible, or they can be a “defence mechanism”, i.e. a way “to protect self from negative feelings” (p97). As a defence mechanism, the external attributions help individuals to defend against intensely negative emotions like guilt and shame, by taking responsibility and thus blame away from themselves. Generally, “individuals are likely to see self as responsible for rewarding outcomes”, so meeting expectations is likely to be attributed to the person’s own actions. But situations that arouse negative emotions are more likely to evoke external attributions, so that the self can “avoid blame for failing to meet expectations, for negative sanctions, and for any negative outcome”. When individuals blame others for negative outcomes, it is “generally easier to blame meso-level structures because they are still immediate, but cannot easily strike back” and retaliate in personal ways, like individuals would (p98). Turner claims as a principle that

> positive emotional arousal reveals a proximal bias, with individuals making self-attributions for meeting expectations and receiving positive sanctions, thereby initiating the ritual dynamics that sustain the flow of positive emotions, whereas negative emotional arousal evidences a distal bias, with individuals making external attributions for the failure to meet expectations or for the receipt of negative sanctions, with a propensity to bypass others and the local encounter and target the structure and culture of corporate units and members of categoric units. (p99-100)

Turner’s account enables a perspective on how the emotions of individuals are affected by as well as affect the institutional structures in which they live and work. When people experience strong positive emotions within (and thus towards) an institutional structure, all is fine; but when these emotions become primarily negative, the tendency to repress the emotions generates a culture of external attributions, which leads to blaming and shaming others.

2.1.4 Emotions are motivators for action

"Emotions are closely connected with action; few facts about them are more obvious" says Nussbaum (2001, p135) and proceeds to argue that emotions "contain object-directed intentionality" and "on account of their evaluative content, have an intimate connection with motivation" (p136). Our emotions provide both the energy behind and the focus for our actions. Turner (2007) argues that "emotions are regulators of attention, immediately alerting an individual to attend to some aspect of the environment; they also determine how long and with what level of intensity attention must be sustained" (p28). So our emotions will determine what our mind will concern itself with.[8]

Accepting scientifically, not merely in everyday assumption, that emotions motivate the direction of our action and thinking has implications for educational research. It means that emotions need to be seen as an intrinsic, motivational part of a situation and that attempting to understand what is going on in education without considering people's emotions is a limited and incomplete perspective.

For my study of teacher's emotions, the question arises how this move from emotion to action plays out in the workplace. Turner (2007) enabled me to understand how repeated arousal of positive and negative emotions in face-to-face workplace encounters impacts the commitment to work accordingly.

> When individuals perceive that they have received positive sanctions from others, they will experience positive emotions and be more likely to give off positive sanctions to others in an escalating cycle that increases rhythmic synchronization of talk and body language, heightened mutual flow of positive sanctioning, increased sense of social solidarity, representation of this solidarity with symbols, and overt as well as covert ritual enactments towards these symbols. … When individuals perceive that they have received negative sanctions from others, they will experience negative emotions; and the more negative these emotions, the more likely are defensive strategies and defence mechanisms revolving around repression, intensification, and transmutation to be unleashed, and the less will be the degree of solidarity in the

[8] Turnbull, in a lecture (Wits, April 2012), took this claim even further when he concluded that the brainstem, which is the neural basis for consciousness, provides us with emotion, and its purpose is to motivate us to action.

> encounter and, potentially, the less will be the commitments to the meso and macrostructures (and their respective cultures) in which the encounter is embedded (Principles 4 & 5, p91).

Here Turner is describing a process in which the repeated arousal of positive or negative emotions in face-to-face encounters leads to either a positive commitment or a negative attitude towards / alienation from the institutional structures in which the encounters are embedded. When the institutional structure is a workplace, this has implications for the emotional energy, commitment and amount/type of action that is brought to the work, which in turn shapes levels of productivity and creativity. People whose emotions tell them of an increased sense of social solidarity will put more energy and creativity into their work than people whose emotions tell them of exclusion and negative sanction.

2.1.5 Conclusion: What do I mean by 'emotions'?

Bringing Nussbaum's and Turner's accounts together enables me to develop a descriptive account of emotions that retains a normative element. Emotions are a person's evaluation of the relationship with an 'object' (person, event, situation, institution, society, etc) that has importance to the person, so emotions tell us something that we need to pay attention to about our relationship with the world around us. On the immediate level, our emotions constantly alternate between positive and negative valences; on the long-term level, we develop background emotions, i.e. habitual emotional responses that colour the way we respond to particular persons and situations. These habitual emotional responses are increasingly entrenched value judgements about how the events in our world contribute to our flourishing or not. Repeated and intense negative emotions indicate a lack of flourishing and lead to a decrease in emotional health. To protect ourselves against this recognition of decreased flourishing, we repress our intense negative emotions, yet that in turn causes these emotions to reappear in intensified or transmuted form in other situations, further decreasing emotional health. For people to be emotionally healthy, they require sufficient positive sanction and thus positive emotion about their self-worth in the social order, in both their personal and their institutional lives. It is the repeated arousal of positive emotions in escalating cycles of increased social solidarity that generates high levels of positive emotional energy, which in turn motivates commitment to the work done in institutional structures.

Having thus described the nature and impact of emotions and created a conceptual frame for researching emotions empirically through a sociological lens, I move on to insights gained from the research into teachers' emotions.

2.2 Research into Teacher Emotions

In this section of the literature review, I want to present insights from the 'field' of research into teachers' emotions.[9] I will provide a quick overview of some studies that illustrate different facets of teaching as an emotional practice. These studies are useful to review as they form a frame surrounding the studies that deal more specifically with teachers' emotions in relation to their assessment practice, which will be dealt with in the next section.

Andy Hargreaves (1994, 1998, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005) and Michalinos Zembylas (2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2006, 2007, 2008) have both written extensively about teachers' emotions and have inspired many others to do so as well. Both argue persuasively for the importance of investigating teacher emotions and provide powerful analytical concepts and insights.

Hargreaves persuasively makes the claim that teaching is an emotional practice. He provides evidence for how "teaching activates, colours, and expresses teachers' feelings, and the actions in which these feelings are embedded" (1998, p838) as well as the feelings of students and other adults they work with. He argues that because teaching involves relationships, it requires "emotional understanding". He also found that teachers' emotions are shaped by

[9] Chapters in books and articles on teacher emotions started appearing in the early 1990s. In 1996 there was a special edition of the Cambridge Journal of Education with 11 articles and several book reviews seeking to "draw attention to several decades of neglect of a topic which is of daily concern to practitioners" (Nias, p293), covering primary, high school and tertiary teachers. Most of the other articles were published from 2000 onwards, giving the impression that it is a steadily growing field, admittedly less mainstream than research into online learning and ICT, but nevertheless a concern of the 21st century. Research was done in England, Belgium, Holland, USA, Canada, Australia, Israel, Cyprus and to some extent in South Africa. What is worth noting about many of these studies is that they draw on research data collected from studies with a particular focus on, for example, management or curriculum reform. Sometime during or after the main research project, the authors notice the strong emotions expressed by teachers and re-investigate the data to highlight issues of emotion. It's as if the study of teachers' emotions is emerging in spite of neglect. The preceding research into teacher stress and burnout did not foreground emotion.

their "moral purposes" (p838) and concluded that "teachers' emotions are therefore inextricably bound up with the basic purposes of schooling – what the purposes are, what stake teachers have (and are asked to have) in them, and whether the working conditions of teaching make them achievable or not" (p841). Hargreaves thus centrally links teachers' emotions to their beliefs about the purpose and achievement of education. A few years later he phrased the claim as follows:

> Teaching is always an emotional practice of engagement with learning, relationships with pupils and adults, and attachment to the purposes and work that teaching achieves. Teaching is either a positive emotional practice by design, which motivates teachers to perform at their best with those around them; or it is a negative emotional practice by neglect, where teachers disengage from their teaching and lose quality in the classroom as a result. (2003, p90)

This is a key claim as it tightly links teachers' emotions to the success, or not, of the educational enterprise. Concerned with creating a theoretical basis for improvement in the working conditions of teachers, Zembylas also links teachers' positive emotions to good performance. He claims that

> Acknowledging emotions, celebrating the positive ones and coping with the negative ones, implies certain actions aimed at gaining or regaining the social and professional recognition of the teacher's self and restoring the necessary workplace conditions for good performance. (2002a, p96)

As Nussbaum says, all emotions are intentional, i.e. they are *about* something - a person, situation, ideal, etc. Following her understanding of emotions as judgements of value about things of importance to us, I have categorised the research studies in relation to 'objects'.

2.2.1 Teachers' emotions in relation to students

As popular films and novels about teachers show, relationships between teachers and students run the full gamut of human emotions, from love to fear. Salzberger-Wittenberg et al (1983) theorise and illustrate several flashpoints for intense emotions in the relationship between teachers and students: primarily the beginning and end of teaching–learning relationships, the expectations of students regarding learning and, importantly for this study, the aspirations of teachers regarding the success of their students; and secondarily, the relationships amongst

student peers, as well as the interactions between various categories of stakeholder adults (which is also borne out by this study). They argue that because these emotions are echoes of the struggles in infancy and childhood experienced in some way by all human beings, they are "inevitable concomitants" (p9) of any learning situation.

The academic progress of students benefits from this emotional engagement and bond. The 1996 special edition of the Cambridge Journal on teacher emotions commissioned book reviews of seven research studies[10] written between 1932 –89, all pointing to the emotional nature of teachers' relationship with students. As Waller says, "Teachers and pupils are not 'instructing machines' or 'learning machines', but whole human beings interlocked in a network of human relationships. It is the quality of these relationships which determines much of the outcomes of education" (Osborn, 1996, p456). More recent statistical research makes the same point: Pianta et al's (2008) longitudinal study found that "the emotional quality of the classroom setting – the warmth of adult-child interactions, as well as the adults' skill in detecting and responding to individual children's needs – was a consistent predictor of both reading and maths skill growth" (p393).

Students are the main 'object' that teachers feel strongly about. Golby (1996) quotes teachers identifying with and feeling "possessive" (p427) about the children in their classes. Hargreaves (1998) found that "the emotional purposes or goals that teachers had for students and the emotional bonds or relationships that teachers established with them underpinned virtually everything else" (p842) – their psychic rewards, the emotional climate of respect, tolerance and ethics of care they created in their classrooms, their choice of pedagogical strategies as well as their curriculum planning. Structural or pedagogical reforms were judged through the emotional filter of whether or not they would "benefit their students and their relationships with them" (p845). Oplatka (2007) described teachers who voluntarily went far beyond what was demanded of them by emotionally engaging with students outside

[10] 1932, Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching
1955, Arthur T. Jersild, When Teachers Face Themselves
1957, John Gabriel, An Analysis of the Emotional Problems of the Teacher in the Classroom
1968, Philip Jackson, Life in Classrooms
1975, Dan C. Lortie, Schoolteacher: a Sociological Study
1983, Isca Salzberger-Wittenberg, Gianna Henry & Elsie Osborn, The Emotional Experience of Teaching and Learning
1989, Jennifer Nias, Primary Teachers Talking: a Study of Teaching and Work

of the immediate learning situation, through offering supportive listening, active care and compassion.

Hargreaves (2000) also found that having a more emotionally rich interaction between teachers and learners enabled greater job satisfaction for primary school teachers as compared to secondary school teachers, who tended to only "tolerate, manage and accommodate" (p823) their students' emotions in the classroom but then complained about "being misunderstood, unjustly accused, treated as a stereotype, and not acknowledged" (p820). And Zembylas (2002a, 2004a) showed how Catherine, a primary school science teacher, increased her self-esteem, became more capable and experienced more enjoyment as a teacher by "reflecting on how she felt and how using this knowledge could help her achieve greater insight into and enriched theoretical discussions with others about her science teaching (2002a, p97).

2.2.2 Teachers' emotions in relation to their professional identity and ideals

In the same way that teachers' emotions are directed outwards towards their students, their emotions are also turned inwards towards their professional identity and educational ideals as the initiating partner in the teacher / student relationship. Kelchtermans (2005) argues, "emotions reflect the fact that deeply held beliefs on good education are part of teachers' self-understanding" (p995). Watkins (2011) describes teachers whose tears spontaneously welled up when they talked about moments when they were acknowledged by students (p139) or their students achieved beyond expectations (p140). For her, this embodied emotion response signifies "an ethic of care, a wanting to give knowledge and skills and a keen desire that they are learned, rather than simply an obligation to do so" (p149).

Yet this deeply held commitment to good education comes at a cost. Kelchtermans (1996) argues that at the heart of teachers' work lies vulnerability, which has its roots in the "complex moral decisions" (p311) teachers must make with regard to learners, pedagogy and curriculum, followed by the public consequences of these decisions.

> The basic structure of vulnerability is always one of feeling that one's professional identity and moral integrity, as part of being 'a proper teacher', are questioned and that valued workplace conditions are thereby threatened or lost. (p311)

Hargreaves (1994) describes the vulnerability generated by guilt, which teachers carry because they always judge themselves as not having done or achieved enough. Teachers generally have a "commitment to care" (p145), but as the boundaries of teaching are not well defined, there is always too much to care about. Add to this the increased administrative demands of accountability measures as well as the "persona of perfectionism" (p149) expected of teachers (which many also expect of themselves), and the ground is laid for "powerful guilt traps" (p157) that teachers fall into, leading to cynicism, exhaustion and burn out. Thus, ironically, teachers' commitment to care can turn into guilt and take them to a place where they are no longer able to care.

Winkler (2002) illustrates this vulnerability in a South African context when seeking to understand "the complex ways in which teachers cast themselves in response to the images of 'the new teacher' imposed on them by the national education policy reforms" (p103). She found that "teachers seem to redefine their professional identities in relation to children rather than in relation to systems or ideas" (p117),[11] leading her to understand that "the curricular changes required of the teachers reach deep into their personal biographies and their fundamental assumptions about the nature of their social world" and to acknowledge "how much of a teacher's personal life is tied up with their work" (p113). Her finding resonates with Salzberger-Wittenberg et al's (1983) argument that teachers' (and students') personal and social histories shape the intensity and ways in which they express their expectations, anxieties or frustrations inherent in the current learning situation. Teachers' emotions in relation to their professional identity and ideals are deeply connected to their bond with learners and fraught with self-appraisals that arise from both personal history and particular working conditions.

[11] Winkler's (2003) finding that teachers respond to curriculum reform in terms of their image of children and their own childhood experiences more than in terms of the new vision and approaches offered by the reform is humbling for education policy makers who assume they can mandate teacher identity (e.g. NCS policy, 2003), for teacher educators who see themselves as shaping teachers' pedagogical approaches (e.g. Steinberg & Slonimsky, 2004), or for researchers who tend towards measuring teacher performance against curriculum policy (e.g. Vandeyar, 2005). It shows how teachers' personal and professional lives cannot be separated and treated independently of each other.

2.2.3 Teachers' emotions in relation to educational reform

Many of the studies looked at teachers' or principals' emotions in response to educational reforms. Teachers emotionally judged the changes required of them in their daily practice in relation to the well-being of their learners as well as their professional identity and educational ideals. Hargreaves (2003) recorded teachers' responses to standards-based curriculum and assessment reforms in USA and Canada, presenting an overwhelmingly desolate picture of teachers who are angry, frustrated, despairing and exhausted by their experience of loss of purpose, time, respect, collegiality, confidence, competence and creativity. For them, teaching had lost its joy and they were left with "only a paper trail of grief" (p94). Other studies described teachers who started off enthusiastic about the possibilities of a curriculum reform that promoted integration across subject knowledge, but ended up "disillusioned and fatalistic" (Little, 1996, p346), or captured the "emotional discomfort … over the changing roles teachers found it necessary to embrace – for both themselves and their students" if they wanted to genuinely engage with the curriculum reform (Frykholm 2004, p137) or responses that depended on "whether teachers perceive their professional identities as being reinforced or threatened by reforms" (Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006, p106).

Describing a departmental initiative of imposed school improvement strategies in South Africa, Fleisch (2003) argued that school "change can occur and be sustained" if the "deeper psychic fears of teachers" are addressed by "putting in place structures and processes that enable teachers to address these fears more constructively" (p51). Jansen (2001) argued the same point (but with less explicit focus on emotions) when he pointed out how SA curriculum reform documents have a vision of teachers that is quite different from how teachers see themselves, and how acknowledging this discordance would require "dialogues of meaning between policy, politics and practice in transforming education" (p243). This resonates with international studies (Van Veen and Lasky 2005, Bryk and Schneider 2002, Louis 2007) which argue for the need to acknowledge teachers' emotions when planning and implementing school reform and find trust to be an essential emotion if the dialogue and negotiation required for successful school reform are to take place.

2.2.4 Teachers' emotions in relation to colleagues and parents

Teachers might spend most of their time with their students, but they also need to co-operate with other adults, such as colleagues and parents, which can be emotionally complex and vulnerable-making relationships. Hargreaves (2001b, 2002) argues "it is teacher's relations with other adults that seem to generate the most heightened expressions of emotionality" (2001b, p506). He classified four types of responses from colleagues to which teachers responded emotionally: "appreciation and acknowledgement; personal support and social acceptance; co-operation, collaboration and conflict; and trust and betrayal" (p509). Teachers cherished and craved "appreciation and gratitude for their efforts and achievements" (p509). They enjoyed being socially accepted by colleagues and deeply valued the personal and professional support that trusted friendships at work could offer. They saw "professional inquiry and dialogue" (p519) as beneficial. But conflict and criticism, particularly of pedagogical approaches, often led to emotional fallout and psychological withdrawal. He found many cases of teachers feeling betrayed by their colleagues and categorised the betrayals in relation to contractual agreements, professional competence and interpersonal communication. A common response was for teachers to "distance themselves psychologically" (2002, p404) from those they felt betrayed by, making it very difficult for any future collaborative improvement efforts to bear fruit. Dunning, James and Jones (2005) analysed three cases of collegial misunderstandings, finding that the underlying issue in all cases was blame being apportioned for inadequate performance, without recognising the context of "institutional stress" and an "inadequate definition and management of institutional roles" (p256.

Parents can be a source of emotional vulnerability or of support for teachers. Golby (1996) quotes a teacher's conflicting emotions:

> I have always prided myself in being able to get on with parents, and in most cases this is still true. However, I have become more wary of late, parents are far more conscious of their rights than they used to be and I have to admit to being scared of one or two. … I try hard to enlist their support as I feel partnership is the key to success. … I often find they are at their wits' end and need my support and reassurance. (p429)

When teachers feel supported by or can offer reassurance to parents, they feel in control and can deal with the relationship. Yet when parents become demanding of teachers, it results in

fear and discomfort. Their strongest source of negative emotions occurs "when parents criticised their purposes, judgement, expertise, and basic professionalism" (Hargreaves, 2001, p1068, see also Kelchtermans, 1996). Hargreaves (2001) analyses how emotional misunderstandings occur more frequently when there is greater distance with regard to the socio-cultural, moral, professional, physical and political dimensions of the relationship.

2.2.5 Other 'objects' of teachers' emotions

Actually, the list of 'objects' that teachers' emotions are directed at could go on for a while, depending on how the 'objects' are differentiated. Whatever teachers feel responsibility for evokes deep emotions in them, as their responsibilities become 'objects that are important for their flourishing yet outside of their control'. For example, Hastings illustrates the "roller-coaster ride of emotions" (2004, p135) when teachers take responsibility for mentoring student teachers, especially when these students "struggle to achieve satisfactory outcomes" (2010, p207). Hayes (1996) shows how never-ending work demands and the tensions of being responsible both for a class and the whole school made the heads of small rural schools "vulnerable to emotional damage through criticism" (p385), to the extent that "they developed strategies which preserved their image in the eyes of parents and governors while masking their declining idealism" (p379). Acker and Feuerverger (1996) illustrate how women teachers in higher education are voluntarily taking responsibility for most of the support work for students, colleagues and committees, which are tasks that require much time but are not rewarded by the academic system. This leaves them "doing good and feeling bad" (p401), i.e. working hard, caring for others, being good department citizens, but feeling overextended, anxious, alienated and unrecognised.

It is worth noting, as Schmidt (2000) found when analysing the role of department heads, that "when educators' responsibilities shift, so do their emotions" (p840). Schmidt highlighted three contextual factors that shape whether a leadership role is dominated by emotions of frustration or satisfaction: the 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. This resonates with Dunning et al's (2005) research mentioned above – when roles and responsibilities are not clear, negative emotions result. Similar emotional conflicts emerge when it becomes difficult to prioritise between

different responsibilities within a role (Revell 1996) or gender issues exacerbate the emotional struggles (Blackmore, 1996; Rousmaniere, 1994). In a SA context, Jansen (2006) describes the emotional struggles of white principals who took on the responsibility of leading their schools into a racially mixed future, often in conflict with the original white parent community of the school. He reminds us that "in the lives of real leaders, emotions in practice play both roles, destructive and empowering, … [and] that "emotional balancing" is not an achievement but a struggle" (p49).

2.2.6 Positive and negative emotions

From the above research, it is clear that teachers have strong emotions about a wide range of 'objects' that make up their professional world. These emotions are positive and negative, pleasurable and disturbing. Sutton and Wheatley (2003) present a literature review of teacher emotions in which they draw on many of the studies above as well as a few more that missed my net, and use it to document findings of teachers' positive and negative emotions. Positive emotions discussed most often are the "love and caring or affection" (p332) teachers feel for their students, their satisfaction and pleasure when children make progress, their pride when they get everything done, their desire to feel supported by colleagues and parents, and their excitement when teaching well (p333). Negative emotions like anger or frustrations are felt in relation to students' misbehaviour, uncooperative colleagues, and parents who are perceived as uncaring or irresponsible. Anxiety arises in relation to "the uncertainty of determining whether they are doing a good job" (p334), helplessness and guilt come from the limits to their efficacy, and sadness is felt about the home lives of some of their students. From the research I have presented, as a generalization, teachers appear to experience more negative emotions in relation to educational administration or reforms (e.g. Hargreaves, Little 1996, Frykholm 2004, Fleisch 2003, Bryk & Schneider 2002, Winograd 2003, Zembylas 2005c, Nias 1996) and more positive emotions in relation to students and teaching, i.e. the core of their work (e.g. Winograd 2003, Zembylas 2005c, La Porte 1996, Golby 1996, Nias 1996, Oplatka 2007, Watkins 2011).

The question arises about the frequency and intensity of positive vs. negative emotions. As argued in section 1, emotions are interwoven with cognition and motivation, so the valence of the emotion will influence the thinking and action of teachers. It is warmth, i.e. a positive,

rather than a negative emotional climate that supports student learning (Pianta et al, 2008) and it is "positive emotions that facilitate the risk taking needed for innovation, whereas negative emotions inhibit such behaviour" (Reio, 2005). Is there "some ratio of positive and to negative emotions that individuals need to experience in order to cope with and be satisfied in their jobs?" (Sutton and Wheatley, 2003, p348).

2.2.7 Conclusion: Research into Teachers' Emotions

It was illuminating to read about the wide range of insights that can be gained through research that explores the emotions of teachers. The intense relationship with students, the strong sense of professional identity, the reluctance to make changes in practice when trust is absent and the many other issues that impact on teacher's professional lives via their emotions all testify to teaching being an emotional practice.

This brings me to a point of transition in this literature review, a transition from necessary background readings to the foreground of my research topic: teachers' emotions towards assessment.

2.3 Teachers' Emotions towards Assessment and Accountability[12]

Internationally, there is a large, established literature on assessment. Part of that literature focuses on the need for teachers to change their assessment practices so as to promote student learning by engaging in more 'constructivist' approaches (e.g. Shepard, 2000; Gipps, 1998; Black, et al., 2003; Clarke, 2005; Stiggins 2004). This literature occasionally hints at, but does not explore, teachers' emotions in relation to assessment or to the changes in practice required by a more constructivist, formative assessment.[13]

[12] This section of the literature review draws substantively on an article I published in the journal *English Teaching: Practice and Critique* December, 2008, Vol. 7, (3), p42-64, which in turn was based on the literature review of my proposal. I gratefully acknowledge the encouragement and editorial comments I received from the co-editors of the journal: Yvonne Reed in South Africa and David Whitehead in New Zealand.

[13] I did find one article that theorised a model for predicting "achievement emotions" as experienced by the person aspiring to the achievement, be it a student or a teacher. Pekrun (2006) has developed "the control- value theory of achievement emotions … [which] offers an integrative framework for analysing the antecedents and effects of emotions experienced in achievement and academic contexts" (p315). The theory as such too psychological for my purposes and structured to predict which emotions arise in response to failure or success of the person being assessed, while I am interested in exploring the emotions and value judgements of the assessor. But Pekrun makes three useful distinctions. The first (table 1, p320) is between a different "object focus" of the

When outlining present and future research agendas into emotions in science education, Zembylas (2005a) suggests that the impact of testing on students and teachers is worthy of exploration:

> Because standardised testing – especially in science and mathematics – has become a central focus of many science curricula in the United States, it is important to understand how such an emphasis influences science teaching and learning emotionally. (p128)

I have found little evidence of this idea being taken up; the fields of teachers' emotions and assessment are not yet talking to each other. There is research into the emotions, in particular the test anxiety, of students (Zeidner, 2007) but practically nothing on the emotions of the assessors. As yet there is little understanding of how assessment, as an aspect of teaching, is also an emotional practice. Questions around which emotions teachers experience in relation to assessment, or how emotions shape teachers' decisions regarding what forms of assessment practice to enact, have not yet been extensively investigated.

Nevertheless, the few articles that I did find were very illuminating. Two articles looked at the 'internal goods' (MacIntyre, 1982) of assessment, by investigating teachers' emotions in relation to student progress: Stough & Emmer (1998) investigated teachers' emotions during

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emotion – is it the process of the activity, or the outcome / result of the activity, and, if it is the outcome, does the outcome still lie in the future (prospective), or has in already happened (retrospective)? The second distinction is between different appraisals of value – is the activity / outcome of high, low or medium subjective importance? The third distinction regards the amount of inner control a person has over the outcome in terms of being responsible for the effort required for achievement – is the locus of control in self, others or circumstances? It is interesting to note how these factors – object focus, appraisal of value, extent of control – echo Nussbaum's definition of emotion as a value judgement directed towards an object outside of our control. The emotions that Pekrun predicts cover the range of joy, hope, hopelessness, relief, anxiety, pride, gratitude, sadness, shame, anger, enjoyment, frustration and boredom. For example, when a person anticipates a future outcome over which they have a medium amount of control, they could feel hopeful when considering the possibility of success and anxious when considering the possibility of failure. If they had a low sense of control, they would feel hopeless. When a person evaluates a past failure for which they themselves were responsible, they are likely to feel shame, unless they attribute the responsibility onto others, in which case they feel anger. A past success would evoke pride or gratitude, depending on whether self or others were responsible. Towards the beginning of this study, I thought it may be useful to start with the emotions that Pekrun predicts and then to work backwards so as to analyse what the sense of inner control and subjective value must have been. For example, during an accountability process that required an external evaluation of a learning programme for which I was primarily responsible, I experienced a great deal of anxiety, anger, frustration and despair. According to Pekrun's theory, these emotions happened because I experienced the activity as negative, and had a high, medium and low sense of control. This is an accurate, if clumsy, analysis, as I felt responsible (high control) for the successful outcome of an externally imposed process (low control) that I disapproved of (negative value) but that would ensure me respect in the institution if it were successful (positive value). So I thought Pekrun's 'control-value theory' might come in useful when analysing the relationship between teachers' emotions, their sense of power to effect an outcome, the importance they subjectively ascribe and the timing of an assessment event. But I left that line of analysis, as it was too individual and personal in relation to the data I collected.

an assessment event, while Reyna & Weiner (2001) analysed teachers' attitudes of judgement toward their students when engaged in assessment. I did not find any studies that explored teachers' emotions towards marking, perhaps because the task is so inevitable and the emotions so uncomfortable that no teacher wants to dwell on them once the job is done. Other research studies explored teachers' emotions related to the 'external goods' of the practice, by illustrating teachers' responses to standardised assessment used for accountability purposes (Smith, 1991; Falk & Drayton, 2004; Hargreaves, 2004). The most intense emotions were reserved for accountability measures that assess teachers' work directly, like school evaluations or performance appraisals (Jeffrey & Woods, 1996; Mahony, et al., 2004; Kornfeld, et al., 2007).

Because there are so few studies investigating teachers' emotions in relation to assessment and they do not refer to each other, this section of the literature review cannot show general trends. Instead, I want to explore each study in detail, drawing out the implications and making links between the articles. By slowly piecing together a mosaic, I hope that the completed picture will illustrate the importance and complexity of engaging in research into teachers' emotions regarding assessment.

2.3.1 Teachers' emotions are at play during the assessment process

Reyna & Weiner (2001) focused on teachers' emotions about student achievement by investigating the motivations of teachers responding to scenarios of students who had poor assessment results. They found that teachers weighed up whether to emphasise "retributive" or "utilitarian goals" in their response to assessment results (p309). Retributive goals are oriented towards retaliation for a past wrong, while utilitarian goals are aimed at altering the future behaviour of the student (p309). While some teachers used retributive motives, on the whole they were more inclined towards utilitarian goals. Compared with a sample of college students who responded to the same scenarios, teachers chose utilitarian goals noticeably more often (p312, p316). Motivations for this choice were multi-layered and depended on which characteristics the teachers "attributed" (p309) to the students. Teachers made two kinds of 'attributions' with regards to the cause of the failure: whether or not the failure was controllable by the student, and whether or not the cause was permanent. Regarding responsibility: when the student was seen as responsible for the failure, teachers' anger was

awakened and retribution became more prominent; when a student performed badly because of unfortunate circumstances, teachers responded with sympathy and chose utilitarian means to respond. Regarding permanence: when the cause was seen as transitory and thus teacher intervention could make a difference, teachers' responses were generally utilitarian (p315). Thus teachers responded sympathetically to scenarios of students failing for transitory reasons beyond their control, tolerated students failing for permanent reasons beyond their control, wavered between irritability and sympathy with students who were responsible for failing temporarily, and had retribution more often in mind with students who were responsible for failing permanently, i.e. for lazy students (p316). Student failure evokes a lack of sympathy in teachers when effort is deemed to be absent (see also Biddle and Goudas, 1997).

It is interesting to reflect on Reyna & Weiner's (2001) finding that teachers respond with anger and are tempted by the desire for retribution when students fail for reasons they could have controlled. If it were clear that students are solely to blame for the failure, then why should teachers feel angry? Aristotle defines anger as "a distressed desire for conspicuous vengeance in return for a conspicuous and unjustifiable contempt of one's person or friends" (Solomon, 2003, p6). Why would teachers feel that by failing, students have treated them with contempt? Perhaps because students have not responded to all the effort that teachers put in? Kelchtermans' (1996) claim that teachers experience students' results as reflecting on their own competence could be at play. If teachers identify with students' failures, then their anger at insufficient effort could be directed partially at themselves. Yet anger at oneself is very disconcerting and it becomes tempting to attribute the cause to someone else. So perhaps, when teachers vociferously blame the students' laziness for the failure, they do so because they don't want to blame themselves? Perhaps their anger at students' failure also covers up their sense of powerless at their own failure to get students to learn? This would fit with Reyna and Weiner's (2001) other finding, namely, that teachers' impulses for utilitarian solutions are stronger when the cause of the failure is not stable and teachers feel they can intervene successfully. Teachers don't want their students to fail, and might well resort to retributive punishment from a place of powerlessness within themselves.

2.3.2 Formative assessment is more emotionally demanding than summative

A few South African studies illustrate teacher's confusion when faced with the introduction of outcomes-based and formative assessment. Nakabugo and Siebörger (2001) set out to observe, "whether teachers who were accustomed to using continuous assessment summatively were able to use more formative means of assessment" (p54). They found that no teacher in their sample consistently interacted with their pupils or "analysed learners' incorrect responses with a view to giving them an opportunity to self-correct" (p57), while less than half occasionally engaged pupils in challenging tasks. Some of the teachers "occasionally and albeit unconsciously used assessment formatively" while others "had no idea of what formative assessment meant" (p58). Wilson-Thompson (2005) described maths teachers who were unsure about how to change their assessment practice so as to concur with the new policy. They were open to trying formative tasks, yet were not able to engage with learners' misconceptions and emerging constructions in a meaningful way. Vandeyar (2005) tells of teachers re-interpreting, misunderstanding or appropriating assessment policy to suit their context and personal history in ways that often did not serve the interests of learners. Like Nakabugo and Siebörger she concludes, "the teacher is not merely a conduit through which policy is sanctimoniously conveyed" because "social and personal forces, whether intentionally or at a subliminal level, come into play in the enactment of these policies" (p478). None of the studies make mention of what the teachers felt about assessment, but the level of confusion about what was required could not have made teachers feel good about their assessment practice.

A valuable perspective on teachers' emotional responses to formative assessment comes from Stough & Emmer (1998) who investigated higher education teachers' beliefs and emotions with regard to giving students feedback after a test. They concluded that "teachers' emotions concerning feedback sessions were an important factor in both instructional planning and interactive decision making" (p360).

The teachers in Sough and Emmer's study dreaded the test feedback sessions: they experienced students as volatile and attacking and warned new teachers to "watch out – students grow teeth" (p349). This applied not only to students who had not done well in the test, but particularly to high achieving students who received a lower mark than expected, who during class time were often their favourite students. Thus, although teachers believed

that "test-feedback sessions could be a learning experience for their students", their comments more often reflected "self-focused, affective concerns rather than student achievement or learning concerns" (p357). Stough & Emmer (1998) found that teachers' goals were educational: to improve students' learning, to involve students actively in the feedback process, as well as emotion-based: to avoid confrontations with students (p351-2). They structured the feedback sessions in ways "that were consistent with their beliefs, and yet limited their own frustration, annoyance, anger, anxiety and related stress" (p358). To limit the space for negative emotions, they gave students as little opportunity as possible to challenge the teacher: either they spent most of the time explaining the questions and answers, or they asked students to discuss answers with each other in small groups. When they found themselves becoming too defensive, they avoided contested issues by asking individual students to speak to them privately later. And at all times they masked their own nervousness, frustration, irritation or anxiety, maintaining the appearance of a calm, deliberative persona. These strategies were generally successful in containing student and teacher emotions, but they caused good opportunities for explanations and clarifying misunderstandings to be missed.

The students did not enjoy the test feedback sessions either. The emotional intensity of the situation – being given their tests back with the discussion following in the same session - often made them confused, argumentative or too upset to speak. Many said they did not learn anything. Stough & Emmer (1998) suggest, "students who experience strong negative emotions during a test feedback session may require *more* time to process feedback information" (p359).

So what does this story tell us about teachers' emotions in relation to assessment? Firstly, talking about assessment results can create a situation that evokes strong and mainly negative emotions for all involved. Teachers experienced fear-based emotions (nervousness, anxiety, defensiveness) and anger-based emotions (annoyance, irritation, frustration) in relation to anticipated and real student responses. Students experienced similar emotions, but focussed on a different 'object', namely, their exam marks. These emotions were then transferred onto the teacher, who was blamed for the annoying mark. Secondly, teachers' emotions are interwoven with their beliefs and educational goals. For example, holding the belief that students' active involvement in the feedback process is educationally valuable, while simultaneously wanting to protect self and students from negative emotions, generated

anxiety. Teachers who believed that the exam asked appropriate questions experienced a different emotional response to student challenge compared with teachers who did not hold that belief. Thirdly, teachers' emotions motivated their actions. For example, their anxiety prior to the sessions drove teachers to prepare carefully and to improve on strategies that had not worked well the previous semester. Thus anxiety spurred them to learn: the more experienced teachers "tended to plan more extensively and to anticipate student questions … and misconceptions" (p359). On the other hand, too much anxiety in the face of student agitation made them feel confused and defensive, and led them to choose strategies that prevented the escalation of student emotion but also limited the space for dialogue and exploration of misunderstood content.

Conflicted between their belief that providing feedback was 'good' for student learning and their emotional sense of being attacked by students' anger, only the most experienced and innovative teachers managed to do formative assessment productively. Stough and Emmer's (1998) study illustrates how formative assessment is more demanding of the personhood of the teacher. Teachers are unlikely to change their assessment practice from summative to formative, unless they change not only their beliefs but also their response to emotions.

2.3.3 Accountability measures intensify teachers' emotions

The tension between summative and formative ways of dealing with assessment intensifies when accountability pressures are added to the mix, i.e. when teachers are held publicly responsible for student results and blamed for student failure. Being accountable for assessment results makes public a vulnerability that lies at the heart of teachers' work. As described in section 2, Kelchtermans (1996) finds vulnerability intrinsic to being a teacher. Because teaching activities substantially influence students' learning outcomes, teachers feel responsible for their students' successes and failures. When students fail despite teachers' best efforts, such failure can generate feelings of disappointment, powerlessness and helplessness for teachers. Kelchtermans noted that, "In their pupils' failures, these teachers felt they were falling short themselves" (1996, p309). Conversely, when students succeed, teachers feel joy and pride. It is as if students' outcomes are a mirror in which teachers see themselves and their work reflected. Yet because it is inevitable that learners don't learn

everything presented by the teacher or mandated by the curriculum, teachers easily feel vulnerable and defensive about being held accountable.

Caught in this structural vulnerability, teachers experience anxiety and guilt. Hargreaves (1994) describes how the anxiety of appearing incompetent to themselves and their colleagues is generated by the "persona of perfectionism" (p149) expected of teachers. He quotes a teacher as saying,

> There is fear of not measuring up, of having somebody think that they're not doing a good job. Teachers are the hardest professionals on themselves. We do not want anybody in the classroom watching us teach because we might not be doing something right. … We are very insecure as a profession. (p150)

This constant judging of self as not having done or achieved enough, coupled with the increased demands of accountability measures, lays the ground for "powerful guilt traps" (p157) that teachers can fall into. Living with guilt for too long can extinguish commitment to ideals of professionalism and care, and lead to cynicism, exhaustion and burn out.

As mentioned in the introduction, holding schools and teachers accountable for learner achievement is becoming common to education systems internationally.[14] Hargreaves (2003) describes how in the late 1990s, teachers in Ontario, Canada were divided in their responses to curriculum and assessment policy changes. Many valued the substance of the changes and saw them as "promising starting points for future improvement" (p75). But "the opposite was true for teachers' responses to system-wide testing" (p76). Most teachers saw these tests as having little value for improving teaching and learning, believing that the tests "neither motivated pupils to learn nor enhanced their confidence as teachers" (p76). Teachers perceived and experienced classroom assessment very differently from external, standardised assessment. Whereas the new curriculum and assessment policy "encouraged and demanded deep learning from students", the system-wide testing "in some ways actively hinders teachers in supporting their pupils to learn in a knowledge society" (p76).

Teachers' emotions towards assessment are profoundly affected by this tension between the intention of educational policy to promote learning and the implementation of standardised

[14] The focus of this section is not on whether accountability policies are delivering on their promise of improved student learning, but to reflect on the emotional experiences and responses of teachers.

assessment to ensure political accountability. If teachers' emotions around success and failure are intense in the 'low-stakes' context of classroom assessment, they are considerably more fraught in the 'high-stakes' context of standardised assessment accountability. It is important to understand accountability as providing a context that generates teachers' "background emotions" (Nussbaum, 2001, p 69), which may influence or colour the emotional tone of their classroom assessment.

Smith (1991) investigated teacher responses to the introduction of standardised assessment in Iowa, making six hard-hitting claims, all of which she substantiated with solid evidence. The first three claims describe teachers' emotional responses to external, standardised assessments:

1. The publication of test scores produces feelings of shame, embarrassment, guilt, and anger in teachers and the determination to do what is necessary to avoid such feelings in the future.
2. Beliefs about the invalidity of the test and the necessity to raise scores set up feelings of dissonance and alienation.
3. Beliefs about the emotional impact of testing on young children generate feelings of anxiety and guilt among teachers. (p9)

These negative emotions were evoked because the standardised tests conflicted with teachers' educational ideals and beliefs, while the public nature of the test scores evoked a sense of failure. Teachers' judgements that the external tests had negative value for their own and their students' flourishing, threatened their moral and professional integrity. The resulting shame, alienation and guilt left teachers scrambling for changes to their practice that would avoid such negative emotions in future.

Policy makers and test designers might argue that this adoption of new teaching practices was a positive response, but Smith's next three claims contradict that. She showed how a focus on assessment reduced the time available for learning, how it reduced curriculum coverage and how it limited the range of teaching strategies adopted. In common parlance, this is

called 'teaching to the test' – the examination becomes the curriculum by default.[15] Like Stough and Emmer, Smith found that teachers' desire to avoid painful emotions led them to use strategies that limited the possibilities for teaching and learning.

Stecher & Barron (1999) investigated the effects of high-stakes accountability testing in Kentucky. They did not engage with teachers' emotions, as they used a survey to collect their data (not interviews and long-term observation as Smith had done), but they do mention effects on teachers that point to emotional responses. They found that testing adds "considerable burdens to teachers and students", that annual changes "create a level of uncertainty that may make teachers uncomfortable", and that teachers "respond strongly" to public reporting of test scores (p34). They also noted how teachers changed "their allocation of instructional time across subjects (in self-contained classrooms), and the relative emphasis they placed on specific topics within the subjects of mathematics and writing" (p12). In spite of Stecher & Barron's noticeably neutral tone and less direct engagement with teachers compared to Smith, they essentially come up with the same finding: that external, standardised assessment for accountability purposes is not welcomed by teachers and causes them to change their teaching to align more with the test.

Falk & Drayton (2004) report similar, yet more context-sensitive, findings from Massachusetts.[16] They also found broad agreement with regards to "teachers' reservations about the test content, level of difficulty and length, as well as concerns about negative effects that failing would have on students' morale" (2004, p. 356). Yet the context in which the new test was administered made a noticeable difference. The factors shaping teachers' emotional responses and morale were firstly, the curriculum culture and attitude to the test generated by district leadership and secondly, the socio-economic status of the student

[15] Amrein and Berliner (2002) are an example of quantitative researchers who present similar findings of how high-stakes testing lead teachers into strategies that deny students the opportunities to learn. They also present evidence of an "exodus" (p45) of teachers from the US public school system because of the pressure on their professional identity and the stress generated by the compliance required by standardised tests. As Amrein and Berliner do not elaborate on the emotions of teachers leaving, I have not elaborated on studies like theirs.

[16] In their literature review, Falk and Drayton trace the debate around the effects of high-stakes testing from 1991 to 2003, presenting much research that illustrates limiting effects on curriculum practice, increased test preparation time, increased test scores not generalising to increased understanding, negative motivation of low-achieving students and deteriorating relationships between teachers and students, while a few studies suggest that the effects "may be overrated by both advocates and opponents" (p350). I am tempted to enter the debate, on the basis that if high-stakes testing makes teachers feel insecure and negative about their work, it has to rejected. But actually, emotions and change processes have a more complex relationship than that, and given my focus on emotions, I cannot explore or come to a conclusion regarding the high-stakes testing debate.

community in the district. When a district's strategy to improve test scores was "in sync with" their existing vision of good science education, teachers were more likely accept it, but when the district strategy was "a clear departure from" the vision, it was more likely for teachers to express resentment, with a subsequent decrease in their effectiveness as teachers and love of teaching (p383). When students came from low socio-economic status communities, "teachers in highly challenged settings were often left demoralised as the gulf between test expectations and students' current skills seemed unbridgeable" (p383). Thus, assessment strategies are demoralising for teachers when they demand substantial changes, are enforced, go against teachers' ideals or are inappropriate to socio-economic context.

Accountability processes emphasise the external goods of the practice of teaching over and above the internal goods – a good teacher is one whose students achieve high marks in externally set, standardised tests, not someone who enables each child to progress. It also shifts the role definition of the teacher from being the assessor to being one of the assessed.

2.3.4 Accountability might evoke inadmissible emotions around assessment

Hargreaves (2004) makes a contribution to the accountability debate that comes from a completely different perspective. Like Falk & Drayton (2004), his concern is for social justice, as the schools whose students most often fail the system-wide tests are schools in communities of low economic status. He is critical of the policies and processes that determine and pronounce on school failure from the outside, and asks the interesting question of what might motivate them.

In his answer, Hargreaves makes a novel connection between social injustice, school failure and the emotion of disgust. He describes the limitations of various technical definitions of school failure, showing how it is always the schools in poor communities that are defined as failing. He then introduces the emotion of disgust, which is one of the six basic, universally experienced emotions as outlined by Darwin. Its evolutionary function is to safeguard a person against infection, contamination or contagion by generating immediate withdrawal from any possibly disease-carrying object. Disgust thus causes a person to step back and separate from the disgusting object. Accusations of disgusting behaviour can also be used to condemn an unpopular group of people (Hammond, 2005).

Hargreaves uses Sennett's research into the class struggles of immigrants to the USA to argue that "disgust and its opposite, distinction, are the basic emotions of social exclusion – the means by which we shrink from the disabled, marginalize those of low social or economic standing, and express revulsion at racial or ethnic difference" (2004, p15). He then takes the idea a step further into the world of education to claim, "distinction and disgust define the emotional economy of social exclusion that demarcates success from failure. The educational basis of that economy is the concept of ability (and more recently, of achievement or performance)" (p15). Hargreaves thus positions an emotion as powerful as disgust at the core of accountability and our response to failure at school.

Hargreaves refers to his own research (2000) to show how students' emotions are engaged so as to promote learning in primary school, but that by secondary school, students' emotions are seen as "disturbing intrusions into the classroom order" (2004, p17). Emotions are more frowned upon the closer one moves to 'distinction'. Academic achievement thus becomes linked to a passionless sense of order and control, in contrast to the sense of belonging and 'visceral emotionality' (p17) of the lower classes. Schools might focus on the "relatively simple (and neutral) basic skills" for younger children, but seldom teach the more sophisticated "kinds of knowledge and learning that underpin our concepts of ability and achievement and that create emotional economies of inclusion and exclusion, distinction and disgust" (p19). He concludes: school failure (of schools and individuals within schools) "resonates emotionally" with "the failure of working class or ethnic minority people" (p20), and it invokes the disgust of those who achieve distinction within the school system while simultaneously reminding them of "their own more fortunate distinction" (p21). Hargreaves' argument is valuable in that it vividly illustrates the power of the unacknowledged emotion of disgust towards those who have failed.

Disgust is a powerful emotion to use in relation to school failure. I found Hargreaves' article quite shocking when I first read it. I could allow for pity in response to failure, but disgust? Yet when I reflected on the utterances of politicians and the media to failing schools, I became convinced by his argument. And it isn't just the media. Thinking back on my own responses to media stories of dysfunctional schools, I found I needed to admit to a twinge of disgust. So I started wondering whether this emotion could be playing a role in teachers' responses to failing students. The idea would appear to go against the findings of Reyna &

Weiner, that most teachers prefer a utilitarian approach, looking for means to remedy student failure. But on closer reflection, I think Hargreaves' insight about the emotional undertow of school failure might well be echoed in the relationships between teachers and students. Teachers might well initially feel sympathy for failing students, as pity generates emotional distance from the failure, which allows one to feel superior whilst retaining sympathy. Yet sympathy disappears in the face of feeling threatened. What happens to teachers emotionally when sympathy and the utilitarian approach do not increase student performance, and after teachers' anger and retribution-punishment has generated student alienation but still no achievement? Disgust, which contains an element of anger, which rejects the 'object' and separates it from oneself, and which allows one to feel superior, might well be a last-ditch stand against the threat of failure, even if the failure is embodied in people one knows. This situation is likely to be intensified when teachers are held accountable for, i.e. identified with their students' failure. Nobody wants to be avoided and treated with disgust. Joining the disgusted audience rather than suffering the disgust of the powerful might be an understandable defence mechanism.

2.3.5 The performance management of teachers intensifies the negativity of accountability

In addition to standardised assessment, there are accountability measures that assess teachers' work directly, namely whole school inspections, performance related pay or curriculum revisions. These accountability measures operate as performance management and evoke even more intense and negative emotions in teachers, in some cases producing long term-effects that may colour teachers' approach to teaching and assessing their students.

Let me illustrate by using three examples. Jeffrey & Woods (1996) documented several case studies of school inspections, in each case describing the preparatory work, the actual inspection and the aftermath. They illustrated the teachers' "fear, anguish, anger, despair, depression, humiliation, grief and guilt" (p340) in careful detail. They found that teachers' loss of confidence in their work and feelings of worthlessness continued long after the inspection was over, even though a relatively good report had been received. They comment, "it would seem that the more professional the teachers were, in terms of dedication and efficiency, the more emotional they were over the inspection" (p339). Mahony, et al. (2004)

investigated the emotional impact of performance related pay, and found that teachers felt insulted, furious, betrayed, resentful and distressed about having to "jump through hundreds of hoops" (p439) in order to get the pay rise they deserved. They comment, "negative emotion such as anger does not become positive, when, after a while it quietens to cynicism and weariness" (p454). Kornfeld, et al. (2007) researched reactions of teacher educators during a process of programme approval so as to comply with new curriculum standards. The teacher educators felt anger, resentment, fear, outrage, defeat, helplessness, inadequacy, like being "naked in the dark", and also overwhelmed, confused, demoralised, "like getting whacked on the head" (p1911-1912). The loss of professional control made them feel disheartened and demeaned in their professional identity, disillusioned by an onerous and depressing task, and upset, appalled, embarrassed and humiliated by the lack of trust implied in the administrative requirements (p1912-1914). When teachers were held accountable to institutional demands that rewarded conformity to institutional rules more than professional responsibility, they were left feeling professionally and personally undermined.

I turned to Ball's article (2003), evocatively entitled *The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity*, to help me understand the trauma of accountability practices more clearly. Ball states

> performativity is a technology, a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control attrition and change – based on rewards and sanctions (both material and symbolic). The performances (of individual subjects or organizations) serve as measures of productivity or output, or displays of 'quality', or 'moments' of promotion or inspection. As such they stand for, encapsulate or represent the worth, quality or value of an individual or organisation within a field of judgement. The issue of who controls the field of judgement is crucial. (p216)

There are three issues in this definition I want to pick up on – control, performances, and what it might mean to have a culture where performances represent worth.

A common theme of all of the articles in this accountability section is that teachers do not feel in control – they feel imposed upon, manipulated and helpless. Since emotions serve as an indicator of whether or not a person considers themselves to be flourishing, these teachers clearly do not consider the pressures to perform for accountability purposes to be in their

interests. But the language and technology of accountability is "misleadingly objective and hyper-rational" (p217), and so their emotional and moral struggles are internalised and relegated to the personal sphere. It is clear that policy makers / education officials are in control of the field of judgement. Yet does it improve the quality of teaching when teachers become "ontologically insecure" in response to "being constantly judged in different ways" (p220)? Ball quotes a teacher saying, "I don't have the job satisfaction now I once had working with young kids because I feel every time I do something intuitive I just feel guilty about it. … You start to query everything you are doing" (p221). When teacher insecurity makes selection and prioritising of knowledge and activity in the classroom difficult, it damages the authority of teaching.

Teachers in the above studies felt "ashamed" at having to perform for the "OFSTED game" (Jeffrey and Woods, 1996, p333) and "full of rage" at having to fill in forms in order to "prove themselves" (Mahony et al, 2004, p445). The performances they were required to deliver challenged their sense of integrity. Ball (2003) makes the point that performativity demands two types of work: an improvement in the quality of the direct engagement with students that teachers are employed for ("first order activities") as well as additional time spent on creating monitoring systems, collecting data, reporting on tasks done etc. ("second order activities") (p221). A tension arises because the time and care required to prepare the proofs of good performance "drastically reduces the energy available for making improvement inputs" (p221) into the first order activities. In addition, there is tension between the representation of teachers' work as it is required by the various accountability events on the one hand, and teachers' beliefs and values regarding teaching on the other, i.e. "between metric (measurable) performances and authentic and purposeful relationships" (p223).

Ball (2003) argues that these tensions lead to the creation of "fabrications", which are "versions of an organization (or person) which does not exist – they are not 'outside the truth', but neither do they render simply true or direct accounts – they are produced purposefully in order 'to be accountable'" (p224). A culture of fabrications has moral and professional consequences. Where accountability regimes place value on "effectivity rather than honesty", they become "a vehicle for changing what academic work and learning are", creating a new culture in which "'service' commitments no longer have value or meaning and professional judgement is subordinated" (p226). This concurs with Jeffrey and Woods'

(1996) perspective that "the strength and pain of these emotions are a kind of rite of passage as teachers are impressed against their will from one status (professional) into another (technician)" (p340).

Does this help me any further with my wondering about whether the teachers' intensely negative emotions evoked by standardised system-wide assessments and other accountability measures are productive or not? Ball's account confirms the trauma of not being in control and being subjected to a change in job description that is not agreeable. But the trauma does produce 'fabrications', i.e. images of teachers that did not exist before. Is it possible that in the long run these 'fabrications' enable an 'improved' understanding of teachers' work, for teachers and education officials alike? Could the 'functional emotional labour', as performed by Kornfeld and his team (2007) be an example for providing a way of dealing with teachers' strong negative emotions towards accountability events and developing a new understanding of the potential of teachers' work? For my research study, it might be productive to be alert to possibly ambivalent emotional responses to accountability pressures while taking note of the context and beliefs associated with accountability.

2.3.6 Are there possibilities for doing assessment in 'emotionally sound' ways?

Pekrun, et al. (2007) suggest that taking teachers' (and students') emotions seriously could lead to a school environment that promotes greater achievement because it is more 'emotionally sound'. Students' and teachers' achievement emotions can be influenced by changing subjective control and values relating to achievement activities and their outcomes. This can be achieved by shaping the learning environments of students and the occupational environments of teachers in emotionally sound ways (2007, p30-31). Pekrun, et al. (2007) suggest several ways in which this could be done. They advocate classroom environments that are cognitively stimulating, that contain feedback loops of positive emotions that motivate teachers and students alike, that provide teachers with chances for autonomy and co-operation and that are framed by institutional goal structures which enable teachers to feel in control. With regard to assessment, they point to the necessity for feedback (to students and teachers) that explains both the required and the actual performance (p31-32). These are all suggestions that increase teachers' sense of doing something valuable and being in control of their actions.

The other research studies also hint at what can be learned from teachers' emotions about the changes needed to improve assessment in the classroom. Reyna & Weiner (2001) point to teachers' desire to be able to make a difference in the quality of their students' performance. This implies that teachers need to feel empowered to try out various ways in which they can teach and otherwise help students to learn. Stough & Emmer's (1998) findings emphasise the importance for teachers to harmonise the conflict between their beliefs and emotions. This could become possible if teachers work collaboratively and engage with the emotions that arise during their work. Smith (1991) and others point out the danger of teachers closing down opportunities for learning in the face of high-stakes standardised assessments because they want to avoid the unpleasant emotions involved in public failure, thus implying that the school system should place more emphasis on public success. And if the school accountability system does not want to produce demoralised teachers who in turn produce demoralised learners, then it needs to find more supportive and collaborative ways to assess the quality of teachers' work.

2.3.7 Conclusion: What picture of teachers' emotions towards assessment emerges from this mosaic of research literature?

The research literature presented comes from the USA, Canada, the UK, Belgium, and covers primary, secondary and tertiary education teachers. Taken collectively, the studies paint a picture of teachers grappling with emotional complexity. They illustrate how teachers are sympathetic to failure when they think it is not the student's 'fault' but tend towards anger when it is (Reyna & Weiner, 2001); how the feedback required by formative assessment is stressful for teachers (Stough & Emmer, 1998); and how public failure might generate emotions that are not easy to acknowledge (Hargreaves, 2004). Assessment is by its nature an emotionally conflicted aspect of teachers' work because it confronts teachers with the limits of their efficacy (Kelchtermans, 1996) and yet is central to both the internal satisfaction and the social recognition of teaching (MacIntyre, 1982). It is thus important for research to acknowledge and explore the meaning of these emotions.

Accountability measures represent the external goods of the practice and can be seen to increase the discomfort of assessment emotions (Hargreaves, 1994, 2003; Smith, 1991; Stecher & Barron, 1999). High-stakes standardised assessment leads to teacher

demoralization particularly in low socio-economic contexts where students have little chance of success or in contexts where the external assessments do not correspond with teachers' ideals of good teaching (Falk & Drayton, 2004). Accountability measures that directly assess teachers' work often leave them angry, ashamed, professionally weary (Jeffrey & Woods, 1996; Mahony, et al., 2004) and "ontologically insecure" (Ball, 2003). Occasionally, when teachers are activated by their negative emotions, they can become determined to reveal and agitate against the excesses of accountability (Kornfeld, et al., 2007). Yet generally, the intensely negative emotions and long-lasting effects evoked in teachers by accountability measures point to the need for reconsidering the balance of challenge and support that teachers require if they are to maintain their well-being and positive professional identity, and thereby their effectiveness.

The intention of this section was to illustrate that assessment is an emotional practice for teachers and that paying attention to the emotions involved can provide useful insights into assessment practices to teachers, teacher educators and policy reformers. From the small number of research studies available, it is obvious that the field is under-researched. I hope I have been able to show that pursuing research into teachers' emotions in relation to assessment would be a worthwhile enterprise. Assessment needs to be recognised for the emotional practice it is, so that research (and teacher education) can begin to point to possibilities for teachers' emotions as a way of motivating for the personal, pedagogical and structural changes necessary for improved approaches to assessment and teaching.

2.4 Emotional Rules and Labour

So far in this literature review I have presented an extended definition of 'emotions' as well as research into teachers' emotions and teachers' emotions in response to assessment and accountability. In this section I will theorise two conceptual tools I consider useful for engaging with teachers' emotions through a sociological lens: emotional rules and emotional labour. These concepts offer a way of analysing the expressed emotions of teachers in ways that enable a deeper understanding of the social and structural complexities, rather than using the concept of 'emotions' on its own. But I found the existing formulations of these concepts to be slightly incomplete and insufficiently attuned to teachers, so in the process of presenting the existing literature, I am also attempting to expand the concepts.

2.4.1 Emotional Rules

The concept of feeling rules / emotional rules attempts to capture the unspoken expectations about how much and what kind of emotions are appropriate to feel in a situation and particularly, what kind of emotional tribute or exchange is due to another person in the situation. For example, in a hierarchical society it is acceptable to treat people lower down in the hierarchy differently from those higher up the ranks in terms of the emotions expressed towards them – like it is acceptable to vent our irritation and swear at a street beggar who crosses our path, but it is not acceptable to do the same thing to our boss, no matter what new regulations the boss may have introduced that make our life more difficult.

We absorb the feeling rules through interacting with the culture of our childhood families and social circles. We carry them throughout our life as a guideline for what to feel and how intensely to feel about people and situations – like intense love for our children, affection for or emotional distance from our colleagues, fear of or respectful obligation to our boss - depending on the prevailing institutional and broader social culture. We usually notice these expectations of emotions when they are not met – when the expected emotional responses from others are not received or the emotions returned to us are out of synch with the nature of the relationship; for example, when my intense passion for my partner is reciprocated with cool affection or my angry dismissal of a subordinate's claim is answered by persistent demand. We also notice these expectations of particular emotions when what we feel seems out of synch with the situation, like when we cannot understand the emotional turmoil we feel or we feel like laughing in the middle of a serious meeting. So unspoken, generally unconscious feeling rules determine and shape which emotion we feel, how intensely we feel it, towards whom and in what situation we feel it and what emotions we expect to be receiving back in return. Emotion rules are the cultural expectations that shape our inner experience, the outer expression and the social exchange of emotions.

So who did I learn this from? The concept of 'feeling rules' was defined by the sociologist Hochschild (1979, 1983/2003), who explored the commercialisation of human emotions in her study of flight attendants and bill collectors. She coined the term in tandem with her other key concept of 'emotional labour'. It was picked up on by many sociologists, industrial psychologists and some educationists. I will use Hochschild (1979, 2003) to describe the basic concept of feeling rules and Theodosius (2008) to show how it can be elaborated and

applied to professionals, in her case, nurses' relationships with their patients. Then I will describe how Winograd (2003) operationalizes the concept through his examples of feeling rules that shape teachers' identities, and how Zembylas (2002b, 2003a, 2005) deepens its theoretical foundation and also calls on teachers to analyse and transform the emotional rules that govern their profession. I was introduced to the notion of emotional rules through Zembylas and, as an ex educational activist, was emotionally hooked by the possibility that if we "analyse these rules", no matter that the process might be one of "discomfort" and "emotional labour", we can become able to "disturb, destabilize and subvert these rules" (Zembylas, 2002b, p206) so as to "create new emotional rules in a school culture that are less oppressive than the previous ones" (2002b, p203). If emotional rules were a concept that could enable "caring for teacher emotion" in ways that "recognised it as a site of political resistance" (Zembylas, 2003a, p122), then I was interested. But recognition is only the first step, and Zembylas does not provide any description of how emotions can lead to political resistance. So I was delighted to discover Turner (2007, 2010), who uses his sociological theory of human emotions to show how positive emotions, like money and power, are unequally distributed along the lines of class and other social categories, thus making emotions visible as a factor that connects personal and institutional levels of society and has "significant effects on the dynamics of human societies" (Turner, 2010, p168). In this way, although I work with each author separately, I am using each contribution to develop the complexity of the concept of emotional rules.

2.4.1.1 The basic concept - Arlene Hochschild

For Hochschild, feeling rules are the social norms that govern the personal sphere of emotions. Following Goffman, she takes as a starting point that individuals are "profoundly social" (1979, p552) and coins the term "feeling rules" to capture how it is that "people try or try not to feel in ways that are 'appropriate to the situation'" (1979, p552). Feeling rules indicate that people have emotional rights and duties with regard to the extent, the direction and the duration of their feelings, given the situation they are in (1979, p564). They provide "society's guideline" (2003, p85) for which emotion people should feel, its level of intensity, as well as the appropriate expression of the feeling.

Feeling rules are not explicit, but can be recognised "by inspecting how we assess our feelings, how other people assess our emotional displays and the sanctions issuing from ourselves and from them" (2003, p57). Feeling rules will vary, depending on an individual's "social membership" (1979, p566) and their "ideological stance" (1979, p567), as well as on the broader social and institutional culture of the situation. The emotions exchanged can be a due "payment" (2003, p76), a "tribute" (2003, p82) or a "gift" (2003, p83), depending on the nature of the social bond between the people exchanging emotions.

Hochschild also points out how feeling rules maintain inequalities in society. "It is mainly the authorities who are the keepers of feeling rules. In the matter of what to feel, the social bottom usually looks for guidance to the social top" (2003, p75). The exchange of emotions thus becomes a marker of social status. Exchanges between people of equal status in a stable relationship are normally even. But when one person has higher status than another, feeling rules make it "acceptable to both parties for the bottom dog to contribute more" (2003, p84). To have higher status is to have stronger claims to emotional rewards. Deferential behaviour like encouraging smiles, attentive listening, appreciative laughter, comments of affirmation, admiration or concern are "inherent in the kinds of exchange that low-status people commonly enter into" (2003, p84). As Hochschild argues, "high status people tend to enjoy the privilege of having their feelings noticed and considered important. The lower one's status, the more one's feelings are not noticed or treated as inconsequential (2003, p172). These subtle feeling rules maintaining inequality do not need to be enforced because, although they originate in the social world, they are internalised by people until "eventually, these rules about how to see things and how to feel about them come to seem 'natural', a part of one's personality" (2003, p155).

From my perspective, the research value of 'feeling rules' is that the concept enables the researcher to look for patterns of emotional responses and to analyse those patterns for their implicit rule. Finding the implicit emotional rules by which people operate then enables a new understanding of the situation. The concept thus helps to make emotions more visible in the social world.

2.4.1.2 Expanding the concept to include professionals - Catherine Theodosius

Theodosius (2008) follows Hochschild in her understanding of feeling rules as representing "the currency of feeling owed in transactions between people" which helps to "define and identify the feelings and emotions being experienced through the context in which they are taking place" (2008, p204). But she is concerned to elaborate on this understanding, so that it becomes more attuned to professional work. She does this in three ways.

Firstly, Theodosius shows how professions have particular feeling rules that are attached to the identity of the profession, both in the minds of the professionals and the public who uses the services of the profession. She uses vignettes from her research, popular hospital TV series and the 'Florence Nightingale ethic' to illustrate how nurses are expected to be "kind, considerate, patient, cheerful, loving, friendly, good listeners, and empathetic", i.e. "altruistic and inherently caring" (2008, p31). These expectations become feeling rules that are identified with the profession and that operate as a measure against which "nurses can be judged for not doing". In this way the feeling rules simultaneously carry the ethical norms of care that nurses need to live up to.[17] Theodosius argues that the rule about care is not an idealised construction, but an intrinsic requirement of the profession.

> The idea of nurses who care for and about others as an expression of their identity, is a belief that is needed by patients, because it enables and facilitates intimate acts of care. (2008, p33)

Without the feeling rule that a nurse is supposed to care, she argues, the profession loses its central purpose.

Secondly, Theodosius illustrates how feeling rules apply not only to the professional, but also to the recipient of the professional service. The feeling rules shape "interactive processes

[17] It is interesting to look at films about teachers and analyse the feeling rules that emerge around teachers' identities. Two films I know well are 'Stand up and Deliver' and 'Freedom Writers', both based on real life teachers. Both films feature teachers who are committed to making low socio-economic youngsters succeed; use unconventional teaching methods to grab the students' attention; care about the individual students enough to help them in their personal life; work far more than the required hours; make sacrifices in their personal life in order to do their work with students, i.e. invest their being to the extent that their professional self takes over their private self; confront and challenge the education authorities so as to protect their students and their unconventional ways of working; are successful in the real sense of furthering their students' learning and academic success, even at cost to themselves. So the feeling rules that emerge are something like: Teachers care deeply about their students (even sacrifice themselves for their students); teachers love teaching and find many ways to make their subject interesting; teachers are committed to their students beyond the call of their professional responsibility; teachers are strong enough to stand up to the authorities in pursuit of their vision. Those are high ethical demands to live up to.

based on a relationship" (2008, p35), i.e. they regulate an exchange of emotion in which neither person is a passive recipient. Both participants in the relationship are required to offer particular kinds of emotions – in this case, "the nurse owes expert care, skill and empathy and the patient owes trust and gratitude" (2008, p206). Feeling rules apply to interactions in a particular situation.

Thirdly, Theodosius argues that because feeling rules are not absolute social norms but are "socially constructed", they are also to some extent "optional to individuals" (2008, p96) because each person has a different relationship with the rules, be it acceptance, rebellion, ambivalence, selective use, etc. The choices people make with regard to feeling rules are "intimately connected with personal identity in conjunction with social identity" (2008, p97). When people interact in a relationship, their personal and social identities shape how they work with feeling rules, so they might have different rules in their head, interpret the same rule differently, misunderstand each other's expression of the feeling rules, and so on. She follows Hochschild in insisting that, "issues concerning status and power" (2008, p206) are implicated in the feeling rules that shape the exchange of emotions in a professional relationship.

Theodosius thus expands the concept of feeling rules for professional by adding three layers:

- there are feeling rules particular to a profession
- not only the professional but also the recipient of the professional service is subject to the feeling rules of the profession
- the personal and social identity of individuals will shape the ways in which they enact the feeling rules.

These insights add complexity to the analysis of emotion exchange within professional relationships.

2.4.1.3 Operationalizing emotion rules for teachers - Ken Winograd

Winograd (2003) follows Hochschild in his understanding of feeling rules. He then goes on to argue that, for the teaching profession, feeling rules are "historically determined and locally redefined" (2003, p1646). He shows how the professional culture and feeling rules that govern primary teachers' emotions are a "site of control" because they "tend to suppress

the free expression of anger, which, in turn, inhibits teachers' potential to critique their working conditions and then work to affect social change" (2003, p1642). He draws on feminist historians Rousmaniere (1994) and Grumet (1988) to show how "the rules for the expression of emotion for female elementary teachers historically reflect expectations that women show emotional restraint and self-control" (2003, p1645). That means emotions should be inhibited and preferably not be felt or acknowledged at all – especially all emotions that could be directed at and generate discomfort for those in authority over teachers. "Female teachers were supposed to express the image of the ideal woman (nurturing, restrained, patient) in their work with children" and at the same time "to conform to the expectations of the emerging school bureaucracy with its demands for rationality and the control of students and teachers" (2003, p1645). These expectations amounted to contradictory feeling rules both for the classroom and the school. In the classroom, teachers were expected to care for and nurture children but at the same time to control them strictly. In the institution of the school, teachers were expected to exert power over students but be acquiescent to the demands of principals and officials.

Using the data from his self-study, Winograd isolated five feeling rules. At the time of writing his journal, Winograd recorded his reflections as they arose. Only later, after he had acquired the concept, did he recognise certain admonitions to himself or justifications of his emotional responses as arising out of implicit feeling rules that apply to teachers in general. He recognised the rules through his justifications of why these feelings were valid and necessary to the identity of being a teacher. For example, he justified the feeling rule that "*teachers have affection and even love for their students*", as necessary for both professional and personal reasons. Professional, because when students and teachers like each other, they will have more "psychic will" to engage in the difficult and "lengthy work of working through problems". Personal, because "being around people who like each other" is nurturing to one's "sense of self" (2003, p1652). The feeling rule that "*teachers have a sense of humour and laugh at their own mistakes as well as the peccadilloes of their students*" enabled him to like his teacher identity more (2003, p1656). Two feeling rules became obvious because Winograd was not feeling as he was expecting to feel. The feeling rule that "*teachers have enthusiasm or even passion for their subject matter and teachers show enthusiasm for students*" became clear when noticing how he worried about his love for the children being replaced by anxiety and he needed to revive his passion for teaching by focussing on his intrinsic interest in the subject matter (2003, p1653). And his guilt at "not

loving it" and "not wanting to go to work" made him notice that the feeling rule of "*teachers love their work*" is a part of their "corporate identity" (2003, p1655). Yet another feeling rule was discovered because he heard himself provide it as advice for the student teacher he was working with, namely "*teachers avoid overt displays of extreme emotions, especially anger and other dark emotions. They stay calm and tend to avoid displays of joy or sadness*" (2003, p1654). These 'rules' are not a comprehensive or conclusive list, but they capture rules that regulate emotions in a way that many teachers will identify with.

It is worth noting that these five feeling rules are all concerned with the core work of being a teacher in the classroom. They are not scripted by the employer, but speak directly to the identity of a teacher and are necessary for the successful execution of the job. They are thus feeling rules that generate an 'ideal' that is satisfying to live up to and that promotes the achievement of positive emotions in the process of getting the job done. It is also worth noting that Winograd includes no feeling rules about how to deal with the educational bureaucracy. Somehow, that aspect of the job is not considered to be central to being a teacher. But later in his article he describes how dysfunctional his emotional response to the bureaucracy was, as he remained stuck in "dark emotions" without the ability to act and as "whatever anger I was able to muster led nowhere in terms of improving my working conditions" (2003, p1669). This indicates that the historical feeling rule of acquiescence to principals and officials is still very much intact and would require great emotional effort to overcome.

What Winograd adds to Hochschild's original concept is a methodology to begin identifying feeling rules for teachers.[18] By looking at what feelings teachers consider necessary to their job, what they feel good or guilty about feeling, what they wish they could feel more of, it becomes possible to identify the implicit feeling rules and the issues to which they relate. For my study, this can enable me to identify emotional rules that teachers live by in relation to assessment.

[18] Yin and Lee (2011) is the other study that ventured into pinpointing emotional rules, for Chinese teachers: .1 Commit to teaching with passion; 2. Hide negative emotions; 3. Maintain positive emotions; 4. Instrumentalise emotions to achieve teaching goals. The first three are similar to Winograd's rules, while the fourth specifies a deliberate manipulation of emotions, akin to Hochschild's (2003) understanding of the demand for deep acting during emotional labour.

2.4.1.4 "Subverting emotional norms within school cultures"[19] - Michalinos Zembylas

Zembylas (2002b, 2005) starts with Hochschild's concept of feeling rules, and then uses Williams' concept 'structures of feeling'[20] and Foucault's notion of 'regimes of truth'[21] to deepen the theoretical foundations of emotional rules.[22] He uses Williams and Foucault to emphasise the dual nature of emotional rules: that emotional rules are embedded in practices and thus shape the ways teachers think and feel, and at the same time, that emotional rules are open to being subverted and changed because they are historically contingent and the exercise of power is a process within and between people.

I am taking three ideas from Zembylas to fill out the concept of feeling rules:

- for teachers, the emotional rules are generally embedded in the professional norms of a practice
- analysing emotional rules can become a site of resistance
- teachers who live by alternative emotional rules are in a vulnerable position.

Zembylas argues that the means through which teachers' expressions of emotion are disciplined are professional norms: "Emotional rules are often disguised as ethical codes, professional techniques and specialised pedagogical knowledge" (2005, p52).[23] This insight

[19] Zembylas (2002b, p196)

[20] Through 'structures of feeling', Zembylas emphasises that emotions are not particular to individuals but are an aspect of the "general or shared culture" (2002, p190) and are thus a "cultural formation" that "plays a critical part in teacher identity, subjectivity and power relations" (2002b, p189). Using a particular elaboration that Williams provides about 'structures of feeling', Zembylas also argues that the concept enables one to focus on "precisely those particular elements within the more general culture which subvert the social order; that is, they are oppositional to the established hegemony. … The structures of feeling are particular elements within the more general school culture that subvert the existing social norms and rules". (2002b, p195)

[21] Through Foucault, Zembylas argues that teachers are located in particular practices that function as 'regimes of truth' and which contain "the emotional rules, norms, and techniques for acting on the conduct of themselves" (2005, p55). These forms of "control and rules are continually constructed through power relations [in a process in which] power is dispersed, manifest in discourse, and apparent only when it is exercised, i.e. a process, not a possession" (2005, p55). Emotional rules are thus a part of the 'regimes of truth' presented by the practice (and sub-practices) of teaching, and in that, they are historically contingent and open to negotiation.

[22] Zembylas changes the term to "emotional rules", not because he wants to change the meaning of the concept but because he wants to move away from using the term "feeling", which "in psychological scholarly circles refers to the bodily and sensational experiences of an emotion" and he "wants to avoid any confusion" (2002, p200). From my perspective, I take Zembylas' point about not being misunderstood by scholars who are emphatic about using 'feeling' only for the physical component of emotion, but my real reason for wanting to adopt his terminology is that 'emotional rules and labour' slip off the tongue more easily than 'feeling rules and emotional labour'. (Even though the rules are not emotional, they are about emotion, and it would be grammatically more accurate to call them 'emotion rules'.)

[23] This conception of emotional rules appears very different to Theodosius' conception of emotional rules arising from the identity and ethical imperative of the profession. But at an empirical level, maybe they are

situates emotional rules in the practice of teaching. For example, the professional norm of 'objectivity' can be used to justify the suppression of emotion or to motivate a lack of enthusiasm for new forms of pedagogy (or assessment, in the case of my study). Zembylas points out that professional norms and their accompanying emotional rules are passed on by "the discourse about what a teacher should do and what one should avoid", and are also "embodied in the design of the school space, the arrangements of institutional time and activity, and in procedures of reward and punishment of teachers' pedagogies" (2005, p56). The question arises about where professional norms end and emotions rules begin. I want to illustrate the distinction by using the case study of Catherine that Zembylas presents. Catherine was a primary school science teacher who used her own and her learners' feelings of curiosity and enthusiasm to guide her choice of science content and pedagogy. With regard to science pedagogy, the professional norm of her school was to "teach children the scientific knowledge, teach to the test" (2005, p112). The unstated emotional rule was that 'there should be no emotions in a science classroom because science is rational while emotions are irrational'.[24] The expected result was that whatever emotions did arise during the lessons should be ignored or suppressed as disruptive. Catherine's approach turned this order around. Her counterculture started with her following her own emotions of curiosity and enthusiasm about science and fostering excitement and wonder in the children. The emotional rule she lived by was that 'excitement and wonder are good for learning science'. Her professional norm was to use a pedagogy of in-depth, integrated science investigations. While professional norms, emotional rules and actual emotions are thus distinct entities, they form a composite picture. Certain kinds of professional norms will necessitate certain types of emotional rules and lead to the evocation of particular emotions. In the above example, the school's professional norm of science pedagogy inhibited the expression of the emotions of wonder and excitement, while Catherine's insistence on the emotional rule of encouraging curiosity led to a different professional pedagogical norm.

For research purposes, it is necessary to see professional norms, emotional rules and emotions in relation to each other, by, for example, including reflection on emotions and emotional rules as part of any enquiry into professional norms, or by using an analysis of prevailing emotions and emotional rules as the means of challenging a professional norm.

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opposite sides of the same coin, with Theodosius emphasising the ethical ideal while Zembylas emphasises the institutional control of the profession.

[24] Zembylas makes this point as part of his general argument about science teaching and emotions; I am the one applying it to this analysis of Catherine's practice.

Zembylas emphasises the second of these possibilities. As mentioned above, he advocates for teachers to "analyse these rules", no matter that the process might be one of "discomfort" and "emotional labour", so they can become able to "disturb, destabilize and subvert these rules" (Zembylas, 2002b, p206) and "create new emotional rules in a school culture that are less oppressive than the previous ones" (2002b, p203). Zembylas does not present case studies of how this analysis and subversion can take place, but his claim that is it possible remains as a tantalising idea.

What Zembylas does illustrate is that the challenge is not easy. Professional norms exert considerable pressure on teachers to make their emotions conform to what is "appropriate" and "normal" and to let go of emotions that are "inappropriate' and "deviant" (2002b, p200). Working outside of the dominant discourse and the prevailing emotional rules makes teachers vulnerable and frequently feel ashamed. Catherine endured many years of "a sense of powerlessness and personal inadequacy" because her colleagues pressurised her to "achieve normality" and "simply teach science the way it is supposed to be taught" (2005, p126). It was acceptable to be a "professional teacher" who participated in meetings to discuss "the importance of state testing or to interpret the test results from the previous year" or even to "get excited about state testing standards having been exceeded" (2005, p127), but it was not acceptable, in fact shameful, to tell colleagues enthusiastically about children's excitement and wonder during the discussion of a science investigation they were conducting. Catherine suffered "much discomfort and shame" and experienced "disempowerment and feeling discouraged" because her "ideas were not appreciated" and her "feelings were ignored or dismissed by [her] colleagues" (2005, p124). It took her several years, on-going learning and considerable emotional labour to gradually break the cycle of shame, to gain self-esteem and confidence in her pedagogic practice and to feel more "free" emotionally (2005, p125).

Interestingly, Zembylas argues that it is precisely this experience of being the shamed outsider, this

> vulnerability, that provides the turbulent ground on which to negotiate truths (e.g. new emotional rules that are less oppressive), which is a necessary foundation for transformation. (2005, p57)

Without experiencing the vulnerability, discomfort and anger engendered by being outside of the prevailing emotional rules, it is not possible to come to a place of being able to recognise, analyse and question these rules and thus

> to reveal the historicity and contingency that have come to define the limits of teachers' understandings of themselves, individually and collectively. Doing so disturbs, destabilises and subverts these rules. (2005, p58)

So it is precisely the vulnerability of the emotional outsider that is required for the recognition and analysis of emotional rules, which in turn makes it possible to become critical of customary ways of feeling and thinking, and in that way to open up the space for new ways feeling and thinking, i.e. to generate new, less oppressive emotional rules and thus to transform the nature of the emotion exchanges in the school.

How Zembylas deepens the concept of emotional rules is by making visible its inherent tension: that although emotional rules are embedded in the professional norms of teaching and thus deeply shape teachers' identity, thoughts and emotions, they are also a structure that can be challenged, analysed and transformed, if teachers are willing to work with their vulnerability. The 'regimes of truth' can be challenged by a focus on those particular 'structures of feeling' that are in opposition to the established hegemony. This allows him to make a strong claim that even though many professional norms contain emotional rules that are oppressive to teachers and their learners, there is the possibility of using the reflection on emotional rules as a process for challenging and ultimately changing professional norms.

2.4.1.5 The power of emotional rules - Jonathan Turner

Turner (2007) picks up on Hochschild's concept of feeling rules and uses his theory of human emotion (outlined in the first section of this chapter) to show which societal factors will generate what kind of feeling rules[25] and to predict which emotions are likely to result.

Turner reiterates Hochschild's notion that "every encounter is guided by expectations that individuals should feel and express particular emotions" (2007, p172). Then he goes on to specify which social factors have the most impact in shaping the feeling rules (and the emotions themselves). Influential factors are:

- ideologies, in particular the prevailing ideologies and cultures of institutions and social groups

[25] Here I am following Turner's choice of terminology again.

- hierarchical differentiations between higher and lower status individuals, where status can be derived from an individual's position in an institutional division of labour, from membership of a valued or devalued social group, or the possession (or not) of substantial amounts of the symbolic media (money, power, influence, knowledge, love, health) available in the context
- the frame in which an encounter takes place, i.e. the roles that individuals have within the situation and the forms of communication that enable the interaction
- the expectations of justice that people bring to the encounter, i.e. their expectation of what is their 'just share' that they should receive from the encounter. [26]

The prime factors in determining the nature of particular feeling rules are thus the culture and ideology of the social or institutional context, the status and roles of individuals, and an internalised sense of justice. What Turner's elaboration of the concept pulls together is social context, individual position in the power hierarchy and ethics / justice. With regard to individual position, what Turner's examples of feeling rules show, is that lower-status people, who have less symbolic media in hierarchical institutions, always have the feeling rules weighted against them. They are expected to feel and express more unpleasant emotions like sadness, shame and guilt, while higher-status people are entitled to the empowering emotions of anger, pride, triumph and satisfaction (2007, p172-4). As Hochschild (1983/2003) said many years earlier – the feeling rules of most social contexts make it "acceptable for the bottom dog to contribute more" (p84), i.e. to contribute to the positive emotions of people higher up and to accept the negative emotions for themselves. Zembylas (2005) refers to this process when he talks about 'power relations'. The lower people are in the hierarchy, the less they receive a 'just share' of positive emotions during encounters.

Turner then goes on to predict which emotions will come to the fore when feeling rules are not met and how it is that people whose emotions do not conform to feeling rules have to carry "a double burden":

> The person is not supposed to feel or display emotions that are felt, and if these emotions escape cortical censorship [i.e. are expressed], the negative emotions aroused for violating a feeling rule are piled upon the ones that were not supposed to

[26] Ideologies, the hierarchies between social groups, and the frame of the situation were also mentioned as factors by Hochschild (see above). But positive emotion as a symbolic medium and the emphasis on a sense of justice in the interaction is unique to Turner.

> be felt or displayed in the first place, thereby compounding the emotional agony of the person. Since a feeling rule has been violated, and especially a feeling rule tied to a feeling ideology about what is right and wrong in a particular sphere, the person may not only experience shame, but guilt as well. Guilt may lead a person to initiate repair rituals, but if guilt is combined with shame, it will compound the shame – thus increasing the likelihood of repression and transmutation into anger, leading to anger – shame/guilt – anger cycles or to severe depression and/or alienation. (Turner, 2007, p174-5)

This means that breaching feeling rules carries the emotional penalty of shame and guilt for the person who feels responsible for the violation. The shame and guilt are heaped on top of the original negative emotions that caused the violation of the rule in the first place. If the guilt is dominant, the violation can be acknowledged, in which case feelings and actions are used to repair the situation. If shame is dominant, the feelings surrounding the violation can be repressed, in which case it is apparently forgotten and dormant for a while but will be transmuted into anger and erupt later in a similar situation, causing more broken feeling rules, shame and guilt. Shame, anger, depression and alienation are very debilitating emotions to cycle between for any extended period of time.

This understanding of the double burden of compounded emotional agony when feeling rules are broken is interesting in relation to Zembylas' ideal of using emotional rules as a leverage point for change in an institutional culture. Turner's theory predicts that recognising, overcoming and replacing emotional rules is not going to be an easy process. Most teachers will want to stay within the emotional limits set by the feeling rules of the encounter so as not to suffer the double agony of expressing inappropriate emotions and then feeling ashamed of having done so. It feels easier to suppress the inappropriate emotions before they surface. But Turner's theory of repressed negative emotions re-surfacing periodically as intense anger also opens the way to understanding how a sense of resistance can develop. When feeling rules are weighted against teachers by their superiors, teachers will be weighed down by the constant expectation to experience sadness, shame and guilt in relation to their job, interspersed with "periodic spikes of anger" (2010, p195). If teachers don't acknowledge, analyse and break through the grip of these feeling rules, they will become alienated from their profession or get stuck in a cycle of repressing their unwanted/dark/negative emotions, thus experiencing unexpressed shame that periodically explodes into anger.

When I look at the case studies of Winograd and Catherine in the light of Turner's theoretical position, an interesting complexity emerges. In Winograd's case, there were two kinds of feeling rules – one set of rules that applied to being a professional teacher in the classroom and another set that applied to being an employee in a large bureaucracy. The feeling rules for the professional teacher were ethical ideals of love, care and subject knowledge that needed to be lived up to, i.e. values that Winograd agreed with. When Winograd noticed the guilt and shame that meant he was violating these feeling rules, he dealt with the situation by acknowledging the dark emotions and then doing the repair rituals that got him back to a state of enjoyment. The feeling rules for the employee were different – they were about compliance and submission to the decisions of the authorities. They appeared to be more on the periphery of the job – Winograd does not mention them in his list of feeling rules. Nevertheless, they had a profound impact on his job satisfaction, leaving him in "emotional dead-ends" (2003, p1665), "ranting and raving" in his journal (2003, p1667). Ironically, these were the feeling rules he did not violate - in his dealings with the administration, he obeyed the rule of suppressing his anger - but it left him with the shame of helplessness in the face of unjust situations. Would he have been better or worse off emotionally if he had violated the feeling rule of compliance and anger suppression?

In Catherine's case, she was faced with emotional rules and professional norms she felt uncomfortable about, like "you should not let emotions get in the way of science teaching" (Zembylas, 2005, p107) or "a teacher should teach science the way everybody else does in the school" (2005, p109). Catherine spent several years as a young teacher when she felt "like crying all the time, feeling guilty of what I was doing" (2005, p124), unable to "break free from all the restraints" (2005, p125) and learning "to pretend I felt differently, until I became pretty good at saying and showing that I felt one thing while feeling something totally different" (2005, p128). The emotional cost of violating the school's professional and emotional rules "was very high" (2005, p128) and generated much shame in Catherine. But eventually she broke the shame cycle by successfully creating a "supportive emotional tone" (2005, p65) in her classroom and achieving a level of self-esteem where she could calmly assert, "I don't need others to validate what I am doing anymore. My students' satisfaction and growth and my own excitement at what we are doing is enough" (2005, p109). Fortunately, Catherine was resilient enough to overcome Turner's prediction that, if continued over time, not complying with the feeling rules of her school would generate alienation from the job.

So it seems that for teachers, there are two categories of feeling rules. Some feeling rules support teachers' core work and identity and need to be upheld, whereas other feeling rules diminish teachers' professional judgement and need to be challenged if teachers are not to be alienated from their job. If feeling rules (together with professional norms and teacher emotions) are to be used as a focus for leveraging professional change, then more work needs to be done on differentiating between different kinds of rules.

What Turner adds to the concept is:

- an emphasis on how essential feeling rules are to understanding relationships between people in institutional settings
- a new insight about how the expectation of receiving a 'just share' is a central component of feeling rules
- an explanation of how emotionally costly it is to violate feeling rules.

The emotional hook that drew me to the concepts of emotional rules and labour, namely the possibility of analysing, disturbing, destabilising and subverting existing emotional rules so as to have space to "create new emotional rules in a school culture that are less oppressive than the previous ones" (Zembylas, 2002b, p203) has just become a whole lot more multifaceted.

2.4.1.6 Conclusion – Emotional Rules

So what am I taking forward conceptually from this exploration of emotional rules?[27] Firstly, the basic concept that the interpretation and expression of emotions aroused in encounters are shaped by internalised social expectations and that these expectations are socially constructed rules which are determined by hierarchy and social status, culture and ideology, possession of symbolic media and are weighted against the lower-status person receiving a 'just share' of the positive emotions exchanged in the encounter. Secondly, that emotional rules are intertwined with professional identity and professional norms and need to be analysed as part of a composite picture. Thirdly, that violating emotion rules carries a high cost in terms of

[27] In the various sub-sections, I used the term that the respective author used to describe the concept. They mostly followed Hochschild in their use of the term 'feeling rules' (although Theodosius sometimes used 'emotion rules'), except for Zembylas who made a valid argument for changing the term to 'emotional rules' without changing the meaning of the concept (see above). From here onwards, I will follow Zembylas' use of the term, just because it is easier to write 'emotional rules and labour', rather than 'feeling rules and emotional labour'.

shame and guilt, but, if the emotions are worked on, the process can be liberating and thus emotion rules can and need to be challenged as part of a transformation of educational practice or institutional culture.

2.4.2 Emotional Labour

Hochschild defines 'emotional labour' as "the labour [that] requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (2003, p7). It is "the type of work it takes to cope with feeling rules" (1979, p551). Emotional labour becomes necessary when the nature of work changes and jobs require an "emotional style of offering the service as part of the service itself" (2003, p5). Hochschild argues that a focus on emotional labour is important because " it is a dimension of work that is seldom recognised, rarely honoured and almost never taken into account by employers as a source of on-the-job stress" (2003, p153). She makes a distinction between 'emotion work / emotion management' on the one hand and 'emotional labour' on the other. 'Emotional labour' is "the management of feeling" so as to "create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" that is "sold for a wage and has exchange value". 'Emotion work' / 'emotion management' are "synonymous terms" that "refer to the same acts done in a private context where they have use value" (2003, p7). Because professionals don't primarily sell their labour for a wage, but work with commitment to a task, the question arises whether the term is applicable to professional work.

Hochschild makes two distinctions between emotional labour and work/management. Her prime distinction is the one made above – the social space in which it is done and the purpose to which it is put, i.e. that emotion work / management is done for personal, while emotional labour is done for work purposes. She argues that emotional labour involves a "transmutation – the move of emotions from the private to the public realm" (2003, p160). A second distinction arises out of the criteria which she posits for jobs that demand emotional labour. These jobs

- require face to face or voice to voice contact with the public
- require the worker to produce an emotional state in another person
- allow the employer, through training and supervision, to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of the employees (2003, p147).

For Hochschild it was clear in terms of these criteria, that professional jobs do not demand emotional labour because they do not fulfil the third criterion. Professionals might need "to suppress feelings of frustration, anger or fear – and often to suppress feelings of any sort", but although this "can be a terrible burden, it is not in itself emotional labour" (2003, p154). Instead, professionals "supervise their own emotional labour by considering informal professional norms and client expectations" (2003, p153). Here the distinction is one of agency – is the emotional activity voluntary or is it supervised? Hochschild claims here that having agency precludes it from being emotional labour. But just because professionals' emotions are not supervised, and actually, they have the additional requirement of supervising their own emotions at work, does that mean they don't 'labour' under the requirement to manage their emotions in face-to-face interactions with clients whose emotions (and behaviour) they need to influence and shape?

In relation to teachers, different answers to this question have led researchers on teachers' emotions to different choices of terminology. Hargreaves starts off using the term (1998), queries it in relation to emotional intelligence as he goes along (2000) and drops it after a while, making it only a sub-component of his concept of 'political geographies / distance' (2001). Winograd (2003) argues that Hochschild's third criterion is fulfilled for teachers because the "external control comes in the form of cultural expectations", usually subtle and indirect, shaped by a general culture of teaching as well as collaboratively constructed by a particular school (2003, p1647). He thus makes no distinction between emotional labour and emotion work / management – mostly he adopts Hochschild's term 'emotional labour', but uses 'emotion work' as a synonym (e.g. 2003, p1668). Zembylas makes a distinction in terms of process - between 'emotion work' as the "act of shaping, evoking or suppressing an emotion" (2005, p44) or 'emotion management' as the "process of regulating one's emotions" (2005, p50), while 'emotional labour' is the "outcome" (2005, p44) or "consequence of this process" (2005, p50). So he uses 'emotional labour' as his overarching term, but often uses 'emotion work' or 'emotion management' when describing specific strategies used by the teacher in his case study. In contrast, Oplatka (2007) uses the third criterion of employer supervision of emotions to abandon the term 'emotional labour' and to argue that what teachers do is 'emotion management' because the teachers he interviewed "consistently shared the assumption that emotional understanding, caring and emotion displays in teaching are actually discretionary, non-obligatory role-elements" and they "reported having the choice to manage their emotions for their own non-compensated

benefit" (2007, p10). Theodosius (2007) sees the same limitations of 'emotional labour' when applied to the profession of nursing, as the therapeutic support that nurses offer patients is neither a mandatory task that can lead to formal sanction if not done nor is it something they received training for. But she makes a different choice from Oplatka. She keeps the term 'emotional labour', yet expands its meaning through the use of Margaret Archer's concept of 'the inner dialogue' and through her vignettes of the 'reflexive emotion management' that nurses do in practice.

I will follow Theodosius' choice, namely to keep the term 'emotional labour' and to expand its meaning. The term 'emotion work' is neutral and does not capture the sense of inevitable emotional effort that teachers need to make nor the constrained institutional conditions under which they make it. The term 'emotion management' carries the sense of supervising oneself rather than having a growthful inner dialogue with oneself. I want to continue using the term 'emotional labour' because it is emotionally more evocative, but provide an expanded understanding of its meaning.

As part of outlining the expanded understanding of 'emotional labour', I want to take a slight detour to explain why it is a useful and important concept to use when researching teachers' emotions.

2.4.2.1 What generates the need for teachers to engage in emotional labour?

I want to highlight four factors that make it inevitable for teachers to engage in emotional labour – the complexity of teachers' work, the connection between teachers' emotions and their moral purposes, the need for emotional understanding if teaching is to be successful and the transactional needs that all human have. There might be others, or the factors could be grouped differently, but these are the ones that became obvious to me.

The complexity of teachers' work

Emotional labour is an inescapable aspect of the professional identity of teachers' work. Slightly adapting Hochschild's three criteria for jobs that require emotional labour, teachers' work requires them to have

- long-term, face-to-face relationships with learners and colleagues
- the ability to produce motivation for learning and knowledge assimilation in learners, i.e. the ability to produce deep change in others
- the willingness to internalise the professional norms and emotional rules of their profession and then to creatively adapt their emotional responses to the many different situations governed by these norms.

Teachers' work thus requires more complex emotional labour than the service workers studied by Hochschild. They need to manage emotions not just during fleeting contact, but in relationships over time;[28] they need to produce lasting cognitive and behavioural changes in learners, which has been shown (Hargreaves 2001a) to depend, inter alia, on their display of emotional understanding; and they must internalise professional norms and the emotional rules that derive from them to a depth that enables them to become their own emotion supervisors.

This cannot be achieved without on-going emotional engagement, adaptation and decision-making. Decisions, as we have learned from Damasio (2004), can only be made with the involvement of emotions, and complex decisions require complex emotional processes. These decisions, and the emotions that accompany them, place teachers in a vulnerable position. Kelchtermans (1996) analyses how the vulnerability of teachers is generated by three major categories of sources, at different levels of the educational system.

- At the micro-level (the classroom), teachers experience vulnerability in their struggle with the limits of their teaching impact on pupils' learning.
- Principal, colleagues and parents constitute a second potential source of vulnerability at the level of the school.
- Beyond the school, (local) educational policy makers are a third source of vulnerability. (1996, p309)

Relating these categories of sources of vulnerability to Hochschild's requirements for emotional labour at work, there is a good match. At the level of the classroom, the need for teachers to produce motivation for learning and knowledge assimilation in learners leaves them emotionally vulnerable to the limits of their efficacy of producing deep change in others – not all children will learn everything in the curriculum. At the level of the school, the demands of their long-term, face-to-face relationships with children, parents, colleagues and

[28] Research into emotional labour strategies suggests "that having long interactions or less routine interactions resulted in more attempts to actually experience the desired emotions" (Diefendorff et al, 2003)

principals can generate situations of emotional conflict. And at the level of the education department and policy, there are changing and often contradictory professional policies and norms that need to be internalised and implemented. Teachers thus have to manage a complex set of interactions and responsibilities, all of which make emotional demands on them.

The need for emotional understanding if teaching is to be successful

Hargreaves (1989, 2000, 2001a) repeatedly points out the need for emotional understanding between teachers and the other people in their professional world – students, parents, colleagues and administrators. He draws on Denzin to explain how emotional understanding involves a person entering into the field of experience of others, sharing their emotions and coming to meaningfully understand their emotional experiences (2001a, p1059). He argues that successful teaching and learning depend on emotional understanding (made possible by close bonds with students and appropriate working conditions) while emotional misunderstandings lower standards and depress quality (2001a, p1060). Emotional understanding is thus a crucial component of successful teaching.

But emotional understanding is not easy to achieve. It is emotional misunderstanding that is a "pervasive and chronic feature of everyday interactions" (2001a, p1060). Hargreaves is concerned to show that emotional misunderstandings arise "not just because of personal flaws and deficiencies", but because of the social cultures and institutional structures within which teachers work. He identifies various dimensions – socio-cultural, moral, professional, physical and political - of closeness and distance in teachers' relationships with others. It is the stereotypes, beliefs, power relations, norms and structures within these dimensions (Hargreaves calls them "geographies") that determine the extent of closeness or distance, understanding or misunderstanding between people. As a general rule, closeness enables more emotional understanding and thus more positive and energising emotions, while distance generates more misunderstanding, and thus negative and demoralising emotions. But not always – Hargreaves gives examples of emotional misunderstandings increasing when parents and teachers interact frequently (physical closeness), but there are professional, moral or socio-cultural distances that impede understanding. It is in situations of emotional misunderstanding that teachers need to "invest hard emotion work or emotional labour in

achieving greater emotional closeness to or distance from their clients". Thus it is through emotional labour that "teachers make and remake the emotional geographies of their interactions with others but not in circumstances of their own choosing" (2001a, p1062).

The connection between teachers' moral purposes and their emotions

Linking the intensity of teachers' emotions with their strongly held convictions about what is moral and just, is an argument made by Kelchtermans (1996) and Hargreaves (1998, 2000, 2001a), and echoed by Oplatka (2007).

Emotional labour becomes necessary when teachers feel obstructed in their professional purposes for learners. When the opinions and demands of parents, principals and administrators denigrate or interfere with teachers' plans for their learners, teachers become vulnerable in their professional identity and need to engage in emotional labour to maintain their self-esteem. The link to self-esteem is so immediate because teachers' professional decisions are often based on moral principles. Kelchtermans argues that

> Vulnerability for teachers always has political and moral roots. In other words, the emotions in teaching are linked to matters of interests and values. (1996, p314)

He illustrates this through the case study of Nicole, a teacher who was publicly criticised by the mother of one of her students. She was deeply upset about not being trusted, which "meant to her that her professional self and personal integrity were under question". Nicole had made professional "decisions about teaching time and curriculum priorities" which arose from her "guiding principle that all pupils should get optimal learning opportunities and thus extra efforts have to be made in favour of the weaker students". But the mother "challenged this equity norm by insisting on her daughter's individual rights" to complete the entire textbook. This was a conflict between two opposing moral norms – "the teacher's commitment to equity … and the parent's understandable desire for preferential treatment" (1996, p317). Kelchtermans ascribes the intensity of Nicole's negative emotions to the vulnerability evoked by having to "make decisions with moral consequences" (p317), decisions that "involve the need to do justice to children's educational needs (p318).

Hargreaves found that for the teachers in his study, like for Nicole, "questioning of their academic purposes and expertise was the strongest source of negative emotions" (2001a, p

1068). When teachers' expertise, which rests on their moral understanding of what they want to achieve with learners, is not respected, then negative emotions become intense.

> When purposes cannot be achieved, anxiety, frustration, anger, guilt and other negative emotions are the consequence. This can happen when people are obstructed from achieving their goals (e.g. when meetings, checklists and form-filling leave no time to care), when they are compelled to realise other people's goals and agendas that they find inappropriate or repugnant (as in some kinds of mandated curriculum requirements), when they pursue or are required to pursue goals or standards that are beyond their reach (e.g. when learning standards are defined too ambitiously for most children who are supposed to meet them), or when they are unable to choose between multiple goals (at times of multiple innovation and reform, for example). At times like this, teachers lose their sense of purpose – they become literally *demoralised*. (Hargreaves, 1998, p841)

This demoralization and the negative emotions arising from a lack of trust and respect for teachers' decisions has "educationally damaging" (2001a, p1067) consequences. It makes teachers retreat inwards, losing energy and enthusiasm for their work. If teachers want to get out of that negative state, they have to engage in emotional labour.

Oplatka (2007) highlights the positive side of the emotion / moral purpose connection. He found that teachers voluntarily engaged in situations with learners which evoked intense, both positive and negative, emotions, because engaging in these actions fulfilled their moral purposes. Teachers saw it as their "duty as a teacher to deal with the emotional aspects of pupils", to proactively listen and be "attentive to pupil's needs" (2007, p7) and to be empathetic, compassionate and caring "for the student in distress", particularly "with respect to less privileged students" (2007, p8). He showed how teachers feel strongly about their moral purposes and are prepared to labour emotionally to achieve them.

The need for self-verification, which teachers share with all human beings

So far I have argued that emotional labour is a necessary component of teachers' work because of the complexity of what they need to achieve with learners, the difficulties of achieving emotional understanding with their significant others in the educational project and the intensity of the moral and professional purposes that motivate teachers. I now want to

draw on Turner (2007) to describe the fundamental human need for self-verification that shapes people's emotions.

Turner (2007) theorises five "need states" that "motivate individuals to behave in certain ways" (p101) and that "activate and direct the flow of interaction in face-to-face encounters" (p102). These transactional need states generate emotional arousal during and after encounters with other people. Turner lists them as the need to

- verify self and identities,
- receive positive exchange payoffs,
- sense group inclusion (in the on-going interpersonal flow),
- achieve a sense of trust (predictability, respect and sincerity) from others,
- achieve a sense of facticity (inter-subjectivity and the sense that things are as they appear) (p70).

The need for self-verification "is the most powerful force on interpersonal behaviour" (p102) followed by positive payoffs and group inclusion, while a sense of trust and common reality are required for the other needs to be achieved. The general pattern of emotional arousal is the same for all: "when needs are realised, people experience variants of satisfaction-happiness; whereas when they are not met, people will experience negative emotions of potentially many varieties" (p101). For the purposes of this study, I will describe only what Turner writes about the need for self-verification because this need arouses the most intense emotions and because it speaks most directly to the identity of teachers.

For the purposes of self-verification, Turner (2007) distinguishes between three levels of self, which come with different cognitions about the "characteristics of self" and have different emotional intensities of "evaluating self". The centre is the "core self" – the conception that individuals have about who they are in all situations. The core self "represents the basic collage of feelings that persons have about who and what they are, and what they deserve from others in encounters" (p103). It is "the most emotionally valenced aspect of self, and yet, people often have difficulty putting into words just what this core self contains". Turner argues that

> the dynamics of emotion, memory and repression often create unconscious emotions about self to which an individual does not have easy access. The core self is,

> therefore, a mix of conscious and unconscious feelings that have been built up over a lifetime and, by late adolescence, coalesce into a stable self-conception that resists change over an adult lifetime. (p104)

At the next level are "sub-identities" – "emotionally valenced conceptions that individuals have about themselves in institutional domains" (2007, p104) – for example, the sub-identities of a mother, a teacher and a religious worshipper - which together lead individuals to see and evaluate themselves as a particular kind of person. Turner argues that

> Individuals have a much clearer conception of their sub-identities than their core self-conceptions. (p104)

The third level is that of "role-identity or situational-identity – the conception that a person has of self in a specific role within a particular social structural context". Role identities are more situational than sub-identities, for example, what kind of teacher am I when I teach history compared to when I coach tennis? Turner emphasises that

> individuals have the most cognitive access to role-identities, but these identities are less emotionally valenced than either sub-identities or core self-conceptions. (p105)

Thus, depending on which self is being presented, the intensity of emotional reactions will vary. The core self is characterised by the least cognition and the most emotion, while role identities are the best understood and the least emotionally important. There is some interplay between these levels. For example, if a teacher feels that her role-identity as tennis coach is crucial to her sub-identity of teacher (because she is much better at tennis than at history) or to her core sense of self (because in her youth she was a national tennis player), then the emotional stakes will be raised when she presents this identity to others. "As a result, the emotional potential is increased when either sub-identities or role-identities embody a more general self-conception" (p105).

This understanding has important implications for the different intensities of emotional labour demanded of teachers when policy changes require them to make changes in their professional practices. When a new practice touches a teacher at the level of her role-identity, then the change is relatively easy to make because she "can simply make behavioural or cognitive adjustments". But when a new practice is experienced by the teacher as touching her core self, then "deeper and more emotional layers of self are on the

line", which resist change and are likely to unleash "defensive strategies or repression", i.e. deeper emotional processes that are not under the conscious control of the teacher come into play. Turner argues that neither defensiveness nor repression is likely to sustain cognitive balance or "congruence" over the long run, because "repressed emotions increase in intensity and become transmuted into new kinds of emotions that often disrupt social relations" (p106). Thus, when policy changes make demands of teachers' core selves, teachers need to invest extensive emotional labour to embrace these changes if social relations are not to be disrupted.

To summarise, emotional labour is a necessary and inevitable component of teachers' work because they need to

- manage and supervise their emotions in a complex web of relationships
- maintain emotional understanding with other stakeholders in the educational enterprise across physical, socio-cultural, political, moral and professional distances
- struggle to attain their moral purposes for learners
- deal with a work environment in which they do not receive sufficient self-verification and are required to embrace professional changes that involve adjustments at the level of their sub-identities and core-selves.

Having established why emotional labour is unavoidable for teachers, I want to now move on to what is involved in doing it.

2.4.2.2 What is involved in doing emotional labour?

Hochschild (2003) distinguishes between two forms of doing emotional labour – surface and deep acting. These are valuable strategies, but insufficient to capture the forms of emotional labour that professionals need to engage in. In this section, I want to illustrate what surface and deep acting mean for teachers and then add Archer's (2000) notion of 'the inner dialogue / conversation' to extend the concept of emotional labour, so that it becomes more appropriate for teachers.

Surface acting

Hochschild describes surface acting as "pretending to feel what we do not (2003, p33) by "trying to change how we outwardly appear" (2003, p35) so as to create a particular effect. The intention of the 'actor' is not to experience the emotion that is appropriate or necessary in the situation, but to let the 'audience' observe the manifestation of the emotion, i.e. to give the impression of an emotion without making the effort to experience it. Winograd calls it "impression management" (2003, p1648).

Surface acting can be useful to teachers. Winograd describes how he "faked" anger to bring noisy pupils back into line and "rationalised" that a parent who opposed him had valid concerns that should be taken seriously (2003, p1660). Zembylas describes how Catherine made her life in the staff room bearable by "pretending" to agree with what was being said (2005, p128). Hargreaves quotes teachers who "masked" their anger and fear when interacting with parents so that a constructive conversation could ensue (2001, p1073). Surface acting is a useful short term, emergency technique to keep an interaction going.

But, if surface acting is used over an extended period of time, "the emotional cost is very high", leading to "suffering" and "withdrawal" (Zembylas, 2005, p128). Glomb and Tews (2004) found that "emotional exhaustion" was statistically positively correlated to "faking positive and suppressing negative emotions" (p16). Another limitation is that "delicate and deep human feelings are not subject to such technique" (Hochschild, 2003, p38). Take the emotional rules of teachers having love for their students and passion for their subjects as an example. Real 'love' generates enthusiasm and willingness to make an effort, while 'pretending' to love is emotionally draining, making it too burdensome for the teacher to continue the required cognitive effort.

Deep acting

Hochschild describes deep acting as "deceiving oneself as much as deceiving others" about the emotions one is feeling (2003, p33). She outlines two ways of doing it: by "directly exhorting feeling" and by "making indirect use of a trained imagination" (2003, p38) that uses fantasy, memory and the body as a precious resource to stir up or to block out feelings in oneself. The intention is to feel the emotion that is appropriate to the situation, even if one

has to generate it deliberately. Deep acting can be initiated by activating the body, by prompting or exhorting oneself, or by imagining the situation to be different.

Winograd illustrates how the techniques of deep acting came naturally when he wanted his emotions in the situation to change because he believed in / had internalised the emotional rules governing the situation. To lift his mood, he increased his physical activity in the classroom and initiated affectionate physical encounters with students (2003, p1656). When that was not enough, he "cajoled and admonished" himself to feel more positive about his teaching interactions (2003, p1657). And when he struggled to deal with a situation, he used cognitive reframing to shift his understanding of it, like reframing an embarrassing situation as a learning curve so as to regain his self-esteem, or imagining how much worse it could be so as to let go of anxiety, or imagining his own children in the position of his pupils so as to generate compassion in himself (2003, p1658/9). He chose to make his emotions more appropriate to the situation because then he could feel more like the teacher he wanted to be. Zembylas describes Catherine's struggle to "maintain control" over and appropriately express her emotions in front of her colleagues. Because she did not agree with the professional norms of her colleagues, this did not come easily; she "had to learn how to" express less anger and frustration or cut off her expressions of being overwhelmed (2005, p145). Hosotani and Imai-Matsumura (2011) describe how "high-quality" (p1040) Japanese primary school teachers engage in both "direct staging" and "suppression" of their emotions (p1043), making their choices of how to act emotionally depending on their understandings of what the children needed and what was involved in living up to their "ideal teacher image" (p1045).

The question that arises is about the long-term use of deep acting. Is it a useful means of generating desired emotions and managing undesirable ones or does it become a means of self-deception? For Hochschild, deep acting at work can become habitual and self-deceiving, and therefore ultimately self-alienating. That does not appear to be the case for teachers like Winograd and the 'high-quality' Japanese teachers for whom reflecting on their emotions was a conscious and professionally productive choice. Hosotani and Imai-Matsumura even argue that it is particularly the good teachers who have the "emotional competence" (p1046) to manage their emotions in accordance with their ideals of good teaching-learning relationships. This limitation of 'deep acting' to include productive reflection made me grateful to discover Theodosius (2008) and her appropriation of Archer's (2000) 'inner dialogue' to extend the concept of emotional labour for professionals.

Having an inner dialogue

In order to develop Hochschild's concept of emotional labour, Theodosius (2008) draws on Archer (2000)[29] who views emotion as "intrinsically connected to a sense of personal and social identity without losing the centrality of interaction" (2008, p90). She uses Archers' concept of an 'inner dialogue'– an on-going process of interaction with and reflection on one's emotions. "The inner dialogue is the voice inside our head that comments on how and what we are thinking, feeling and experiencing as we go about our daily lives" (2008, p91). It is a "ceaseless discussion about the satisfaction of our ultimate concerns and monitoring of self in relation to emotion commentaries received" (2008, p92).

The inner dialogue continues over time and Archer outlines three phases:

- Discernment: involves acknowledging the emotions (or clusters of emotions) that arise in a changed situation and identifying what concerns self the most, then exploring possible actions in response to the change, based on anticipated reproaches and challenges. The discernment phase is inconclusive and always changing in response to the present situation – its aim is to highlight concerns.
- Deliberation: involves identifying the cost of the enterprise, reprioritising concerns, demoting and promoting various responses, "cutting the coat as the emotional cloth allows", questioning emotionally and cognitively.
- Dedication: involves prioritising which of the initial emotions that arose are priorities and coming to a working balance which can be lived with. This determines the overall cost of the decided course of action in relation to self-worth and self-integrity. (2008, p101/2)

The emotions that were initially aroused by the situation in the discernment phase (first order emotions) may be very different from the emotions the person has generated by the end of the process in the dedication phase (second order emotions). The inner dialogue takes account of "individual concerns, interests and values" (2008, p92), thus the second order emotions "are intrinsically linked to personal identity" (2008, p90). At the same time, the inner dialogue takes account of the professional and emotional rules governing the situation, thus the emotions are "enacted out through social interaction as expressions of social identity" (2008,

[29] I am here describing Margaret Archer's work through Theodosius eyes – which I thought was an accurate portrayal when I later read Archer myself. So I have kept this section as I originally wrote it and am grateful to Theodosius for generating this elaboration of the concept of emotional labour.

p90). In this way "personal identity impacts on and is intertwined with social identity – allowing for individuality within social roles and obligations" (2008, p92).

The concept of an 'inner dialogue' thus brings together individual agency and social norms, shows how thoughts and emotions[30] come together in a process of reasoning around a situation and allows for emotional change over time. When I re-looked at instances in Winograd (2003), Zembylas (2005) and Hargreaves (1991) where teachers expressed emotions about their work, I realised they were in fact illustrations of inner dialogues. These 'inner dialogues' are not indicated as emotional labour in the respective articles, yet they show teachers grappling with difficult emotions and using their emotions and thoughts to reason about their situation. The inner dialogues are concerned with professional issues, with teachers' emotional engagement in their work and are they are necessary for teachers to continue doing their work. They show how teachers have invested their selfhood in their professional roles. Winograd (2003) provides journal extracts to illustrate the functional dimension of his emotions. The extracts show him having a written inner dialogue with himself that involves discernment (I feel chaos and embarrassment / anxious depression), deliberation (I realise that this is unproductive thinking) and dedication (I need to do three things. First, develop curriculum that I am excited about …) (2003, p1661-2). Catherine tells Zembylas (2005) about using her emotions to make decisions in her teaching of science to young children. Her inner dialogue also involves discernment (I'm much more aware of the excitement), deliberation (reflecting on my excitement involves analysing how I approach things, how I think about process and information) and dedication (it made me want to do the best for them) (2005, p100-1). The same pattern emerges when Hargreaves (1991) quotes a teacher on the subject of guilt and the "unending, open-ended, non-completable nature of the work" (1991, p501). First there is discernment (and then you feel guilty about saying 'no'), then deliberation (But you have to learn to say 'no'. And then you run the risk of people saying … What they don't realise is …), ending in a dedication (it is important that if you have a family, to spend some time with them, and not feel guilty about it) (1991, p501-2).

Extending the definition of what is involved in emotional labour to include inner dialogues such as these broadens the concept to include what teachers do naturally in their jobs and thus makes it more useful for professional work.

[30] Both conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions – but that is not my concern in this study.

In summary, for the purposes of this study, doing emotional labour involves an inner reasoning process of discerning the emotions, deliberating what to do and dedicating to an action. The inner dialogue brings together the felt emotions, the emotion rules governing the situation, the desired outcomes for self and the reaction of the other in the interaction so as to arrive at an understanding of the situation and appropriate action. The concept of inner dialogue is not in conflict with Hochschild's concepts of surface and deep acting, but can encompass them. An inner dialogue can be instant, as when a smile gets plastered on the face so as to surface act a good impression, or it can take years, as when Catherine gradually grew in her trust of her emotions and self-esteem. An inner dialogue is often deliberate, as in the deep acting of self-exhortation and imagining, but it can also happen unconsciously. The process can serve the interests of self or be done in the service of others, be they learners or employers. What is at stake for teachers is taking account of their emotions and working with their emotions so as to manage their professional lives.

2.4.2.3 The purpose of professional emotional labour – is it possible to labour for liberation?

Is it possible to labour for emotional liberation at work, or is that a contradiction in terms? Zembylas (2003) offered me a spark of hope when he claimed that

> Developing an awareness of their emotional responses as a valuable source of information about one's self, and using the power of emotion as a basis for collective and individual social resistance, teachers can sort their experiences, their anxieties, their fears, their excitements and learn how to use them in empowering ways. (2003, p121)

I think I would replace the word 'resistance' with 'understanding' or 'insight'. Nevertheless, I agree with Zembylas that developing an awareness of emotions is a valuable source of information about self in the situation, that emotions enable even more powerful insights when they are explored collectively, that when teachers sort, and thus get a handle on, the emotions in their experiences, they can learn to use their emotions in more empowering (or, to use Winograd's language, more functional) ways. I thus want to put forward an argument that for teacher professionals it is not only a possibility, but also a necessity to labour for liberation.

Hochschild excludes the possibility of labouring for liberation at work from her conceptualisation of emotional labour by distinguishing between different purposes for emotion work in different contexts.

> Surface and deep acting in a commercial setting … is not a resource to be used for the purposes of art, as in drama, or for the purposes of self-discovery, as in therapy, or for the pursuit of fulfilment, as in everyday life. It is a resource to be used to make money. (Hochschild 2003, p55)

Hochschild calls it emotional *labour* because the surface and deep acting is done for the benefit of the employer, while the worker gains only money. But, as argued above, that does not apply for professionals who, under the right working conditions, can get the satisfaction of fulfilling their moral purposes. Teachers need their emotions in order to fulfil their purposes and do their jobs well; if they constantly suppress or surface act their emotions at work, they lose energy and become less effective. They cannot afford to ignore this valuable resource for art, self-discovery and fulfilment just because they are at work.

Hargreaves, Zembylas and Winograd all argue that for teachers, emotional labour has two sides. For Hargreaves (1989), it is negative when it involves teachers in "trading in part of the self for the security and rewards that people get from their employers" or when "the conditions of and demands on their work make it hard for them to do their emotion work properly" (p840). It is positive when it is "a labour of love" (p840), a way of being "emotional, passionate beings who connect with their students and fill their work and their classes with pleasure, creativity, challenge and joy" (p835). For Zembylas, emotional labour can be oppressive or liberating (2004, p317). When it is comprised of faking and suppressing emotions, it can cause emotional dissonance and be stressful, demotivating and alienating (2005, p49). Yet it can also be "playful and joyful" (p50) and, more importantly, when teachers are recognised as agents, it can be used to "subvert 'oppressive' emotional rules" (p61). This would involve teachers in "expressing, analysing and reflecting on their emotions" so as to "identify how their emotions expand or limit possibilities in teaching, and how emotions enable them to *think, feel* and *act* differently" (p22). For Winograd (2003), there are two forms of emotional labour in response to dark emotions. He used emotions in a "dysfunctional" way when "dark emotions led to self-recrimination or complaining about others" but did not lead to any action that addressed or resolved the situation (p1662). But he was also able to use dark emotions in a "functional" way when the emotions "alerted [him] to the problem and the need to take some action to ameliorate it" (p1661).

Thus, when teachers do emotional labour only with an eye on their employer (be it education department, principal, parents), then they will experience it as negative, adding to their stress or even alienating. But when teachers are doing emotional labour for their own benefit – exhorting themselves to regenerate their creativity and passion, engaging in inner dialogues to analyse and reflect on their emotions, concluding their dialogues with actions that alleviate the problems their dark emotions made them aware of - then their emotional labour is functional and increases their self-discovery and fulfilment. A liberatory purpose for emotional labour opens up possibilities for new insights into a situation and more productive ways of being as a teacher. "Good teaching is charged with positive emotions" (1998, p835), claims Hargreaves in his landmark article. To achieve that positive charge, it is necessary for teachers to do functional, empowering, self-benefiting and collective emotional labour that engages with the practice of teaching as well as with institutional structures and working conditions.

2.4.2.4 Conclusion – Emotional Labour

This section on emotional labour has made 3 arguments regarding the concept. Firstly, the concept can be used for researching teachers because the complexity of teachers' work will inevitably involve them in labouring emotionally at work in ways which are unrecognised by their employers. Secondly, expanding the concept of 'emotional labour' to include the reflexive process of an 'inner dialogue' engaging in a 'ceaseless discussion in relation to emotion commentaries' makes it more appropriate for use with professionals, and thus with teachers. Thirdly, as much as it is emotional labour for a salary, it is also a labour for self and thus it can be used in empowering ways to benefit self and the moral purposes that teachers want to fulfil with their learners.

2.5 Overall Conclusion

This literature review began with an understanding of emotions as part of the cognitive hardware we use to make decisions and be agents in the world (Damasio, 1994, Le Doux 1999), which opens emotions up to rational investigation, in the same way as beliefs. Emotions were defined as value-laden, intentional and conflictual ways of appraising the world around us and particularly the 'objects' that we see as important to our flourishing (Nussbaum 2001, Archer 2000). Because positive emotions are desirable, they function as symbolic media that are exchanged between people and are often distributed unequally by institutional structures. Although emotions are generally aroused in micro-interactions between people, they can also be directed at and affect institutional and societal structures (Turner, 2007, 2010). In addition, the positive or negative valence of the emotions shapes the motivation and emotional energy available for work that needs to be done in institutional structures.

The literature review moved on to review some studies into teacher emotions, illustrating how teachers' emotions are aroused by their students, their professional identity, educational reforms, their changing roles and relationships with other adult stakeholders, their gendered positions – and in each study, useful insights into the complexities of teachers' work were highlighted. Researching with a focus on emotions appears to enable a complexity in the situation that otherwise remains unseen.

A more in-depth analysis of the few research studies that dealt with teachers' emotions in relation to their assessment practice and accountability demands revealed that assessment lies at the core of the structural vulnerability of teachers, because it always reminds them of the limits of their efficacy (Kelchtermans, 1996). Thus it is understandable that engaging with students about assessment results is stressful for teachers, no matter how well they prepare (Stough & Emmer, 1998); that teachers are sympathetic to failure when it is not the student's 'fault' but tend towards anger when it is (Reyna & Weiner, 2001); and that assessment emotions are shaped by the amount of value ascribed to the outcome as well as the inner control available to achieve it (Pekrun, 2006). Holding teachers accountable for students' results substantially increases their negative emotions around assessment (Hargreaves 1994, 2003, Smith 1991, Stecher & Barron 1999), leading to teacher demoralization particularly in low socio-economic contexts where students have little chance of success, or in contexts

where the external assessments do not correspond with their ideals of good teaching (Smith 1991, Falk & Drayton 2004). Accountability measures that directly assess teachers' work often leave them angry, shamed and 'ontologically insecure' (Jeffrey & Woods 1996, Mahony et al 2004, Ball 2003) or, if functional use is made of the negative emotions, determined to reveal and agitate against the excesses of accountability (Kornfeld et al 2007).[31] Ball (2003) explained how much of the rage and insecurity is a response to the 'fabrications' of teachers' work that need to be produced and thus to a different kind of working culture that accountability measures require. And Hargreaves (2004a) revealed how disgust at failure is the unacknowledged shadow side of public attempts to improve schools.

The fourth section of the literature review attempted to theorise the concepts of emotional rules and emotional labour, on the assumption that these will be useful concepts (in addition to the core concept of emotions as a value judgement in relation to important but uncontrollable 'objects') for the analysis of data through a sociological lens. It clarified that the arousal and expression of emotions is shaped by internalised emotional rules, which in turn are shaped by institutional and professional norms, and that violating the unspoken emotional rules of an institution can carry high penalties of negative emotions. It also clarified that emotional labour is an inevitable process for teachers, who are professionals with complex responsibilities and who need to manage their emotions not only for the sake of remaining employed but also for the sake of fulfilling the professional purposes they want to attain with learners.[32]

I come now to the last section of this chapter – my attempt to pull these ideas together into a conceptual framework that can show the relationships between the various facets of teachers' assessment work and the three main concepts I have clarified.

[31] It also seems to me that teachers are prepared to put more emotional effort into the core of their work, while administration and accountability demands are seen as a distraction and imposition (e.g. Hargreaves 1994, Winograd 2003, Little 1996, Kelchtermans 1996, Revell 1996).

[32] You might have noticed that there is no mention of the literature on Emotional Intelligence. I started my investigations into emotions with reading in that area (e.g. Goleman 1996, 1998, Vermeulen 1999, Perspectives in Education 2003). I found this literature to be very useful in its emphasis on the need for emotional self-knowledge / intelligence alongside cognitive intelligence so as to achieve productive interpersonal and work relationships. It uses brain and social studies research to back up its claim that emotional intelligence needs to be developed at a personal level and taught at schools. But after that it becomes primarily a set of techniques for testing and teaching emotional intelligence, which may be practically useful but has no explanatory power.

2.5.1 Pulling it all together

Henning (2004) argues that at the end of a literature review it is important to create an "alignment of the key concepts of the study" (p26). So in this section I present my understanding of how the concepts and insights about emotions gained from this literature review are related to a teachers' assessment practice. This section is thus a bridge between the literature review and the research design, enabling me to generate a framework for the analysis of qualitative data.

The key concepts (as presented diagrammatically below) are teachers' emotions, the emotional labour of the teacher's professional self, teachers' assessment practice and the assessment policy of the education department. The diagram illustrates how teachers' emotions are shaped by their personal history and educational ideals, as well as the professional norms of the institution and culture they work within and the resulting emotional rules, within a contextual surround that generates background emotions. These emotions generate (and in turn are generated by) the emotional labour that the professional self of the teacher conducts in relation to assessment practice, both actual assessment and reporting on it. The form of this assessment practice is shaped by the assessment policy of the education department, which contains sometimes contradictory strands of formative, summative and standardised assessment.[33] Depending on whether the emotions are understood to be "directed at" (Nussbaum, 2001) or "aroused by" (Turner, 2007) an 'object', the arrows between the professional self and the assessment practice (and policy) could be depicted as uni- or bi-directional. I decided on bi-directionality so as to indicate the sense of on-going emotional labour, as teachers' emotions will change as the policy changes or as they develop different skills of assessment practice, or as their emotional labour leads them to different dedications.

[33] I have subdivided assessment policy into three components – traditional summative assessment, which was the dominant form of assessment in South Africa until the late 1990 and two more recent forms of assessment: formative assessment for learning, which was introduced together with an OBE curriculum, and accountability measures, which involve systemic standardised assessments, league tables and other ways of holding schools and teachers personally accountable for the assessment results of their learners. Both new forms developed out of critiques of traditional summative assessment, but, in my opinion, are moving in diverging directions when seen from the perspective of teaching and learning, so I have not linked them. Nevertheless, the tensions between the demands of these diverging forms of assessment arouse emotions and generate more emotional labour for teachers.

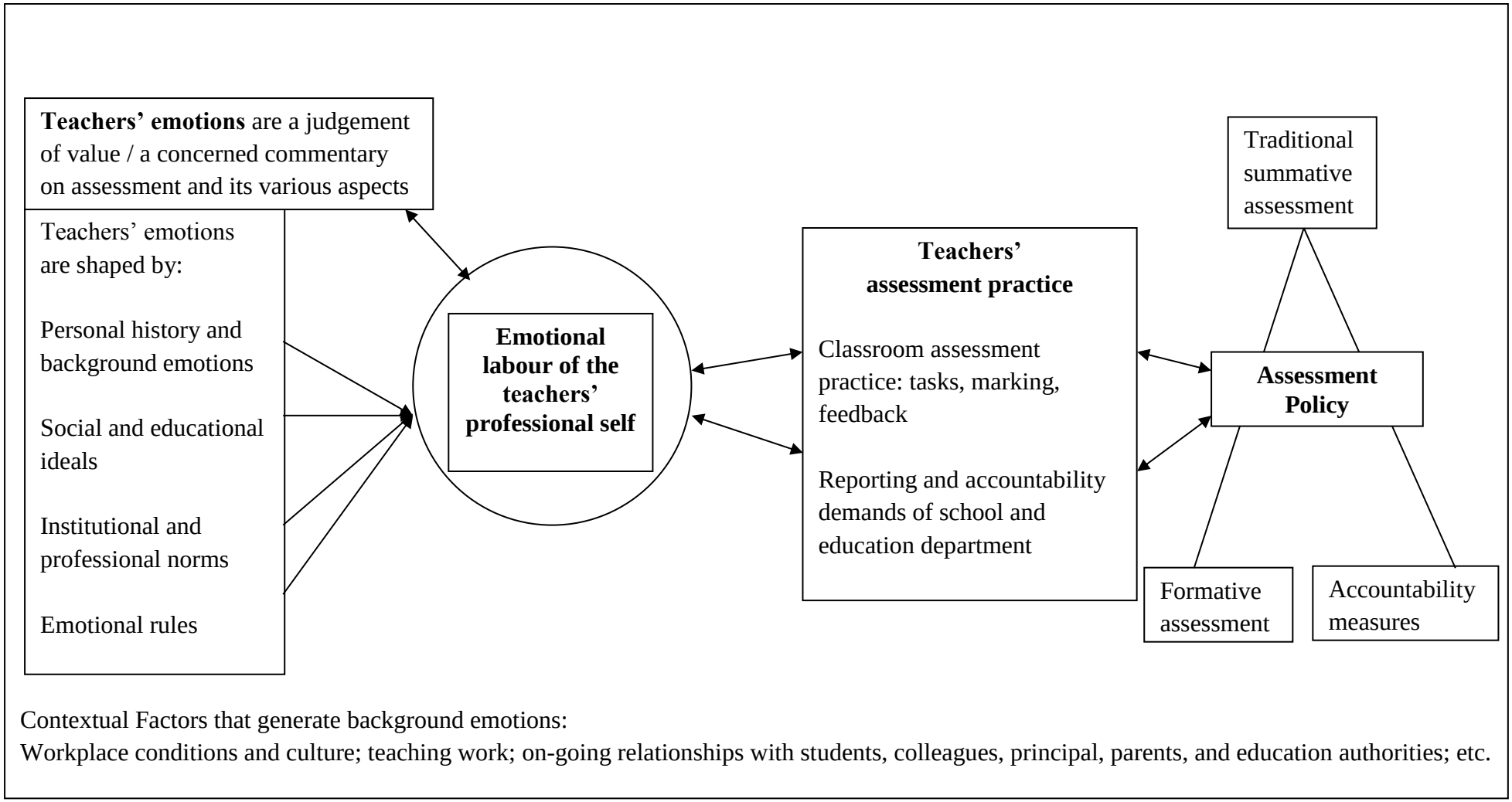


Figure 1: Aligning the key concepts of the study: the flow of teachers' emotions in relation to their assessment practice

Extrapolating from the diagram, I want to foreground two claims arising from the literature in relation to my empirical research questions about teacher emotions and assessment.

2.5.2 Assessment is an emotional practice

The key claim arising from this literature review is that it is worth exploring the ways in which assessment manifests as an emotional practice. It extends Hargreaves' claim that teaching is an emotional practice by claiming that assessment too is an emotional practice. As the facet of teaching which carries the burden of accountability for both teachers and students, and which makes publicly visible the structural vulnerability of teachers (Kelchtermans 1996, 2005), assessment is in fact intensely emotional. The emotional nature of assessment decisions is illustrated by Reyna and Weiner's (2001) finding that teachers respond to what they consider to be the cause of student failure emotionally, which shapes their decision whether to respond with retributive or utilitarian measures. The emotional nature of assessment practice is illustrated by Stough and Emmer's (1998) finding of teachers' anxiety in the face of test feedback.

In order to research the particularities of teachers' emotions with their underlying value judgements and beliefs, it is useful to differentiate between different 'objects' within assessment that teachers have emotions about. Following Palmer's (1993) suggestion that emotions provide us with information about the nature of relationships, and Nussbaum's (2001) definition that emotions are always feelings 'towards' an 'object' which is valuable to the person but not under their control, and are always the expression of an evaluative judgement about the extent of 'flourishing' that the relationship with the 'object' provides, it becomes possible to map emotions against 'objects' and to analyse the values and beliefs embedded in the relationship.[34]

Drawing on the 'objects' that came into the foreground during the literature review of research into teacher emotions, I am suggesting six 'objects' that could emerge during an investigation of emotions towards assessment. These are teachers' emotion

[34] Thanks to Ward Jones from Rhodes University and his presentation at the Wits Department of Philosophy in 2007 for formalising this idea for me.

memories of having been assessed as a student or as a professional, their social ideals regarding the purposes of assessment, their educational ideals regarding assessment policy and what is worth assessing in their subject, their practices of assessing students (setting tasks, marking and giving feedback), the requirement of reporting results to the administration, and the accountability demands of high standard student results. Each of these 'objects' of assessment emotions also implies a slightly different role expectation of the teacher – as individual self, citizen, subject or phase specialist, employee of the school and of the education department. These roles might be associated with slightly different 'objects' for beliefs about assessment, for example, the teacher as citizen will have beliefs about fairness of the assessment system, while the teacher as employee will have beliefs about professional autonomy and authority structures.[35]

It is worth noting that I have included accountability demands on teachers as an aspect of their assessment practice. The literature review (see sections 2.3.3, 2.3.4, 2.3.5) alerted me to the intense emotions evoked in teachers in relation to accountability measures that are placed on their teaching in general and their assessment practice in particular. As assessment results are a key measure used in accountability regimes (Fuhrman, 1999) and accountability processes are given much space in South African curriculum and assessment policy, it seems important to include accountability issues in this study.

Each 'object' of assessment can evoke a range of emotions in teachers. Which particular emotions are prominent in the moment are shaped by the background emotional climate of the social context and the personal history (Nussbaum, 2001). Teachers will have various levels of awareness and reflection in relation to these emotions. Following Pekrun (2006), the nature and intensity of the emotions will provide an indication of how important the object is and where the locus of control and responsibility is situated.

Underpinning this claim of assessment as an emotional practice is the assumption that teaching, learning and assessment are more effective when teachers' emotions are

[35] See Figure 2 in Chapter 3

more frequently positive, thus increasing the sense of social solidarity in the classroom (Turner, 2007, p91). As Hargreaves said, "Teaching is either a positive emotional practice by design which motivates teachers to perform at their best with those around them; or it is a negative emotional practice by neglect where teachers disengage from their teaching and lose quality in the classroom as a result" (2003, p90).

2.5.3 Understanding of teachers' assessment practices is deepened by reflection on the emotional rules and labour involved

The next claim is that emotional rules and labour are useful concepts to use for analysing and understanding teachers' assessment practice more deeply. Zembylas makes the point that:

> Traditional pedagogies (e.g. teach to the test, teach children 'scientific knowledge') include emotional rules that shut down new pedagogies; therefore, implementing new pedagogies involves resisting these emotional rules and encouraging new ones that make teachers feel empowered. (2002a, p97)

This claim is particularly applicable to the inclusion of formative assessment into the purposes and practice of assessment. In South Africa, as in other countries, there is a trend in assessment policy that encourages teachers to make use of formative assessment for learning, in addition to existing summative assessment and being accountable for learner results. Black et al (2003) point to the tensions this dual focus generates, showing how teachers find it depressing and frustrating.

Traditionally, assessment has been (and often still is) summative, providing results in the form of marks which are used to make public the external, institutional 'goods' (MacIntyre, 1982) of schooling. The accepted purpose of summative assessment is grading and selection of students, thus failure for some is inevitable. Summative assessment practice involves indicating incorrect responses, allocating marks and placing responsibility for failure on the students. The professional belief is that assessment must be objective and unbiased, which implies the emotional rule that teachers' assessment be devoid of emotion. Formative assessment, on the other hand,

is more closely related to the internal, developmental "goods" of the practice of schooling. Its purpose is promoting students' learning (Black, 2003). Formative assessment practice involves engaging with students' work in ways that recognise the 'presences' rather than judgement of the 'absences'[36] in their work, and enable understanding through diagnosing student error, giving descriptive, developmental feedback and modifying the teaching and learning activities to meet learning needs. The professional belief is that student failure is a shared responsibility between teacher and student, which implies the emotional rule that teachers must have a sympathetic response to failure and a deep commitment to 'utilitarian' (Reyna and Weiner, 2001) work with students. It is more emotionally intense and requires more positive emotions than what is required by summative assessment. The 'objects' of emotion also shift – for example, frustration might arise in both forms of assessment, but during summative assessment the frustration might be aimed at the student's lack of understanding or effort, while during formative assessment the teacher might get frustrated at her own inability to explain clearly.[37]

Using the language of emotional rules and labour to reflect on Stough and Emmer's (1998) findings provides an example of teachers holding professional norms about feedback that belong to a formative paradigm (teacher feedback on assessment enables student learning), yet experiencing emotions that were aroused by a summative paradigm in which irritation, not curiosity about misconceptions, is the response to failure and student challenge. Teachers engaged in functional emotional labour when using their anxiety to motivate careful planning for feedback sessions. Yet because they were still caught in the emotional rule that emotions in the classroom are to be avoided, they did not acknowledge the validity of their anxiety

[36] I learned this terminology and way of understanding from Lynne Slonimsky

[37] It is interesting to reflect on how both formative assessment and accountability measures have changed a key emotional rule of traditional summative assessment. Traditionally, students are responsible for their summative assessment results, leading to an emotional rule that allows teachers to distance themselves from student failure. Formative assessment disallows that emotional distance by arguing that teachers need to 're-form' their teaching in response to student misconceptions and foregrounding the emotional rule that failure is temporary and part of a learning curve. Accountability also disallows that emotional distance by positioning teachers as responsible for failure alongside their students and foregrounding the emotional rule that teachers must carry the guilt and burden of student failure. Thus both formative assessment and accountability push teachers into engaging and identifying with student failure, albeit for different reasons.

nor their students' anger during the session, so they had no way of dealing with these emotions. If they had, they might have restructured the feedback sessions in ways that could harmonise their emotions with their beliefs about the value of formative assessment by, for example, creating a time separation between the two processes of students receiving the marks and engaging with the feedback, or by talking about the emotions directly.

Thus the second claim states that assessment practices are underpinned by educational ideals, professional norms, and emotional rules that can be brought into awareness through making visible the process of emotional labour, particularly at times when assessment practices are changing. This is a challenge for both teacher development and research. For example, teachers are unlikely to change their assessment practice from formative to summative, unless they reflect on their beliefs, become aware of their emotional rules and engage in some form of emotional labour. Yet, as this literature review has shown, there is little research to illustrate the change process.

It thus seems worthwhile investigating whether and how different emotional rules underlie these two forms of assessment and how the emotional rules shape teachers' emotional labour around assessment. In the above paragraph I was surmising about possible emotional rules – but what are the means of excavating the 'rules' from what teachers say? And what emotional labour is required when using assessment to fulfil different purposes? What are the possibilities of making visible teachers' emotional rules and labour so that their assessment practice can be re-understood? I look forward to the research journey of uncovering and reflecting on the emotional rules and labour of teachers regarding assessment.

2.5.4 Final Reflection

There are times when I wonder whether claiming that and illustrating how assessment is an emotional practice (rather than being only a systemic, objective, standardised, technical practice) is a worthwhile enterprise. But, given that the emotional impact of assessment on teachers is both personally obvious and formally ignored, it seems worth putting the research spotlight on this issue, in the hope that the claim is

accepted and the emotional import of assessment practice starts featuring as a consideration in teacher education, as well as in assessment policy development.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology - An interpretative qualitative study

3.1 Research Paradigm

This section explores the research theory used for this study.

3.1.1 An evidence-based study

McMillan and Schumacher (2006) argue that there is no longer a debate about needing to choose between qualitative and quantitative approaches to assessment, because both can be used validly and reliably for educational research, as long as the design of the research studies fulfils "the guiding principles of scientific, evidence-based enquiry" (p7). These guiding principles amount to technical criteria for good research:

1. the research should pose significant questions that can be investigated empirically
2. it should be linked to a relevant theory or conceptual framework
3. it should use methods that are appropriate and effective in relation to the question
4. it should provide a coherent and explicit chain of reasoning
5. it should in some way be either replicable, generalizable or contribute to knowledge through the logical extension of its findings
6. and the research process must be fully disclosed so that it is open to scrutiny and critique (p7-9).

McMillan and Schumacher do grant that "no single study can satisfy all six of the guiding principles", nevertheless, the expectation is that all are adhered to "in varying degrees" (p9).

In response to the first principle, I would argue that my central research question about learning from teachers' emotions towards assessment is significant in three ways: professionally, because the answers have implications for teacher education and for curriculum / assessment policy implementation regardless of what the findings

turn out to be; in terms of research approach, because investigating the quality, objects, rules and labour of teachers' emotions makes emotions visible in a sociological way; and for the knowledge base of teachers' emotions, because it adds a focus on assessment. In addition, the three critical questions are sufficiently specific to be investigated empirically. Regarding the second principle, the previous chapter has presented key concepts and claims which distilled research issues arising out of the literature review. This methodology chapter will attempt to satisfy principle three by showing how the methods I used for collecting and coding data can be considered trustworthy. In terms of principle five, I think this study is not generalizable and that if it is replicated, the findings should be generally similar but will have different emphases depending on contextual factors. Yet this research does contribute to knowledge through the logical extensions of its findings and by enabling insights that can be used to understand similar situations. Principles four and six shaped my thinking when writing up the data chapters 4-8. In those chapters I disclose how I selected the relevant data and all teachers' words are referenced, so that a critical reader can go to the interviews, check the context in which they were spoken and make a judgement whether I have interpreted the meaning correctly. By providing a "thick description" (Geertz, 1993) of teachers' emotional state of being in relation to 'objects' of assessment, I begin a chain of reasoning that has potentially wide-ranging implications.

To recap, the central investigation of this study is embedded in the research questions:

Research Questions

What can be learned about the practice of assessment from studying teachers' emotions towards assessment?

1. Which emotions arise in teachers 'towards' various 'objects' of assessment and in what ways they are conflictual? (Nussbaum, 2001)
2. What implicit cultural and institutional 'emotional rules' do teachers hold in relation to assessment and what 'emotional labour' do they engage in? (Zembylas, 2002b) [38]

[38] For further subordinate questions, see Chapter 1, Section 1.2.

3.1.2 A qualitative study

In its approach to finding and providing evidence, my research study falls squarely into the qualitative paradigm. The questions above cannot be answered in a quantitative paradigm, which likes to measure and statistically analyse the data. By delving into the emotional realm, I am concerned to "understand the subjective world of human experience" (Cohen and Manoin, 1994, p36). By using concepts from sociology (emotional rules and labour, transactional needs) and critical theory (empowerment, transformation), I am signalling the need to "interpret our experiences and represent them to ourselves" (ibid, p25), which is an "anti-positivist" (ibid, p26) stance. By understanding emotions as indicative of a person's relationships with various facets of their world and investigating these relationships without trying to control the variables, I am using what Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p3) call "a naturalistic approach to the world". To use Denzin and Lincoln's description, I am a "qualitative researcher, who is studying things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p3).

Merriam (2002) summarises the nature of qualitative research by saying it is interpretative with a focus on understanding the meaning that people construct about their world and their experiences, it looks at contextual factors, it can incorporate an emancipatory agenda, it questions the construction of reality and it uses an inductive process that is richly descriptive (p4-5), all of which this study is trying to do. She also emphasises that the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis.

3.1.3 The role of the researcher

Compared to quantitative research, qualitative research is less concerned with the replicability of studies and more with the quality of their explanatory and clarificatory power. This gives a new centrality to the role of the researcher. As Henning (2004) argues, "The researcher is unequivocally the main instrument of research and makes

meaning from her engagement with in the project – meaning that she will present as findings, in other words, what she has interpreted to be the meaning of the data" (p7).

This expanded role demands new levels of skill from the researcher:

> The well-trained researcher will know what to do to address possible bias and to present the "thick description" with ample empirical evidence. She will complement this with a strong theoretical base and a coherent, convincing argument based on both empirical evidence, and the researcher's understanding and logic. (ibid, p7)

To this list Delamont (1992) adds the researchers' ability to be self-conscious and reflexive. She argues that

> each researcher is her own best data collection instrument, as long as she is constantly self-conscious about her role, her interactions, and her theoretical and empirical material as it accumulates. As long as qualitative researchers are reflexive, making all their processes explicit, then issues of reliability and validity are served. (p9)

So how can I show that I was a sufficiently good 'data collection instrument' to be able to undertake this research? What perspectives and skills have I developed through my personal history that was useful in this study of teachers, emotions and assessment? Kilbourn (2006) argues that, "somewhere in a qualitative proposal, it is appropriate to comment on one's own biography as it relates to the study, because this too is an issue of perspective – personal perspective" (p546). I don't know how to 'prove' my skills of reflexivity – that is up to you as a reader to decide. But I can share with you my perspective.

Inspired as a student by Paolo Freire's vision of 'consciousness-raising', I taught basic literacy to adults from 1978 and engaged in therapeutic self-development from 1988. Employed at the Wits School of Education in 1999, I taught courses on curriculum, pedagogy and assessment to in-service teachers. In 2003, during a Life Alignment[39] session with Jeff Levin, I made a personal commitment to paying attention to my

[39] Life Alignment is a vibrational healing technique that works with a person's body, emotions and higher consciousness to heal and enable well-being. See www.life-alignment.com

emotions and what they can tell me about what's important. I have thus been reflecting on adult learning, teachers, assessment and emotions (separately) for several years. This study brings these topics together into a significant question and also satisfies my values of life-long learning, personal growth, social justice and reflective practice.

The initial impulse for the study came from my conflicted emotions around assessment: being assessed makes me feel small and inadequate, while assessing my students' work makes me feel exhausted and irritated. I looked around and found that other teachers in schools and universities also feel uncomfortable around assessment: students panic, lecturers/ teachers groan over the marking load, complaining about how little their students have understood, and everybody in the education system is miserable during the end-of-year examination time. I was puzzled. I accepted that the social and educational purposes of assessment – increased social justice, curriculum reform, accountability and improved learning – are convincing reasons to engage with assessment. But I wondered whether they are enough to justify the undertow of personal unhappiness and lost self-esteem that is generated by it?

I set out to investigate how other teachers felt. I asked a small group of teachers attending an in-service teacher education programme to write and talk about their attitudes to assessment.[40] They unanimously disliked being assessed because "it gives power to someone else to judge my life from a high throne," and several had negative memories of being assessed, "when I did not trust the examiner and disagreed with the interpretation of outcomes". As teachers, they resented having "this large amount of forms and papers to fill in" and worried about "assessing all learners well", experiencing a sense of failure when their students failed. But, equally unanimously, they said that assessment was necessary and should stay a part of school life. They reflected that assessment motivated and pushed them and their students into achievements further than they would have pushed themselves. They loved the joy of successful assessment. They agreed that assessment had an intrinsic value that transcended the social pressure to do it.

[40] Voluntary workshop with in-service teachers, 22 January 2005

I continued reflecting on my own practice. Being an assessor is not easy. I was recently asked to read a Masters proposal in preparation for an oral presentation at which I would be the external respondent. Within 3 pages of reading, my response was: 'this proposal hurts. I hate it. The aim, research question, literature review are confused. It is painful for me to read. How will I tell the student that this is not good enough, in a way that is truthful yet not devastating?' I felt angry at the proposal's level of confusion and irritated with the effort I had to make so as to make sense of it. I wrote curt comments all over the margins and then ignored it for 2 days. When I picked it up again, the concern continued – what exactly was the context of the presentation? How high were the stakes? If I exposed the confusion, would it end the student's career? And could I do that from my 'high throne' of an outsider's perspective? And wouldn't I be insulting the supervisor (my colleague) if I could find so little to redeem the student's work? And what if my judgement was inaccurate? I ended up anxious and confused, and it took confirmation from the supervisor that this was a step in the process, not the final evaluation, that gave me the courage to set down and justify my judgement. It was interesting to note how much emotional turmoil is involved in doing the supposedly objective work of assessment. Also how relational it is, even when I did not know the person being assessed. And how it becomes a process whereby the assessor is also being assessed, albeit by different measures.

Being aware of and sharing my perspective with the reader does not necessarily make me immune against exercising bias in my research methodology and analysis. So in the remainder of this chapter, I hope to show the academic rigour that went into the research process.

3.1.4 Research Type: A basic interpretative qualitative study

Qualitative research can take many different forms. Re-looking at the research into teacher emotions, I found a wide variety of types. Some researchers investigated their own teaching practice, but in each case they approached it differently. Salzberger-Wittenberg et al (1983) used psychoanalytical theory to explore the relationships between students and teachers. Stough and Emmer (1998) used grounded theory, as

they wanted their research process to "yield an inductively derived model for understanding" (p344) the dynamic relationships involved in giving test feedback. Kornfeld et al (2007) created a self-study by interviewing each other. Winograd (2003) analysed his own journals using elements of narrative analysis and auto-ethnography. La Porte (1996) wrote a reflective narrative about her development. Many researchers investigated emotional issues of school management and change through case studies, which could be large (Hargreaves 2001, 2004), small (Jansen 2006, Blackmore 1996) or comparative (Jeffrey and Woods 1996). Others re-mined existing data to draw out the emotional aspects (Oplatka 2007, Louis 2007). Zembylas (e.g. 2002b, 2003a, 2004b, 2005) did a full ethnographic study, which led to many conceptual and some ethnographic case study publications. A few researchers used teacher narrative analysis (Kelchtermans 1996, Winkler 2002). Researchers in the field of educational psychology tended to have a more deductive approach. They set up a theoretical hypothesis and devised activities and scenarios or re-mined data to observe how the theory played itself out (Reyna and Weiner 2001, Schutz et al 2006, Op't Eynde et al 2006, Dunning et al 2005). Many of these studies told teachers' stories - the narrative nature of emotions lends itself to a narrative format of writing.

All of these studies were forms of qualitative research, which, as Merriam (2002) describes,

> is characterised by the search for meaning and understanding, the researcher as the primary instrument for data collection and analysis, an inductive investigative strategy, and a richly descriptive end product. (p6)

But Henning (2004) argues that a claim to be doing qualitative research is insufficient because there are various sub-types of qualitative research and a study needs to fit into a "methodological home" (p30). A research study needs to form a "coherent whole" (p3) with regard to the type of question, the language used, the methods of investigation, the analytical constructs, the philosophical (ontological and epistemological) underpinnings and the researcher's reflexive knowledge. So what is my 'methodological home'? I did not find an answer to this question in Henning's categorization of hybrid types of qualitative research, but I found Merriam's categorizations to be useful.

Merriam (2002) suggests three overarching theoretical perspectives that shape the various types of qualitative research: "understanding (interpretive), emancipation (critical and feminist), and deconstruction (postmodern)" (p4). My study was primarily concerned with understanding how individual teachers experience their emotions when they interact with assessment, but it contained a critical element in its analysis of emotions in response to accountability demands and through its intention of generating emancipatory insights for research participants and readers. Merriam then further categorises qualitative research into 8 basic types (p6-10). A 'Basic Interpretive Qualitative Study' uses the general qualitative approach of understanding how participants make meaning mediated through the researcher, with an inductive strategy and a descriptive outcome, without emphasising any particular aspect of the method. A 'Phenomenology' study "focuses on the essence or structure of an experience" (p7) by building complex meanings out of simple units of experience. 'Grounded Theory' is concerned to inductively derive a substantive theory from the data, using a particular process of data analysis. A 'Case Study' is "an intensive description and analysis of a phenomenon or social unit, … i.e. of a bounded, integrated system" (p8). 'Ethnographic Studies' are defined by how they interpret the data. Because they look at the culture, i.e. "the beliefs, values and attitudes that shape the behaviour of a particular group of people" (p8), they present "a socio-cultural interpretation" (p9). 'Narrative Analysis' uses stories and first person accounts of experience as the data, using psychology, social relations or discourse as the lens through which to analyse. 'Critical Qualitative Research' examines assumptions that limit our ways of thinking, so we can become empowered to change our social contexts and ourselves. It is concerned with uncovering unequal power relations in the larger systems of society. 'Postmodern Research' emphasises "uncertainty, fragmentation, diversity, and plurality" (p10), and contests the generalizations, affirmations of trustworthy evidence, criteria for valid research and intentions for bringing about change through qualitative research.

Following this categorization, my research study can be classified as a basic interpretative qualitative study because I sought to understand and then mediate how participants made meaning, without emphasising any particular aspect of the method. Yet it also incorporated elements from other types of qualitative research. Like a phenomenological study, it sought to focus on the structure of emotional experiences;

like Grounded Theory, it let the data 'speak' and generate categories for analysis; like an ethnographic study it was concerned with the beliefs and attitudes expressed by people in a broader educational context; like a critical study it was concerned with emancipation through using the study of emotions as a tool to open up new ways of thinking; and, like in a narrative analysis, teachers' stories were important data. Nevertheless, it remained a basic interpretive study because it does not use a particular method of analysis, but rather uses themes gained both from the literature and the data itself as a basis for analysis.

3.2 The Research Process: Dialogical interviews with a purposive sample

3.2.1 Changes of plan

The original plan was to involve about 12 teachers in 4 focus group interviews, and then to embark on a 6 month engagement with 3-4 teachers selected from the initial group. Instead, I interviewed 19 teachers in 7 focus groups (one focus group turned into an individual interview by default). It emerged in the process that teachers were being generous in giving me their time and had little interest in embarking on a longitudinal process. I also realised that working over an extended period of time with issues that were so personal and deeply felt would involve me in psychological questions and therapeutic situations that I was not qualified to handle. By focusing my analysis on the social relations highlighted by teachers' emotions, the 7 focus group interviews gave me enough data to answer my research questions.

3.2.2 Sample

The sample of participating teachers was self-selected and purposive, with some characteristics in common (being committed teachers, teaching in senior phase in public schools) and others showing maximum variation (subjects taught, socio-economic status of communities surrounding the schools). Purposeful sampling involves selecting "information-rich cases for study in-depth when one wants to

understand something about those cases without needing or desiring to generalise to all such cases" (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006, p319).

In order to create the groups, I approached former post-graduate students whom I knew to be committed teachers, explained my research project and asked if they were interested. They responded with enthusiasm. I gave them copies of the invitation, the permission letter and the interview questions, and asked if they could find two colleagues they respected from their school to form a focus group. This gave me three focus group interviews and one individual interview.[41] The other three groups were arranged with the help of a friend of my sister, the wife of a colleague and a principal in my PhD study group. In this way I worked with focus groups that exemplified functional urban schools that served learners from a range of socio-economic backgrounds, and with teachers who came voluntarily, were interested in the topic and who knew and trusted each other – thus making them information-rich cases.

These are the focus groups, the school type and the teachers[42] in each group, starting with the teacher who organised the group:

Name of group	Type of School	Names of Participants
P Group (PG)	Very well resourced school	Theresa (T), Charlotte (C), Lynn (L)
D Group (DG)	Well-resourced school	Danielle (D), Cheryl (C), Vicky (V)
R Group (RG)	Well-resourced school	Cuvanya (C), Perusha (P), Josie (J)
S Group (SG)	Special Needs school	Susanne (Sus), Sandy (S), Katarina (K)
K Group (KG)	Poorly-resourced school	Khumbula (K), Ntokozo (N), Thobile (T)
M Group (MG)	Very poorly-resourced school	Hlubi (H), Mathoto (M), Joyce (J)
C Group (CG)	Dysfunctional school	Celiwe (C)

Table 1: Name and composition of the focus groups for interviews

[41] Not all the teachers asked were able to find colleagues – in one case the colleagues were put off by the offer of a free session with a psychologist in the permissions letter (as demanded by the ethics committee) because they thought that meant the questions must be unpleasant. (The fact that they already had a copy of the questions made no difference.) In another case the colleagues did not arrive on three occasions, so it became an individual interview.

[42] These are pseudonyms. But I kept the first letter as well as the ethnic flavour of each person's name. The teachers all agreed to the pseudonym.

All but one of the teachers (Cheryl) were employed in public schools.[43] All but one (Celiwe) were employed in functional, well-managed schools, i.e. both formerly white schools and 'schools that work' as described by Christie et al, (2007). Nevertheless, there were noticeable socio-economic differences between the schools, judging by the state of the school building, the resources available for teaching and the homes in the surrounding community.[44] Groups P, D, R worked in socio-economically relatively well-off 'suburban' schools that contained a diversity of race and class, while groups K, M, C taught in low socio-economic status schools in the 'townships', attended only by 'black' children, but still with ethnic diversity and some socio-economic differences. Group S turned out to work in a 'remedial' school, so although the school building was sound and situated in a relatively well-heeled area, the children came from a wide range of socio-economic status homes.

All but one of the teachers (Josie) had seven or more years of teaching experience, so they have been teaching long enough to be affected by changes in curriculum and assessment policy. All taught in the senior phase, i.e. grades 7-9, but those who taught in grade 7 tended to also teach in the intermediate phase (grades 4-6) while those who taught in grade 9 also taught in the FET phase (grades 10-12). They taught a wide variety of school subjects. Their ages ranged from 25 to 57.

As a group, they enjoyed teaching "most of the time".[45] Only one older teacher (Susanne) answered with a clear "no", and she had resigned to leave the profession. Most experienced teaching as "rewarding" and "fulfilling", as "essential to the future success of our country" and found it "good to work and assist the community", but several were explicit that they "loved working with the kids" but not the "insane demands of the paperwork". Eleven would recommend that their children become teachers, because of the intrinsic rewards and the importance of education in the

[43] See Appendix 1 for the biographical and demographic data form teachers were asked to fill in and a tabulated collation of the data they gave about themselves, their schools and their commitment to teaching.
[44] See Appendix1, Table 2 for the information teachers gave of the socio-economic status of their schools and its learners. I also visited 6 of the 7 schools – either for the interview or to deliver draft chapters for comment. I don't have statistics about the socio-economic status of the areas surrounding each school – but it was visible from the size and building materials of the surrounding houses. Johannesburg is a city with great differentiation of wealth between suburbs (rather than within a suburb).
[45] See Appendix 1, Table 3 for the source of these quotes

development of the nation. Eight would not, because the salary is low, teachers are not recognised, the administration is stressful and the learners are getting more undisciplined. The energy that kept them going was the "motivation they received from learners", the "positive interactions with pupils and colleagues", "learners who return and thank you for making a difference in their lives" and "sharing knowledge with learners". They wanted to "do good work and assist the community" so that "lives become better every day". Four of the teachers mentioned "needing the salary", but their motivation to work came from their interaction with learners and their sense of making a valuable contribution.

Based on the self-description in the biographical data, I refer to these teachers as a group of 19 committed teachers. It is important to emphasise that this research is situated in an urban context and drawing on a pool of teachers who took their jobs seriously and made the effort to continue learning. As a group, they enabled me to record the beliefs and emotions of committed teachers working within the framework of a functioning system.[46] They did not heroically fight against all odds to change the lives of their learners and community, but they were committed to doing a good job, wanted to make a difference and invested their life energy in their profession.

3.2.3 Focus group interviews

The first of the seven focus group interviews took place on the 6th October 2008 (P group) and the last on 25th May 2010 (M group). The venue and time for the interviews were negotiated so it was convenient for the participants. Three groups met at their school (K, R, M), while four groups met in coffee shops (P, S, C, D) after school hours or, in one case, on the weekend. The interviews lasted between one to two and a half hours.

The questions prepared for the focus group interviews were inspired by themes from the literature, were open-ended, were structured as topic areas with sub-questions and

[46] Group C was the group that did not come together, despite several attempts to meet and real enthusiasm from Celiwe, the organising teacher. It was only after the (individual) interview that I found out the school was totally dysfunctional.

invited participants to tell their stories and reflect on their emotions and beliefs.[47] The questions covered the following topics: participants' values and feelings regarding assessment, memories of assessment, emotions towards various aspects of assessment practice, namely assessment policy, students, marking, report writing and accountability, and dealing with emotions. All participants received the interview schedule beforehand, together with the letter explaining the research and the consent form.[48] Henning (2004) advises that "the research theme, or the unit of analysis of the study, should NOT be included in the questions directly" because the answers to the questions will not contain the meaning that participants give to the theme (p79). Yet I did not follow her advice – I decided to make my research focus explicit prior to meeting the teachers because I wanted teachers to reflect beforehand on what they wanted to say. I intended the interviews to be a mutual professional exploration.

The focus group interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed by a professional. The transcripts indicated each time a person spoke and for referencing purposes, I counted every response (not lines). Each response received a reference number, which was then used to reference the quotes. The referencing system is as follows: first the initials of the group name, followed by the number of the response, followed by the initials of the teacher's name. So, for example, PG16-T means that the quote is taken from the P Group interview, it is the 16th time that someone is speaking during the interview and the teacher speaking is T for Theresa. When I was asking question, it was referenced as: group name, response number and I for interviewer. To clarify what I mean, here are some examples:

Reference	**Name of Group**	**Number of the interview response**	**Initial of person speaking**
PG16-T	P Group	16	T for Theresa
MG18-I	M Group	18	I for interviewer
DG461-D	D Group	461	D for Danielle
RG664/6-C	R Group	664 and 666	C for Cuvanya

Table 2: Referencing system for quotations from the data

[47] See Appendix 2 for the interview questions that teachers received beforehand and which I followed during the interviews.
[48] See Appendix 3 for the invitation letters and consent form.

Because focus groups involve interaction between participants, the facilitator needs to be skilled in managing group dynamics, like managing turns between speakers, arbitrating between different opinions or summarising the discussion so far to check for correct understanding or to prepare for the next question. As an adult facilitator and teacher educator for many years, that was not too difficult for me. It also helped that participants had read the interview questions beforehand and had reflected on specific memories or particular issues they wanted to raise. I intervened as little as possible, generally asking the next question when the energy had run out on the previous one, occasionally asking for clarification or more detail on an issue, or I reflected back or summarised the main points on an issue. Once or twice I contributed a concept from the research literature (e.g. PG20-I) so as to open up and encourage more discussion on an issue. I adapted my words to engage with the people in front of me, so the detail of the wording and the follow-up prompts depended on the participants' responses, but I do not think that I changed the intention or impact of the questions.[49] In this dialogic form of interviewing "data cannot be 'spoilt' by either the interviewer or the interviewee, who are both authentically engaged in a discursive practice" (Henning, 2004, p68).

The focus group interviews were a useful method of gathering data about how teachers feel in relation to assessment. My experience supported the claim that

> By creating a social environment in which group members are stimulated by one another's perceptions and ideas, the researcher can increase the quality and richness of data. (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p360)

Compared to the one individual interview, the focus groups yielded far more ideas, because the teachers engaged in intense conversations with each other, sparking off each other and using the interview as an opportunity to explore ideas they had not verbalised before. They picked up on and elaborated each other's points, completed each other's sentences to show agreement and explored my questions from various angles before they let them go. This fulfilled my intention for the interviews to provide an opportunity for dialogue, shared "knowledge making" (Henning, 2004, p67) as well as "some reciprocal understanding as meanings emerge during the course

[49] See Appendix 4 for an exact comparison between the questions in the interview schedule and the words I said during the interviews for groups P and S.

of the interview" (ibid, p68). For me as a researcher, the focus groups were a more efficient and productive strategy than one-on-one interviewing.

Although these focus group interviews were once off, they functioned in many ways the same as in-depth interviews. Henning (2004) argues that in-depth interviews are a "face-to-face interaction between an interviewer and an informant, and which seeks to build the kind of intimacy that is common for mutual self-disclosure. In-depth interviews are long in duration" (p74) and offer advantages in terms of the researcher gaining insight into the knowledge and understanding of the participants, with conversation flowing more "naturally" and "rapport developing as the process continues" (ibid, p75). But they have their challenges. Maintaining the relationship requires tenacity and commitment from the researcher, as well as the ability to inspire the participant to continue. One should also remember "there is no intimacy without reciprocity" (Fontana and Frey, 2000, p658).

There were several reasons why the conversations flowed so naturally during the focus group interviews. There was a willingness to speak openly from the beginning because the participants knew and trusted each other, because I came to them through a colleague they trusted and because they had read the questions that would be asked. I also created a safe space in which any emotion was acceptable by listening intently and affirming what they said, so they tended not to censor themselves. I shared my research purposes openly so there was reciprocity of intimacy. For example, I opened up my emotional ambiguity about the value of assessment so as to encourage participants to feel free with whatever opinion they held and to engage with the complexity of the issues (PG1-I). I introduced myself by giving my personal motivation for engaging in this research topic (RG1-I, KG1-I, MG18-I). In the D group (DG40-I), I mentioned I had interesting initial findings and would tell them after the interview if they were interested. When they asked me for the findings later (DG461-D), my answer extended the conversation by another 30 responses from the teachers. In addition, the topic itself generated a level of openness. Being asked about their emotions, in contrast to their opinions, gave teachers permission to be more personal, more self-reflective without being guarded all the time. It provided a safe space to talk with friends rather than a performative space in which one needs to say 'the right thing'. They felt they could "represent their 'real selves'" rather than

"what is socially acceptable and for public consumption" (Theodosius, 2007, p15). Thus, as a result of beginning with some trust and then building trust throughout the process, participants generally became more open-hearted as the interviews progressed.[50] At the end of the interview conversations, members of several groups (P, R, K, S) spontaneously expressed their appreciation of the process and the learning that had taken place. Cuvanya captured it best: "It's been interesting. You know, we are colleagues, we teach together, we are friends together, but we've never interacted on this level. I think it's amazing that as teachers we can learn from each other in this way. So I think it was a very beneficial exercise" (RG664/6-C).[51]

3.2.4 Maintaining the Relationship

Although the interviews were once off, I maintained my relationship with the participating teachers over time. I sent (emailed, posted, hand-delivered) them work for comment at four moments in the research process: each teacher received the transcript of their group interview, then chapters 4, 5 and 6 describing teachers' emotions in relation to the 'objects' of assessment, then chapters 7 and 8 on the emotional rules and labour of teachers together with the literature review of those concepts, and finally, the draft analysis chapter. Wanting them to feel accurately represented in the final PhD, I asked for comment on accuracy or additional insights.[52] The transcripts were accepted as is, with one positive comment.[53] Chapters 4, 5, 6 received feedback from eleven teachers - three responded in writing and eight on the phone, with me taking notes of what they said.[54] For chapters 7, 8, I received written feedback from four and oral feedback from two teachers. The draft analysis chapter was sent out for their information – I had no more time to incorporate new feedback. I used their feedback to edit the data chapters, to provide evidence of the

[50] The story of dealing with emotions in Chapter 8 is a perfect example of this process.
[51] Comments from other groups: "I quite enjoy these focus group things, I must say, because it does allow you to vent your frustrations in a positive manner" (PG112-T). "I think it was wonderful, thank you Carola, that we could actually come together and speak, and it was very enlightening to hear my colleagues speak and to realise that we actually go through the same things" (SG151-Sus). "I wonder, we have talked so much. … From what you have said today, I've learned a lot. … That will also help me to assist those learners who have the same problems in my classroom" (KG244-TH).
[52] See Appendix 5 for the letters requesting feedback.
[53] After reading the interview transcript, Khumbula told me, "I felt revived by the chance for self-expression without fear of being victimised".
[54] See Appendix 6 for teachers' feedback on Ch. 4/5/6 and Appendix 7 for feedback on Ch. 7&8.

trustworthiness of my analysis[55] and to support claims I made in the analysis chapter. Having lived with their voices in my head for so long, it was good for me to periodically hear their real voices as well.

3.3 Data Coding and Analysis: A thematic content approach

3.3.1 Analysing qualitative data

During my reading in the field of teacher emotion, it was not so much the process of data analysis that fascinated me, but the results of it. The power of researchers' work lay in the conceptual insights they provided through the data, for example, the structural vulnerability of teachers (Kelchtermans, 1996), emotional rules and labour (Zembylas, 2005), the functional and dysfunctional use of emotions (Winograd, 2003), the conflict between beliefs and emotions (Stough and Emmer, 1998), the connection between teachers' moral purposes and their emotions (Hargreaves, 1998) and Jansen's (2006) insight that emotional balancing is not an achievement but an on-going struggle. For me, the gift of research lies in the contribution to theoretical understanding that is drawn out of the data analysis.

Nevertheless, the question arises as to how theoretical insights, or pieces of "substantive theory" (Henning, 2004, p114), are arrived at. Do the researchers start with them in the form of an intuitive hunch, and then find them confirmed in the data? Do they grow out of the literature to become a conceptual lens through which the empirical data is viewed? Do they arise out of the open coding of available data? It is difficult to tell, as published articles generally provide a "reconstructed logic" to emphasise the insights attained (Kilbourn, 2006, p569), rather than the original logic of the process. Whatever the order of the process, it is clear from their short sections on methodology, that these researchers worked in great detail with large amounts of qualitative data to achieve their theoretical insights.

[55] These comments are presented and discussed in the section on trustworthiness later in this chapter.

Henning (2004) contrasts two kinds of qualitative data analysis (p104-126). The first are analyses that require specific and detailed coding and categorising of data, be they focussed on content, discourse, narrative or conversation. With each form of analysis, the codes are focussed on a slightly different aspect of the text.[56] In qualitative research, coding is the technique required to ensure reliability, like collating numerical data is for quantitative research. In that case it becomes possible to understand content, discourse, narrative and conversation forms of analysis as all generating different types of codes, which need to be put through the coding process to become categories, in the same way as various numerical data sets need to be compared and analysed statistically for quantitative research to be reliable. The second kind of qualitative data analysis consists of techniques that provide a global overview of the range of themes in the data, like concept maps, word portraits, stories or verbal landscapes, as well as "triangulation, ordering and sorting categories, analysing discrepant or negative evidence, constructing visual representations, and conducting logical cross analyses (McMillan & Schumacher 2006, p396). Global analysis techniques don't chunk the data into code-able pieces but instead network the patterns of themes and ideas, requiring the "interpretive abilities" (Henning 2004, p110) of the researcher to create a new, insightful whole. "Patterns are plausible explanations when they are supported by data and alternative patterns are not reasonable" (McMillan & Schumacher 2006, p396). Global analyses can be used to prepare for coding, can be used on their own, or can be a supplement to coding analyses, as appropriate.

In sum, regardless of methodological approach, it is the precise coding that ensures the reliability of a global pattern, a theme-finding analysis or the development of a 'substantive theory'. Coding can be done per line or in units of meaning, like a phrase, sentence or paragraph. It can be done manually or using computer-aided

[56] Content analysis draws its codes from the literature in the discipline. Discourse analysis creates codes that enable the researcher to see "how the discourse was produced and how it is maintained in the social context" (p118), like recurring metaphors, concepts, symbols, and language formulations. Narrative analysis uses codes for the structure of the stories, how the narrators position and portray themselves or whether there are recurrent archetypes. Ethno-methodological conversation analysis has codes for the understanding of participants by looking at the sequence, timing and turn taking of conversation, and the implied identities and roles of the people involved. All of these forms of analysis chunk the data by using codes, which they then sort into categories of valid findings. If working in a Grounded Theory frame, these categories may be further networked and integrated into patterns, which can then provide a coherent explanation and argument for "substantive theory" (ibid, p114).

qualitative data analysis software, like Atlas.ti. In this study, I coded and organized the data into themes (derived from the literature and supplemented by the data) to do with emotions, resulting in a thematic content analysis.

3.3.2 The process of coding for themes

3.3.2.1 Generating the initial codes

The conceptual framework I drew out of the literature review for my proposal gave me the beginnings of a coding system for a thematic content analysis. In that way, my coding decisions started off by looking for particular themes. As Bernstein (2000) says, "without a model, the researcher can never know what could have been and was not" (p135).

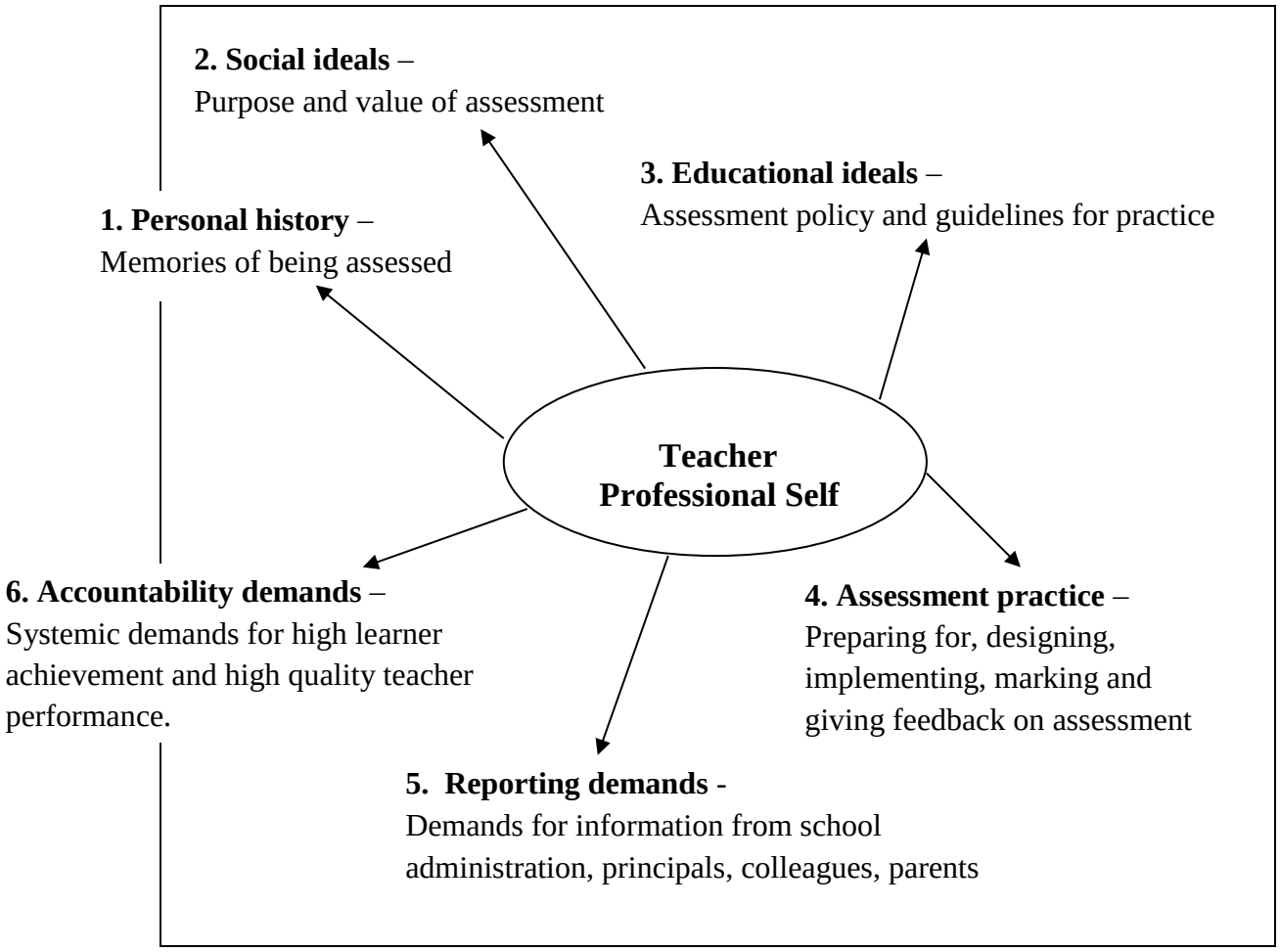


Figure 2: Model of 'objects' of assessment that teachers might have strong emotions about

My primary model was Nussbaum's (2001) theory of emotions as evaluative judgements in relation to the salience of external 'objects' as elements in our own scheme of what it means to flourish in our world. So, attempting to answer the critical question about which emotions teachers experience in relation to various 'objects' of assessment, I began with identifying 'objects' that were salient in the assessment literature. These 'objects' arose out of my interpretation of assessment literature (Shepard, 2000; Black & William, 1998; Black, 2003; Joffe, 1993), accountability literature (Winch & Gingel, 1996; Darling-Hammond, 1989, 2004; Fuhrman, 1999), readings on teachers' emotions (Stough & Emmer, 1998; Reyna & Weiner; 2001; Hargreaves, 2004a; Jeffrey & Woods, 1996; Mahony et al, 2004) as well as my own experience as an assessor. I thought that having a scheme of 'objects' towards which the emotions are directed would be a useful organising tool for codes.

Yet, in my enthusiasm when the first interview (P Group) came in, I suspended the object codes and instead experimented with using emotions as the organising tool. I pulled out teachers' verbalised emotions and looked at what they were expressing these emotions about. But I did not get very far with this ordering. Firstly, the teachers in P Group did not verbalise a range of emotions but only the most obvious intense negative emotions, primarily stress, frustration, irritation, so the range of emotions was narrow. Secondly, the list of objects under each emotion did not cohere into any pattern and the same object could appear under all three emotions. I also tried the 'global overview of a range of themes' approach, but there were too many possible interpretations and too much data to gain an overview.

So I slowed down, loaded the interviews into Atlas.ti and began a rigorous process of coding each response.[57] Returning to the idea of coding for 'objects' of assessment, I started with codes taken from the above framework, like 'personal history' (object 1), 'purpose and value of assessment' (object 2), 'assessment policy' (object 3) 'marking' and 'giving feedback' (object 4), 'colleagues' and 'principals' (object 5), 'reporting demands' and 'department officials' (object 6) etc. Some of these 'objects' were aspects of assessment practice (like marking or report writing), while others were

[57] Responses come from one person at one time, i.e. they are whatever one person says before the next one takes over, be it a phrase, a sentence or an extended collection of sentences to make a point. Each response has a reference number, as described in section 3.3.3.

people, i.e. significant others (like students or principals) whom teachers need to deal with in relation to the practice.

In addition, I coded for the presence of 'strongly expressed emotions', regardless of which emotions were being expressed. Initially I coded for strongly expressed emotions only when a teacher directly used emotion words. But teachers were often being emotional without using an emotion word, and their tone of voice did not translate into writing, so it might appear as if they were talking *about* something rather than *with* feeling. So I needed additional markers. Eventually I settled on following characteristics of the teachers' speech as imbuing a response with strongly held 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. I kept the indication of laughter in the quotes, as laughter often signified that teachers were saying something that was important to them but they were a bit embarrassed to say
7. One body movement: when teachers dropped their arms and heads onto the table, which signified feeling burdened or exhausted (which I commented on during the interview and thus recorded)
8. Silence, i.e. the request to talk off the record.

Using the language of discourse analysis (Martin and Rose, 2003) the first two characteristics can be called "attitudinal lexis" (p39), i.e. they are vocabulary items that express an emotional attitude. The words themselves carry the emotions. The next two characteristics consist of "intensifiers" (p38), i.e. words that indicate gradations of intensity of feeling. Metaphors (p41) are a subcategory of attitudinal lexis, which, through their vividness, have an amplifying effect. The last three

characteristics are physical rather than verbal expressions of emotions, which occurred infrequently and which I noted but hardly used, as my focus was on the verbal expression of emotion. Working in a sociological framework, I took teacher's expressed emotions at face value and was careful not to impute emotions that were not expressed.

3.3.2.2 Generating Additional Codes

The data soon showed me that many things teachers said could not be captured through the codes I had generated from the framework of six objects. So began a process of generating new codes that described the data but still fitted the conceptual frame of my study.

Some new codes developed because teachers talked about their assessment practice in slightly different ways than what I had anticipated. For example, 'assessment practice' was too broad a code, as many different activities are involved. Without proper foresight, I had assumed teachers would talk about preparing for, designing, implementing, marking or giving feedback on assessment, but they used different language. They spoke about 'teaching' a lot, about the 'portfolio tasks' from the department and about the language problems their learners encountered with these tasks. They spoke a lot about their learners and the diversity of learners they were working with. In response to their language, I needed to generate new codes that were closer to their concerns but still fitted into the framework of 'objects' that I was working with. Out of that process came new codes to describe 'assessment practice' in more nuanced ways, like 'enabling learner achievement' which focused on the purpose of teaching and 'learner characteristics' which captured how they saw their learners.

I developed other codes as a way of describing assessment issues that concerned the teachers themselves, like 'self-image' or 'being judged'. These new codes captured statements that exposed the vulnerability of teachers and how they saw themselves in the assessment situation. Yet other codes developed because teachers raised topics that were slightly outside of my focus on assessment but I thought were worth

capturing because they had a bearing on how teachers felt about their job, like ‘image of the profession’ and ‘working conditions’.

There was another code I generated early on, called ‘judgement’. It did not fit directly into any of the 6 ‘objects’, but I was alerted to judgement as a core function of assessment by Weiner et al (1997). While deciding on which responses to code for ‘judgement’, I realised there were two aspects of judgement: the effect of a judgement on the recipient (e.g. when a teacher talked about a judgement made of them during their schooldays) and the process of making a judgement (e.g. when a teacher was worrying about making fair judgement of their learners’ work). So I sub-divided the ‘judgement’ code into ‘making it’ and ‘being judged’, which then fitted with the ‘objects’ of ‘assessment practice’ and ‘personal history’.

The codes for capturing emotions took a while to generate. I started with ‘strongly expressed emotions’ (SEE), as described earlier. But once all the sections had been coded, it became important to distinguish exactly which of the ‘objects’ in each section was being referred to with strong emotion. So I generated SEE sub-codes, which directly link strong emotion with a particular object. For example, I was trying to allocate an ‘object’ to the strongly expressed emotion in the statement: ‘The emotion is: you know that you've done your very best in the classroom, that you have tried everything you can and yet the kid is still not achieving. And somehow that makes you, as the teacher also, feel somehow inadequate’ (PG18-C). Was that a strongly expressed emotion in relation to self-image, in relation to learners, in relation to teaching? I eventually realised that the ‘object’ of this sense of inadequacy was learners’ achievement as the teacher was feeling inadequate because the kid was not achieving. So I created a new sub-code, ‘SEE-learner achievement’, that encompassed the relationship between teachers, learners and assessment results, which then involved me in going back to previously coded sections so as to check which needed re-allocation.

Another later development was coding for specific emotions. I generated these codes when writing up chapter 6, which describes teachers’ emotions in relation to accountability demands. Based on Turners’ description of the four primary emotions, these codes became necessary for ordering the logic of the chapter.

I returned to coding twice more when writing the analysis in chapter 9. The first time, I reread the interviews looking for cases of "causal attributions" (Turner, 2007), where teachers attributed a cause for the quality (or lack) of learner achievement, allocating the causes to self, learners or the education system. The second time, I looked for responses that spoke to the "structural vulnerability" (Kelchtermans, 1996) of teachers, allocating each quote to whether it enabled or threatened teacher's access to the "internal goods" (MacIntyre, 1982) or "moral rewards" (Santoro, 2011) of the practice of teaching.[58] In both cases, I returned to deriving codes from the literature, because I needed to quantify and make more specific the ways in which the data spoke to these issues.

The table below presents the final list of primary codes used to code all the interview data, as well as the frequency with which they occurred. The first column contains the 'objects' of assessment that I used as a framework for capturing the emotions, drawing on Nussbaum (2001). The second column contains the initial codes I predicted would describe the 'objects', while the third column contains the additional codes generated to more fully describe the 'objects' as the teachers saw them. Noting whether each code was concerned with practice or significant others helped me to recognise the focus of the code, i.e. whether it was something that teachers did as part of their work or whether it focused on their relationship with other people. Some codes were separate topics that I wanted to record in case I could use them later. You will notice that I did not use codes to pinpoint instances of emotional rules and labour. Although these concepts are key to my conceptual framework, they are analytical constructs that do not lend themselves to a one-to-one correspondence with particular statements.

[58]I re-read all the interviews and allocated the structural vulnerability codes to already existing sections by deciding whether or not a response was indicative of having access to or struggling to maintain access to internal goods. 'SV-access to internal goods' was allocated when teachers were in harmony/integrity with their purpose of enabling learner achievement, i.e. they were reflecting on the value of what they were doing, they expressed satisfaction with their job, they were interested in what they were doing no matter how challenging it might be to achieve. 'SV-access threatened' was allocated when teachers were thrown off course, i.e. they felt their struggle was too hard, they were losing hope, they no longer knew what to do to improve the ability level of their learners, or they struggled to maintain the integrity of their focus on learner achievement because of interference from outside demands or put-downs.

Final list of primary codes		
Framework for coding emotions towards 'objects' of assessment	**Initial codes used to describe the 'objects', as predicted by the framework / literature (Internal language of description)**	**Additional codes used to describe the 'objects' as inspired by the data (External language of description)**
Personal history (1)	Personal history *(separate topic)* (42)	Judgement – being judged *(self & significant other)*(29)
Social ideals (2)	Purpose & value of assessment *(practice)* (45)	Self-image *(self)*(87)
Educational ideals (3)	Policy *(practice)*(63)	Teaching *(practice)*(15) Image of profession *(significant other)* (31)
Assessment practice (4)	Assessment tasks *(practice)* (22) Marking *(practice) (*67) Feedback *(practice)* (34)	Enabling learner achievement *(practice)* (48) Comparison with pre-OBE assessment *(practice)* (42) Language *(practice)* (13) Judgement – making it *(practice)* (42) Learner characteristics *(significant other)* (91) Dealing with failure *(self and significant others)* (68)
Reporting (5) and Accountability (6) demands	Reporting demands *(practice)* (67) Principal *(significant other)* (12) Colleagues *(significant other)* (33) Parents *(significant other)* (15) Department *(significant other)* (84)	Cluster meetings *(practice)* (6) Portfolios / Common Task Assessments *(practice)*(22) Working conditions *(significant other)* (46)

Capturing emotions	Strongly expressed emotions (SEE) (299)	Striking metaphors *(useful list)* (37) About emotions *(separate topic)* (70) My research purposes / methodology *(separate topic)*(20) *Sub-codes for strongly expressed emotions*: SEE – purpose and value of assessment (7) SEE – policy (24) SEE – marking (46) SEE – feedback (18) SEE – reporting demands (34) SEE – department (58) SEE – image of the profession (16) SEE – learner achievement (81) SEE – judgement (26) SEE – working conditions (13) SEE – about emotions (9) Assertion – anger *(specific emotion)* (72) Aversion – fear *(specific emotion)* (39) Disappointment – sadness *(specific emotion)*(28) Satisfaction – happiness *(specific emotion)*(3)
Additional Analysis	Attribution (89) Structural Vulnerability (146)	*Sub-codes:* Attribution – problem (5) Attribution – system (35) Attribution – learners (37) Attribution – self (43) *Sub-codes:* SV – access to internal goods (46) SV – access threatened (100)

Table 3: List of final primary codes[59]

[59] See Appendix 8 for an Atlas.ti generated alphabetical list of all the primary and secondary (i.e. co-occurring) codes used, as well as their frequency.

3.3.2.3 Allocating (and re-allocating) the codes

All interview responses were coded; none were left out. But the length of the sections allocated to a code varied – at times a section consisted of one response, at other times it covered several sequential responses on the same topic.

Once I had decided on the length of a section, I kept that section intact. If another code was subsequently allocated to a response in that section, the code was allocated to the whole section. All of the sections were assigned several codes depending on the practice and the significant others which the section dealt with, e.g. the same section could be coded with 'strongly expressed emotions', 'marking', 'feedback' and 'learner characteristics'. When telling their experiences or making their arguments, the teachers were generally talking about several assessment 'objects' in relation to each other and in relation to their emotions, so it required multiple codes to preserve the complexity of the story. The meaning of a story and its interrelationships between emotions and 'objects' would have been lost if I had allocated only one code to each section by sub-dividing responses into minute sections that dealt with only one issue. Thus sections were allocated between 1 and 9 co-occurring codes, depending on the complexity of the story being told. [60]

Allocating codes turned out to be a long and reflective process. Deciding on how long to make a coded section, which code to allocate, which combination of codes best described the section, re-allocating codes on reflection the next day, all involved me in a haze of creative confusion. The memo feature on Atlas.ti became valuable, as it enabled me to record my reasons for making a decision or to write my way through the confusion. The examples of coding allocation decisions below are taken from those memos.

I noticed that when allocating codes I needed to be very careful to code for what the teachers were talking about, not for what themes I thought were framing their talk. For example, the code 'image of the profession' developed in response to what teachers in P group were saying about the public perception of the profession, so I used it again when coding the responses of R group. But later, when re-looking at my coding, I realised the R group teacher was talking about the tension experienced by teachers between discipline, teaching and assessment, not

[60] See Appendices 9.1 – 9.7 for the coded interview transcripts.

about how outsiders see the profession, so I had to re-allocate those sections to 'enabling learner achievement'. That incident of initial mis-coding made me concerned to ensure that I deeply understood the teachers' perspective on what they were talking about.

The code of 'strongly expressed emotions' (SEE) was relatively easy to allocate, because I had clear criteria for recognition. The dilemmas began when I generated the SEE sub-codes and used them to decide on exactly which object the strong emotion was directed at. In the beginning I simply allocated SEE sub-codes to several 'objects' in a response – like allocating both 'SEE-feedback' and 'SEE-judgement' to a personal history anecdote about the emotional devastation caused by a teacher who did not take care with his marking of projects. But once my supervisor advised, that, in order to make the networks of codes more clear, I should allocate only one SEE sub-code to each section, I faced constant dilemmas. For example, when a teacher complains that it's irritating because the policy documents are confusing, which makes others think that teachers are incompetent, but nobody actually knows what's going on with policy (PG36-C) - is that strongly expressed emotion in relation to policy or in relation to self-image? The immediate emotion is anger against the confused policy documents, but the reason for the anger is that the policy makes 'us' appear incompetent, which indicates an underlying fear generated by the threat to self-image. I eventually gave it the sub-code 'SEE-policy' for the primary emotion and left the emotional subtleties for discussion in the data chapters.

The process of code allocation was interwoven with the process of code generation. At the beginning of coding, I generated many codes from the data in an attempt to capture the many 'objects' in teachers' emotional world. But towards the end of the coding process, as I started generating networks of codes so as to understand the connections, I found that there were too many codes for a coherent picture. So I rechecked all the sections, de-linking any code that was not absolutely necessary so as to diminish the number of co-occurring codes for each section. I also deleted infrequently used codes (like SEE-learner attitude, SEE-colleagues, SEE-formal assessment) and re-allocated those sections to other SEE sub-codes. Yet no matter how systematically I worked, some sections remained with more than one SEE sub-code.

In sum, the process of code allocation involved a three step process: allocating a code to all the 'objects' that teachers were talking about in a section, deciding whether or not their

emotions towards the 'objects' were strongly expressed, and allocating an SEE sub-code to the exact 'object' which the emotion was directed towards.

Initially, this felt quite far removed from the original intention of mapping teachers' emotions in relation to their social ideals and the other overarching 'objects' specified in the conceptual framework. But then my supervisor helped me to understand that the 'objects' which arose from the literature were an "internal language of description" (Bernstein, 2000), while the codes arising from the data were an "external language of description" that would help to further differentiate the theory. And, as Table 3 above shows, it became possible to align the two types of codes in relation to the framework for coding emotions towards 'objects' within assessment.

3.3.3 Generating networks

Once all the sections were coded, I learned how to use the Atlas.ti network feature to create connections and patterns that would help me to understand the emerging story numerically. A network provides a number count that illustrates which codes are involved in an issue and how many coded sections are allocated to it. These numbers were useful and enabled me to see relationships between codes that I had not expected, or that confirmed my hunches to be correct. Nevertheless, because it was not completely possible to eliminate all co-occurrences of SEE sub-codes, the statistical aspect of the evolving story remained fuzzy around the edges.

The table below illustrates the numerical relationships between all the sections coded as strongly expressed emotions and their sub-codes. Of 299 sections,[61] the largest number (81) of strongly expressed emotions was directed towards learner achievement and the smallest (7) towards the purpose and value of assessment.[62] This network of the code 'strongly expressed emotions' together with all its sub-codes on Atlas.ti formed the basis for ordering and

[61] If you add up all the sub-codes, you will find that there are 332 sections in the combined SEE sub-codes, 34 more than the total of 299 for the strongly expressed emotions code. That is because, in spite of my best efforts, a few of the quotes had two sub-codes. Sometimes teachers talked about learner achievement and marking or making a judgement and giving feedback in the same breath and I could not subdivide the quotes without losing the story of the response.

[62] The number 11 behind the 299 means that the code 'strongly expressed emotions' has 11 sub-codes, while the number 1 with each sub-code means that they are attached to only one main code. These numbers are irrelevant to my findings, but Atlas.ti did not allow me to edit them out.

analysing the interview data. There were many other sections coded with the same objects, but the emotions in them were not strongly expressed, and so they stayed in the background of this study.

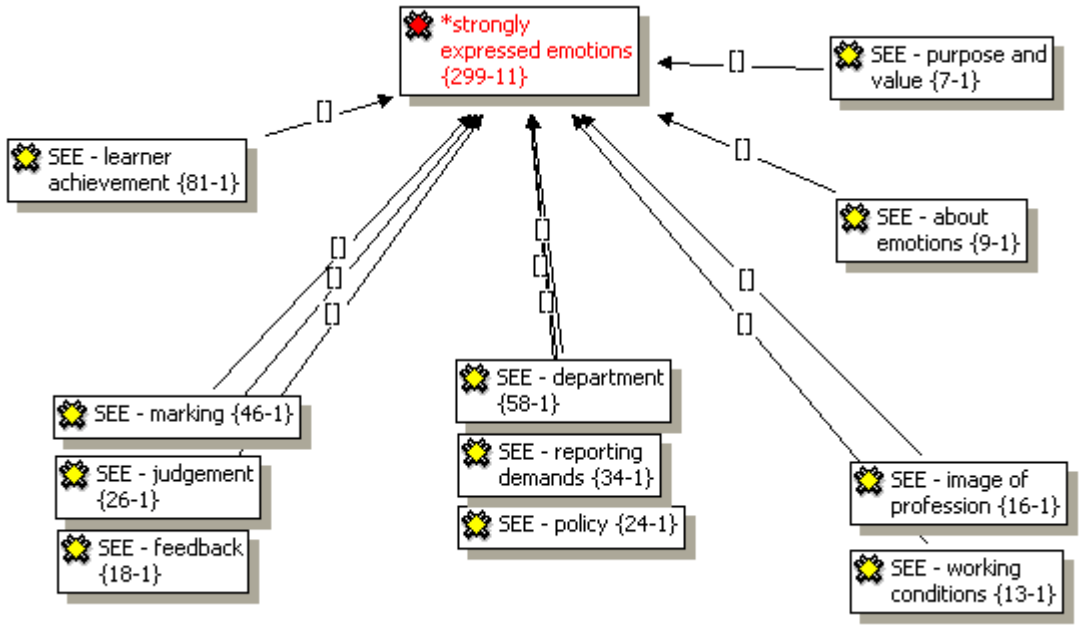


Figure 3: The network of 299 coded sections that contain strongly expressed emotions and what 'objects' the emotions are about

In generating this network, I found that of the 299 sections with strongly expressed emotions, 81 were coded SEE- learner achievement, which was substantially more than 46 sections for SEE-marking and 58 sections in the sub-code SEE-department. I thought it is significant that numerically, teachers' assessment emotions are primarily concerned with learner achievement, and only after that with the department and with their assessor-role in the form of marking. This threefold distinction of a focus on learner achievement, assessment practice and accountability is an important finding. I used the distinction to cluster the sub-codes, i.e. I grouped strongly expressed emotions about marking, judgement and feedback into the cluster 'Doing Assessment' and grouped strongly expressed emotions about the department, reporting demands and policy into the cluster 'Accountability'.[63] That shifted the numerical balance – although the sub-code SEE-learner achievement individually still had by far the most number of quotes, as a cluster it ended up with less than the clusters of 'Doing Assessment' (90) and 'Accountability' (117).

[63] Again, Atlas.ti did not allow me to edit the network view to include headings for the clusters, so you can only see the clusters physically, without an indication of their overall label.

This threefold distinction provided me with the structure of the initial data chapters. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 each explored the sections in one of the clusters, starting with learner achievement and ending with accountability. Of the remaining sub-codes, the sections coded 'SEE-purpose and value' were incorporated into the discussion of emotional rules about assessment-in-general in chapter 7, while the 'SEE-about emotions' sections were incorporated into chapter 8. The sections coded as strongly expressed emotions on the image of the profession and working conditions were not used at all, as they took me too far away from the focus on assessment.

3.3.4 Finding the 'Story'

There are five data chapters containing the emotion stories of teachers. The first three (Chapters 4/5/6) are conceptually based on Nussbaum's theory of emotions, and explore the significance of teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to learner achievement, assessment practice and accountability, i.e. the three main themes that emerged from coding the 'objects'. The next two chapters (Chapters 7/8) use the concepts of 'emotional rules' and 'emotional labour' as a lens to explore teacher emotions more deeply. Chapter 7 excavates the emotional rules of assessment, then illustrates the emotional labour of a teacher grappling with formative assessment, ending with a comparison of two very different schools in terms of the emotional labour of dealing with the failure of summative assessment.[64] Chapter 8 captures the emotional rules and labour through which teachers manage the intense emotions they experience. At the beginning of each data chapter I describe the selection and numerical frequency of the codes used. Presenting the selection within with each chapter, rather than presenting it here in the methodology chapter, adds to the coherence of those stories.

For chapters 4/5/6 I worked with all the sections that were coded for that 'object'. Once the network process had clarified which sections were included in a chapter, I drew out which issues were being discussed in those sections. I did that by looking for all the other codes that co-occurred with the SEE sub-codes I had identified for the chapter. I looked for patterns of frequency among the co-occurrences, first removing unnecessary co-occurrences and then looking for the themes that emerged. For example, when planning chapter 4, the

[64] 'Dealing with the failure of summative assessment' has a deliberate double meaning: summative assessment inevitably involves the failure of some learners, which is a reality that teachers struggle with, and the way in which the education department is implementing summative assessment is failing the teachers.

strongly expressed emotions about learner achievement (SEE-LA) co-occurred most frequently with self-image (38), enabling learner achievement (18), learner characteristics (15) and marking (15). This pattern of co-occurrences enabled me to understand that the unfolding drama of learner achievement involved how teachers' self-image is shaped by the outcome of assessment (learner achievement) as well as by the process and experience of being an assessor (learner characteristics and marking). Writing up chapter 5 followed the same process. I selected the sections allocated to strongly expressed emotions about marking, judgement and feedback as the basis for the chapter and then ordered the chapter by noting the co-occurrences and drawing out the issues that these sections were concerned with.

Chapter 6, on emotions towards accountability issues, was intellectually and emotionally the most difficult chapter to plan because I struggled to weave together the range of emotions about a range of departmental objects within assessment. With 117 sections, it was a large amount of data to work with. I struggled with the ordering principle – should it be ordered according to 'objects' or according to emotions? For this chapter, I added another layer of codes that assigned each section to one of the four basic emotions (Turner, 2007, p7): satisfaction-happiness, aversion-fear, assertion-anger and disappointment-sadness. I also needed to collate all the co-occurrences because I needed to understand how these emotions related to the key objects of accountability – department, reporting demands and policy.[65] I discovered there were only three instances of satisfaction-happiness, all related to policy, in the 117 quotations. Emotions towards the department officials and reporting demands attracted only, and very intense, dark emotions. As a result, the chapter needed to be written twice. The first time I intended to order it by emotions, but veered off into an ordering by 'objects' because that was the only way I could get a handle on all the sub-stories. My supervisor's response was: 'this is too logical – you need to re-order the chapter by intensifying emotions'. So I did. I took the detailed quotes and stories from the first draft and rearranged them from those emotions that are most productive for action to those that lead to the most withdrawal from action: starting with satisfaction, then moving on to anger, intensifying fear and disappointment, ending with the alienation that emerges when anger, fear and disappointment arise together. It was a process in which intellect served intuition –

[65] For a full description of the ordering process, see the beginning of Chapter 6.

during the writing I felt the emotions in my body and slowly, slowly wrote my way into the heart of the pain.[66]

Chapters 7 and 8, which illustrate emotional rules and labour, were easier to manage, in that I used less sections and the 'objects' were not as diverse. There was also a key difference in my approach: rather than working with all the coded sections related to an 'object' and drawing the story out of what was presented in those sections as I had done in chapters 4/5/6 I was free to select sections that fitted with my intention of wanting to illustrate emotional rules and labour. In chapter 7, I used the sections coded as 'purpose and value of assessment' to analyse the emotional rules of assessment in general. To illustrate the emotional rules and labour of formative assessment, I drew on teachers' 'personal history' responses that dealt with receiving feedback and I worked primarily with Theresa's responses about giving feedback. To write up the emotional rules and labour of summative assessment, I re-coded all the interviews looking for indications of 'dealing with failure'. In chapter 8, I worked with the sections coded 'about emotions', but I pulled out Sandy's responses into a story and used the responses of other teachers as ways of confirming or contrasting with Sandy's choices.

Overall, I used most of the responses made during the interviews. The only 'objects' of strongly expressed emotions that I did not engage with were 'image of the profession' and 'working conditions'. These were indicated by codes that came up from the data and contained interesting emotions and perceptions, but were too far out of the range of my research questions.

Chapter 9 integrates literature and data to answer the research questions by presenting analytical claims about teachers' emotions towards assessment. Towards the end, (as described in section 3.3.2.2) I found myself re-coding yet again, so as to sharpen my insights into structural issues that evoke the emotional labour of teachers. Using codes to find ever different angles on the story carried on for a surprisingly long time.

[66] For an example of the free writing I did to explore the meaning of that pain, see Appendix 10.

3.4 Trustworthiness: reliability, validity and ethics

In order to be worth anything, research needs to be trustworthy. That involves the research being comprehensive, transparent and evidence-based in its description of all the phases of the research (rationale, theoretical grounding, method, findings, analytical claims and concluding reflections) as well as being ethical in its intention and execution.

Merriam (2002) provides a clear description of the basic requirements for reliability, validity and ethical issues that make for trustworthy evidence in qualitative research. She emphasises the importance of a detailed audit trail, making the method transparent. She suggests that a research study needs to show up issues of reliability, internal validity, external validity and ethical issues.

- Reliability is established through consistency and dependability of data and the process of analysis.
- Internal validity is established through triangulation of data sources or methods of confirming emerging findings, as well as through participant checks, peer review and an analysis of variant cases that challenge one's interpretation.
- External validity is about the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to others, so it requires that the researcher provides enough detail of the context for readers to decide which findings might apply to their context or not.
- Ethical issues are related to issues of reciprocity and whose voice is heard in the relationship between researcher and participants, so it becomes important to describe the researcher's assumptions, the dilemmas that emerged along the way and the process of decision-making that resolved them (p24-30).

The research process I engaged in intended to meet all of these requirements for trustworthiness. Yet to make the execution of that intention more transparent, I want to address these four issues raised by Merriam directly.

3.4.1 Reliability

How did I ensure the consistency and dependability of the data and the process of analysis? That is what I think I described above – the sample of teachers I attracted, the way the

interview discussions were conducted, the structuring of the data through coding and networks to generate the analysis.

3.4.2 Internal Validity

In terms of internal validity, my work could be faulted for not triangulating, as I used only interview data and did not corroborate across different data sources. I accepted what teachers said at face value. But that was appropriate for my topic – the teachers themselves are the experts on how they feel and there was no way in which I could externally validate their feelings. For example, if they said they were spending 'hours and hours and hours of marking', I did not ask exactly how many hours so as to get an 'objective' workload measure, but accepted their emotional truth that marking was taking up more time than felt comfortable or appropriate. Or if teachers expressed being patronized by district officials, I did not double check with district officials whether or not they intentionally patronized teachers. What was important for my purpose is that teachers did not like feeling patronized and that, by implication, this emotion has ramifications for the next time they are called to a meeting with district officials. I did not triangulate internally either, i.e. I did not accept the 'truth' of an emotion claim only if at least two other teachers felt the same way, because in the focus groups teachers were speaking to each other rather than repeating each other and they brought up different facets of the same issue. Thus, in this study I am not bringing 'facts' that can be disputed or proved wrong. I am bringing a thick description (Geertz, 1993) of how 19 committed teachers from different socio-economic contexts felt about various aspects of their assessment work, and this description is either illuminating (Parlett & Hamilton, 1976) or not. The internal validity issue then becomes how honestly and systematically I ordered and wove together the teachers' statements, and the interpretations I placed on them.

I worked as meticulously as I could; referencing every word I quoted, to present an authentic picture. In the process, I really got to know what each teacher was saying. I can still allocate any phrase from any interview to a particular teacher. I took care to present teachers' words accurately: I did not put words into their mouth, nor ignored words they said, nor took their words out of context making them imply something that was not within their intention. In my comments or introductory parts of sentences, I stayed as close to their language as possible. As I was working with their words I saw the person in front of me and internally

checked out whether they would be satisfied with the way I was representing them. Yet I needed to change the grammar of what they were saying, for two reasons. Firstly, because spoken language, if not tightened up, sounds rambling in a written context and I would be doing teachers a disservice if I put their verbatim words next to my tightly edited written words. Tightening up what they said also served to strengthen the impact of their points. Secondly, because I was weaving their words together with those of other teachers, I often used phrases instead of whole sentences so I needed to change pronouns and verb tenses. But I tried very hard not to change the nuance of the meaning.[67]

I also took care to work with the ideas of the teachers without silencing any contradictions or opposing views. I presented 'variant cases' that introduced complexity and prevented too easy a picture from emerging, for example, the opinion on corporal punishment (Ch. 7) or the variety of strategies for emotional management (Ch. 8). My own validity check was to not leave out any emotions or issues that might not suit my preconceptions, but to use all the sections that were coded on a topic.[68]

Yet ultimately, this quilt of teachers' emotions became visible through my consciousness and the conceptual framework I generated from the literature. I stitched their words together in various ways before it felt right. I saw their words through my evolving perspective. The only thing I could do was to become an increasingly sensitive instrument by developing the capacity to see things I did not initially notice and to sharpen my ability to make appropriate

[67] Here is an example of me editing a passage so as to shorten and tighten it. This is how it reads in Chapter 6: "I think that if you really are a teacher, there's a whole emotional investment. And that's why I resent the department. I resent the way the whole thing's run, because we invest of ourselves. And then I think that we are treated unfairly. We give so much more than a whole lot of other jobs out there, and it's rewarding on one level and very disheartening on another. You're completely overlooked by the department" (DG270/2-C).
Here is the original, taken from P Group interview:
DG270-C It's very interesting, I really think that there's a whole emotional investment. If you're a teacher there's an emotional investment, if you're really a teacher. There really is that.
DG271-I Ya, I think that's absolutely right.
DG272-C And I think that's why, even more so, I resent the department, I resent the way the whole thing's run, because we invest of ourselves. And then I kind of think that you're kind of treated unfairly, in a sense. We give so much more than a whole lot of other jobs out there, and it's really…it's rewarding on one level and very disheartening on another. You're completely overlooked. I believe we're treated like children.
In order to make Cheryl sound less tentative and more clear / authoritative, I took out the filler words and changed some pronouns. (I have 4 more examples, should it be necessary.)

[68] Well, that was the intention and is mostly true. But I found a memo to myself dated 07.02.2011 which shows it was not always doable: "Data chapter 6 used 117 sections, but to be totally exact, it was only in the first draft that I used all 117. With the re-write, the chapter became too long and involved, and so I took out chunks of quotations and put them aside for the later chapters on emotional rules and labour. But I did not go back and recode. So I have no way of determining exactly how many sections remained in the chapter."

links. But I cannot claim 'objectivity'. There is never only one way of seeing the same phenomenon.

I worked to create the most authentic picture I could – but then I needed the teachers themselves to validate what I had written. As mentioned in section 3.2.4, I conducted participant checks at four points in the data analysis process - once the interviews had been transcribed, with drafts of chapters 4/5/6, with drafts of chapters 7/8 and with the analysis in chapter 9 – and I received a fair amount of feedback.

For chapters 4/5/6[69] eleven teachers agreed it was "an accurate portrayal" (Danielle), it "made sense of what we told you" (Perusha), "this is something truthful about me and other teachers" (Khumbula) and it has "very successfully combined the opinions of a few to create a truthful reality about teachers' emotions in terms of assessment, learner achievement and accountability" (Theresa). Vicky was the only teacher who requested two small adjustments in what she said,[70] while still saying that what I wrote in the chapters "sounded accurate" and "great".

What is interesting are teachers' differing emotional reactions to the chapters. Some felt uplifted and encouraged by having their world reflected back at them. For Thobile "everything there was my feeling, so it lifted up my spirit and encouraged me". Hlubi became "so happy" when reading because he found it "wonderful" that the story was "captured correctly". Josie found herself "smiling and identifying, not just with what I said but with what others said; it was nice and refreshing to read because we never read about these things and teachers don't talk about them". Others felt "saddened", "depressed", even "despair" when reading because "when reading it I identified with the problems" (Vicky); "it's pretty valuable, but will anybody act on it?" (Cheryl); it shows the "the disillusionment from dedicated people" (Danielle); and "it highlights a lot of the negative feelings of all the teachers interviewed and as these feelings seem to be so widespread, the future of education in our country looks bleak" (Theresa). It seems to me that the key to understanding these differences comes from Danielle's insistence that, "I'm hoping it will go to the department.

[69] See Appendix 6 for a full transcript of teachers' feedback on chapters 4/5/6.
[70] In one case I attributed something that Cheryl said to Vicky by mistake, in the other I slightly exaggerated the tone of what Vicky said. Where she made the claim that teachers "are given" lower classes, I strengthened it to being "demoted" to lower classes. I think that was the only time I slightly strengthened what a teacher said because it made the sentence sound better – and I was caught out. Of course it has been changed in the version you are reading.

We've been heard – so now what?" For some teachers, it was gratifying to have been heard and accurately represented by someone, while others wanted specifically the department to hear their feelings (and to enact positive changes as a result). Yet other teachers found the truths they read about "interesting". Ntokozo liked that she had "learned from others"; Perusha was in agreement with the finding that "we are very emotional about our own achievement based on our learner achievement" and was surprised that, contrary to her assumption, "teachers care across the board"; Khumbula gained insight into himself from reading an interpretation of his laughter and valued learning that "curiosity about my learners' progress leads to enjoying marking". These teachers learned something new from both the "depressing issues" and the "brighter moments" (Khumbula).

For chapters 7 and 8[71] six teachers confirmed my descriptive analysis and even illustrated some benefits that teachers derived from reading the research. Hlubi gave his approval by stating,

> It's too interesting, especially what you wrote about policy and how teachers struggle with it. It makes sense; it's a true reflection of what teachers are going through. Maybe if the policy makers could really feel it, they would make changes. … Really, what you have written is good. For us, to keep on trying is the best.

He implicitly supports the value of using emotions as a lens for understanding by his wish for 'policy makers to really feel' the situation that teachers find themselves in. But even without that, having his feelings of his situation validated gives him energy to keep on trying his best.

Cuvanya expressed her confirmation in a nuanced, complex way:

> I did manage to look at what you have written so far and once again it is most impressive. I cannot believe that you took so much time to analyse what we said. You have hit the nail on the head with your analysis. I did not even think that I meant my comments like the way you analysed them but after reading them it does sound true. Sometimes we say things that just come to mind and only afterwards we realise that we meant something else. Other times we realise that we said quite the right thing and feel quite pleased about it.

I was happy to hear that I had 'hit the nail on the head' with my analysis and that Cuvanya could feel pleased about what she had said. But I was especially pleased to know that even

[71] See Appendix 7 for a full transcript of teachers' feedback on chapters 7/8.

when Cuvanya felt I had analysed her comments in ways that were unexpected for her, it still sounded true. For me to have managed that feels like an achievement. Cuvanya also mentioned some benefits attained, partially, from the awareness gained from participating in this research process:

> I think I have also become a lot more compassionate than I was and I take more trouble and time to ensure that my class understands what I am teaching. It still hurts when they don't perform well because I feel that my teaching was lacking. However, I then use their errors to improve my teaching and to give appropriate feedback once the task is marked.

Seen from the perspective of emotional labour, her inner dialogue in response to reading chapters 7 and 8 is generating empowering results.

For Theresa, reading through the chapters gave her an opportunity to reflect on her words and come to a deeper understanding of her position. Theresa was responding to a piece I wrote in Chapter 7:

> A belief that emerged as consistent across all the teachers in the study was that 'assessment is essential'. This belief is in line with the professional norm of a teacher being a competent and dedicated assessor. Teachers saw assessment as being the "key to education" (PG4-T) and the "crown on top of the cake after everything has been done" (KG 4-TH).

During the interview conducted in 2008, in response to a question about the value of assessment, Theresa had said

> I think assessment is the key to education. You can't know what people understand or know if you don't assess (PG4-T).

In 2012, when Theresa read her words being quoted, she reflected,

> I believe that assessment is essential but I don't believe that 'assessment is the key to education' – **learning is the key to education** and I think this is part of the problem in the classroom – there is too much assessment and not enough learning. Setting good assessments, marking them and then giving feedback is very time-consuming and this causes major emotional stress. You don't have to assess unless it is absolutely essential and serves a purpose; only then is it valuable and then you can do it properly and give the necessary feedback. Too much assessment = no real learning.

In her 2008 interview response, Theresa was responding to my question specifically about assessment; in her 2012 feedback response, she was reflecting on her claim in the context of a bigger educational debate about the place of assessment in relation to other aspects of education. So she is re-presenting her initial claim in a more nuanced way. The way I interpret Theresa's correction of how I used her words in my chapter is to realise that Theresa (and I) are learning how to think about the value, functions, limitations, constraints, effects or ideals of assessment in a more subtle, more relational way. Involving our emotions as a part of the reflection process leads us into deeper insight. The fact that the participating teachers responded so enthusiastically and honestly to my drafts is an indication of internal validity for me.

In addition, I presented my proposal at a staff seminar in 2008, and my methodology and initial findings at two conferences in 2008 and 2010, at two PhD seminars in 2010, at four PhD group supervisory sessions in 2010 and 2011, and at two PhD seminars and a conference in 2012. From all presentations I received extensive questions and feedback. It was very useful for my thinking to be embedded in an academic community.

3.4.3 External Validity

External validity is not something I can lay claim to, but something for the reader to decide. I have provided context and detail, and by weaving together the voices of 19 teachers, I intended to present a general picture that speaks to the emotions of many teachers – but whether or not I have achieved my intention is a decision that needs to be made by the reader.

3.4.4 Ethics

Ethical concerns need to be borne in mind throughout the research process, from designing the study to disseminating the findings. Many discussions around validity in qualitative research lead into ethical issues (e.g. Gergen and Gergen, 2000, Lincoln and Denzin, 2000). A focus on ethics is a way out of the dilemmas caused by the "crisis of validity" (Gergen and Gergen, 2000, p1026) brought about by postmodern critiques. When Lincoln and Denzin (2000) imagine the future of qualitative research, they see a field in which "methods vie amongst themselves not for experimental robustness, but for vitality and vigour in

illuminating the ways to achieve profound understanding of how we can create human flourishing" (p1062).

In Graaff et al's (2004, p 62-63) description of the criteria for validity, they use Angen's argument, which links validity directly to ethics. For research to be valid, it needs to be ethical by being beneficial and useful to people, generative of new ideas and transformative of our actions (so as to generate human flourishing). Validity becomes ethical when it is concerned with the substantive aspects of data analysis and the writing 'does justice' to the situation, when it contains self-critical reflection that shows how understandings have shifted, and when it gives evidence of authenticity. In addition, the researcher must be resilient, patient, persistent, meticulous, passionate, and personally involved. Angen argues that validity depends a lot on the qualities of the researcher as s/he conducts her/himself in the research situation. "Does the researcher comport him/herself in a responsible, accountable manner? Does he/she do good or does he/she do damage?" (p63).

Damage to 'subjects' is what the call for ethical research is concerned to avoid. There are two aspects of research ethics that need to work together. The first aspect is the administrative obligation to show that the research has obtained the necessary permissions from the relevant institutions, has obtained informed consent from the participants, has techniques in place to protect the privacy and confidentiality of the participants, and is concerned to maximize the benefits and minimise the potential risks for the participants. By receiving clearance from the Wits School of Education ethics committee and research permission from the Gauteng Department of Education, having informed consent letters signed by the participating teachers and using pseudonyms, I fulfilled those obligations.

The second aspect is for the researcher to be and behave in an ethical manner.

> Traditionally, ethical concerns have revolved around the topics of *informed consent* (receiving consent by the subject after having carefully and truthfully informed him or her about the research), *right to privacy* (protecting the identity of the subject), and *protection from harm* (physical, emotional or any other kind). (Fontana and Frey, p662, 2000)

It is the 'protection from emotional harm' that is an issue of concern to me in this research study. I asked participating teachers to explore and reveal their emotions about assessment – a topic that is normally only revealed to trusted colleagues. Teachers' emotions exposed

them as vulnerable and without all the answers to themselves, their colleagues and to me as a researcher, which was not always comfortable. Should I misuse what they told me, it is potentially possible for this research to cause emotional harm.

To minimise any potential harm, I was trustworthy in my use of the information teachers gave me by using pseudonyms throughout, by not describing any teacher in a way that insiders could recognise them in spite of the pseudonym and by not using my knowledge of the person in any way when I met them again outside of the research context. The interview process contained their emotions sufficiently to pre-empt negative emotional loops from developing after the interviews. No teacher took up the offer of a paid visit to a psychologist.

I discovered through the interviews that asking teachers for their feelings about assessment brought about a greater openness and honesty, compared to asking them about their opinions. They were not telling me what they thought they ought to think but, because I validated what they felt through my body language and comments, making it okay to express any of a range of conflicting feelings, they were telling me their "real stuff" – the things they felt joyful, pained or angered by. That made them vulnerable. I dealt with their vulnerability by foregrounding each person's perspective in their own words and by not overshadowing their voices with my ideas. In the process of working with their vulnerability and crafting a story out of their feelings, I became vulnerable too. For example, during the 8 months[72] I was working on chapter 6, I woke up in fear and panic every morning. It required me to tap away my anxiety using Thought Field Therapy / Emotional Freedom Technique[73] before I could even sit up to get out of bed. Whether this fear and panic was my own performance anxiety in relation to this PhD, or whether I was carrying the load of teachers' anxieties in relation to accountability and releasing their fears through my body, I don't know. But I do know that those were the most anxious months of my life so far. As Nias (1996) mentioned, one of the reasons why contributors to the special edition journal on teachers emotions may have found it difficult to work on their articles was that, "serious consideration of others' feelings may lead one too close for comfort to one's own" (p295).

[72] I was also teaching at the time.
[73] These are "energy psychology" modalities that combine Chinese acupuncture with Western psychology by tapping on acupuncture points to release negative emotions and draw in motivating emotions.

Maybe the anxiety and fear I experienced was simply part of my own growth process. My intention with this research was to generate a healing, generative way of thinking and talking about assessment, which is not in opposition to objectivity, but which shows how working with teacher emotions can generate a deeper fairness and justice in relation to assessment. But in the process I needed to become aware of my own fears of failure, of being judged and of standing up to authority. Only then could I honestly and ethically describe the emotional struggles of others. As Palmer (1993) argues,

> The knower who advances most rapidly toward the heart of truth is one who not only asks "What is out there?" in each encounter with the world, but one who also asks "What does this encounter reveal about me?" Only as we allow ourselves to be known – and thus cleansed of the prejudices and self-interests that distort the community of truth – can we begin to truly know. (p60)

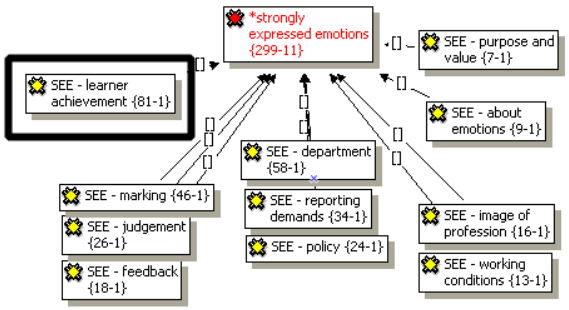
Chapter 4: Teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to learner achievement

4.1 Introduction

> It's very interesting; I really think that *there is a whole emotional investment*. *If you're a teacher, there's an emotional investment, if you are really a teacher*. There *really* is that. (DG270-C)

Cheryl came to this insight when she was discussing with her colleagues how they worry about children who are not doing well. For Cheryl, 'real teachers' are teachers who care about what they are doing and in order to care, they need to 'make a whole emotional investment'. It is the quality of this emotional investment that I want to describe in the next three chapters, by describing teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to the three key 'objects' involved in assessment, namely, learner achievement, assessment practice and the department. In this chapter, the focus is on the 'object' of learner achievement.

4.2 Discovering teachers' focus on learner achievement



As described in Chapter 3, initially it was a surprise to find that 'object' which most frequently elicited strongly expressed emotions from teachers was learner achievement.[74] It was unexpected as learner achievement was a code that arose out of the data, not a code I brought to the data from the conceptual framework. On reflection, it should not have been a surprise, because actually, assessment is about ascertaining the achievement of the learners, mainly after, but also during, the process of teaching and learning. But I (and the assessment literature I had read) was so focussed on assessment policy, on the difference between summative and formative assessment, on assessment tasks and accountability, that I did not consider the relationship of assessment to the core purpose of education, which is for teaching to enable learning of new knowledge and skill for learners, which assessment can then demonstrate. When taking into account Nussbaum's definition of emotions as judgements of an object's value in relation to one's own flourishing, the teachers' focus on learner achievement makes sense. Emotionally, they are picking up on the main purpose of their profession, namely, for learners to learn. Teachers' strong emotions about learner achievement are pointing to the reason why they are doing assessment in the first place.

I then looked at what these emotions about learner achievement were co-occurring with, i.e. what issues were coming up in the same utterance as strong emotions about learner achievement.

[74] Had I remembered the research findings and comments from Sutton and Wheatley (2003), Nias (1996), Kelchtermans (1996) and Hargreaves (1998) about teachers' emotions in relation to their students and to their own identities, this could have been expected. But at the time of analysis, when the numerical count of the data highlighted it for me, it felt like a discovery.

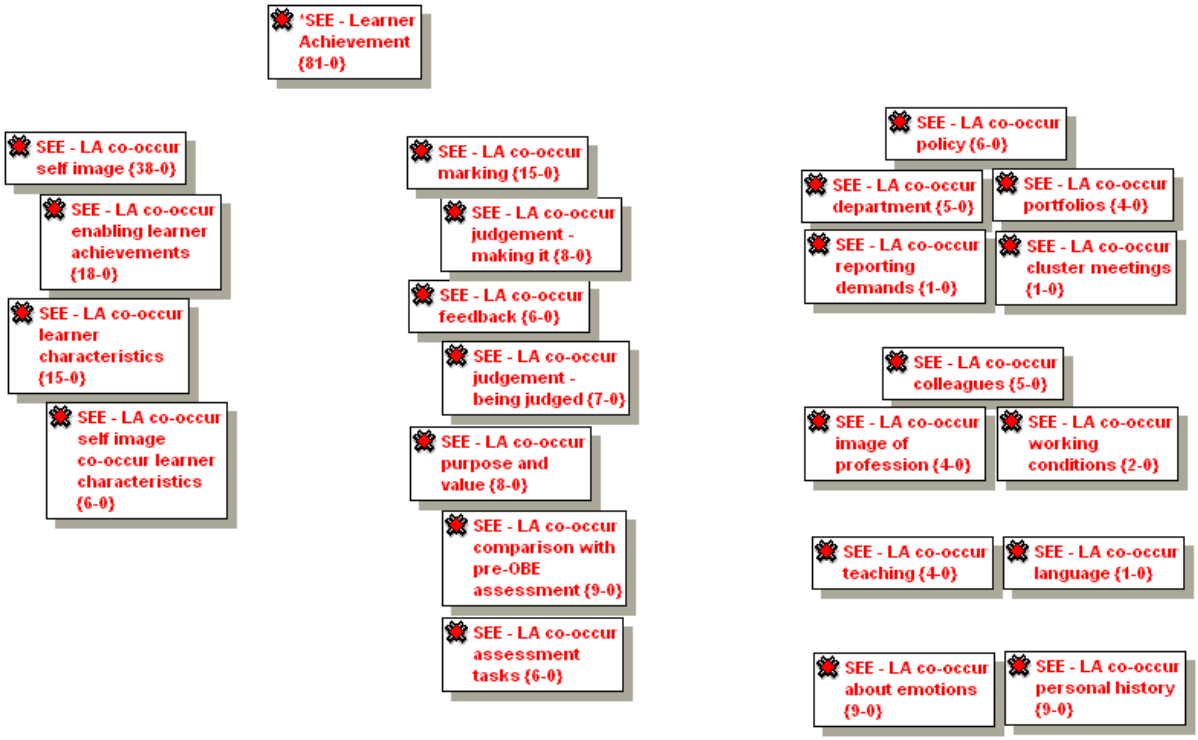


Figure 4: The family of 81 quotes containing strongly expressed emotions about learner achievement (see-la) and the codes that co-occurred in the same quotes, as collated by Atlas.ti[75]

Of the 81 sections coded learner achievement, 38 co-occurred with teacher self-image. This means that in nearly half the cases, teachers were talking about learner achievement and self-perception in the same utterance. Having such a high co-occurrence between learner

[75] To explain the diagram: I was not able to put totals and relationship between categories into the diagram, so am attempting to explain it in words here. In order to systematise the co-occurring codes, I grouped those with similar foci as follows.

1. Codes that belonged to the teacher / learner relationship: self-image (38), enabling learner achievements (18), learner characteristics (15), self-image and learner achievements (6); 77 in total.
2. Codes that belonged to teachers' assessment practice: marking (15), making a judgement (8), giving feedback (6), being judged (7), purpose and value of assessment (8), comparison with pre-OBE assessment (9), assessment tasks (6); 59 in total.
3. Codes that related to the department: policy (6), department (5), portfolios (4), reporting demands (1), cluster meetings (1); 17 in total.
4. Codes related to being a professional: colleagues (5), image of the profession (4), working conditions (2); 11 in total.
5. Codes focussed on teaching unrelated to assessment: teaching (4), language (1); 5 in total.
6. Codes that belonged to issues slightly outside of my research focus: about emotions (9), personal history (9); 18 in total.

This adds up to total of 187 codes that co-occurred with the 81 sections coded as strongly expressed emotions in relation to learner achievement. This happens because many of the co-occurring codes also co-occur with each other. For example, strongly expressed emotions about learner achievement (SEE-LA) co-co-occurs with teacher self-image as well as learner characteristics 5 times. It did not seem worth digging out the numbers on all the other co-co-occurrences so as to get the number of co-occurring codes to match 81, as anyway, these numbers only tell about trends, not absolute relationships.

achievement and teacher's sense of self was also unexpected for me. Yet it revealed how deeply the teachers relate themselves as a person to what they are doing as a professional. As Cuvanya said

> "You *tend to take things personally* … yes, you *should take it personally* (laughter)". (RG439-C)

Teachers 'tend to take things personally' and, as Cuvanya emphasised after she had reflected on what she said, it is the appropriate thing to do and, actually, teachers '*should* take [learner achievement] personally'. Taking learner achievement personally is the core of the 'emotional investment' that Cheryl was talking about above.

Linked to self-image, the next biggest co-occurrence was with enabling learner achievement (18), which means teachers were linking learner achievement directly with their responsibility for ensuring learner achievement. The third highest co-occurrence (15) was with learner characteristics, which shows how intensely teachers think about what it is about their learners that enables them to achieve or not. It is interesting to note that self-image co-co-occurred with learner characteristics and strongly expressed emotions about learner achievement as well, indicating how closely linked these issue are. As a cluster, these codes associated with the teachers' selves accounted for 77 co-occurrences with strongly expressed emotions towards learner achievement.

Also in third place of co-occurrence was marking (15), which indicates how marking is a time when teachers naturally reflect on the nature of learner achievement. When I clustered marking with making a judgement, giving feedback and a few other codes that speak to the teachers' role as an assessor, there were 59 co-occurrences, also a substantial number, but noticeably less than self-image. The other clusters of co-occurring issues on the right side of the network view are interesting to note and were partially used, but were not numerically significant enough to add substantially to the story of the chapter.

This chapter makes use of most of the 81 coded sections. The few sections not used were either a repetition of what had already been said or fitted better into the doing assessment or dealing with assessment chapters.

4.3 Teachers' self-image is inextricably linked to learner achievement

When exploring the teachers' emotions in relation to learner achievement, an interesting picture emerged about the inextricable connection between learner achievement and the identity of the teacher. In response to learner results, all of the teachers in the study engaged in self-reflection. Their purpose of enabling learner achievement shaped the teachers' relationship with their learners, resulting in distress when learner achievement was weak while strong learner achievement pleased and motivated them. I found that learner achievement generates emotional highs and lows in teachers and that without positive learner achievement, teaching loses its meaning. The findings in the chapter resonate with a conclusion Nias (1998) arrived at over a decade ago, namely that

> Teachers feel particularly profoundly about their work because they invest heavily in it. Most obviously, they work hard for and spend a good deal of time with pupils or students. They often come to love them and though they may dislike individuals, they rejoice in the growth and successes of them all and grieve for their disappointments and failures (p4).

4.3.1 Learner achievement causes teacher self-reflection

Analysing the 81 sections coded as strongly expressed emotions in relation to learner achievement, I was struck by how I had quotes from each one of the teachers interviewed, and each teacher, without fail, also talked about a direct relationship between learners' results and their sense of themselves as a teacher. To understand the significance of teachers' emphasis on this relationship, I turned to Turner's (2007) clarification that, "individuals want to have their views of themselves verified" because their "sense of self is on the line during interactions" (p102) with others. The need for self-verification becomes stronger the closer the interaction is to the core self-conception or the main sub-identity of a person (p103). The way teachers are talking indicates that learner achievement is their prime focus and they see themselves and their work reflected in the level of achievement of their learners. The high number of quotes dealing with this relationship and the clarity with which the issue is expressed indicates that how teachers feel about themselves in relation to learner achievement is close to their core identity.

This relationship can be seen most clearly when learners don't do well. The teachers immediately saw the lack of learner achievement as a reflection on themselves as teachers. They all said it explicitly and succinctly, so let me give four representative examples.[76]

> The emotion is: you[77] know that you've done your very best in the classroom; that you have tried everything you can, and yet the kid is still not achieving. And somehow that makes you, as the teacher, also feel somehow inadequate. (PG18–Charlotte)
> It still hurts yes, it hurts and then I blame myself, as if I didn't do enough or I didn't pay attention, or I didn't have the means to assist them to improve in that situation.

> Maybe that I didn't teach enough, or maybe I didn't have enough time, maybe to have a closer contact with the learner, so that maybe I can influence or motivate or charge that learner, a little bit like a charger of a cell phone, so that this learner can really get to better levels than where the learner is. First there is self-pain and then the feeling that I didn't do enough. (KG157-Khumbula)

> I feel embarrassed and bad if my learners are not performing the way I wanted them to perform. Because the main aim of teaching them is to ensure they are well developed, they are well educated. But if they do badly in my assessment, I get confused, to say, what went wrong? Or where did it go wrong? Then I restart to think again and see what I can adjust, so that they can be able to get some little bit of achievement. (MG137-Hlubi)

> A failure! I feel a total failure at teaching them. I get very excited when some of the kids they speak lovely and they talk lovely and they try in class. But when I mark the papers and I see it's so hard for them, and I know it's hard for them, and aagh, sometimes they just don't even bother. And then I just feel I'm a failure as a teacher! (SG55-Susanne)

[76] In chapters 4/5/6 I have used italics to highlight the emotion-filled sections in the quotes of teachers, on the assumption that this makes the emotions more easily visible to the reader.
[77] The teachers' often used 'you' when they were actually talking about themselves. For the listener / reader it would be clearer if they used 'I', but I decided to leave the pronouns as the teachers said them. Using 'you' instead of 'I' is often a device for holding emotions at an arm's length from oneself.

These[78] teachers' feelings were covering a range of uncomfortable emotions about themselves in the face of learner non-achievement: they felt 'inadequate', 'apprehensive', 'hurt', 'pain', 'self-blaming', 'self-questioning', 'unsure', 'something wrong', 'bad', 'embarrassed', 'confused' and even had a sense of 'total failure'.[79] The uncomfortable feelings arose because they are working on the assumption that when their learners don't achieve, they are responsible. Low learner achievement made them reflect on what it means about themselves and their work: wondering why their 'best' efforts were 'not enough', whether they taught well enough, what they 'did wrong', what could have done differently, what they could 'adjust' in the future. At times, if the learner non-achievement is too frequent or too severe, they even made a judgement of 'failure' about their entire career. Their self-reflection in the mirror of learner achievement lay at the core of what it means for them to be a teacher. These teachers were not judging themselves by how well they explained something, or how thoroughly they prepared, or how efficiently they marked, or even how much their learners liked them. They reflected on and judged themselves by how well they had 'charged' their learners: whether the learners understood, responded to and were able to perform what was required. Thus emotionally, their relationship with learners and learner achievement is their primary relationship. Hargreaves (1998) shows how teachers' relationships with students are an "emotional filter" (p842) through which they see the value and rewards of being a teacher. What these teachers emphasised is how the emotional filter is substantively concerned with the growth and achievement of learners. These teachers all assumed that a teacher is a person who is responsible for children to learn something and they judged themselves by that measure. Mathoto expressed it well:

> I think, assessment is very important. *You are going to assess yourself as the teacher, how much did the learner learn from you*? (MG19-M)

4.3.2 Teachers take responsibility for enabling learner achievement

What teachers' responses also revealed, was how strongly their sense of responsibility towards learner achievement shaped their emotions towards themselves and their ability to enable learner achievement.

[78] And others – see KG158-T, KG152-N, RG45-C, RG283-J

[79] In chapters 4-8 I have used single quotation marks not as 'scare' quotes, but as an indicator that these words were taken from the (mostly) preceding quotations. For the sake of readability, the grammar of the word might have changed and I am not referencing all the words again, but I do want to indicate that these words come from the teachers and not from me.

Some teachers portrayed learner achievement as the reason for teaching in the first place. Mathoto was clear about this relationship:

> I encourage them by saying that 'for everything you do in maths there must be a reason why. *If you don't understand* the reason, *then I'm the tool - come to me, use me*'. Then *I will sit and help the person*. If that *person moves from a zero to one, it makes me happy. Makes me happy*. (MG134-M)

Being the 'tool' for students' learning, no matter how small the learner's improvement might be, made teaching worthwhile and was emotionally satisfying, even made her 'happy'. Mathoto's sentiment was shared by Cheryl:

> *I need to take responsibility* for those learners. Even if it's a case where they are never going to get A's, but *they're currently getting E's and I should get them to C's.* It should be like that, there's *no doubt in my mind*. (DG353-C)

Cheryl has 'no doubt in her mind' that she is responsible for increasing the level of learner achievement. Both Cheryl and Mathoto take their responsibility to learners for granted and are happy when they can meet their responsibility.

Theresa gets her reward when it is the initially weak learners who achieve. She is focussed on "the growth and the progress" of learners who

> "struggle and the marks are bad and they work exceptionally hard and every test you think, maybe this is the one, maybe she's got it …? Ach, and *then they do badly and you feel very disappointed for them* because you know that they've done the work. But, generally speaking, *at some point they do get it*. *And there's a huge degree of satisfaction.* So that for me is *much more satisfying than the children who were bright to begin with*. Because they were going to always get it, *regardless of whether I was there or not (self- deprecating laughter)*. (PG47-T)

Theresa's 'huge degree of satisfaction' arises in the space between learner and teacher effort. She feels 'very disappointed' for the learners who 'do the work' but 'do badly'. When learners achieve through the effort of the teacher, it counts for much more than if they can do it without much effort from the teacher. She identifies her ability as a teacher with the achievement of learners who started off struggling with the concepts but then progressed. Again, it is the purpose of enabling learner achievement that drives her. Theresa depends on the learners for seeing the effectiveness of her work. The harder Theresa works, the more she

becomes dependent on good learner results to justify her continued work. It is this interdependence that generates the identification of teachers with their learners' results.

Cuvanya and Perusha highlighted how increased learner understanding is core to the meaning of teaching:

> On the whole I *very rarely* come across a learner who's done an interesting question justice. It's *very, very seldom* that that happens. But when it does, you know, *you actually smile* when you're marking that paper. (RG45-C)
>
> And it's *like that a-ha moment*, that you just know*, wow, I've got a life; I've got a reason to live*. (RG46-P)
>
> *Even* if you've done it *for that one child, it's worth it*. (RG49-C)

A teacher's work gains its purpose from 'the aha-moment' of realization that she is 'doing it for' the children. Even if those moments come 'rarely', they provide a' reason to live'. The work of teaching becomes visible and real through its manifestation in the learners' achievements.

For Khumbula, the responses and results of his learners were inextricable from his "attachment" to "all of them". When they are "*not doing well*", he "*feels hurt*" and pity for *"poor" them*, he "*blames*" himself, wonders why they failed and what else he could have done, and "keeps on *hoping, maybe this time it's going to be better*". When they do well, "*you shake hands*, you *pamper them* a bit and say, *oh wonderful* boys and girls". The moment when he can see "that *something was really learned, almost to the fullest*" is "*the most wonderful thing that ever happens to the teacher*". It enables him to "own up", "become part of our children's lives" and gives him "*a sense of pride*" for having "delivered the curriculum" (KG174-K). Khumbula uses learner achievement as the prime yardstick against which he measures his job satisfaction and his identity as a teacher. Their achievement allows him to say,

> "at least there are *learners that I'm sending out* there who are really going to be like the *ambassadors* of this person, of this president called 'me' (laughs). That's what I would call *real curriculum delivery* (laughs). (KG174-K)

Khumbula's 'real curriculum delivery' involves him 'sending learners out into the world' who carry something of him with them. They are his 'presidential ambassadors'. He feels responsible for the words and skills they take into the world with them. His laughter indicates his surprise and maybe slight embarrassment about the depth of the relationship

between the quality of learners he sends out and his own identity. For him, becoming "part of our children's lives" (KG174-K) means promoting their achievement and only then being proud of his own.

For Lynne, the moments of reward came when her learners' faces light up with understanding. When learners do well, she found it "*extremely rewarding*" and she got a "*great sense of satisfaction that possibly I've achieved*". Yet she admitted to a limit to her achievement, as it "*may have nothing to do with my teaching because the learner might actually just be brilliant*". Thus the sense of reward was particularly strong when "*especially those who've been battling ... manage to do an assessment*". For Lynne, the "*most rewarding moment" was "when their faces light up*". Like Khumbula, she struggled when learners don't do well. She felt "*really sorry for*" learners who make the effort and "*battle*" with maths. But she got "*extremely frustrated*" with learners who "are often absent, don't hand in work and then fail". This frustration contained helplessness, "because *I don't know what to do* for them" and anger, because "if they're not going to do all that, *you're wasting your time!*" (PG46-L). Although Lynne feels responsible for learners' achievements, she does not feel solely responsible. She shares the responsibility with learners – some are 'just brilliant' while others 'don't hand in work'. Both Khumbula's and Lynne's emotions indicate how teachers feel responsible for enabling the outcome, but cannot ultimately determine it.

While Khumbula and Lynne talked about feeling sorry for learners who struggled, Charlotte took this a step further by expressing imaginative empathy for learners who encounter language barriers to learning. Charlotte experienced

> "*a lot of irritation and frustration and sadness* because you believe that the child is actually eloquent and maybe that's enough, but *it's not enough because it's the writing part that is not up to standard*". (PG45-C)

She put herself "in the place of the learner" who is writing in a second language and experienced it as "*horrible*" because she imagined that

> "if I had to write this in Afrikaans, *how would I cope? And I know I wouldn't*. And it's not that I can't give an answer, it's that *I'm not competent to write it* down in Afrikaans". (PG12-C)

Charlotte's acknowledgement that she "*couldn't do any better*" (PG45-C) leads her into an empathetic identification with learners' struggles for achievement. Yet this empathy brings

her ‘a lot of irritation and frustration and sadness’. Taking responsibility for learners’ achievement generates complicated emotions for teachers.

Danielle reflected on these complications further, thinking it was “*very important*” to “*encourage the bottom end*” of a class to ensure that they better their marks (DG116-D). She worried about the “*huge unfairness in life* that some children struggle and really work hard, but they’re not really capable, whereas other children do things quite easily and get quite good marks for it quite easily”. She remembered from her own school days “*people being humiliated* if their marks were low and were read out” and so now “*I don’t humiliate children* on that kind of thing and *I am sensitive to their feelings*” (DG114-D). As a consequence of her concern with enabling all her learners to achieve, Danielle gets “*quite involved emotionally*” with learners’ results (DG259-D). She puts in extra effort “when you know children have got learning problems, because you want them to overcome it and *you worry about them* and you *take it all quite hard when they don’t do well* (DG269-D). It “*frustrates and irritates*” her when she thinks that children are “just *not putting in any effort*”, but occasionally, “when a *weak kid does something, it’s an achievement*. And that’s when *you have your moment*!” (DG300-D).

Both Charlotte and Danielle have a social justice concern with all learners achieving, or at least having a chance to achieve. For Charlotte, it is the ‘home vs. second language’ divide that makes it unfair on learners, while for Danielle it is the ‘huge unfairness of life’. Both teachers want to counteract that unfairness and to work against the ‘humiliation’ that so easily results. So they need to dig into themselves for ‘empathy’ and ‘sensitivity’, to tolerate the times when they ‘take it quite hard’ and feel ‘frustrated and sad’, put in the effort to find understanding and explanations and hang in for a long time until the special ‘moment of achievement’ comes.

Like Lynne, Danielle also reflects on whether and when the limits of a teacher’s responsibility are reached.

> Look, in *some cases*, there are *some children, where it doesn’t matter how good or bad you are as a teacher* - they’re not interested and they don’t do any work. So obviously you’re not going to take responsibility for them. Although you *still try to get them to do as well as possible*…but I think…*ya, one does take responsibility in a way*. (DG341-D)

It is interesting to note how Danielle's emotions shift during this quote. In response to her colleagues who both said they take responsibility for learners' results (DG339/40), she starts off emphatically stating the 'obvious' case for when a teacher need not take responsibility, namely, when learners 'are not interested and don't do any work'. But then she slows down and thinks about herself and how she 'still tries to get learners to do as well as possible'. With hesitation, she realises that 'in a way' she does take responsibility even for those learners 'who are not interested' and for whose achievement she would rather not care. Danielle 'still feels responsible' for what these learners need to achieve (DG343-D).

Taking responsibility for the quality of learners' achievement results in teachers being 'quite involved emotionally'. Depending on how learners perform, teachers feel 'pride', 'happiness', 'satisfaction', 'worthwhile', 'most wonderful', 'rewarded' and 'have their moment', or else feel 'very disappointed', 'extremely frustrated', 'horrible', 'sad', 'irritated', 'hurt' and 'sorry for learners'. These strong emotions indicate how teachers' desire for good learner results is a driving force in the relationship between teachers and learners.[80]

4.3.3 Weak learner achievement causes teachers distress

As was already touched on in the previous sections, teachers are confronted with uncomfortable emotions when their learners do not achieve. This section illustrates the different kinds of distress that teachers experience when their learners do not achieve.

In situations like cluster meetings where learners' work was compared across schools, teachers completely identified with their learners whose comparatively low achievement made teachers feel "*embarrassed*" and wanting to "*hide away*" from colleagues from other schools (SG143-S). Sandy felt "*like an idiot*", even though the cause of the weaker performance lay in the socio-economic and personal circumstances of learners at an LSEN (Learners with Special Educational Needs) school. The embarrassment can also be internal to self, as when Perusha described how her emotional reaction to learners' low achievement

[80] I am not implying that teachers only have a relationship with learners through assessment and do not also have an immediate relationship with the children in front of them, directly responding to what the children are saying and doing, without always seeing them through the lens of how they achieve. It's just that my questions asked about assessment, not about relationships with learners in general.

contradicted her more thoughtful understanding of its causes (RG436-P).[81] When teachers are personally invested in their learners doing well and understanding what has been taught, they also experience the pain of their learners' failure personally.

Khumbula described how weak learner performance drives him crazy at times. When he gave the first assessment task to a new intake of learners, "it *was depressing* to see" the highest mark in the class was "30 out of 100". He "*went mad*". He looked for the cause of the failure and did not find it in the previous years "records and scheme of work" because, although it had been filled in correctly, it was not informative, was just "blah, blah". He found it "*difficult* even to speak to the teacher" who had previously taught the class. Khumbula "started to look back" at his own work, checking for what he "did wrong". But he found no answer. He was left with having to contain his intensely negative emotions.

> "After that I was *trying to hold my emotions, trying to deal with the anger that was inside me, I was burning, I was frustrated, you know (sighs)*". (KG54/6-K)

Having a whole class perform badly made Khumbula feel 'like going mad', 'burning' 'frustrated', having to 'deal with his anger'. But he also felt saddened – he 'was depressed' to see the results and 'sighed' when he finished speaking. Khumbula's distress at weak learner achievement involves both intense anger and sadness. Khumbula also described a colleague came to him "*smoking*", with "*real intense feelings*" that "*can really annoy you*" to complain that: "*I can't believe this, I can't believe this! These learners can't do anything! I don't know what I'm supposed to do now!*" The colleague's intense feelings also involved anger ('smoking') and sadness ('can't do anything'), but in addition, it was underpinned with helplessness ('don't know what I'm supposed to do'). Then it was Khumbula's turn to "*calm*

[81] Perusha: *"I get so angry, always, and I take it very personally as well*, because I feel like they didn't listen to me and why? So *it's always what they did to me (laughter), and I become this huge victim in this whole thing, and I know it's wrong (laughs).* If you think about where this *poor kid* is coming from - he probably took a taxi here that was not licensed and falling apart and he was *totally dishevelled and disorientated when he arrived*, and then he wrote my paper and *didn't understand the instructions*. But I don't think of any of that, you know. *As soon as it frustrates me,* as soon as they haven't followed one single instruction, *I become punitive and angry and frustrated*. And *I do punish, be punitive as I said*, so I might subtract marks. *I don't think that's very effective, quite frankly, but I still do it*" (RG436-P). Perusha is critical of and embarrassed by both her emotional reaction and her response of subtracting marks for learners who do not follow instructions. She knows 'it's wrong', but she still feels and reacts like a 'huge victim', becoming 'punitive' although she doesn't like it and doesn't see it as 'effective'. But actually, she is a good teacher who is caught in her distress over low learner achievement. Because she puts her personal self into her teaching, she takes the learners' incompetence as a reflection on her personally and then reacts from that distressed space.

her down" and talk about ways in which the situation could be managed (KG199-K), so as to relieve her frustration and helplessness.

Teachers' feelings about weak learner achievement intensified when they looked at the bigger picture – not just the learners in their class, but more broadly the learners in their school or across schools. High school teachers Perusha and Cuvanya experienced it as "*shocking and scary actually*, when kids arrive in grade 8 and *haven't learned the basics*" (RG228-P) or found it "*scary*" when grade 12 learners, who are "*our future*" and who are about to become "*adults in the real world*", are still *unable to "even write a sentence properly*" (RG233-C). Both worried that their learners would be "*misfits*" in the "*real corporate world*" because they "*cannot write letters properly, they can't spell properly, they can't read documents and comprehend properly*, so there are these *huge gaps*" and "*they haven't built the mental capacity either*" (RG228-240). Perusha and Cuvanya were anxious ('shocked and scared') about the general skill level of learners in relation to what is expected in the adult world.

Primary school teachers Khumbula and Thobile shared that anxiety about general performance. Khumbula worried that the prohibition of exams in primary schools as part of CASS (Continuous Assessment) had *inhibited the "cognitive development of those learners* for whom we really need to keep on drilling and hammering and getting them right in the many skills that are there". He thought it was "*terrible*" that their *learners "fail in large numbers*" when they get to high school "because when they sit for exams, it is something that is not in their culture". He worried that "*we are brewing disaster right now for these learners*" because "when you look at our learners coming from the environment that we have, *they are not trained enough*" (KG133-135). For Khumbula, it is a 'terrible disaster' that the primary school's learners are not sufficiently prepared for high school. His colleague Thobile used a metaphor to elaborate on the long-lasting nature of the disaster:

> Learners are supposed to have started early. There is this saying in my language whereby you take a young tree and pull it up, with tape or wood, so that the tree shall grow and stand straight. *But when the tree bends and nobody picks it up to correct that, it will be like that forever. Same thing applies to our learners.* You're supposed to grow them at this age, but at the end of this time they move from primary to high school without that much work. (KG137-TH)

There were moments when teachers wanted to "*blame*" this general lack of learner progress on the "educators in lower grades" (KG86-NZ) or on the "policy that the government, the

department, is giving to us" (KG137-TH). But they realised that did not change the situation they felt so helpless about.

> At the end of the day *the problem is still there. We don't have strategies to solve that. At the end you cry; there is no help. Wherever you look, the issue of writing and reading is an outcry everywhere.* (KG200-TH)

Both high and primary school teachers are moving between anger and anxiety, blame and helplessness about learners' lack of abilities in writing and reading. In their responses to incompetent learners, anger ('I was burning, I was frustrated') is closely related to anxiety ('shocked and scary') and helplessness ('we don't have strategies', 'at the end you cry', 'there is no help'). They are angry about the failure and helpless in their inability to make the big changes necessary to turn around the 'issue of writing and reading'. When learners are too far below the expected level of competence, then teachers don't have the time, the strategies or the skills to help learners and are left stuck with 'no help' and 'not knowing' what they are 'supposed' to do.

4.3.4 Strong learner achievement motivates teachers

On the other hand, when learners achieve well, teachers feel good about themselves and motivated to do their work. Because teachers understand learner performance as a reflection on themselves and their effort, positive learner achievement generates an upward spiral of energy and motivation.

Katarina sometimes did "*feel happy*" because "I can see the project that they have done. *I can see what I was teaching them. They do understand*" (SG52-K). Celiwe talked about feeling "*proud*", "*very happy*" and "*very excited*" when her learners "passed what I have assessed them on". It made her feel that she "could at least *do something for them that they can be proud of* at the end of the day" (CG8-C). Their achievement made her work feel worthwhile and she was happy for their sake. Josie had a similar response when a boy who was initially failing managed to pass the next test well. It made her feel overwhelmed with emotion: "I had to *hold myself back almost because I just felt so emotional that this boy had done so well*" (RG279-J). One child who had "hit the nail on the head" made Cuvanya feel "so good as an assessor and as a teacher" because it meant that she had "taught this child something of the way it should be done, the way this section should be understood, and *she got it. And that*

for me is very uplifting" (RG51/56 – C). Teachers feel very affirmed, 'happy', 'proud', 'excited', 'emotional', 'so good', 'uplifted' when their learners understand and progress. Learn success is deeply satisfying and motivating for teachers.

It is this satisfaction, and the affirmation of a teacher's worth that comes with it, which enables teachers to continue putting in the required energy. As Thobile described, learner success is the internal motivator that drives her to do her work.

> *When the learners pass you become motivated, like, I want to do this again, and more and more*. Because *you want to see them passing again*, at different levels every time. So *you become intrinsically motivated because learners do well*. (KG170-TH)

Learners 'passing and doing well' becomes the 'intrinsic motivation' for teachers to continue putting effort into their work.

Teachers also mentioned the acknowledgement that occasionally comes directly from learners, without the medium of assessment. Theresa described how, occasionally,

> *learners come back and say thank you*. … I think you can *almost feel satisfied by that*, because the reason why we went into teaching to begin with is to help, to help children. And I think in a lot of cases it's not necessarily academically that they're thanking you. You've actually helped them in their life or done something. *As a teacher you have to hang on to those things*. And you've got to take that letter out every now and then and read it just to make you think, *ok, actually maybe this is worth it*. (PG82-T)

Theresa is 'satisfied' by learners' thank you letters, because, after all she went into teaching to help learners. She 'hangs on to' these expressions of learner gratitude for her helping them in non-academic ways, because it gives her the feeling of it all being 'worth it' and thus boosts her motivation to continue. But she does use the words 'almost' satisfied and 'maybe' worth it – it seems that thank you letters are wonderful but insufficient, unless underpinned by 'learners doing well'. Learner gratitude is great on top of learner achievement – together they make being a teacher worthwhile, give meaning to the job and generate intrinsic motivation.[82]

[82] I've noticed that the interviews I did in 2010 with D and M groups are contributing less volume and intensity to this chapter than the interviews I did in 2009. In particular, there are no intensely positive emotions about learner achievement. Re-reading both interviews, I can see that their intensity is more directed towards assessment policy / the department and less towards learners. And when they do talk about learner achievement, it's more about how their learners are not achieving. It's as if they are too exhausted and frustrated to be happy

4.3.5 Learner achievement takes teachers on an emotional roller coaster

When seen over time, the upward spiral of pleasure at learner achievement turns into a downward spiral of anxiety about learner failure and becomes a roller coaster, with intense emotional twists and turns, ups and downs. Most of the teachers interviewed spoke about both the ups and the downs in the same utterance.

> "*If my learners did well, I feel happy. If my learners didn't do well, I don't feel happy*". (MG133-M)
>
> "*I was upset about those failures*. I get quite involved in their emotions. And *the kids who do well, unexpectedly well, make you feel good*. (DG258-V)

Katarina described how the learners' feelings about their failure and success drag the teachers along with them. When the LSEN learners in her school see their results in comparison to other schools

> *it makes them feel sort of like a failure and I suppose the emotion is also transferred to us*. Because *if they pass, then you feel happy* and you feel, ok, *we've sort of done something*. (SG142-K)

Josie described the up and downs of the roller coaster in more detail.

> *You feel happier because you see they are enthusiastic about it*. If you spend a lot of time being creative and working so hard on the assessment task, then you come to school, bring it to them and *you get no reaction from it, obviously that makes you disappointed and de-motivated*. You think, well, I'm not going to do that again. I'm not going to spend so much time, my personal time and effort to do that for them. But when you go into a classroom and *they are enthusiastic*, as enthusiastic as you are about an assessment, *it obviously makes you feel happy and you want to do it more* and you want to give them more assessment tasks and things that like that, because you're seeing results from what you've done. You're seeing results that show you that because you've worked hard they are also willing to work hard and they are willing to be enthusiastic and work really hard for it. So I think the emotion comes in when you see the reaction of the kids to the actual assessment. (RG43-J)

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about learner achievement. This is not an absolute claim – see quotes by Mathoto, Hlubi, Danielle, Vicky, Cheryl – but they have contributed less quotes and there are more quotes from them in chapter 6.

Josie's roller coaster moves from happy to disappointed and de-motivated, then back to enthusiastic and happy. These examples illustrate two important issues: Firstly, how teachers and learners are in it together and emotionally affect each other. Teachers cannot keep themselves completely separate from the emotions that arise in their learners in response to assessment tasks and results. Secondly, how learner achievement is totally intertwined with teachers' motivation to work and put in effort. The reaction of the learners have an immediate impact on the teacher's motivation – when learners respond well to an assessment task, the teacher is prepared to put in more creativity and effort; when students respond badly, the teacher is 'de-motivated'. Equally, when the teacher puts in extra effort, the learners also become 'willing' and 'work really hard for it'. The key here is that continued motivation for further work on the teachers' side is dependent on a positive response to the task from the learners' side.

The next quote illustrates how a teacher, even when he is specifically setting out to describe the 'not gloomy' feelings about assessment, slides up and down the emotional roller coaster.

> I don't think we need to look only at the *gloomy part of assessment (laughs)*. We should *also think about the other parts that really make us happy*, or *sometimes uncomfortable*. What makes me *happy* when it comes to assessment is: when I do the question, *the interaction with the learners*, asking them questions and the responses I get. ... Giving them feedback as well, maybe to add a little bit more on what they've given me, to extend their knowledge, *I like that*. That's what *I enjoy very much, the interaction* with them. Then what *really upsets me is marking low quality work* from a learner, after having spent so much time speaking to them or having activities that would really lead to better understanding and you still find some learners are just lethargic, *they don't even care* (laughs). Sometimes they don't even write anything. *Then you wonder*, why is this child not motivated? *Maybe* you also need to think about learners' feelings as well when it comes to certain activities. *Maybe* we bore them; we don't know (laughter). (KG15-K)

Khumbula sets out to speak about the aspects of assessment that make him 'happy', but the word 'uncomfortable' follows in the next breath. He 'enjoys very much' the 'interaction' and 'giving feedback that extends learners' knowledge' but gets 'really upset' by learners who are not engaged and give him 'low quality work'. Then he 'wonders' why the learners are 'lethargic' and 'not motivated', which leads him back to his sense of himself as a teacher and the things he is 'maybe' not doing ('considering their feelings') or unwittingly doing ('boring

them'). Getting such varied responses from learners (both positive responses and lethargy) makes his emotions fluctuate wildly, leaving him concerned about his impact on the learners.

The emotional roller coasters described above are not under the teachers' control. The teachers are pulled into emotional ups and downs by learners' emotions, learners' responses, the learners' quality of work and their own empathy with learners' results.

4.3.6 Without learner achievement, teaching loses its meaning

The purpose of being a teacher fades into insignificance when there is no learner achievement. If the teacher does not manage, through her effort, to enable learner achievement, there is nothing much else left for her to do. Celiwe describes this graphically. On the one hand:

> *When learners pass well, I feel very proud. I feel very proud*. That is why I said I wish they can all pass. You see this *'pass one, pass all', I like it*. It's nice when all in class have achieved good results. Even though they are not on the same par, but *everybody has passed at least; it makes you as an educator to be happy and proud of your learners*. And they are eager to learn more when they pass. (CG30-C)

Celiwe's support of the 'pass one, pass all' slogan is telling. Although she recognises that all children 'are not on the same par', she does, 'at least', want 'all in class' to achieve 'good results'. Her 'happy and proud' feelings are marred unless 'everybody has passed'. Passing is important not only because it makes the teacher 'very proud', but crucially because it makes learners 'more eager to learn'. What Celiwe needs is to provide herself and her learners with evidence that they are learning something. This is important because, on the other hand

> *When they fail, they end up absconding out of your house*, because they weigh themselves as failures, as slow learners. (CG30-C)

With continued failure, it becomes difficult for learners to be able to remain in class and continue learning. Without a feeling of achievement that comes from getting a pass mark, they 'weigh themselves as failures' and 'abscond from the house of learning'. This brings the teacher-learner relationship to an end.

Even if the relationship does not come to a complete end (children are, after all, legally obliged to go to school), the teacher cannot continue teaching unless she is able to take the learners with her on the journey. Teachers not only respond to, but are also dependent on the amount of effort that learners put into their work. Susanne describes how she finds it "*hard to give your co-operation if they don't*". She understands why "it's hard to motivate them as to why they should be taking Afrikaans", but she is dependent on seeing "how eager some of them are and how nicely they try and how nicely they learn" for her encouragement to continue as a teacher. If the learners "*don't put their hearts into it, then yes, it's hard*" (SG36-Sus).

When learners don't perform, be it as a group, over time or even specific individuals, it becomes difficult for teachers to continue motivating themselves because they feel 'demoralised', 'disappointed', 'heartbroken' and 'de-motivated'. Vicky found it "*a bit demoralising*" (DG299-V) when she had "no kids with any maths ability" in her class. Nevertheless, she felt responsible for learners' results (DG339-V), worked hard with "weak kids" and got "*very upset*" when one of her learners "a very clever girl in all her other subjects" *failed maths* in the final year of school (DG252-V). Cheryl described a few instances where she was "*absolutely heartbroken*" and "*deeply disappointed*" because learners had not done as well as expected (DG260/4-C). Katarina emphasised how 'de-motivated' teachers can become when their students are not doing well:

> But now *if you work so hard and put such a lot of effort in and there are no results, or no positive results, it's very de-motivating*. (SG142-K)

When the distress over low learner achievement and the resultant self-accusation becomes too extreme and painful, one way out is for teachers to leave the profession.

> We become *confused about why all the learners are failing. Where is the problem? What is it that I've not done right? So it's very bad, it's painful*. You can end up saying, *maybe it's because I am a failure*, that is why *I could not bring the subject closer or clearly to learners. Maybe that is why other people leave teaching*. (KG158/162-TH)

If 'all the learners are failing' without the teachers being able to understand or do much about that, it feels 'very bad and painful'. Then teachers fall back on thinking that they are responsible for the failure, and that, actually, they *are* the failure because they do not know

how to teach in ways that bring 'the subject closer to the learners'. This feeling of failure makes them want to run away and leave teaching.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I showed how, when viewed through the lens of emotions, learner achievement is the key factor for teachers – it is the reason for being a teacher, the continued motivation for remaining a teacher, the yardstick to measure job satisfaction, the key ingredient that enables a teacher to continue or not and the emotionally most prominent thread in a teacher's life. Emotionally, learner achievement is at the centre of a teacher's life and directly shapes the motivation for being a teacher. It was not only one teacher who felt this direct relationship between themselves and learners' success, but each and every one of them, regardless of the school context they worked in. It is completely key to being a teacher and intrinsic to the job and the teacher-learner relationship. The teachers in this study expressed it slightly differently, but they were all linking their identity as a teacher to the achievement of their learners.

The quotes in this chapter also illustrate how emotionally intense the learner achievement emotional roller coaster is.[83] Teachers move from 'burning' with anger to 'very proud', from a sense of 'failure' to being 're-affirmed', from wanting to 'leave' the profession to 'having a life'. This intensity indicates the centrality of learner achievement to their professional lives. It also means that teachers are not in control of the roller coaster – their ride is taking its cue from learner success or failure rather than from their own effort. Their effort is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for shifting the direction of the ride.

Seen through the lens of the process of attribution (Turner, 2007), it is interesting to note that teachers are making self-attributions for both the success and the failure of their learners. They are not following the general bias of making "proximal attributions" for positive learner results (p99) and "distal attributions" for negative results (p100), but are taking responsibility

[83] What the quotes have not established is the turnaround time of the roller coaster. The turnaround may be short, in response to a single batch of work. It might stretch over a year, with more hopeful emotions at the beginning and more desperate emotions at the end. It may be a repeated pattern with the same students at the top and the bottom end, entrenching emotions and attitudes towards particular students. I only asked questions about content and objects of emotions, not about re-occurrence over time.

for both. Later chapters will show that teachers are not taking exclusive responsibility for learner achievement, but share it with learners and at times do make "distal attributions" to various parts of the education system for negative results. But the important thing to note is that the primary impulse of teachers is to take responsibility for both positive and negative learner results and to take the resulting emotional roller coaster in their stride.

I think the main insight of this chapter is that teachers live on an emotional roller coaster because their professional identity is totally intertwined with learner achievement. Or, phrased the other way around, teachers identify with learner achievement and that takes them on an emotional roller coaster. Or, clarifying the relationships more, teachers feel strongly about learner achievement because it speaks to their purpose for teaching in the first place. Teachers care deeply about learner achievement and derive their sense of identity and satisfaction as a teacher from it – that is the prime insight about assessment I gained from looking at teachers' emotions. In novels, films and biographic studies about teachers (e.g. Freedom Writers, Stand and Deliver), learner achievement is the automatic centre of what it means to be a teacher. But I don't find it in the academic literature on assessment. It is as if in academic work, the centre is hidden.

The relationship between teachers and learner achievement is particularly hidden in policy work. SA education policy says we want 'caring' teachers - the National Curriculum Statement "envisions teachers who are qualified, competent, dedicated and caring" while being able to "fulfil the various roles outlined in the Norms and Standards for Educators", which "include being mediators of learning, interpreters and designers of Learning Programmes and materials, … and assessors" (GET p3, FET p5). But then the policy documents proceed to legislate and the education officials tightly regulate bureaucratic ways of 'caring' – filling in forms about the achievement of learners, keeping records of all the ways that teachers helped learners - as if teachers must be told how to care, or even legislated and bureaucratically forced to care. In contrast, what the above quotes show is that structurally, teachers have no option but to care because their sense of their professional self is intertwined with learner achievement. Teachers are on the learners' side for their own sake.

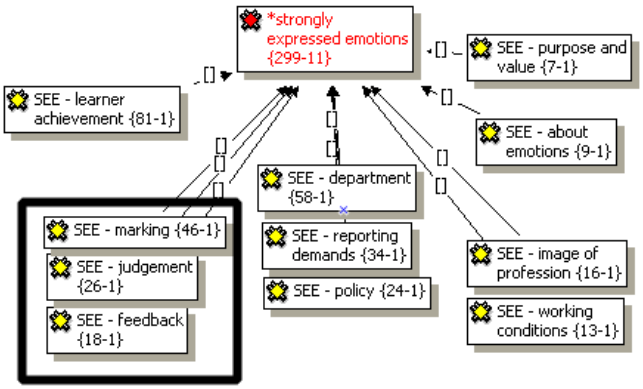
I think one implication of the data presented in this chapter is that bureaucratic measures to control teachers' work cannot be effective if the primary relationship of teachers with

learners is not supported in ways that give teachers access to the intrinsic rewards of teaching and learner achievement - that of having time for the 'interaction' and 'watching the faces light up'. As Cheryl said,

> I think *the rewards in this job are truly about what happens in the classroom between you and each individual learner. That's it! That's our payback*. (DG284-C)

Chapter 5: Teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to their assessment practice

5.1 Introduction – How the quotes were selected



For this chapter I used the 87 sections included in the family SEE - Doing Assessment. They are strongly expressed emotions directed towards teachers' assessment practice, which involves setting assessment tasks[84], marking, giving feedback, and making a judgement about what would be a valid learner response. Marking is the moment of evaluating a learner's work while giving feedback is the process of informing learners of the evaluation and, in many cases, also explaining the evaluation to learners. I have not included recording and reporting on marks here, as those processes go outside of teachers' primary focus on learner achievement and will be covered in the next chapter.

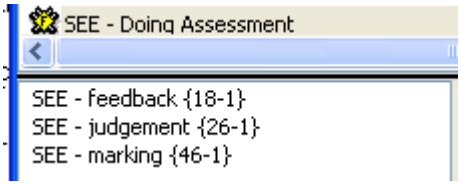


Figure 5: The family of codes that constitute SEE-Doing Assessment[85]

[84] Setting assessment tasks did not evoke strongly expressed emotions, so does not feature much in this chapter.
[85] If you add the quotations in the 3 SEE sub-codes, there appear to be 90, but the actual total is 87, as there are 3 sections that are co-occurring.

Strongly expressed emotions were expressed most often towards marking (46 quotes), but the act of making a judgement about a learner's level of achievement was also an active concern (26 quotes), while giving feedback (18 quotes) was talked about in emotional ways only half as often as marking.

There were many more sections about marking, feedback and making a judgement than what are in this code family. They captured moments when teachers were calmly describing their assessment work and the many strategies they use, thus not strongly expressed emotionally. But these descriptions of teachers' assessment practice are outside of my concern of illustrating teachers' emotions towards their assessment practice. In this chapter, I am working only with issues that teachers expressed strong emotions about.

The chapter introduces the process of marking and giving feedback in the context of the emotional roller coaster because of teachers' close ties to learner achievement. The chapter then moves on to describe the pressures of endless marking. The central section explores how doing assessment is such complex and anxiety-generating work because of the struggle to make a fair and ethical judgement. To end off, the chapter illustrates how, at times, doing assessment can be an emotionally positive experience.

5.2 The emotional roller coaster when doing assessment

"There's *a lot of emotions involved* in the assessment process"(RG315-P) was Perusha's comment in the middle of talking about the complex and varied emotional moments she experienced with learners and parents when she handed back the results of her marking. In this section, I will describe those emotions as they relate to the work involved in doing assessment, i.e. marking and giving feedback. The relationship dynamics differ between marking and giving feedback: when marking, the teacher is engaging with the learner's work and carries the responsibility for making a fair judgement; when giving feedback, the teacher is engaging with the learner and carries the responsibility of presenting a clear and useful message about the results of marking.

Teachers saw marking as an intrinsic but undesirable part of the job of teaching. As Khumbula laughingly stated:

I *wish there was no marking* in education. *(laughter)*. It's *so unfortunate* that it's there. I *wish it away but it's not going to go away (laughs)*. (KG182-K)

His initial claim of 'wishing there was no marking' evokes laughter from his colleagues, as it is such an impossible wish. He repeats his desire and his wish, but then laughingly admits to its impossibility, as 'it's not going to go away'. In the life of a teacher, marking is there to stay.

The teachers were clear about the reasons why marking would not go away. Marking is the act of assessment and without it "you cannot *know what people understand or know*" (PG4-T). Assessment, and therefore marking, was seen as essential for both learners and teachers, because "*it allows them to see* what their weak points are, and *whether they understand* a particular section that has been taught" and "*it tells us how we are teaching*, whether we have *conveyed a message the right way or is it a misconception*" (RG18-C). Teachers thus confirmed that marking is part of the package deal of teaching. But that does not mean they enjoyed marking. In two focus groups (PG and SG), when I mentioned marking, the teachers spontaneously dropped their heads on their arms on the table, as if weighed down by a heavy burden. Their gesture said more than many words. Marking weighs teachers down. In as much as teaching is uplifting, so marking is depressing.

I found four different aspects that shape teachers' emotions on this emotional roller coaster of assessment practice. The first is that teachers need learners to achieve well, because that makes them feel satisfied. The second is that when this roller coaster goes public, i.e. when teachers are judged alongside their learners, then emotions intensify dramatically. The third is that giving feedback, particularly feedback about negative results, is an uncomfortable obligation. And lastly, learners are expected to make an effort to learn.

5.2.1 Teachers need learners to achieve

In the previous chapter I showed how teachers' emotions are linked to learners' achievements like a roller coaster on which they ride without being able to control the outcome even though they feel responsible for it. Their sense of self as a teacher is tied inextricably to learners' results. It is in teachers' interest for learners to get good results because that makes teachers

feel good about themselves. So all the teachers were predisposed towards wanting students to achieve favourable results. Celiwe said is most explicitly

> *I wish*, when we do assessment, *all the results would come positive. All learners should pass*. (CG6-C)

Tellingly, Celiwe uses the work 'should'. Learners 'should all pass' because that would make teaching an enjoyable job. But in reality they don't, causing teachers to experience distress at learner non-achievement. This connection between learners' achievements and teachers' emotions and sense of self provides the context within which assessment work is done. What this context means, is that when teachers are marking, they are invested in what learners are presenting and when they are giving feedback, they are giving learners a message that reflects on themselves as well. Emotionally, when a teacher is marking, although she is primarily evaluating and pronouncing a judgement on a learner's work, she is at another level also making an evaluation of her own work. The emotional context in which marking takes place is thus the roller coaster generated by teachers' self-reflection in the mirror of learner achievement as described in the previous chapter.

In the process of marking, teachers see what learners have not understood and the imperfections of their teaching stare them in the face. For Susanne, marking is "*very de-motivational*" because learners don't relate to her subject, Afrikaans, very well. "*Every time I mark I just feel I've taught my heart out* and what do *I get? Zilch*. That's how I feel" **(**SG53-Sus). Susanne feels 'de-motivated' by getting 'nothing' back for all the effort of 'teaching her heart out'. It was even worse for Sandy who confessed that at times her learners' work is "*absolutely atrocious*" so that "*it doesn't even look like I was in the class*" (SG32-S). Sandy's teacher self feels obliterated at the realization that her learners' knowledge shows no indication of her presence. Vicky expressed the same sentiment:

> It's much more a *feeling of despair when you're marking* because so many kids *just do not know* maths, and you're marking these *piles of papers* and you think: *what have I been teaching for the last three weeks*? It's *like they know nothing*. Often you get *piles of them*, where they're *just clueless*. (DG297-V)

Vicky feels 'despair' at marking 'piles' of 'clueless' papers because it completely threatens her identity as a teacher. "What have I been teaching for the last three weeks?' It's as if her efforts were blown away by the wind, leaving her learners 'knowing nothing'.

Marking thus becomes an unbearably heavy burden when learners don't achieve. For teachers to be able to continue teaching, they need to see at least some good results when marking.

5.2.2 The anxiety about weak achievement intensifies when teachers are also judged

The emotions of this roller coaster are intensified when there is a structural shift to include outsiders who judge the teachers' work on the basis of learners' results, i.e. when teachers' internal self-evaluations are being amplified in the external world. Teachers experience it as "*very, very scary*" when anonymous officials in the education department "*judge me and the children*". It is 'very scary' for an outsider to notice that the work is 'absolutely atrocious', particularly because outsiders are not sympathetic "*because they don't understand*" (in this case the local circumstances of an LSEN school) (SG143-S). Teachers' anxiety about their marking and their learners' achievements is enhanced whenever assessments are subject to cluster moderations or take the form of externally set and marked exams. In those circumstances,

> The *pressure is on educators*. There's a *high tension*, both in educators and learners. Because we are a high school, we are *weighed according to our results*. So *everybody is crossing their fingers* that *oooh, that the learners make it*. And that's when *we remember God.* (CG56-C)

This quote by Celiwe illustrates how teachers feel 'pressurised' and filled with 'high tension' because they are 'weighed' and often found wanting alongside their learners' 'results'. The references to 'crossing their fingers' and 'remembering God' show both the intensity of the anxiety and the desperate grasping after something that will help and cause a miracle of good results.

Theresa experiences the same pressure. She realises that "results are very important". And she has experienced how "teachers are judged, in many cases incorrectly, by the results of their classes" (PG16-T). She perceives this as a norm that comes at teachers from the outside, from "the society that we're in and in the school system that we're in" but also a norm that has been internalised, "therefore it is a major frustration when children don't achieve" (PG16-T).

Teachers are thus closely identified with learners' results, both in terms of how they are perceived from the outside as well as how they feel on the inside. Good learner results give teachers status in the eyes of others and also an intrinsic sense of well-being, while (by implication) bad learner results give teachers a bad name, as well as make them feel unpleasant. While these teachers are taking responsibility for their learners' achievements, they cannot ensure that 'the learners make it', because they are not in control of the outcome. So when others do the marking, others who are external to the school and are perceived as powerful but with little sympathy for local conditions, teachers feel out of control and judged. Teachers' desire for good learner results is thus fuelled not only by their self-evaluation, but also by outsiders' judgement of them.

5.2.3 Teachers are uncomfortable when having to give negative feedback

Another emotional driver for teachers' desire for good results is learners' negative response to bad results. The pain of giving feedback originates from the discrepancy between the teacher's and the learner's evaluation of the work and the subsequent need to deal with learners' disappointment. Cheryl found essay writing "the hardest to actually assess" because "it's *such a subjective thing* and the process often illustrated this discrepancy in judgement.

> What happens is that *learners think it's really fantastic*. They say, 'you know, this is *the best thing I've ever written*'. So *I dread reading* it. And then *you read it and it was totally useless*. Then you *have to hand it back and tell* them, *but you don't want to hurt them. So that's difficult*. In terms of assessment that's *a real problem area*. (DG49/51-C)

The gap between 'fantastic', 'best thing I've written' and 'totally useless' is enormous. The teacher correctly expects learners to feel 'hurt', so she finds it 'difficult' 'to hand the work back and tell them'. No wonder that over time she has come to 'dread' marking essays and that she experiences giving feedback as 'a real problem area".

Celiwe vividly captured the emotional burden of having to inform learners of their failure.

> *Giving them feedback that they have failed makes me sad*. I *wish I could not get to that position*, to tell a learner that: *you have failed, you did not make it*. It *makes them*

feel useless. It makes them *feel small*. Even if they want to try harder, hearing they have failed makes them *feel discouraged and de-motivated*. (CG6-C)

Celiwe becomes 'sad' and does not want to be in 'that position' where she has to give feedback informing learners that they 'have failed'. She empathises too much with their feeling 'useless', 'small', 'discouraged' and 'de-motivated'. Their negative feelings overwhelm her as well. It is uncomfortable being the bearer of bad news. Celiwe wished she could get "someone else to tell them the news, not me." (CG78-C)

Theresa and Lynne were affected by their learners' 'tears'. "Obviously when you give [marked scripts] back to them, *you realise how disappointed some of them are* and then *they're in tears*" (PG58-T). Lynne agreed, describing how, in response to tears, she took on the role of comforter: "Yes, in Maths *I also have a lot of the girls in tears* and you just *have to console them*, try and *boost them again, get the confidence levels up*" (PG61-L). Lynne responded to learners' 'tearful disappointment' by 'consoling', 'boosting' and 'getting confidence levels up'. In comparison, Celiwe felt less able to comfort learners and more helpless than Lynne:

> *I feel bad*, because you *become frustrated as to what to do* in order to help this learner. Because when you give the learner those results, that feedback that the learner did not do well, *you can see the disappointment on the poor child's face*. Whereas *the child put so much effort, she thought she did the best, yet I say 'no, you are still incompetent'*. So it's *very sad*. It's *not a nice thing*. It's *not a nice thing*. (CG28-C)

Celiwe feels worse than Lynne because of her inability to make the situation better. She is upset by the discrepancy between the child's effort and her own evaluation. She is caught helpless between bearing the message of judgement and her desire to bring comfort.

Charlotte too was caught between her evaluation when marking and the children's '*disappointed*' responses.[86] Charlotte stands by her obligation to mark appropriately, but finds it very distressing to face the children who question her marking. She is aware that it is

[86] She described how "the kids will sometimes say to you - if they've gotten *used to you and brave enough* - they'll say: '*I worked so hard on this and I really thought I'd get a better mark*'. And I find that *I give them an option* that they can go and ask another teacher to mark it if they're not happy with it. *I hate marking poetry* because I think it's something where you're trying to express yourself *anyway*, and *I'll always tell them that*. And then I find that *I make excuses on their behalf* and I'll say, 'oh but you know, *I mark very strictly'. To try and take it away*. But *you can actually see*, and they'll say to you: '*I put so much effort into this and I'm so disappointed with my mark*'." (PG62-C)

only the children who are '*brave*' and who have 'gotten used to' her enough to trust her, who will be voicing their dismay. But still, her workload will not permit her to soften and take scripts for remarking. She '*hates*' being in that position and offers three other soothers to make the children feel better: the 'option for another teacher to re-mark', the explanation that this mark doesn't really mean much 'anyway' because 'poetry is meant for self-expression' and the excuse that she is a 'strict marker'. But she can 'actually see' that the children remain 'so disappointed' because the 'mark' did not correspond to their 'effort'. Charlotte offers the children some words, but like Celiwe, she feels unable to make a difference in the face of their disappointment.

The teachers are also aware of the long-term effects that regular negative feedback can have for learners. Thobile talked about how low marks "*create low self-esteem.* And the *learner gives up,* thinking that *everyone knows that 'I am a stupid*'. So the learner ends up *being stubborn*, with an *attitude of 'I don't care*'" (KG45-TH). Once learners have been disappointed so often that they stay caught in the space of 'low self-esteem', 'giving up' and 'feeling stupid,' they soon develop a 'stubborn', 'don't care' resistance to learning – which perpetuates the problem.

Learners' disappointment puts these teachers in a double bind. When teachers are marking, they are making judgements that uphold the criteria and professional standards of the subject they are teaching in relation to the written work in front of them. When teachers are giving feedback and handing the results of their marking to the children in front to them, the disappointment of some children urges them to counteract the effects of their own judgement. Thus, during the feedback phase of assessment, whenever there is face-to-face interaction with learners over the results, teachers are caught in an uncomfortable place between two professional responsibilities: to mark reliably and to keep learners sufficiently motivated to continue learning. That makes it emotionally difficult for teachers to give negative feedback.

5.2.4 Teachers expect learners to make an effort

For teachers to attain their desire of good learner achievement, learners need to put in the work and do the required learning. Celiwe was very clear about the learners' part in the co-responsibility for achievement between teachers and learners when she argued that,

> I feel learners are responsible for their own marks. But only if I have done my part. If I feel I did not do justice, I'm also as responsible as they are. But if I know that I did my job, I tried my level best to do my job, I went an extra mile, then I feel the responsibility is on their shoulders. (CG48-C)

Thus, when teachers perceive learners as 'not making enough effort', they get 'frustrated and irritated'. As Danielle conceded,

> there are skills that you know *you've been teaching and teaching*, and learners have done it in previous years, but *they're still making the same errors*. And *it frustrates you and it irritates you*, because *you think they just are not putting in any effort*. (DG300-D)

Cuvanya and Lynne were in the same boat. Both explicitly wanted their learners to respond to the efforts they were making by putting in some effort of their own. Cuvanya talked about the studying from learners that she hoped for when generating an interesting assessment task, expecting 'learners to benefit' from thinking about the question, and the sense of 'wasted effort' when that did not happen:

> I also *like to set interesting questions* and *hopefully the learners will benefit* from that. But then, as Josie said as well, *if they don't study* and they *don't perform well in that question* then *I feel that I've wasted my effort*. (RG45-C)

The sense of wasted effort leads to de-motivation, which makes it more difficult to put in the effort next time around. Lynne was frustrated by

> the *apathetic attitude* of some learners. That they *can't be bothered*. They *don't do the work*. And you get to a point where you *get sick and tired of actually nagging for a piece of work*. They just *sometimes don't put the effort in* and they *take everything for granted*. And I think that's *very frustrating at times*, is that they *don't actually appreciate every little thing that they get*. And I think *that's hard*. (PG24-L)

No matter how much the teachers might desire good results from learners, the results were beyond their control because they cannot force learners to make the effort. If learners 'can't be bothered', 'don't do the work', 'don't put in the effort' and 'don't appreciate' the effort of the teacher, then teachers are stuck with 'nagging'. So Lynne takes it 'hard' that her effort is 'wasted' and she ends up feeling 'sick and tired'. Learner achievement requires a mutual effort between learners and teachers, so teachers find it upsetting when learners do not live up to expectations by playing their part.

While teachers are generally predisposed towards their learners achieving good results, their irritation with learners sometimes gets in the way. Sandy experienced the roller coaster from the other side when she admitted that:

> It's also been *the other way around,* where you have *a very badly behaved child that actually does well*. *I felt just as disappointed at this child doing well* in my subject, because *I actually wanted him to fail*, and *wanted him to be punished*...yes, that has also happened. (SG65-S)

Here Sandy is admitting to something that she does not approve of. But bad behaviour makes a teacher's work more difficult, so her feeling is that: why should learners get good results when they spurn the teacher's efforts? Sandy's admission of her secret longing for revenge shows how vulnerable teachers are in their teacher-self.

There was one thing that made teachers disassociate themselves from learners' work and results, which is when learners cheated. When learners copied from each other, from older siblings, from their parents or from the Internet, the teachers felt like the learners were reneging on their side of the bargain. Teachers felt "*infuriated*", "*driven up the wall*" and forced into a marking situation where "*it's an absolute waste of time*" because "*they get nothing from it and you get nothing from it*" (DG54-65). Learner copying and cheating made the marking work of teachers 'infuriating' and ultimately meaningless ('you get nothing from it') - which made teachers feel like withdrawing their side of the bargain too.

The emotional context of marking for teachers is thus an emotional roller coaster that is shaped by a desire for the pleasure of good learner results, coupled with an anxiety about their own teaching should the learners not achieve. The intensity of these emotions is amplified when the learners' work is marked and judged by the outside world. When handing back marking and giving feedback, teachers are vulnerable to and strongly affected by learners' emotions of disappointment as well as concerned about the danger to learners of being discouraged and de-motivated by bad results. The desire for good results makes teachers expect learners to put in the required effort, leaving them frustrated and irritated when learners don't. Occasionally, this pattern is interfered with by vengeful thoughts of getting back at particularly disruptive learners or total fury at cheating learners.

In the rest of the chapter, I want to explore various emotional facets of teachers' assessment practice and in the process answer three questions. What is it about the work that makes teachers drop their heads on their arms on the table at the mere mention of the word 'marking'? What does it feel like facing the challenges inherent in doing assessment properly? Other than good learner results, is there anything that can make marking intrinsically enjoyable for teachers?

5.3 The pressure of getting it done

What is it about the work that makes teachers drop their heads on their arms on the table at the mere mention of the word 'marking'? The answers I found was that marking is endless and exhausting, that some forms of marking are worse than others, that teachers rely on extrinsic rewards to get through it and that the stress builds up and gets more horrific over time.

5.3.1 Marking is endless and exhausting

When asked about marking, teachers blurted out their responses. "The marking is *endless, absolutely endless, 24 hours a day*" (PG49-T). "It's *extremely time consuming*, the marking is *endless*" (PG50-L). "It just *seems endless* and you have to *juggle your time* (PG53-C). "It's *very stressful* if it's a *huge pile*" (RG390-P). "It's *very, very tedious, exhausting, just becoming too dreary*" (RG393-C). "*I hate* marking. Really, it's *not a nice experience* to mark, it *needs a lot of time*" (CG34-C). "Marking is *too much*" (KG179-TH). "We *don't enjoy it at all*" (KG191-NZ). "I've just got *hours and hours and hours* at the moment that I'm marking" (SG18-Sus). "Actually, it's in the marking of the papers that *there is depression*" (SG68-K). "I think the *sheer volume*, where you *contemplate huge piles* of marking, is *depressing*" (DG286-D). These unanimous responses show how, when teachers are faced with marking, they experience getting through the 'huge piles' as 'stressful', 'tedious', 'exhausting', overwhelming ('too much', hours and hours and hours) and 'depressing'. Marking takes up many hours of a teacher's life, but, to put it mildly, teachers generally 'don't enjoy marking at all'.

Giving feedback followed on from the exhausting task of marking and was tainted by that exhaustion. Charlotte described how she was "*just so relieved*" when the marking was done that she could not wait "to *pack it away and hand it over*. I actually *don't want to give the kids feedback after I'm done with it*" (PG56-C). Lynne had the same experience. She found that

> "you *don't have the time to spend a lesson* on going over it. There is *no time to reflect on it* and I'm only *just too thankful when it's finished*. I really *don't even want to think about it again*". (PG57-L)

So Lynne generally gave "*hardly any feedback*", except if she "got a bit of extra time I might give some feedback, but *generally no*" (PG65-L). Being required to give feedback on top of the already time-consuming and exhausting job of marking, was asking too much.

Marking also placed the teachers in a permanent state of tension about incompletion. Celiwe invited me to "come to my school and *check my cupboard to see the piles and piles of marking I start*, because it *takes me long to finish them* (CG34-C). She could never rest well in the knowledge that her marking chores were done. In Sandy's life, the anticipation of marking cast its long shadow forwards, as she felt that "marking is like gym. It's *the worst to get started*. Every time *I postpone it, postpone it*. Yes, *the worst is getting started, getting myself motivated*" (SG47-S). Sandy felt this threat hanging over her and 'struggled to motivate herself to get started'. For these teachers, marking is experienced as an ever-present, ever-threatening and inescapable chore.

The pressure of marking volume affected the teachers' home lives. Teachers talked about being under pressure from their families for working every evening (PG53-C), of not a week going by with no marking, of "inevitably" putting in "at least 2 or 3 hours of work" every Sunday "because you just cannot get the marking done" (PG50-L), of marking during the holidays (PG49-T) and of not being able to go to movies or away on weekends with friends, all of which is "*very frustrating and very irritating and you don't have a life. You actually don't have a life*" (PG54-T). Large volumes of marking take up more time than is comfortable or acceptable to teachers. "The *huge amounts of work*" for preparation and marking are "*the worst thing* with this new assessment" (PG50-L).

One teacher shared a secret about marking. Perusha was happy to teach Business Studies because, compared to languages and social sciences, she had far less marking:

> I'm *very fortunate* - it's a *well-kept secret* that Business Studies has *minimal marking* (laughs). No-one wants to teach the subject but *I'm very happy because there's not that much marking*, you know. (RG374-P)

Low marking loads are a secret pleasure. But for all the teachers who do not share the good fortune of minimal marking, the emotional experience of marking is that of stressful, exhausting, depressing, never-ending and unavoidable work.

5.3.2 Not all marking is the same

It is not only volume, but also the type of marking that makes a difference. As Danielle argued,

> It *depends on the kind of marking*, because a *huge pile of a test that's quite easy to mark is not the same as a huge pile of essays to mark*, which I actually have waiting for me right now. (DG286-D) I find essay marking *very stressful*, and the thought of it *really puts me off*. (DG48-D)

For Danielle one 'huge pile' is not like another. Tests (short answers) are 'easy to mark' while essays (long answers) are 'very stressful'. It is the "dreaded" essays (DG49-C) that 'really put her off' but are 'waiting' for Danielle 'right now'.

Celiwe eloquently described the emotional differences between marking various forms of assessment tasks:

> Some tasks are short, some are long. But the *marking I hate the most are the essays. It's too much work* there. You need to *follow the learner's grammar* and *check if the content* is out or on topic. It's *a lot of headache, really*. Having to read *70 essays, it's exhausting, I don't want to lie*. So the only marking that *I enjoy are class-works or maybe tests*, but *creative writing, no, I don't enjoy it, but I must do it. I really don't enjoy it. I wish* there could be someone who'll mark essays for me (laughter). (CG36-C)

The laughter at the end of this statement is one of those laughs that indicate the teacher has said something she knows she should not have said, but she feels it anyway. Celiwe knows that marking is part of her job and that 'wishing for someone else to take it over' is both unrealistic and not appropriate. But the 'wish' remains. Marking short task or tests is bearable, but 'creative writing' is different. The volume of essays in a large class (70), the

struggle to understand what learners are writing ('trying to follow' their grammar) and the resulting complexity of 'checking the content' all come together to make the task an 'exhausting' strain that she 'really does not enjoy'. No wonder Celiwe has piles and piles of marking in her cupboard (CG34-C) (the thought of which make her even more exhausted).

Other teachers also gave examples of how they are affected by different forms of assessment. Susanne contrasted marking "*oral*" performances that are "*alive and you interact with the child*" with marking *written* language performances that were experienced as "*very boring sometimes and very, extremely, hard*" (SG18-Sus). For Danielle, "there are ways of assessing that are *a lot of fun and very creative, and those I enjoy*. So you get to do things like a CD cover or a storyboard about a set work, which is *actually quite fun to mark*. But when I'm faced with *a pile of essays, I'm not so happy*" (DG46-D). For Joyce, it is "*wonderful*" and "*quite interesting*" to use "group and peer assessment" where "*a group performs* their work in front of the class" and "then the *class itself will be the one giving the marks*" (MG30-J). Ironically, Joyce experiences marking as 'quite interesting' when she is not the one doing the marking.[87] But even though marking was not a uniform experience, the overall sense of it "*taking a long time to finish*" (MG152-H) was dominant.

5.3.3 Getting through it requires strategies and extrinsic rewards

Teachers had various strategies to make themselves feel better about the marking and thus more able to get through it. Celiwe starts with the scripts of children from whom she expects good results because their "*language is better*" so that "*I can have energy*" and "find something that will *motivate me to keep on marking*". Starting with strong learners makes her feel better so she can control her irritation at the "*effort*" and "*time*" she has to put in to "*mark those that are difficult*" so she can "*become lenient to the ones that are struggling*", thus making her marking more fair (CG42-C). Khumbula starts with "*one-word answers to motivate*" himself, where marking goes quickly and he gains a sense of completion (KG184–K). Vicky and her colleagues "*share out*" the marking, so that each person has "*a smaller section* of the exam to mark and it is *just so much quicker*" (DG330-V). Sandy *shares some of the "hilarious" answers* with other teachers, so that "the *humour can help*" (SG114-S).

[87] The interview ran over time and Joyce needed to leave, so she did not have a chance to say how she felt when she did the marking.

The main strategy used by teachers was a system of extrinsic rewards at regular intervals. Charlotte motivates herself by allowing herself rewards of tea or a chocolate bar after a set number of scripts (PG56-C). So do Danielle and her colleagues – they use "giving yourself little rewards" like "a glass of wine", "a bottle of whiskey", "a box of smarties", "a little visit to the kitchen", "eating all the way through" and "watching TV" to help them sit still "for a whole day", long enough to get through the piles (DG304-320). Little rewards are useful because the only way out is through.

> You *don't have an option, you've got to sit and do it*. You've *got to get on with it*, so, *one gets on with it*. (DG311-D)
>
> You *can't really indulge your feelings of desperation*. (DG312-V)

The 'little rewards' cover up the 'feelings of desperation' about a task that teachers have 'no option' but to do. In order to maintain enough energy to keep going, they need to ignore their desperation.

The main reward (other than good learner results) for this "exhausting" task is "the *satisfaction of finishing fast* enough" (RG393-C). The reward is to feel "just so relieved" when it is finally "done" (PG56-C). "It is a great feeling when you've completed the piles (laughs)" (DG302-D). Teachers feel good when the marking is finished and done. There is a momentary sense of satisfied completion. But the moment is "short-lived, because the next pile is right there waiting" (DG303-V). The next pile of marking is inevitable.

5.3.4 Over time, the stress builds up

The never-ending nature of marking takes its toll. It is especially stressful towards the end of the year when the volume of marking is increased and tightly followed by report writing. It becomes a "*very difficult and time consuming*" task, because "*you're so panicked* about getting your marking done" and "it's *always such a rush*" (DG356/60-V). Danielle agreed

> Ya, I think one has *negative emotions* around that whole procedure, it's *very demanding* and it is *always under such pressure*, and there's *such time constraints always*, that is what makes it *very stressful*. (DG363-D)

For Lynne, this ‘panic’, ‘pressure’, ‘rush’ was affecting her whole life. The large volume of marking was making her feel “*very despondent*”, because the “*stress*” builds up, and “*you don't get time for you anymore*” (PG52-L). School becomes

> “the *most stressful environment* in which to work. The *pressure involved is horrific*. I *don't think any of us ever fully relax in the holidays* because there is *always work to be done*”. (PG52-L)

Lynne’s ‘despondency’ was developed over time, as ‘horrific pressure’ led to an on-going sense of being ‘stressed’ in a ‘stressful environment’ that did not allow her to ‘get time for herself’ or ‘relax in the holidays’.

The lack of relaxation can have long-term consequences, which Charlotte affirmed when she spoke next: “I think *despondent is probably a good word*” (PG53-C). Despondency is a long-term, underlying emotion that arises when a person has been tired, under pressure and without positive reinforcement for too long. And, as Charlotte mentioned later in the interview, “*I resigned* in the middle of last term and the thing I said to the principal was, ‘*I am eroded away. I have nothing more to give*’ (PG79-C). Contemplating the never-ending nature of marking, the family pressure she was under not to work at home every night, as well as the low pay she received in compensation for all this work, Charlotte remarked on the irony of how a teacher’s job is perceived as compared to its reality:

> And I know people still joke that teachers work half days. And we do. *Half a day is 12 hours, so we are working half day (general laughter)*. (PG53-C)

Doing assessment work is thus a large contributor to teachers feeling ‘despondent’ and having ‘nothing more to give’ because they have given it all to their ‘half day jobs’.

5.4 The struggle to do it right

What does it feel like facing the challenges inherent in doing assessment properly? The main feeling is being required to make ever more complex judgements and decisions in an insecure space. With marking and giving feedback, teachers need to make on-going judgements to ensure fairness. This requires complex weighing up of alternatives, extra attention when marking weak learners, considering a range of issues involved in making assessment fair and occasionally needing to solve ethical dilemmas.

5.4.1 It requires complex judgements

Marking paragraphs, essay or projects is "*not easy marking*" (PG49-T) and requires on-going reflection and judgements from teachers in the process. As Danielle described,

> There is such an *element of subjectivity* in essay marking and I find that *difficult*. Marking a test I don't mind so much because it's right or wrong, there's more of an element of objectivity to it. But the *really subjective tasks like essays*, you have to *weigh up* and it *takes a long time to decide if you really are right*, you know, *or if you are being unfair or too harsh or*… (DG48-D)

Danielle does not want to be 'unfair' or 'too harsh' in her marking, but because essays are neither 'right nor wrong', she spends 'a long time' 'weighing up' her judgement. Ntokozo faces the same issue of weighing up: "It's *difficult to score* a child and *know exactly what you're supposed to write, whether the learner is competent or not*" (KG108-NZ). And Celiwe emphasises the issue of fairness. "Marking *needs a lot of time*, especially *if I want to produce what is fair, if I want to do it justice*" (CG34-C).

One reason teachers gave for this difficulty of marking fairly is the relatively recent assessment policy shift towards assessing higher order cognitive skills and using extended, open-ended tasks like projects. This means that there is more to read and the judgement entailed in allocating a mark has become more complex.[88]

Katarina described the change in perspective that is involved in the changeover to marking more complex tasks.

> One day I was marking projects with a rubric, and then I saw, *hey, I have to look at this girl's work and actually read what she was saying*. And then it really *changed my whole perspective of that project*. Because *it wasn't as nice looking as the others for the eye, but it really had content in it.* (SG26-K)

[88] It must be said that teachers were not complaining about the new kinds of assessment tasks. In fact, they welcomed it as an improvement in the system of education. Katarina explained that "the new assessment is much more interesting for me, because when I assess I look at the whole project and then sometimes it's the answers, sometimes it's what they felt, sometimes it's what they make - it's really just not as boring as it was before (SG50-K). But there is no doubt that it requires more effort in the marking. Katarina continues, "it takes more effort from me, and from them, to do the research part and then to really look at the projects. But then, I also get excited about the things that they learned" (SG52-K).

Through using a rubric, Katarina learned to focus on the 'content' knowledge presented by the learner, regardless of whether the language and layout 'looked as nice for the eye' as the work of other students. That is a big shift in focus, and requires a much more detailed focus on what the learner is trying to express, requiring more time and a more complex weighing up of various factors before a mark can be decided on.

In accountancy and business studies, Theresa and Perusha were faced with a new emphasis on extended writing and learner reasoning, which they found 'much more difficult to mark'. As Theresa described:

> It's *not easy* marking. The *new syllabus is good*, it is good, *but* it makes it *much more difficult to mark*, because the *learners are doing a lot of analysis and writing*. In the old days, accounting was easy to mark because it was just figures. Now it's a *lot of analysis and writing* in paragraphs. The language is a problem, so *you've got to try and decipher* what some of the learners have written. It's not the subject English, so you can't penalise them for not constructing the sentences properly. *If they've got the concept somewhere there, you actually need to give them the marks*. So *you have to read and concentrate*. You *can't watch TV and mark* anymore (laughter). (PG49-T)

Theresa laughs because she is confessing to something she knows she should not have been doing. But the point is that she cannot watch TV while marking anymore, because she has to 'decipher' what learners say, find 'the concepts somewhere' and 'give them the marks'. This requires noticeably more focus from her. Perusha experienced the same 'huge challenge':

> Now FET is *more difficult marking* because it's *factually based opinions*. So everyone's opinion counts. You *have to sift through it* to see *whether the opinion marries to the facts*. That's *a huge challenge*. (RG390/392-P)

Perusha needs to 'sift through' and figure out whether learners are really writing 'factually-based opinions' or simply their opinion. Both these teachers are aware of and make the effort to meet the challenge of marking learners' work fairly by making the effort to 'decipher', 'sift through' and 'concentrate' on each learner's work to look for the meanings and connections that learners are trying to convey.

Complex decisions are also required when giving feedback to learners.[89] When moving from marking to giving feedback, teachers need to change roles from being the judge of quality to being the messenger who conveys the judgement. At times, being the messenger means taking on the role of comforter (as described earlier), at other times, the messenger gets blamed for what the judge did. The teachers generally understood feedback as an active engagement with learners around the outcome of the marking, (not simply as handing out scripts). This engagement means juggling a complex set of choices.[90] So although the teachers were generally positive about the need to give feedback, they were insecure about how to do it.

Katarina relies on the rubric: "*feedback is much better now* because you have *a rubric that is more positive*" (SG23-K). Cheryl gives written feedback "on the paper" or "calls individual learners out afterwards and says something" because she is "*determined not to humiliate*" any learners by making individual comments in front of the class (DC78/80-C). Charlotte provides "a double tick or a comment at the bottom about *something that I like*, so I'm *trying to encourage them* to use that again". But she worries that when in a hurry "you *tend to hone in on the negative rather than on the positive,* like 'you did this wrong again' or 'don't do this', and that's *not actually encouraging*" (PG66-C). Perusha, having suffered as a child through marks she did not understand or trust, now "*definitely gives feedback"* to the whole class as a "*focal area*". She gives her opinion "*this is what you did not do, and I would tell them explicitly"* (CRG93-P). Lynne also does it verbally, but for her, the best way to handle feedback is to "*have a one-on-one in the afternoon*", so she has "*time to figure out where their problems lie*" (PG61-L). Khumbula "*generally gives feedback*". But he found that "*when you write back to them it seems like they don't read, at all*". When he made written comments - to point out errors, show ways of improving or invite learners to speak to him - he found that "learners *still don't come forth*". So he decided it was *better "to speak to them*" and do a range of teaching activities in class to try and overcome learners' difficulties. But he experiences it

[89] There will be an exploration of emotional rules that come into play when giving feedback in chapter 7, so I will only illustrate some of the complications here.

[90] For example, should the feedback be written or verbal? Should it be given to the whole class during the lesson or to specific individuals in private after the lesson? Is praise or the threat of failure the more effective means of encouragement? Should feedback focus on what learners did well, on what they left out or misunderstood, or on what they can do to improve? Giving feedback is a complex activity, which is not sufficiently theorised here. I am simply illustrating the insecurities of teachers when doing it, so as to highlight their emotional experience of a difficult process.

> *like a cycle, a never-ending cycle, of reminding them. Which means we still need the patience to say: practice spelling, practice spelling, practice spelling. Read, read, and read. Let's do it again and again and again and again*. (KG193-K)

Not even giving praise for well-done work is a simple matter. As Charlotte found

> there are always some kids in your class that are *just much better* than everyone else. And *if you constantly praise them, you get the rolling eyes and the 'ooh' attitude from the rest, and those good learners then want to hide*. (PG33-C)

Not only do teachers feel insecure with the complex decisions they have to make about when and how they can best give feedback, but giving feedback is also an arena where a teacher's authority can be challenged and threatened. It is difficult to hold on to the validity of a mark when children and parents challenge teachers intensely. Perusha described an incident during which a learner "*came fighting, guns blazing*" with his demand for higher marks. "The *kid thinks he did brilliantly well without studying*, and *how do you then convince that kid*?" (RG311-P). In addition to "*the learners' emotions*", it also involves "the *parents thinking that they helped their child with the project*" and so their work deserves a good mark (RG313-P). "They can *become very convincing* and *their argument* is that they *did study* and they *did know their work. So it* [the process of justifying her marking] *is very emotional*". Perusha needed to remind herself to "*be the adult in the whole thing*" and to make her marking process transparent, so that she could "be able to *remove the emotional part* of it" (RG315-P). To survive giving feedback, Perusha had to stand up for herself both professionally, by 'convincing the child and the parents' of her marking, and personally, by containing her own emotions and 'being the adult'.[91]

Finding ways of giving feedback productively so that it supports learning and motivation is thus a puzzle to teachers. There is no one sure way that enables both learners and teachers to feel good about the process.

[91] This resonates with the student anger which the lecturers in Stough and Emmer's (1998) study needed to face when giving feedback.

5.4.2 Making the judgement becomes more complex for weaker learners

What makes assessment an even more complex process is the barrier to learning and achievement generated by most learners needing to write in a language that is not their own. This results in low levels of literacy, which are even harder to mark and give feedback on. Thobile felt "*stuck*" because she had to "*nurse two groups*" – those learners "who are *willing all the time* and those who *don't do anything*" (KG16-TH). So for her

> Marking is easier with these learners who at least have the vocabulary, who also at least know the spelling. But *with the others it's hard. It's a lot of work.* With some learners you find that the *spelling is wrong all the time, while others don't write*. (KG181-TH)

Thobile found it difficult to find meaning in papers where 'the spelling is wrong all the time'. Same for Ntokozo, who described,

> "when learners have to write statements, *you cannot read it because they don't even put spacing between the words, they just write one long thing*. At grade 7 you expect the learners to read, to write and to speak, but *they never come up with those skills. They still lack a lot of those things. They still lack those skills*". (KG187/191-NZ)

Ntokozo was distressed (as seen by her repeating it three times) about the lack of literacy ability she has to confront when marking. In fact, she could not really mark the work, because she could not understand it. But she still needed to produce a mark. Celiwe had the same problem and described how

> "*marking not an easy thing to do, really*. You *look for those marks, you try to remark the scripts* of the learner but *still you can't find anything* to make a learner pass. So *it's hard, it's hard*". (CG32-C)

Celiwe tried to get around the problem by using the strategy of "when I'm marking, I *just follow the content; with language I'm not that strict* (CG40-C). Teachers of weak students find marking difficult not only because it is distressing to be confronted with learner incompetence but also because it puts them into a quandary about what marks to allocate.

Language teachers experienced the marking complexities even more intensely, because they feel responsible for ensuring that learners learn the language that is used in the other subjects. Khumbula eloquently described the dilemmas that generate emotional and conceptual conflict

within him which make marking so difficult.[92] Khumbula found it 'de-motivating' to decipher scripts that are difficult to read because of the many language mistakes. He was conflicted about where to put the emphasis in his marking – on the language errors that distort meaning or on the meaning itself. He spent a 'long time' puzzling out the intended meaning. He 'struggled' to decide on a mark. He was open to the idea of ignoring errors, so that the learner's work does not have too much 'red ink', but was 'worried' that if he ignores errors, the child will not learn to write in such a way that a person reading can make sense of it. He found it 'frustrating and de-motivating' when 'the meaning is lost'. Throughout, he remained mindful of his responsibility as a language teacher to provide 'a foundation of learning'. No wonder that 'marking is the hardest of them all'. His experience of marking is intense engagement with the learners' 'minds' – but their writing is so weak that it provides no clarification and the learners are unavailable. He is left 'alone' with 'their minds' and his conflicts.

5.4.3 Struggles to make the judgement fair

The teachers were concerned with a whole range of issues that make marking more or less fair. These concerns related to their educational ideal fair assessment, and although they might feel like struggles, they also sustained teachers' emotional investment in marking. Teachers were critical of their own ability to mark fairly, so they consciously strove to make marking transparent to learners and parents and to be impartial in their marking decisions in spite of their irritation and de-motivation. They worried about rich kids having a better chance of getting good marks. They discussed amongst each other whether illegible

[92] Khumbula: "The *most difficult* tasks are the ones that involve paragraphs or sentences, where you really need to read. And it's *de-motivating* to mark a script that has too many language mistakes, especially spelling and punctuation errors, to such an extent that you *can't focus on the sense* that the person is making, on their thinking. You can't ignore wrong spelling, you end up underlining that, trying to make sense, what is this child saying? That takes a *long, long time*. Because *you struggle*, you find that the scripts, especially in the sections with paragraphs or sentences, are red with ink. Maybe we should ignore errors, but as a language teacher *I am worried* and I think the child is speaking to me. So if *I'm not really making sense out of this*, what at the end am I going to give this child? Language is a foundation of learning; it's really a foundation of learning. Because how do you understand *what the child is really trying to say to you* when answering the question like that? Is he or she really making sense? Where spelling is wrong *you can't even see what word that is*. Then the *meaning is lost*. So that's really *frustrating and de-motivating*. I think marking is the *hardest of them all*. Because *you sit there alone*, you're speaking to the minds of these children and they're away, you can't even ask them: what is it that you were trying to say here? They're nowhere (laughs). *It's you and their minds."* (KG186-K)

handwriting is an indicator of bad performance. They spent time and effort on generating good assessment tasks and agonised over whether these tasks were at the right level of difficulty. The mere fact that these teachers could be so honest about their inner struggles and admit, with an embarrassed laugh, to feeling (and sometimes even doing) things that they did not believe in, shows how they were aware of and attempted to counteract their tendencies towards bias and unfairness. They mentioned several incidents when their childhood teachers had treated their achievement unfairly and they now worked to counteract that unfairness in their own assessment practice (PG30-C, PG32-T, DG78-C, DG114-D, RG69-J, RG89-P, SG24-Sus, KG33-K, KG34-T, MG38-M, CG12-C).

Perusha was insightful about the contradictory emotional roles that marking could play in her relationship with learners. On the one hand she admitted to occasionally using assessment and marks "*as a weapon almost, you know, to strong-arm these kids into behaving and doing their work, like saying to them, 'if you make a noise, then I'm going to subtract ten marks*". But on the other hand she wanted her marking "*to earn these children's confidence*" which could only happen if she was "*transparent*" and able to show the kids that "*I've marked fairly, here's my memo*". She was careful to ensure that her marking was "*above board*, and that anyone who checks will be able to tell" so when kids challenged her, she could say "*let's get someone else* to mark this paper, *let's get your parent in* and we all four can *sit together and do it*" (RG315-P). In Perusha's world, for marking to be a fair reflection of learners' capabilities, the teacher needs to be accountable to the learners.

Josie and Sandy struggled with the subjectivity of marking open-ended, more complex tasks. Josie's concern was to tell herself to "stop being so sensitive in {her} emotions", because her emotions are "a lot different" when she marks the work of learners with whom she "has identified with and formed a certain connection". Sandy considered her "*problem*" to be that "you can't always be objective (SG32-S).[93] Her colleagues picked up on this problem of emotions influencing their marking – both the positive and negative emotions about particular children as well as the general emotions of being "frustrated" and "fed up". They worried about *giving a mark* that is "*the same as what I feel*" (SG35-K). They agreed that this did not apply to "objective exam papers where the answer is the answer", but only to open-ended

[93] The quote continues: "If I really have a bad child, or a *badly behaved child*, it is *more difficult to be completely objective*. You know, if it's a question of either pass or fail, then for the nicer child or the *child that you like* you would *lean towards the positive side*, and if it's *a child that you don't like*, you would *lean towards the negative side*" (SG32-S).

tasks "like a poster or a project" (SG40-S). They thought that continuous assessment, where marking takes place several times a term, might alleviate the problem because "maybe tomorrow you'll feel better (SG37-K). They reflected that "*life is full of emotion*" and that emotion is a part of all teaching, "*so to make it part of the assessment, I don't think it's wrong*" (SG42-K). And they concluded that although "*your emotions will always be there, it's always good and healthy to look at a situation objectively as much as possible*" (SG43-Sus). Reflecting on the same issue, Josie also thought that "*your mood obviously does affect the way you're marking"* (RG355-J).[94] Thus, marking fairly involves acknowledging the emotions and then finding strategies that alleviate any disadvantages that a teacher's mood might have for the learners – like taking a step back from emotions about the child and focussing attention on the child's work or marking all the open questions together so that they are dealt with in the same mood.

Lynne was concerned about how the differential access to sources of knowledge available to children from different socio-economic backgrounds influenced the teacher's mark. Maybe, unwittingly for the teacher, the presentation and look of the work could influence the mark that ought to be given to understanding and insight. She said,

> Some of the requirements of the portfolio assessments also require a lot of computer skills and the ability to go onto the internet to do research, to purchase. Half of a portfolio assessment is the appearance of it. *So kids in the higher socio economic situation are going to be able to buy a beautiful folder, print out in colour, and yes, it's very difficult when you're marking not to look at that and think, 'wow, some effort'. And after that to look at a handwritten one and assess it on the same level is very difficult. And that's not very fair* at times. (PG22-L)

For Lynne, it is a difficult task for teachers to provide fair marking in an unfair world.

Cuvanya and Perusha were concerned about how to judge learners' work fairly in spite of their handwriting. Cuvanya talked about "*scripts that have bad handwriting*. That *frustrates me a lot* because *I can't understand* the learner's writing". Together they wondered whether "*that married up to poor performance as well?*". They described how they felt "*compelled to*

[94] The quote continues: "When it's a true or false question, nothing matters. But when it's an open question or an essay type question, of course you're going to - *if you feel a little bit sad that day or angry, you've had a horrible class and then you start marking - you are going to feel differently*. So I *try to mark all the questions that are open*, all at the same time, and then I know that I'm *in the same mood, so that I'm going to mark it fairly* and not think oh, I'm in a bad mood, I don't like that sentence, you know? So I try to do that (RG355-J).

read through, just in case the kid knew his work" and spent "*too long trying to analyse* what the kids are saying", only to discover "they're *not saying anything that makes sense*". The teachers agreed though, that because there was "not always" a link between bad handwriting and poor performance, they would simply *need to carry on "trying to make sense* of what they're saying" (RG397-403). For Cuvanya and Perusha, marking fairly involves giving each child the benefit of the doubt.

For Josie, the fairness of assessment is embedded in the task itself. She complained about textbook tasks that were "*harder to mark*" because the *task was "very vague", "not asking exactly" and gave only "the minimal amount of information*". Josie thought it was not fair for learners to be given instructions of "only one or two sentences for a huge project". She insisted that *a project task needed to "give a lot of information*, whether it's direct information for the assignment or for the actual thing that they are making" (RG421-J). She reacted similarly to a Common Assessment Tasks (CTA). She found *marking "every single one of those questions extremely frustrating*". She found herself getting "*very angry", even though "I am not an angry person, I don't vocalise it and I'd rather cry than shout at somebody*". In the end, she "*landed up laughing with the frustration of the silly things that learners said*". But Josie did not blame the learners for their silly answers, instead, she realised that "the children had absolutely no idea" about how to respond to the questions and she felt "*very helpless*" when faced with the kinds of questions that did not provide enough information and thus did not equip the children to answer (RG443/45/59-J). Josie felt helpless in the face of tasks that offered no support and she demanded assessment tasks that were designed in such a way that they give learners a fair chance of success.

Ntokozo highlighted yet another emotional struggle with fair marking when it came to evaluating the level of achievement of the class. She remembered her primary school teacher, who, when all the children in the class did well in an assessment, would not praise the good results but would instead threaten that next time he would "*set a difficult one*". From that experience, Ntokozo 'learned' that when children do well, it does not necessarily mean that they have achieved, because it could simply mean that the *task was "not challenging" and "too simple" for their level*. So now she worries that *when her learners get "outstanding", it is only because the task "was not challenging*" (KG171-NZ). She doubts herself when learners do well and finds it difficult to trust her own judgement of the expected fair level of achievement.

At times, the teachers' focus shifted away from their own struggle to make assessment fair, towards dealing with learners' behaviour that made assessment unfair. When learners cheated, teachers were forced to face ethical dilemmas and to deal with the difficult and unpleasant task of making a judgement call about who was cheating or not. Thobile was upset about how some learners in her class are "*not even ashamed of copying* (KG181-TH).[95] Thobile obviously had a sense of who is doing the copying – she described one learner as the 'owner' and the other as the 'somebody'. But she was still very uncomfortable with the situation. It put her 'in a lot of problems', to be the 'judge' who has to 'check' and make a 'hard' decision about what to do with the dishonest learner.

Cheryl also described her difficulties with confronting a dishonest learner (DG65/7-C).[96] She is driven crazy by learners who hand in their parents' or siblings' work as if it were their own. The dishonesty is very obvious to her, but she worries deeply about how to deal with it. She 'thinks about' a plan, 'discusses it with her colleagues', 'approaches her principal', all in an attempt to find a way of facing the issue in a way that 'does not break' the learner and enables them to have a proper 'talk' about the quality of work and lack of effort put in by the learner. For both Thobile and Cheryl, the learners are breaking their side of the learning contract, but the teachers cannot break theirs – they still feel obliged to make a plan that benefits the learner in some way.

Teachers' emotions are an indicator that assessment is an intrinsically difficult practice. These examples of concerns about fairness in assessment cover very different issues. When

[95] The quote continues: "You find that *somebody has stolen somebody else's work* and when you read you have two works in front of you that are the same. When you ask the owner: 'I did my work on my own'. When you ask somebody: 'I've done my work on my own'. So in the end that *puts you in a lot of problems whereby you must be a judge now to check who had done this and who had not* done this. So *it's hard."* (KG181-TH)

[96] The full quote: I get situations where I can see the parents have done it, or it's come from an older sibling who won an essay competition. *That's enough to drive me…* I've just had a situation where I know the child. The essay comes in and *it's not her work* – the vocabulary, the style, *it's just not her work, not in a million years*. The first essay she handed in, I showed her teacher from last year, who said it's the exact same essay she handed to her. So I went to the child and asked for new work. So the second essay comes along and it's absolutely not her work. And *I thought about what am I going to do*. I *discussed it with some of my colleagues*. *I thought about* walking into class and saying, 'what does this word mean? What does that word mean?' knowing full well that's how I'd catch her out because she would not know. But then *I decided it would break her*. *I couldn't do it* in front of the whole class. *What the principal suggested* was that I should go in there and say, 'you are going to write an essay now, here are the topics, sit down and do it', and after she's handed in her work, then say, '*ok, we really need to talk*, because look at the differences'. (DG65/7-C)

teachers are concerned about the use of assessment as a disciplinary weapon or the way that their moods can shape a final mark, they are reflecting on the need for integrity in the person who makes the judgement. When teachers worry about the socio-economic differentials between learners or bad handwriting inhibiting a fair chance at success, they are trying to find ways to compensate for the unfairness of the world beyond the school. When they grapple with the need for good quality tasks or the struggle to benchmark the class against a challenging but elusive standard, they are concerned about how to get the technicalities of assessment right, and thus fair. When the teachers try different ways of dealing with cheating, they are reflecting on how to build the integrity of learners. The integrity of the 'judge' and the lack of integrity in the 'cheat', the inequalities and unfairness in society, and the detailed techniques of doing assessment can arouse such strong emotions because of teachers' deep desire for assessment to be fair.

5.5 Curiosity makes marking enjoyable

But all is not lost. Teachers did mention sweet, short moments when marking could be enjoyable. Yet other than good learner results, what is it that can make marking intrinsically enjoyable for teachers? In the above sections, the general emotional tone of teachers when talking about marking and giving feedback was one of reluctance in facing the task, pressure to do it fast and often, struggle while doing it, difficulties when dealing with the consequences and problems all around. Is it possible that there is a silver lining?

A few teachers had moments when marking was enjoyable. For Hlubi, it satisfied his curiosity about 'how far his learners have come' and inspired his next step of feedback and teaching. "*I enjoy marking because I can see on my own how far our learners are*. Then *quickly I've got some solutions in mind* about how I'm going to give them feedback and what I'm going to talk about (MH149-H). The same applied to Cheryl, who found that

> General assessment, even tests, *I actually enjoy the marking of it.* And the learners *want to know what their mark is. They get quite excited*. *Heaven forbid* I should come the next day and it *isn't all marked*. *They want to know* how they did. *In truth, I get quite excited about it too. I'm anticipating, I want to see, I want to see what happens, because I want to know where they are holding*. (DG47/287-C)

The common reason why Hlubi and Cheryl enjoyed, and even got excited about, marking is that they wanted to find out how their learners were doing.

Josie was the most striking example of a teacher for whom marking was enjoyable. Her colleagues called her "*an anomaly*" (RG358-C), "*a phenomenon*" (RG359-P) and "*a treasure*" (RG363-C). Josie insisted, "I love marking. I always have" (RG349-J). "I love it, I do. I am not being sarcastic at all" (RG349-J). She even volunteered to do other teachers' marking. Josie described a marking experience in which she "*started getting excited*" when she discovered that a learner who had failed the previous test was now producing answers that made her think "*shoo, this work is good*". She got excited to the extent that she "*wanted to turn the page and see if he was carrying on* getting marks like this" (RG279-J). Her excitement was fuelled by curiosity about the learner's work and pleasure at an unexpectedly good result. Later in the interview, she returned to this issue and elaborated

> *I am enjoying it*, especially when it's *something that I've set myself*. I've just set *my first exam* now. I got *extremely involved* in it. I did research. I worked on making the questions interesting and, you know, making it something that flows. So *I really spent a lot of time* on this exam and *I cannot wait* till next week Friday for these children to get out of the exam so *I can start seeing how they reacted to the way I've done it*. And to mark their work and to see – and again, we've spoken about this - *to see my adequacy: am I teaching them correctly, or am I just standing in front thinking that I'm doing great and it's not actually sinking in*. (RG349-J)

Josie enjoyed marking because it gives her a direct reflection of the quality of her assessment task and the impact of her teaching on the learners. For her, it is a chance to see the fruits of her labour – did the children understand and respond correctly to her much-worked-on exam and did they understand what she taught?

Cuvanya picked up on this reason and reflected, "*if you're marking because you want to see how the learners are performing, I think that's a very good motivation*. And that's *how we should all be motivated* (RG365-C). Perusha agreed that it is "*curiosity*" (RG366-P) that should be the motivating factor for marking. Curiosity about the learners, curiosity about the impact of one's own teaching, curiosity about one's ability to generate a valid assessment task – this is the feeling that has the potential to make marking an enjoyable activity. Perusha remembered her first two years of teaching, when she too

> felt that way about marking and it was the *most exciting part of my day*, you know. *I marked the same day* and I would *mark certain questions first*, then *eventually I would know which learners to mark first*, you know, so it was *very exciting*. *But now* that *I can almost predict the results (laughs)*, it becomes *a bit more difficult to approach it*. (RG372-P)

What Perusha was curious about was her skill of marking and her ability to predict the marking outcome. Her curiosity has faded as the challenge of learning to mark well has been mastered and 'now that she can almost predict the results'[97] it leaves her feeling that 'marking is more difficult to approach'. Marking can be satisfying only for as long as it is driven by curiosity and generates some learning for the teacher.

To return to the insight gained by the metaphor of the roller coaster, the highlight of marking, as well as the energy that sustains it, ultimately comes with good learner responses. For Danielle,

> When you're marking, there are *those moments that are very satisfying. Like when you get a fantastic essay, or a child who's not so great that has managed to really use certain skills and has tried to bring in figures of speech* and all that kind of thing, *those moments are wonderful*. When you *get something really fantastic, then you get a high*. (DG286-D)

And for Perusha

> When you do eventually get those *aha moments*, when you see *kids are answering the questions the way you want* them to, then *you really know you've done your deed*, you know. So it's like *a reaffirmation of what you've done*. (RG372-P)

For Danielle and Perusha, marking is 'fantastic' and 'wonderful' mainly in those moments when they can, often unexpectedly, recognise the learners' achievements and be 're-affirmed' in their teaching, knowing they have 'done their deed'.

Thus, for marking to be enjoyable, or at least have enjoyable moments, two conditions need to be met. Firstly, teachers need to maintain their curiosity about how their learners are doing and how their teaching has impacted on learners and secondly, teachers need to receive the

[97] Her use of the word 'almost' and her laugh both acknowledge she should not be predicting, as it defeats the purpose of fair marking.

satisfaction of positive reinforcement in the form of (at least some) good learner achievements.

5.6 Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, the process of marking, giving feedback and making a judgement on learner achievement is fraught with "a lot of emotion" (RG315-P). The emotional climate follows the roller coaster of pleasure at good learner achievement, despair at weak results, anxiety about the effects of their teaching, irritation with lack of learner effort and despairing outrage at cheating. In addition, teachers' emotions are intensified by outside surveillance and learners' emotional responses to their marks.

The emotional rollercoaster of marking and giving feedback is driven by teachers' curiosity about learner performance. This curiosity is fuelled by three sources: the teacher wanting to gauge the effectiveness of her teaching, the desire for successful results and the educational ideal of fair assessment. All the teachers in this study were committed to the principle of fairness of assessment and made the effort to reflect and find ways of increasing fairness in their work. Thus marking can potentially be an exciting, affirming activity. Making appropriate assessment decisions about an essay or giving effective feedback to learners can be a challenging yet satisfying aspect of the job. But the pressure of high volumes turns it into an utterly unpleasant and exhausting task and diminishes teachers' ability to do it in ways that are correct and fair. Then dissatisfaction with how they are making the judgement adds to teachers' exhaustion and increases their insecurity about their ability to enable learning.

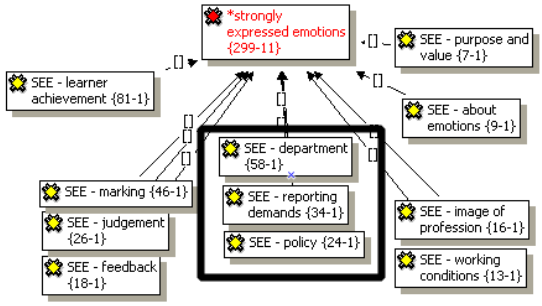
Against all odds, the teachers in this study managed to maintain their sense of curiosity when marking by retaining their ideals of fairness and their interest in learner achievement, buoyed by the possibility of learners producing good and surprising results that gratified the teacher.

Chapter 6: Teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to structures of accountability

In chapter 4, I described how learner achievement sits at the core of a teacher's identity, making them emotionally dependent on good learner achievement to retain their motivation. In chapter 5, I showed how teachers experience their assessment practice as highly demanding, but their emotional investment can be sustained by the ideal of making their assessment fair and equitable.

In this chapter of the emotional story, the 'other' that teachers are responding to are the structures of accountability. These accountability structures originate from the education department, which for teachers has three forms – the curriculum / assessment policy documents, the circulars that specify bureaucratic procedures and reporting demands, as well as the department officials who function as inspectors and trainers. Teachers generally used the pronoun 'they' when they spoke about the department, without specifying who or what aspect of the system they were referring to. 'They' referred to their faceless bosses, as experienced through difficult to get hold of policy documents (e.g. KG100-TH), an avalanche of circulars (e.g. KG 203-K), constantly changing district officials (e.g. MG99-J) and seldom-present cluster group facilitators (RG536-P). The instructions that came from 'them' were often meaningless and sounded like "wara, wara" (MG105-J) or "blah, blah, blah" (KG103-K).

6.1 Introduction – How the quotes were selected



For this chapter I used the 116/7[98] quotations that were included in the family SEE – Accountability. They are emotions directed towards assessment policy, reporting demands and officials, as these are key 'objects' through which teachers interact with the department. I used 6 codes to create this family: strongly expressed emotions towards policy, reporting demands and department officials, as well as strongly expressed emotions towards learner achievement that co-occurred with policy, reporting demands and department officials.

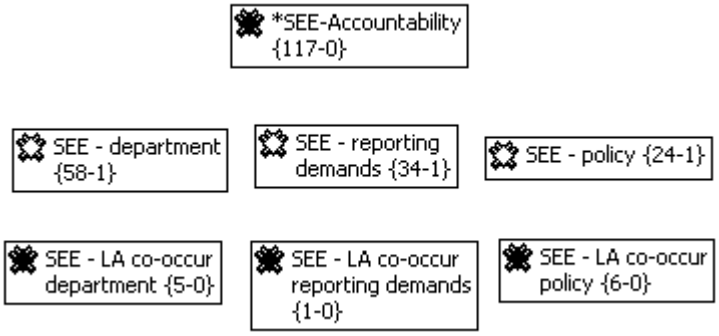


Figure 6: The family of codes that constitute SEE-Accountability, ordered according to the main 'objects' of emotions

Strongly expressed emotions were expressed most often towards the officials of the department (58), then towards reporting demands (34) and least towards policy (24). An additional 7 coded sections[99] came from strongly expressed emotions towards learner achievement (SEE-LA) that co-occurred with policy, reporting demands and department officials. These coded sections were useful in that they spoke directly to how teachers perceived the department to affect their ability to generate learner achievement.

Working with the 117 coded sections, I classified each quotation according to whether the dominant emotion was assertion-anger, aversion-fear, disappointment-sadness or satisfaction-happiness (Turner, 2010).

[98] As usual, the numbers don't quite add up. The 116 sections from the 3 SEE sub-codes above (department 58 + reporting demands 34 + policy 24 = total 116) turned into 117 sections when the SEE-LA co-occurrences were added (see diagram below, where the family of accountability has 117 codes). I cannot figure out how Atlas.ti decided that, i.e. where in the co-occurrences between SEE strongly expressed emotions and LA learner achievement co-occurring with the department, reporting demands and policies, Atlas.ti found an additional section.

[99] If you add them, it looks like 12, but because of co-occurrences, there are only 7 actual sections. Co-occurring codes were inevitable because sometimes teachers talked emotionally in the same response about how officials demanded reports, or how assessment policy and reporting demands conspired to work against learner achievement.

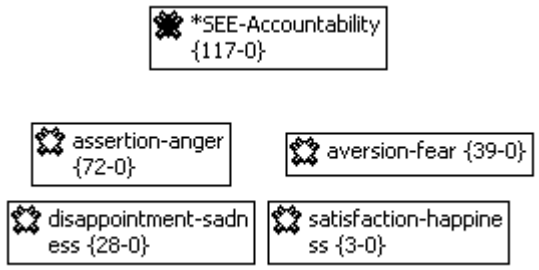


Figure 7: SEE-Accountability ordered according to the type of emotions expressed

Anger was the dominant emotion (72), expressed through words such as 'they say, but we cannot' (consternation), 'waste of time' (annoyance), 'undermining' and 'demeaning' (outrage). Fear came next (39), expressed as 'stress' (anxiety), 'worry', 'outcry', 'scary'. 28 quotations expressed disappointment and the sadness of expectations not being met, through expressions like 'it would be nice', 'you get nothing back', 'they take and give nothing', 'not viable'. Only 3 quotations were coded as satisfaction, expressed as 'more relevant', 'positive', 'everything is clear'.[100] This overemphasis on negative emotions made it difficult to write this chapter, as it was an unpleasant world to enter. The anger overshadowed everything, leaving little hope for a better future.

It is also interesting to note how the emotions are distributed amongst the 'objects' within the department.

[100]Within the total of 117 sections, emotions were coded 143 times. 25 sections were coded 2 or 3 times because they contained a combination of emotions. The co-occurrence was as follows: 13 anger and sadness, 9 anger and fear, 7 fear and sadness, 4 anger, fear and sadness.

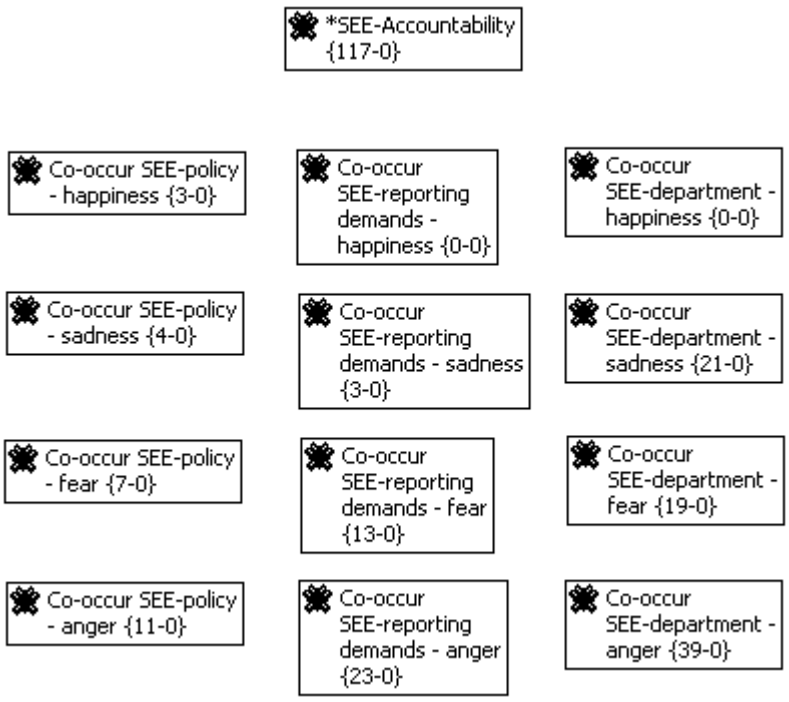


Figure 8: SEE-Accountability ordered according to objects and emotions[101]

Overall, department officials (79) attracted the most number of strongly expressed emotions, with reporting demands next (39), while policy (25) attracted the least. The dominant emotion was anger (73), which was directed against the department officials 39 times, against reporting demands 23 times and policy 11 times. The next most frequent emotion was aversion-fear (39), which was aroused by department officials 19 times, in relation to reporting demands 13 times and 7 times by policy. Disappointment-sadness (28) was expressed less frequently, primarily in relation to the department officials (21), and occasionally towards policy (4) and reporting demands (3). The only time satisfaction (3) was expressed (happiness is actually too strong a word) was in relation to policy. There was no strongly expressed positive mention of reporting demands or interactions with department officials.

What do these predominantly negative emotions mean in terms of teacher's relationship with the department, which is the main source of accountability structures? Assertion-anger is an intense, powerful and visibly expressive emotion. Anger is the emotion people feel in response to a perceived wrong done to them. It often leads to action that attempts to right the

[101] The same addition of one code as described in figure 7 takes place here. There are 72 sections coded for anger, but when you add the co-occurrences for anger, it becomes 73. I presume there is one section somewhere that is co-co-occurring, but I don't know how to find it.

wrong. Anger means the person is concerned with and assertively wanting a change in the situation. Even if there is no action, anger means a person is still fully engaged with the issue. Aversion-fear is more withdrawn: it expresses itself often through the impulse to flight or freeze, and only sometimes through a fight response. So although fear can transmute into fighting anger, it often leads into wanting to avoid or disengage from the situation. Disappointment-sadness is even more internal. Sadness arises in response to loss, to unmet expectations, to ideals lost. Prolonged disappointment brings about the loss of hope and a resultant disengagement from the situation. So anger means that teachers are unhappy but still vibrantly engaged, fear indicates their withdrawal, while adding disappointment to the mix points the way to despair, alienation, and leaving the profession (based on insights gained from Turner, 2007).

I have ordered the chapter by illustrating the intensifying emotions, moving from satisfaction, through ambiguity, anxiety and irritation, panic and anger, to outrage and finally alienation. I have ordered the emotions starting from those that generate most to those that generate least engagement with and commitment to a situation. Within each section, I cover the challenges posed by the assessment policy, the accountability demands that the teachers feel obliged to comply with and the treatment meted out by department officials.

6.2 Satisfaction – "everything is clear" (MG61-M)

Policy was the only 'object' in the accountability family that teachers expressed any strongly expressed positive emotions towards. No teacher questioned the position of policy as an authority that needed to be considered and implemented.

Three quotations showed a positive relationship with policy. Mathoto's positive feeling in relation to policy came from the sense that she understands the policy and knows how to work with it.

> With the assessment policy that we are having now, *I don't have a problem* with it. *Everything is clear*. If you have got the assessment guideline *everything is clear*. You know that in term one I'm going to assess this and this and that. (MG61-M)

Knowing how and when to assess made her feel secure and confident in what she needs to do.

Perusha found the new Business Studies policy "*much more relevant* to the learners' lives" and "*loves*" doing "case studies for assessment". Because she herself "didn't like swotting" when she was at school, she now enjoys showing her learners "methods where they don't have to swot", but instead get a chance "to develop a world-view and a factually based opinion"(RG154-P). Perusha approved of assessment moving away from rote learning towards application and integration of knowledge gained. This approval made her enjoy teaching and be willing to deal with the challenges that inevitably confront teachers when implementing new policy. She argued, "I think when it comes to *the challenges* (of policy), *actually the ball is in our court*" (RG190-P).[102] Perusha has a realistic sense that it will take time and effort, but she trusts and hopes that the 'fruits' will come. This hope gives her the energy to put herself on the line ('the ball is our court'), be willing to reflect on ('we must / should be thinking') and change her practice ('I enjoy implementing'). In addition, importantly for this chapter, it puts her in a place where her desire is to work *with* rather than 'attacking' the policy and the department. Being emotionally supportive of the policy is a big advantage for teachers in terms of being motivated and energised to do their work.

These quotes from Mathoto and Perusha in relation to policy are the only unambiguously positive utterances in the accountability chapter. The remainder of the quotes in this chapter are expressions of strongly expressed ambiguous or negative emotions.

6.3 Torn between agreement and critique - "much more alive, but not successful" (SG14-Sus)

In relation to assessment policy, teachers had many ambiguous responses to its different facets. Some aspects of the policy really appealed to them while other aspects were disappointing or scary to implement. It is interesting to note that teacher's motivation to embark on critique was generally a concern with learner performance. For example, Cuvanya worried that "because they don't do bonds and tables anymore, these kids' mental

[102] The quote continues: "We have to now start looking at the world-view, *we must start thinking*: I wonder what's happening in the maths class that I'm doing here as well? Sometimes the kids bring it to my attention, that they were learning about companies in Accounting and there I am teaching companies in Business Studies. It's a pretty obvious one and *we should be thinking* about it: Remember in Accounting you did this? And see here in Business you need it? *I enjoy implementing it* (the policy), *rather than always being on the attack* and saying: what is this government up to by doing this? Yes, *I think we are going to see the fruits in their adulthood* and I think that *we need to really play our part* in it as well" (RG190-P).

abilities for maths is almost non-existent" (RG214-C). Thobile "*worried a lot*" because the tasks given to grade 7 learners were not difficult enough so "we don't train them enough for them to be able to stand on their own" (KG132-TH). Khumbula's "*worry has always been* their understanding of continuous assessment because they undermined the quality of what exams can produce in primary school learners and then many fail in high school" (KG133-K). The emotional reason for critiquing policy was that aspects of it do not serve learner achievement. If policy does not promote methods that strengthen 'kids' mental abilities', their 'ability to stand on their own' or their 'quality', then teachers 'worry'. Thus the teachers reflected on policy in the light of what worked for and benefited their learners.

What follows are three typical expressions of being torn between agreement with and critique of curriculum policy.[103] The ambiguities are expressed in apparently neutral, descriptive ways, but they encapsulate a world of dilemmas and complex decision-making that requires emotional energy. For Celiwe there was appreciation for having access to policies because "when we sit and plan they will tell us that these are the *outcomes* for the term, these are the assessment standards for a term. So I *just follow* those". Yet the training "was *not sufficient enough for us to grasp all the changes that have occurred in assessment*" (CG22-C). For Cuvanya, there was recognition that "*a lot has been done to actually try* and get the kids to think holistically" through cross-curricular activities (RG183-C). But the timetable had not changed and "the times are *so rigidly allocated* to you" that there is little chance for innovation (RG187-C) and the cross-curricular policy turned out to be "a bit of *a double-edged sword*" (RC189-C). For Susanne there was agreement with assessment being "*more diverse*" both in terms of form, i.e. the use of self-assessment, peer assessment and facilitator assessment (SG9-Sus) and in terms of content, i.e. the use of debates and role-plays because that makes it "*much more alive* than before" (SG14-Sus). On the other hand, peer assessment was experienced as being "*not successful*" and "*not objective*" in its implementation (SG9-Sus).

[103] Some of the quotes in this section of the chapter were not coded strongly expressed emotions; they were taken from sections coded as commenting on policy. But they are worth mentioning here, as even neutrally expressed opinions show the tensions that teachers experience when engaging with how policy works in their context.

Although these dilemmas are expressed in descriptive language and the emotions are not made explicit, having to negotiate the tensions requires constant decision-making, which is an emotional process. In addition, the emotion and feeling in the body changes, depending on whether things go well or not. Experiencing something as '*much more alive*' creates a better body feeling than '*not successful*', and '*a lot has been done*' feels lighter than '*rigidly allocated*'. So an ambiguous response generates an emotional seesaw.

The emotional undertow of seemingly neutral language can be illustrated by Cuvanya's response to her colleague and friend Perusha. Perusha was talking about the "*phenomenal change* over the last three years", which took her away from a *past* when "there was *huge amounts of content* and to *relate it to these kids' lives was so difficult*" into the *present* when she "uses case-studies for assessment that are *much more relevant* to the learners' lives and they have to *have a more enquiring mind* rather than having to swot and never learn anything" (RG154-P). Cuvanya, a science teacher, agreed that relevance and case studies were valuable, but also wanted to retain the emphasis on acquiring the content of basic scientific knowledge.

> *I agree* this new Statement has helped learners to be more enquiring rather than just accepting everything; even for Life Science it's like that. *Although I do feel* that the old system of memorising certain things has its place in school, and *a lot of* the information learners *do need* to know, and there's *no two ways about that*. Because it's *very difficult for learners* to relate to real life experiences if they don't have the knowledge to go with it. Doing these case studies makes them see *the other side of the picture*, that they're not just learning these facts as facts, but they're learning it to apply it to real life situations, and that's why I think this NCS is *actually a good thing*. The way they want us to assess the learners *is a good thing*. But *I think also* they *do need to put* a *little bit more emphasis* on memorising *certain bits* of information. Because *that must not be lost*. And I think, *well*, for *my subject*, there are *a lot of facts* that *you need to* know. (RG158-C)

There is a strong assertiveness in her tone: 'I do feel', 'a lot of the information learners do need to know', 'there's no two ways about that', it's very difficult for learners', 'they do need to put', 'more emphasis', 'that must not be lost', ' a lot of facts that you need to know'. But she does not want to upset her colleague, nor does she want to be seen to be anti the curriculum policy. So she sweetens her assertiveness with agreement: 'I agree', 'has its place', the policy 'is actually a good thing'. She softens her tone by using qualifiers: 'I think,

also', 'a little bit more emphasis'. And she makes her statements tentative: 'certain bits', 'I think, well, for my subject'. Cuvanya is not using emotion words, but she is negotiating her strong feelings towards policy, as well as towards Perusha, for the entire conversation.

At other times the ambiguity was more upfront. For example, when Sandy had to take on a new subject for which she had no training, she became reliant on the policy documents for guidance. She "*found that difficult*". The documents disappointed her "because what it said in the policy *I didn't understand at all, so I didn't have a clue what to do*." She helped herself by speaking to visual arts teachers from other schools and "*stealing* portfolios" from her daughter's friends. Nevertheless, Sandy did not want to give me the impression that she disliked the whole policy, so she hastened to add, "*but I like the system as a whole*. I *like the freedom* that teachers have and *I like* that children have *more than one opportunity* [to get pass marks through continuous assessment]" (SG28-S). It is 'difficult' and creates a strong sense of incompetence for a teacher to 'have no clue' because policy instructions are unclear. Sandy compensated for that feeling of inadequacy by reminding herself of other aspects of the policy that she 'liked' because they benefited herself ('freedom') and her learners ('more opportunities').

Perusha's ambiguity emerged in the process of the discussion. She generally supported the policy and worked with it "*very stringently*" (RG149-P) and "*very, very strictly*" making it "part of our planning, part of our assessment". This meant she was happy to write "*learning outcome whatever, assessment standard, whatever*"[104] because "it's *so nicely done for us and then we just use it*" (RG243-P). But that did not stop her seeing the implementation flaws. For example, "with cluster meetings, the *concept is brilliant but again it hasn't been work-shopped properly*" so it does not fulfil its function (RG536-P). And the policy injunction to teach subjects in a cross-curricular way did not take into account "that *fear of the unknown, we feel scared as well* to go into each other's space and say, what are you doing in your class?" (RG186-P). In her relationship with policy, Perusha's faith in the system ('nicely done', 'concept is brilliant'), the willingness to participate in the improvement ('part of our planning', 'we use it'), the disappointment of not understanding what is expected ('not been

[104] Perusha's use of the word 'whatever' is a bit ambiguous here and appears to counteract her claim that she follows the policy 'very stringently' – but I can't be sure either way.

work-shopped properly'), the fear of entering unknown territory ('fear of the unknown') or not doing it the right way ('we are scared as well') are all rolled into one.

These emotionally ambiguous feelings show how teachers engage with and are affected by policy. Although they 'like the system as a whole' and thought the 'concept is brilliant', they had two underlying concerns. The one concern was how well policy provides for their learners' achievement – their 'mental ability', 'ability to stand on their own', holistic thinking', 'enquiring mind' or the 'information and facts' they need to gain. The other concern was teachers' own ability to do the job of teaching in ways specified by policy – the sense that they 'don't grasp all the changes that have occurred', 'don't have a clue what [policy wants them] to do' or are 'scared as well' to try out the 'unknown'.

There was another accountability issue that generated ambiguity: the need for reports on learners' progress. All teachers I interviewed accepted student reports as a legitimate demand on the part of parents and the school. As Perusha explained, "So I know the *value* of drawing up the marks, calculating the marks, going to do a spread sheet, I know the *value* of that, you know, so I *don't mind doing* it" (RG480-P). Not a single teacher complained about doing it because it was seen as "*helping* the parents *to understand* what's going on" (PG70-C) and "*quite valuable* for the children and the parents *if you do it properly*" (PG69-T). But that acceptance did not make it an easy task. Report-writing, especially when "every single child gets a comment for every single subject", was described as "*a huge thing*", "*quite onerous* on the teachers" and "*quite stressful*" (PG69-T), "quite a *time-consuming* exercise" and even "*incredibly difficult*" when teaching large classes that one sees for less frequently taught subjects (PG70-C). As Danielle put it, "It's *very demanding* because of the volume. When you have 200, piles of them, it is *a bit stressful* and it is always under *such pressure*, such *time constraints* always" (DG357/363-D). Hlubi described how class teachers "feel a little bit *lost and put on an island*" (MG26-H) when it comes time for them to compile all the marks, while Khumbula noted "in most cases it *causes panic*" (KG203-K). Yet although report writing carries a high cost in terms of discomfort for teachers, they are willing to do it because of its 'value' to learners and parents. They want learners and parents to see the achievement.

The issue of teachers' concern with their own competence, or in this case, their perceived competence, also plays a part in the ambiguity. The reports not only need to get done, they

need to show good marks. If the "results from last year were not good", teachers might be "*given" lower grades* to teach (DG401-V). Their "*reputation hangs on* the good results" (DG415-V) and they feel "*judged all the time*" (DG409-D). Report writing is thus an emotionally uncomfortable space where teachers' desire to do right by learners (to give them 'value') is in tension with their own comfort-zone (because they feel 'pressurised, 'stressed' and 'judged').

To summarise, the teachers felt ambiguous, i.e. torn between agreement and critique, or satisfaction and dissatisfaction, in relation to aspects of policy and in relation to learner reports. With policy, their shift back and forth between agreement and critique was related firstly, to whether or not they perceived policy to provide appropriately for learner achievement and secondly, whether or not they felt up to the challenge of teaching in ways specified by policy. With report writing, they were caught between their own conviction that it is a good thing to do and their discomfort while executing the task.

I now move on to unambiguously negative emotions in relation to accountability 'objects', describing a moderate level of fear and anger, namely anxiety and irritation.

6.4 Anxiety and Irritation – "everybody is confused" (PG35-T)

6.4.1 Anxiety and irritation about confused understanding of policy

At times, teachers' performance anxiety that underpinned their critique of policy became explicit. A pervasive emotional response to policy was the fear of not doing it the right way. Celiwe expressed the anxiety openly:

> But to tell you the honest truth, I'm *not sure* whether I'm *doing the right thing*. Ya...I'm *not sure*, but *I'm trying*. (CG20-C)

The emotional logic here is that Celiwe wants to implement the policy correctly, yet she does not sufficiently understand how to implement, so she keeps on trying,[105] but she is feeling very insecure. This performance anxiety was pervasive. When it was her chance to ask me a question at the end of the interview, Celiwe asked:

[105] She registered, paid for and completed a post-graduate education certificate at Wits and a post-graduate education degree at UNISA.

How can I be *certain that I'm doing the right thing* when it comes to assessment? How do I *weigh myself* as an educator, that, now I'm doing assessment? (CG84-C)

Joyce was in the same anxious position. She did not know how to implement policy directives such as assessment of oral performance because she had 50 children in her "*overcrowded*" class, so "listening" to each child "reading individually" would take her "many days" of assessing. So when would she teach, or conduct the other "formal task" that she was expected to record? Joyce felt she was given an impossible task because policy "*didn't take into consideration a school like this one of ours*, or schools in the Limpopo area or in KZN, where they have this lack of resources" (MG69/71-J). By not being able to understand nor fully trust policy, Joyce was feeling insecure about the essence of her job.

At times the anxiety about not knowing how to implement policy correctly flowed over into irritation. Theresa's emotional response to assessment policy was

> *complete irritation*. Because the problem with the policy is that nothing ever corresponds. So *everybody is confused*. It *irritates me* that *they don't even know* what they want or what they expect from us. So *everybody is irritated and confused*. (PG35-T)

Theresa irritation was directed at the confused policy messages she was receiving about what was expected. Her colleague Charlotte agreed, and then linked the irritation back to implementation anxiety.

> Yes, I think the *irritation is high* and I think that *people also think that you're incompetent*, that you don't know what's going on, but actually, *no-one seems to know what's going on*. (PG36-C)

It is interesting to note how the irritation is linked with the confusion about what is expected and the anxiety of appearing (or even worse, being) incompetent.

There were many other complaints about confused and contradictory aspects of policy that illustrated both anxiety and irritation. Khumbula was frustrated by the superficial cognitive demand of Arts & Culture tasks. Emotionally, he was caught between his own incompetence anxiety ("maybe *I still need to read and understand more*") and the irritation of "*getting frustrated*" with "*the confused understanding* they are bringing to us" (KG105-K). Lynne was irritated by cluster moderation meetings because they are a "*waste* of an afternoon", and experienced "*huge amounts of stress*" (anxiety) because "it achieves nothing". The many

"*snide* remarks" aimed at teachers reinforced both feelings (PG37-L). Sandy was anxious about the Grade 9 common task assessments. The implementation process had "*no standardisation*", "*not enough structure*", and was "*very vague*", so at the last minute she found that she "*actually* had to *redo everything*". Because she felt that she "*does not know how*", all she could do is "*just hope*" (SG90-S). Cuvanya and Josie discussed the same problem but their anxiety was infused with irritation. The GET policy has "a *lot of flaws*" and "*huge problems*" because it offers "*no clarity*", "*no clear guidance at all*" and "*no order*" for subject content, so the common task assessments are "based on *we don't know what*" and "*not in keeping with* what was taught". This results in "*cramping the teacher* because they have to push this content in", while "*cramming the teaching*" means that for learners it "*goes in this ear and out that ear*". It "*doesn't make any sense*". They ended up exasperated: "So what are teachers *supposed to really use*? What framework? What's going to point them in the *right direction*? There's *nothing*!" (RG 246-C, RG260-J). Their anxiety lay in the confusion ('we don't know what') generated by the lack of 'clarity', 'guidance' or 'order'. Their irritation came from feeling 'cramped' into a teaching style of 'cramming' that they did not agree with and that resulted in learners not learning ('in one ear and out the other'). Together the anxiety and irritation lead them into exasperated questions, for which they did not have any answers – so they ended up feeling like all of it just 'doesn't make sense'.

6.4.2 Irritation and anxiety about the unrealistic expectations of reporting demands

The increased accountability and reporting demands of the department did not make sense to teachers either. As Thobile lamented, "You have that *pressure* of reports, you have *pressure* of new circulars. So many things *must be wanted* from you. You end up *not knowing what to do*" (KG211/3-TH). And Theresa complained, "they want *everything in writing*. Which I suppose leads back to when I was saying, some of their *expectations are unrealistic*" (PG64-T). So reporting demands was another aspect of inter-reaction with the department that evoked anxiety (not knowing what to do first) and irritation (having to meet unrealistic expectations).

The reporting obligations towards the department were spoken about in very different terms from reporting obligations to learners and parents. When reporting to parents, teachers

tolerated the discomfort because they saw the value. When reporting to the department, there was no such ambiguity. Instead, the sense of irritation and anxiety intensified noticeably. Teachers' irritation and anxiety was directed at reporting demands that teachers experienced as meaningless, petty and untimely.[106]

The main irritation was that a lot of this reporting was experienced as "an *absolute waste of time*" (DG128-V). Vicky was put out by having to write down the "little numbers" for the "LOs and ASs", which "*makes you mad as a teacher*" (DG125/8-V). Her colleagues agreed that this demand was "*ridiculous*" (DG127-D) and that "all it does is just *waste time* and that makes me *incredibly resentful*" (DG138-C). Other things that were "*driving people crazy*" (DG178-D) are when portfolio files are returned "for *nonsense*",[107] which they experienced as "*petty beyond belief*" (DG169-D). This group of teachers were 'going crazy' with outrage at the meaninglessness of the demands placed on them. They could 'not believe' they had to submit to these 'petty' tasks and were deeply 'resentful' about 'wasting their time'.

Sandy experienced "*frustration*" when being asked to "*rip apart* old portfolios just to stick them on bigger pages" because it "*doesn't make sense* and is *ridiculous for all the effort* we had to put in" (SG30-S). She was incensed by "admin that is actually *unimportant*" and "*useless*" (SG96/8-S). "You have to now fill out a *pink form* and a *yellow form* and an *orange form*, that must go in a file that *no-one ever opens*. So the next year they came with a *green form* they want you to fill in and *another purple form* (general laughter). That's what they *really do!* It is *ridiculous* and I have *actually thrown a few tantrums* with regards to those files!" (SG98/100/2-S). The tantrum occurred because in addition to being 'unimportant', this kind of admin takes time and 'effort' and usually comes "at the end of the year, when *everyone's tired*" (SG95-S). Spending tired time on repetitive (even if colourful)

[106] Some of the demands considered to be 'unrealistic' were: evidence of written feedback on learners' portfolios (PG64-T); the 2-page moderation forms (DG185-D) that need to be filled in "every single time" teachers "check each other's marking" (DG186-V); providing "some stupid worksheet" as evidence of oral performance tasks (PG 107-T); children's signature on their portfolios (DG159-V); the "little numbers saying this is now LO1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and AS whatever, those numbers that we are supposed to put" (DG128-V); "writing reports to our country's department" (KG203-K); class teachers doing the "recording for quarterly reports" (MG25-M); providing "certain statistics" (RG459-C) and "schedules"(KG94-TH); the "booklet-letters" that need to be filled in and the "very hard process" that needs to be followed when asking for remedial support for a child (KG76/8-TH), as well as the "450As and 450Bs" that need to be completed throughout the year as evidence if children are potential failures (SG74-S). It is worth noting that none of these reporting requirements are about learners' achievement.

[107] For example, "One of the portfolios was out of the order that they had laid down" (DG177-V) or "the kids didn't sign their papers" (DG165-V) or because "we had included the question papers in the children's portfolio" and they wanted the teachers to take them out (DG166-D)

forms that are useless because nobody ever reads them can quickly lead into an irritated tantrum. Tantrums are expressions of a powerless rage – they provide momentary relief of pent-up feelings, but often leave the person embarrassed afterwards and the situation unchanged.

Unrealistic time pressure was the other issue that teachers got angry and worried about. Theresa was annoyed by the "*unrealistic demands*" of people who

> *sit in their office* and think, 'ah, this is a lovely task'. But *they don't actually think about* the fact that you've got a class of 37 and the *marking is enormous*. The grade 9 portfolios are due tomorrow, the matric portfolios are due the next day – but *they don't think*, well, maybe there's teachers that are actually teaching both, so let's split the time because *teachers are struggling* to get everything together. And yes, we do know the due dates, but the last assessment task was done last week, so it still had to be marked. So I think *their demands, from our point of view, are unrealistic*. (PG26T)

Theresa's annoyance is expressed very rationally – she is trying to portray it as a conflict of interests and grants that 'they' might have good intentions ('it's a lovely task'). But she was irritated by the department's inability to imagine the portfolio process from the perspective of the teachers and insisted that their demands put unrealistic pressure on teachers.

The situation was worse for Celiwe, who has 60-70 learners per class. Celiwe described "*the struggle* to get learners submitting their portfolios" (CG62-C).[108] She experiences the pressure to account as unrelenting - as a teacher 'you must produce something', even if the educational value for learners is not really worth it ('writing the task of 3 months in one hour'). There's a clear note of trepidation in Celiwe's description. The anxiety generated by the accountability pressures is making teachers take risky measures of little educational value.

Both Theresa and Celiwe were struggling to meet known deadlines that had been set at the beginning of the year. But at other times, deadlines were set more arbitrarily; they were "just *shoved on us in the last minute*" (RG480-P). Then it "*becomes hectic*. You have to *work*

[108] The quote continues: "Some teachers have to *drive inside the squatter camps, risking their cars* to go there. Sometimes they can *get hijacked* or what. They are *running after learners* to come and submit their portfolios, *sitting with them* in their homes and letting them write the task of three months in one hour *until they finish*. It's *very difficult*. An educator *must account*. You *can't just give a zero* if the learner has been attending for the whole year. You *must produce something*. The learner *can't get zero*". (CG62-C)

under the pressure" (KG204-NZ). Thobile found it "*really frustrating*" when "*all of a sudden*, when you have already started the process, the department issues *new schedules*, or schedules that have to be done in a *new way*, and remember, the *time is too short* at that time. *Everybody complains, but it does not help*. We are *supposed to sit down and do that*" (KG202-TH). Khumbula agreed: You find *its too close to the deadline* when you're getting the information and that *really causes panic*" (KG203-K). Cuvanya described the "*very difficult position*" the GDE put her principal in "because she is *told at the last minute*, and then she has to come and tell us. The GDE tells us *like two days before the deadline* that these statistics are due. And then *all the HOD's are in a tizz* because we've got to pull these marks from wherever" (RG493/5/7). Her colleague Perusha added that "Even formats, it's like *suddenly the spread sheet arrives from nowhere* and *suddenly we must change everything* we've already done and then *redo it the way they want us to*" (RG498-P). All this was made worse when "we've got to *resubmit the same statistics* because *they lose our documents*" (RG507-C). Sandy found the same rush with in-service training: "*All of a sudden* we have 2 or 3 afternoons a week that we have to stay until 5pm and we had the whole year when we did nothing" (SG102-S). "*Where is the year plan* for that?" (KG203) was Khumbula's frustrated cry.

I leave the last, breathless word to Hlubi. For him,

> The way the South African education system wants us to assess learners is *really all confusion*. So *teachers are carrying the frustrations every day*. Because it *keeps on changing, changing, changing, changing, changing, changing*. It *doesn't allow time for a teacher to breathe*. (MG106-H)

For the teachers, the experience of wasting their time on paperwork they considered unimportant, ridiculous and petty beyond belief, made them feel crazy and resentful. It eroded their professional sense of doing meaningful work. When the time pressure of unplanned last minute deadlines was added into the mix, the feeling geared up into confusion, a tizz, breathlessness and panic. In the interviews, teachers spent substantial time talking about their feelings in relation to reporting demands and department officials. The emotional reactions of teachers to doing petty and unplanned paperwork are profound. As Hlubi commented, "*They put out a lot of pressure* and *we become emotionally out of control*" (MG66-H). Even I, when writing this section immersed in their words, felt like I was breathlessly drowning under the anxious and irritated feelings evoked by hectic pressure.

In the next section, I will illustrate the emotional effects of accountability with new and different quotes, so as to present both the range and the volume of the increasing intensity of feelings.

6.5 "Panic accountability" (RG485-P) – the intensification of negative emotions

6.5.1 Feeling undermined

The metaphor of panic accountability illustrates the combination of fear and anger described in the previous section, but with an increase in intensity – from irritation to despising, from anxiety to panic. Perusha coined the term when she described how "we are always made to be *panic accountable".*[109] Being panic accountable means being at the bottom end of a hierarchical, 'top down' relationship. It means having expectations of clear and 'transparent' communication that are not being met. It means being ever willing to jump into action to 'do whatever we need to do' but then experiencing the 'disservice' of the department 'not doing it properly', i.e. trying to hold up one's own side of the 'service', without the more powerful partner holding up their side. Being panic accountable means 'getting rapped over the knuckles' for not doing something that one didn't know one should have been doing. It means getting 'bombarded' into the ground and being stuck in a 'grossly unfair' situation. The result is that Perusha, and other teachers, are 'falling short' of what it means to be a responsible teacher and 'feeling inadequate all the time'.

[109] The full quote: It seems to be very much *a top down approach*, that's been my opinion and my observation over the years. Just like we do with the kids, when we give them a rubric to make the assessment transparent, *the department needs to be transparent* and *give us their expectations* of teachers for the year and tell us what they want accountability on. So don't tell us in December when all's been said and done; tell us in January so that over the year we can set standards! We will maintain those standards, we will assess, *we will do whatever we need to do*. *But* I find that we are always made to be *panic accountable*. *Panic accountability*, you know, that's what it becomes. So it's like: *I feel accountable to the department but they are doing me a disservice by not doing it properly*. I have a *huge problem* with that. In that situation, *I'm always falling short*. As much as *I feel accountable to them and they are assessing* these great things about me, *I find I'm falling short* because *they didn't tell me in the beginning* that I should have done these things. They're *telling me at the end*, 'why didn't you do these things'? So it's *rapping me over the knuckles after the fact*. And *I really despise that*, you know. I feel it's like *bombarding* teachers in that *last minute*, and that is *grossly unfair* because teachers are *feeling inadequate all the time* and *falling short of what should be done*. So again, as I said, *panic accountability*. (RG485-P)

There are three intense feelings expressed in this quote: 'panic', 'feeling inadequate', and 'despise'. Turner (2007, p7) classifies 'panic' as "moderate intensity fear" and 'despise' as "high intensity anger". 'Feeling inadequate' is a self-perception associated with the emotion of shame, which is a conglomerate of sadness about self, anger at self and fear at the consequences for self (2007, p10). So panic accountability means teachers are caught in a situation in which they feel fearful, disappointed and angry at themselves and at others. From the teachers' perspective, being accountable evokes panic in the situation, intense anger when there is time to reflect, and shame at one's own inadequacy. That is a situation in which the professional self-esteem and self-confidence of the teacher is undermined.

Khumbula used a metaphor to describe the accountability relationship between teachers and the department that illustrates just how deep the feeling of being undermined can be. "Assessment to me is like a deep ocean. *I fear drowning because storms start anytime in the ocean. I fear drowning immediately* whenever I have to *account"* (KG8-K). Accountability is the 'storm' that can arise at any time in the 'deep ocean' of assessment. A deep ocean is always difficult to navigate (as we saw in the previous chapter on doing assessment), but when the storm winds blowing from the department arrive, teachers are caught in the crosswinds and fear that drowning becomes immanent. With a whole ocean beneath them, teachers have no secure foothold within reach.

One of the footholds that teachers were expecting to find was support from department officials. But that was not forthcoming. What teachers received instead was more confusion. "They are *confusing a lot of us*" (K124-K) was Khumbula's verdict, because they come to schools bringing "a *myriad of ideas*, but there is *nothing of quality* that we learn" (KG103-K). They put out contradictory information about basic assessment issues,[110] with the result that "*you don't know what to do exactly anymore*" (KG108-NZ). Teachers concluded that the department officials "*are also confused. They are more confused*" (MG103-106). And they felt "*it's terrible, it's terrible, it's terrible"* that teachers are obliged to follow instructions given by department officials who themselves "*don't even really make sense*" of what should be done (KG124-K). The constant changes in policy and confused procedure take away any sure footing the teachers thought they might have had.

[110] For example, contradictory information about what makes up a task (PG28-T, KG105-K), how to score tasks (KG108-NZ) or the contents of school-based assessments (DG230-C).

> That's why *teachers get emotional, teachers get stressed, teachers get confused*. Because *whilst you are holding* this one, *trying to adapt*, they say, '*No! Change!*'. (MG95-J)

The constant, mandatory 'change', the 'myriad' but contradictory instructions and the 'lack of quality' presented was experienced by teachers as 'terrible', as 'stressful confusion', thus obfuscating what is important and providing no solid ground from which to operate.

Teachers experienced frustration because department officials were unable to respond to their professional needs or react sympathetically to their work. 'They' are "*not professionals*" (DG172-V). Instead, they act "*like clerks*" (DG174-D) who "*strictly* go by a *checklist"* (DG176-D) or like a "*bureaucrat trying to get a graph right*" (DG387-D). This arouses "*intense negative feelings*" in teachers (DG170-D). One teacher was *at a loss for words* trying to describe her "*frustration* that they are people who in most cases are not teachers", so they put tasks together or ask teachers to do things that "*are not viable*" (PG21-T). The emphasis on administration rather than professionalism means that department official did not act as knowledgeable subject experts. It was a "*problem*" for teachers when "the people at district levels, who are *slightly above us*, are *not qualified enough* to moderate our exams" (PG28-T). And teachers got "*totally stressed out*" when

> the people are *not equipped enough*, you know. Like the cluster leaders are *not qualified enough* to do their job, the facilitators are *absent* and *shirking all the time* and their *communication with us is minimal to panic again*. (RG536-P)

Teachers experienced 'intense negative feelings', became 'speechless with frustration' and 'totally stressed out', because department officials were not on their side and instead acted like 'clerks' and 'bureaucrats', who 'shirked' their responsibility to act as professional leaders and communicated in 'minimal', 'panic' generating ways.[111] Teachers did not say it explicitly in these quotes, but finding one's superiors to be 'not equipped enough' to offer the necessary support, but instead focussing on 'bureaucratic checklists' is undermining of the professional focus of a teacher's work.

[111] There is an interesting shift between the paragraph above and this one. In the above paragraph the teachers seem to feel that officials are equally confused. There is a kind of sympathy towards them. In this paragraph, the teachers get furious because the officials act like rule-wielding bureaucrats. If bureaucrats are in fact also confused, it becomes easy to imagine the officials hiding their insecurity behind a facade of presenting regulations, giving instructions and 'getting the graph right'.

What was undermined by the bureaucratic emphasis is the trust that teachers are doing their best to enable learner achievement. One group of teachers experienced it as "*completely undermining*" when they had to constantly moderate each other's marking (DG192-4) because the process was followed "*very strictly*" and not in ways that supported "*trusting that people are doing a good job* (DG199-D). When officials don't trust teachers and constantly request learners' work for re-submission, teachers found that

> What it does, it *undermines you as a professional*, it *undermines you as an adult*, it *undermines you in any position, in any kind of authority*. (DG171-C)

Being undermined as an 'adult', a 'professional' and an 'authority' is devastating for the identity of a teacher. A teacher requires authority in the classroom (Slonimsky, 2010) in order to do the work that results in learner achievement. When the process of accountability generates 'panic', 'fear of drowning' and a shameful 'sense of inadequacy' in teachers, it undermines their confidence and the sense of authority they need to do their job well. No wonder teachers begin to 'despise' the situation they find themselves in.

6.5.2 Feeling "enslaved"

In South African education it has become a cliché to talk about paperwork, but for these teachers, the negative effects were very real. Joyce described how "teachers are *stressed* because we are *rotating a lot of paperwork* that has *been given to us*" and how this has a negative effect on their collegial relationships because "anybody who comes across you, *you just lash out* at this person *with emotion*" (MG21-J). The meaningless 'rotation' of 'given' paperwork generates so much 'stress' that teachers 'lash out' at colleagues (and presumably learners) who cross their path at the wrong moment. Danielle described the feeling that caused the lashing out stress: "The paperwork, the *paperwork is killing us*. That is what's *destroying the job*" (DG158-D). For Danielle, her teacher-self and her profession are being murdered and destroyed. But she is still teaching and putting her life energy into her job. It was Perusha who put her finger on the situational feeling:

> To some extent we are *becoming enslaved*, you know, *in that panic accountability*. We *feel the pressure* and we *do it just because we know it has to be done*. (RG488-P)

Perusha describes how teachers are doubly caught: by the 'pressure' placed on 'slaves' to do work that has meaning only for others and by the responsibility shouldered by professionals

who ‘know’ that the task ‘has to be done’. Perusha speaks for all teachers who see themselves as professionals who are capable of seeing what needs to be done and choose to do it, yet simultaneously she feels enslaved in a job that feels filled with meaningless work, destructive relationships and engenders fear of death and destruction. The panic generated by accountability demands means that the work environment is becoming oppressive.

The enslavement was seen to be originating with the education department. From all the focus groups came the complaint that department officials behaved in an authoritarian manner: they were “*wielding power at the top*” (DG222-C), using “*very much a top down approach*” (RG485-P) and making it “*just a top-down issue*” (KG100-TH). The sentiment was also expressed as: “*the department just want, want, take, take,* and they *give nothing*” (PG72-L). The teachers disliked their assessment being prescribed and being told what to do. “*Unfortunately* what's happening is that the type of assessment we do is *being dictated to us*, so we're effectively *being dictated to* as to how to assess” (PG6-T). They resented submitting to commands. “The district will be saying ‘*we are the officials, you must do that”*” (KG226-TH). And they abhorred being treated as minors in the relationship. “We are *completely overlooked*. I believe we’re *treated like children*. They *don’t give us professional status*, not at all” (DG272/5-C). Feeling ‘dictated to’, made to ‘obey the officials’, being ‘overlooked’ and ‘treated like children’ are all oppressive moments that generate powerlessness, fear and rage.

This sense of being told what to do or think, and being demanded of without recourse to a response, was pervasive and cut across differences in race, gender and socio-economic differences between schools. The tone of the quotes was both irritated and defeatist; requiring codes for both anger and fear. Turner (2007) calls emotions that arise from both anger and fear “first-order elaborations of primary emotions”. He lists “revulsed, repulsed, antagonism, dislike, envy, abhorrence, jealously, suspiciousness” (p8) as examples of emotions that arise out of the confluence of anger and fear. It was these emotions that fed teachers’ descriptions of the relationship between the department officials and themselves, even though they did not use the emotion words explicitly.

6.6 Alienation

In addition to working in the morass of anger and fear described above, the relationship with officials can leave teachers feeling alienated. Turner (2007) categorises alienation as a "second-order elaboration" because it is comprised of three primary emotions. "Alienation is mostly disappointment-sadness (at self, others, situation), anger at a situation or social structure and fear about the consequences of not meeting expectations in this structure" (p 10). Because alienation comprises of three negative emotions it is intensely negative, but the disappointment and fear in it "reduce the disruptive power of anger and, hence, alienation is less disruptive than anger alone" (p11). Alienation generates "a withdrawal response, reducing the level of commitment to, and willingness to participate in, social structures" (p10). It is thus "an important emotion in understanding how commitments to social structures and cultural codes are lowered" (p11).

The anger at accountability structures as represented in policy (mild) and paperwork demands (intense) have been elaborately described in this chapter. The fear and anxiety of 'not getting it right' i.e. of not meeting the requirements of the job have been described in chapter 4, in the fairness section of chapter 5 and in the description of panic accountability in this chapter. Thus two of the three emotions that lead to alienation are in place. In this section, I want to first show how disappointment- sadness is added into the mix by describing teachers' relationship with department officials, then how this disappointment is merged with the anger of feeling exploited and finally to illustrate what it feels like when teachers are alienated from their commitment to the profession of teaching.

6.6.1 Feeling disappointed – there's no support

The relationship with department officials was a constant source of disappointment to teachers. They wanted a positive affirmation from the department, so as to gain the energy to continue with their work of teaching and assessing, but their expectations were not met. As Vicky said, "the department are there to harass you, but they're not there to help you when you're in need" (DG489-V).

All the teachers complained that department officials did not engage professionally around assessment work. They felt deprived of a respectful dialogue between themselves and the officials, because they were *never given "reasons as to why I need to do those things"* (RG480-P). No matter what the problem was[112] the responses from officials were either absent or did not help to resolve the issue. This left teachers "*drowning in problems*" (KG29-K). Teachers felt completely unheard: "they *don't care about what the general teacher has to say*" (DG488-V). This in turn led to problems remaining unresolved, because "*if someone was prepared to listen* to us as a teacher, *maybe then something would be done* to make it easier for all of us" (KG94-TH).

This lack of professional engagement was a key cause of teachers' disappointment and several teachers spoke about it in an elaborated way. Theresa was disappointed about getting no professional feedback on the assessment tasks she spent so much effort creating and managing (PG19-T).[113] She wanted some encouraging feedback to make the effort of 'hard work' and 'stress' that went into assessment worthwhile. But she experienced that 'nobody' ever 'looks at' the tasks in sufficient detail to be able to offer an informed 'well done'. Like Theresa, Khumbula saw officials as concerned only with learner results, but not with assisting the teachers by commenting on the assessment tasks that led to those results.

> They are *weighing the cow*, they *keep on weighing the cow*, but they *don't feed it*. They *don't even worry about the quality of the assessment tasks* that we give to the learners. When you want to *sum up the understanding of the child*, when it comes to the activities that have been done, the *quality of those assessment tasks are not really checked* by those people *who should do* that. (KG103-K)

Khumbula was disappointed by the lack of interest displayed by officials regarding appropriate ways of 'summing up the understanding' of learners. Even though they are the responsible people who 'should do' it, officials 'don't worry' about the 'quality of assessment tasks', but are only interested in the results of 'weighing the cow'. From the teachers' perspective, the officials 'don't feed' the teachers, the learners or the assessment process. His

[112] Some problems mentioned were: writing reports to parents in their home language (KG89-TH), support for remedial learners (KG28-TH), communication about new developments (RG536-P), needing clarification about school-based assessment tasks (RG536-P), or how to score averages (KG122-NZ).

[113] The full quote: What is the point of spending the *entire year stressing* about these *stupid portfolios* and then you send them off to the department and somebody sits down and looks at them that *doesn't even have a clue*? You *work really hard*, but you *actually get nothing back* from the department. *Nobody ever says 'well done' or 'that's good'* or anything like that. (PG19-T)

colleague Thobile felt left alone in her "struggles" by a department that "doesn't care" (KG9-TH).[114]

This disappointment[115] about lack of support from officials at difficult professional moments deepened into demoralization when teachers felt personally criticised. It was demoralising for Hlubi that officials were so quick to condemn teachers based on flimsy evidence, without taking into account the teachers' efforts.

> So when the department officials come to our school, they *don't look at the internal problems that may hamper my progress*. Instead they *lock it down to my problem*. They say, 'you know what, *Mr M is too lazy*'. So sometimes *we feel demoralised*. When they come here, *instead of supporting us in terms of assessment, they are criticising us*. So it means *they look into learners' achievement without understanding where these achievements come from*. (MG66-H)

Hlubi is willing to admit that he and his learners are not making the expected progress in terms of assessment standards. But, working in a container school in a poor socio-economic area, he knows there are many 'internal' problems that contribute to this lack of progress. He is hurt and 'demoralised' by the unfairness of officials attributing the failure only to his 'laziness'. In order to improve the achievement of his learners, he wants 'support' to improve his morale and recognition of the place 'where these achievements come from', not 'criticism' of his personhood and a 'lack of understanding' for his situation.

The lack of recognition from the department hurts so deeply because teachers put so much time and energy into their learners' achievements and 'invest themselves' in their job.

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[114] Thobile felt deserted by department officials who don't offer direction or engage with teachers' difficulties. "You find that *you are struggling*, whereby the *department doesn't care*. The time *when you need help, nobody comes*. When they come, *nobody can give you a clear direction*. There is *no chance to say, 'I have these problems*' and *no response from them to say 'you can try this way and this way*'. Everything is *just left upon you* as a teacher" (KG9-TH).

[115] Teachers were also disappointed that privileges they had enjoyed previously were taken away. For example, the granting of long leave for one term, during which teachers can "re-assess, freshen up, do some reading and come up with new ideas" has been discontinued, leading to a trend where experienced teachers "more and more are *going to start leaving* because you are actually *just absolutely drained*" (PG88-T). Another example were the difficulties placed in the path of becoming a 'master teacher', where a maths teacher with 25 years of experience could not qualify, which sent the signal that "they are *not trying to hold on to teachers*" (DG484/8-V).

> I think that if you *really are a teacher*, there's *a whole emotional investment*. And that's why *I resent the department. I resent the way the whole thing's run, because we invest of ourselves*. And then I think that *we are treated unfairly*. *We give so much more* than a whole lot of other jobs out there, and it's *rewarding on one level* and *very disheartening on another*. You're *completely overlooked by the department.* (DG270/2-C)

Cheryl explores a crucial point here. It is precisely because good teaching requires a substantive 'emotional investment of self' that teachers are dependent on positive feedback from their superiors and that the 'disheartening' disappointment of being 'completely overlooked' touches such a deep chord of 'unfairness'. 'Disheartening', losing heart, is a moderate intensity expression of disappointment-sadness (Turner, 2007, p7). When teachers feel demoralised and disheartened, their courage to innovate, experiment and take responsibility is lost.

So while teachers expect and long for a relationship of respectful and supportive professional interaction with department officials, what they get instead is 'power-wielding at the top'. The inability of officials to hear and engage with teachers' problems leaves important issues unresolved, with teachers feeling unheard, not acknowledged for their effort, unfairly criticised, demoralised, disheartened and drowning alone.

6.6.2 Feeling exploited – they take all the glory

Danielle elaborated on the sense of unfairness in the relationship with department officials. She had extended contact with department officials in her role of managing the end-of-year exams at her school. Danielle described how:

> *They get great joy out of the results* of the schools that are functioning at the end of the year and *they take all the glory*, the department does. They say, 'oh our department, our province or district was responsible for this school', which is *actually our school*, and then *they just look so good*. And two seconds later they are *making our life a misery* and *giving us an inspection* and *checking up on all sorts of ridiculous things*. (DG217-D)
>
> These officials *don't leave you alone*, regardless of whether you perform well or not well. In fact, often they go to the schools that are performing better, they *make our*

> *lives more of a hell*. *Because it's easier* to go to schools that are *performing well* and *make all sorts of ridiculous demands* because *those schools will run around trying to satisfy those demands*. *That's what's killing teaching*, unfortunately. *Teachers are leaving* because of that. (DG219/21-D)
>
> *They loved our school*. They kept saying, *how brilliant* it was. The exams were all being *run so well* and so *effectively* and *everything was fine*. *Yet* they were there, *checking, every single day, twice a day sometimes*. They come in, *they tick, tick, tick, tick, filling in forms*. Over and above that, there were one or two of them who would *still try to do the nit-picking thing*. They come because *they can get patted on the back* because they've done their job and they've been at our school. (DG239/48-D)

From the teacher's perspective, the relationship dynamics are all in favour of the department officials. For the officials, their job is done when 'they've been at our school' and 'tick, tick, tick, ticked their forms'. For the teachers, they have to organise and manage the exams, as well as do the prior, unseen work of teaching so that learners become able to produce the 'good results' that the department then claims 'responsibility' for. For the officials, there is 'great joy' and 'all the glory', as well as the 'satisfaction' of 'looking good', receiving 'pats on the back' and watching teachers 'run around' at their behest. For the teachers, 'life is a misery', 'life is hell' because they are forced to 'run around' for 'ridiculous things' at someone else's 'nit-picking demand'. "Teachers are not recognised as human beings" is how J phrased it on her biographical form. This pervasive authoritarianism leaves teachers seething with inadequacy, anger and unresolved emotions. No wonder that 'teachers are leaving'.

At stake is who gets the credit for the 'good results' of the school, i.e. for the public aspect of learner achievement. The department officials take 'all the glory' for well-executed exams and good learners results, leaving no reward for the teachers other than the misery of more inspection and ridiculous work. This is a no-win situation for conscientious teachers, but Danielle and her colleagues can see no way of intervening in the process. From their perspective, the behaviour of the department is exploiting teachers' efforts for its own benefit, in the process 'killing' the profession of teaching and leaving teachers with the choice of either 'leaving teaching' or remaining 'enslaved' and 'emotionally out of control'. Danielle is expressing a resigned rage - an emotional combination of disappointment at the

situation, anger at the department officials, and the inability to challenge the officials, which implies an element of fear of the consequences for herself should she dare to challenge.

6.6.3 Feeling alienated – losing the purpose

As described earlier, alienation is composed of disappointment-sadness at the situation, followed by anger at others and fear at the consequences for self (Turner, 2007. p10). Alienation is often expressed by withdrawing or disassociating self from the situation, by occasional bursts of angry defiance and by a sullen, demoralised acceptance.

Thobile gave expression to the disassociation of herself from the department:

> *We don't have ownership* of whatever happens in our department. It's *just a top-down issue*, whereby *normally, mostly, they report those things on TV*. (KG100-TH)

And so did Vicky:

> You've got the feeling that *you're just doing it for them*. There's *no actual benefit to the job*, to doing all those little things. (DG175-V)

Thobile and Vicky are disassociating themselves from the department. They 'don't feel ownership' and are doing it 'just for them'. Learning about new education policies 'on TV' or having to do 'all these little things' for the administration of assessment also makes them feel distanced from the purpose of teaching for learner achievement. They have lost the intrinsic 'benefits of the job'.

Later in the interview Thobile reflected on her sullen acceptance of the situation (KG226-TH). [116] She was 'simply doing' her work, regardless of whether she 'wanted to' or agreed with what was 'demanded', or not. What she cared about 'in the end' was having a salary and a job where her 'bread is buttered'. She knew that 'the situation was not ok', but she had no energy left and saw 'no way to go against that' pressure of ever-changing policy and procedural demands. She withdrew into the survival mode of only buttering her own bread.

[116] You know, when many things are going around in you as a person, I as a person, I normally think about my job. No matter there are *problems*, no matter the *situation is not ok*, but *at the end of the day I always tell myself that that my job is where my bread is buttered*. So *whether I want to do this or not*, but because my work demands me to do it, *I simply do it*. There's *no way you can go against that*. At the end of the day *you must do that* because you know *that's where your bread is buttered*. (KG226-TH)

Another indicator of alienation was teachers' fear-based silence in their interactions with department officials. Lynne wanted to stop going to cluster meetings because she could not deal with "*the stress involved because of the snide remarks* made by the cluster leaders about some people's work" (PG37-L). Khumbula was thrown by "*the criticism you get* from the department. And *they really go grey with anger*, you know. They say, '*this is absolutely unacceptable!*'" (KG27-K). So the next time he attended a meeting, he chose to be silent (KG107-K).[117] Khumbula is a clear and outspoken teacher, studying for a masters degree. But in the face of the officials' 'anger', 'criticism' and 'absolute non-acceptance' of his ideas, he would 'rather keep quiet' and 'avoid the debate'. He realised it was not possible to clarify 'the confusion' and he did not want to be told that he was stepping out of line by not 'conducting assessment in the way that he was told to', leaving him to go home 'with frustration'. Khumbula's desire to avoid the officials' anger and condemnation, as well as his concern about his own anger, made him chose silence over engagement. This lack of engagement further feeds the sense of alienation from the department.

What most alienated teachers from the department and their jobs was the sense that they were being prevented from doing the real work of teaching by the endless paperwork. They were angry about having to spend so much time on the 'nonsense' when it distracted them from 'quality teaching'. Vicky wished that she could "*take away all the nit-picking and all the nonsense* and *just get back to real issues*, which are about *quality of teaching*" (DG233-V). Danielle described the conflict succinctly (DG189-D)[118] by contrasting the 'love of teaching' and being 'good at it' with 'this other stuff', 'this nonsense' which 'makes it impossible to give as much to teaching as you should'. It 'drives her mad' that she cannot focus on what she considers to be important. The pressure of paperwork is taking her away from and forcing her to withdraw from the teaching she loves.

[117] On Tuesday we had a meeting about assessment and *they were confusing us*. Then I said to myself, *I don't even want to enter into a debate of this nature, I rather keep quiet, because otherwise I will get frustrated*. Because people may even say, '*Who do you think you are? We are the officials, we are telling you this is how to conduct assessment!*' (KG107-K)

[118] You know, the point is that *you love teaching, that's why you're doing it*, and *the people who love it are usually good at it*, but then *this other stuff just makes it impossible to teach*, which is *what you should be doing*. Well, not *impossible* to teach, but *to give as much to teaching as you should be*, because *you're spending so much time on nonsense*. And I think *that is what drives us mad.* (DG189-D)

Mathoto saw the problem in the same light (MG88/90-M) [119] when she contrasted 'knowledge', 'teaching' and 'learning' with 'reporting', 'recording' and 'paperwork'. The 'paperwork of the assessment policies' deprives Mathoto of 'using the knowledge inside her' to 'build a better nation'. Mathoto does not use emotion words to describe the situation, but being prevented from 'making an impact on learners' with the 'knowledge inside her' by the very policies that claim to promote learner achievement, is surely an alienating situation. By implication, she is angry at the structures that prevent her from acting in ways she 'expects' of herself, disappointed at not being able to contribute to 'a better nation' and made insecure about the value of the 'knowledge that she wants to make an impact on learners' with.

Teachers were alienated by form-filling even to the extent of cheating. In tones of voice that carried shame, bravado and concern, one group talked about how the departmental pettiness "*breeds dishonesty*" (DG159-V). Cheryl confessed that she "*simply writes a whole lot of letters down*, you don't even know what they are. You *kind of, sort of,* sit there and *write LO1 AS3 and hand it in*" (DG130-C). She felt embarrassed (you kind of, sort of) but justified because "the *load is immense. The load is immense. There's a lot of work to get through* and *I know what I'm doing*. So *leave me alone*" (DG138-C). Danielle agreed with Cheryl that there wasn't much point "in going through a list and that *people just fake it*". But she was concerned that "it *encourages people to just be deceitful*" (DG143-D). Vicky confessed how "by the time we were putting portfolios together, the kids weren't even at school anymore, they were on study leave, so *we used to forge their signatures, because else they would have sent the portfolios back*" (DG161-V). The teachers did not approve of their own actions, but they were stuck: "*Where is the point of doing these things that are a waste of time?*" (DG143-D). For these teachers, there is anger at the department for 'not leaving them alone' to do what they 'know how to do'; there is anxiety about coping with their 'immense load'; there is bravado about finding a solution to the problem of 'them sending the portfolios back' and dealing more quickly with things that 'are a waste of time'; and there is disappointment in themselves for resorting to 'being deceitful and faking it'. They are clearly alienated from the filling in of meaningless forms, i.e. from the administrative demands. But it is interesting

[119] We have *got so much knowledge in us* that we want to *use to make an impact on these learners, but* according to the assessment policies, we *focus on the reporting and writing, recording and writing, on paperwork.* Yet as teachers, *we are expected to teach*! And the *more we teach,* the *more learners learn*! And the *more they learn,* the more they are going to *use that knowledge*. Then we are *building* what? *A better nation*. (MG88/90-M)

to note that they are not cheating in relation to, and thus not yet alienated from, their real work with learners. In fact, they are using cheating to speed up on 'waste of time work', precisely so that they can prevent themselves from becoming alienated from their real work.

In another group, teachers illustrated how close the forms could come to alienating teachers from their purpose of assessing learner achievement fairly. Cuvanya described how the 450 retention schedules for failing children[120] become "*a huge inconvenience, a real pressure,* because *teachers are running around trying to remember* what they have *done for this child* from the beginning of the year" (RG544-C). Her colleague Perusha elaborated:

> *Suddenly* in September *we had to find all these long things* that we did with these kids, *which we did, but we just didn't have record of it*. It was that panic accountability that we *had to suddenly remember all these things we did* in January and you don't remember because *so many things happened, you saved so many lives, you resuscitated so many people, but you don't know how you did it, and now suddenly you must write it down on that form*. (RG547-P)

For these teachers, 'doing things for the children' and (metaphorically) 'saving their lives' and 'resuscitating them' is an everyday part of the job, which is important and meaningful at the time but then gets forgotten on the way to the overall goal of learner achievement. The teachers are "*genuinely trying so hard*" (RG557-P) to ensure that children understand the work and pass. But having to justify their additional work to support failing children by 'remembering' at the end of the year and having to 'write it down on that form' makes teachers insecure and think that they 'don't know how to do it'. The anger at the 'huge inconvenience and pressure', the disappointment of children failing and the anxiety of 'not being able to remember how you did it' makes this an alienating situation. The alienation generated by needing to fill in the retention forms can easily tempt teachers to ignore the forms and let pass even the children who are not coping, thus reneging on their responsibility to do assessment fairly.

[120] Teachers need to fill in the 450 retention schedules to provide evidence they have done everything possible (e.g. extra lessons, contact with parents) to prevent a Grade 9 child from failing.

6.7 Conclusion

Describing teachers' anger, fear, disappointment and ultimately alienation from their relationship with the education department and its officials is important because this is the key relationship that mediates between teachers and their assessment responsibilities. Teachers receive their assessment instructions from and are made accountable to the department, not to their principals or colleagues.[121] When the stress of this accountability relationship translates into a sense of alienation from their job, it in turn leads to a distraction from the task core task of teaching and assessing in ways that enable learner achievement. As we saw in the first chapter, learner achievement gives teachers the pleasure they seek as inherent to the job. Yet the negative relationship with the department shifts teachers' focus away from the internal goods of the practice and towards the many ways in which they are oppressed and excluded from the support and recognition that are part of the external goods of the practice. When teachers are undermined in their attempt to make responsible decisions about assessment, distracted from their focus on learner achievement and alienated from their teaching work, then the intrinsic benefit to teaching is lost. The result is that teachers think about leaving the profession.[122]

What this chapter has shown is the emotional chaos that teachers feel when they are caught in the clutches of 'panic accountability'. Initially they swing between satisfaction with the potential of assessment policy and their worry and struggle to understand its implementation. Then they feel judged and anxious about doing the right thing and irritated about the unrealistic demands imposed on them. Later they get panicked by the hectic pressure and totally stressed out by being dictated to. Their on-going anxiety/fear and irritation/anger leads them into a place where they are emotionally out of control – they fear drowning, feel enslaved and it all stops making sense. That is when they feel disappointed, left alone with no help, exploited, resentful and disheartened to the extent that they withdraw – they feel no ownership, choose to stay silent and see no point in doing. Alienation is setting in. And Turner (2010) reminds us that when people become alienated, it leads to them "often dropping out of institutional domains or playing roles with minimal energy" (p190).

[121] Neither of these role players featured much in the interviews. Principals were mentioned 3 or 4 times, but not in relation to assessment, while colleagues were seen to be in the same boat.

[122] Of the 19 teachers I interviewed, 4 had just or were about to resign, all of them with no other job lined up as yet, which I only heard about during or after the interviews. As one teacher described, "I resigned in the middle of last term and the thing I said to the principal was, 'I am eroded away. I have nothing more to give'" (PG79-C). But it turned out that two of them moved on to other teaching jobs.

Chapter 7: Teachers' emotional rules and labour of dealing with assessment

This chapter attempts to make visible some implicit emotional rules that shape teachers' approach to assessment and then to illustrate teachers' emotional labour when difficulties with assessment arise. Still concerned to illustrate teachers' emotions in relation to assessment, it attempts to take understanding of the issues to a deeper level of analysis by excavating the emotional rules that guide teachers' expression of their emotions and by analysing the 'inner dialogue' (Archer, 2000) of their emotional labour. By surfacing the emotional rules and labour, it becomes possible to provide a more complete picture of teachers' emotions in relation to assessment in general, the formative component of giving feedback and the summative outcome of failed learner achievement.

7.1 Professional norms, teachers' beliefs and emotional rules about assessment in general

As described in the literature review, emotional rules are implicit social norms about the "currency of feelings owed in transactions between people" (Theodosius, 2008, p204). Zembylas (2005, p52) points out how they are embedded in ("disguised as") professional norms, yet because he does not try to pinpoint specific emotional rules, he does not explore the nature of the relationship between specific professional norms and emotional rules any further. Theodosius (2008) describes emotional rules for professionals as arising from two sources: the identity and moral expectations of (in her case) nurses held by society in general (p33-35), as well as nurses' legal accountability to the ethical behaviour outlined in the UK NMC Professional Code of Conduct (p206). Because her study is focussed on nurses' emotions and emotional labour, she too does not specify emotional rules beyond the general ethical imperative to care for patients and their relatives. I only found two studies that specified emotional rules: Winograd (2003) who used his journal to isolate several emotional rules that applied to the core identity of a teacher and Yin & Lee (2012) who interviewed Chinese teachers to discover their emotional rules. To isolate the emotional rules, they used imperative statements about what the feelings should be or what should be done with them.

I did not ask teachers directly about their emotional rules. So in this chapter I plan to excavate the implicit emotional rules that teachers' live by through a process of looking at the professional norms stipulated by policy documents that govern teachers' assessment practice in SA, highlighting the beliefs about assessment that the teachers in this study expressed explicitly, and then analysing the implicit emotional rules that arise from or are linked to those beliefs. I will take the professional norms from the policy documents, present the beliefs expressed by teachers in their own words and then draw out underlying emotional rules. Because emotional rules are implicit, teachers are not necessarily aware of them and thus do not state them like they would their beliefs. So the emotional rules offered are my analytical conclusions.

7.1.1 Professional Norms for assessment in general

The National Curriculum Statement (NCS) [123] "envisions teachers who are qualified, competent, dedicated and caring" and able to fulfil 10 different roles, one of which is that of "assessor" (National Curriculum Statement, Grades R-9, p9). Teachers are thus expected to be qualified and competent to assess (i.e. to know what they are doing) as well as being dedicated to the task and caring in their execution of it. More specifically, professional norms about assessment expect teachers to use

> the most suitable assessment methods that accommodate divergent contextual factors. Assessment should provide indicators of learner achievement in the most effective and efficient manner, and ensure that learners integrate and apply knowledge and skills. Assessment should also help students to make judgements about their own performance, set goals for progress and provoke further learning. (Ibid, p18)

These broadly phrased professional norms for assessment gloss over how complex and multifaceted the task of the assessor is: finding or creating 'suitable assessment methods' for divergent contexts' requires high level pedagogical content knowledge; 'providing results efficiently' requires good administrative skills; teaching learners to 'make judgements about their own performance' requires nuanced formative assessment skills. Formative assessment,

[123] I used policy documents that were current at the time of this research: 2007-2011.

a relatively new conception (Black and Wiliam, 1998) of what is involved in good assessment, makes high demands on teachers - it requires both deep level subject knowledge and high level pedagogical skills (Brookhart, 2009; Heritage, 2009; Shepard, 2009). Thus the policy norms assume highly skilled teachers with up-to-date professional knowledge and the ability to make complex decisions in relation to context. By implication, these professional norms require teachers to "make decisions with moral consequences" (Kelchtermans, 1996, p317). Yet these decisions are made within tight administrative supervision (see chapter 6). So what looks like emotion-neutral professional norms is bound to arouse intense emotions in its implementation.

7.1.2 Teachers' beliefs and emotional rules about assessment in general

The data I am drawing on here comes from 42 sections coded as 'purpose and value of assessment'. These responses illustrated the expectations teachers have of the assessment process and the value they assign to it.

7.1.2.1 Belief 1: Assessment is essential

A belief that emerged as consistent across all the teachers in the study was that 'assessment is essential'. This belief is in line with the professional norm of a teacher being a competent and dedicated assessor. Teachers saw assessment as being the "key to education" (PG4-T) and the "crown on top of the cake after everything has been done" (KG 4-TH). It is "important for the learners" and "valuable for the teachers" as a "measurement strategy" (RG18-C), for "checking whether there's progress or not" (CG2-C) and for "motivation" (RG19-J). Teachers were united in their view that assessment is "very important" (MG19-M, RG20-P, CG2-C, KG2-NZ, KG6-K, DG41-V). No teacher doubted it. They would all have agreed with Cuvanya when she said: "I don't think a school, or any studying for that matter, can function without assessment" (RG18-C).

What makes assessment essential for teachers is its value as something that 'gives useful information to both teachers and learners', or, to say it in Khumbula's words, assessment "is

speaking both to the teacher as well as the learner" (KG6-K). Danielle described how teachers gain several important indicators from the results of assessment: whether or not "the learners are picking up what you're teaching", whether or not "they are "absorbing what they are meant to" and "if they're learning" (DG41-D).[124] She summarised the impact of assessment on teachers as, "it's your way of knowing if you're actually doing your job" (DG41-D). Learners equally gain valuable feedback from assessment. As Cuvanya explained "it allows them to see what their weak points are, and whether they understand a particular section that has been taught. It also gives them a sense of worth, because, if we use assessment as a kind of a measurement strategy, then they can measure themselves against other children in the class" (RG18-C).[125] She summarised the value of assessment to learners as "a good indication of whether the learners are heading in the right direction" (RG18-C). The value of assessment as a provider of useful information to teachers and learners underscored its importance in the life of a teacher.

As Nussbaum showed, intense emotions are evoked by what is important to us. When teachers believe that something is so important to the functioning of their jobs, then they must give it attention and focus. The implicit emotional rule is: *assessment requires teachers' emotional engagement*. Regardless of how they feel about it, they cannot ignore it.

[124] Other teachers presented the same idea in different words: you get to know "where learners are holding" (DG42-C); "where they are not understanding" (DG43-D); "if they know what's going on" (DG44-V); "how we are teaching", "whether we have conveyed a message the right way or the learners developed a misconception", "how these particular learners are doing compared to previous years"; whether the teacher is heading in the right direction" (RG18-C); "whether we have achieved what we were working towards or not" (KG6-K); "where a child is in a certain subject, where his development is, whether he has mastered the subject, whether he's ready to move on to the next level" (SG6-K) and as a way of "assessing yourself as the teacher, how much did the learner learn from you" (MG19-M). "If you are a teacher teaching for the whole year without doing assessment, how would you know that your learners are understanding what you are telling them, or being developed in different skills?" (CG2-C). "It gives you a record of what you did with them, and when you realise that some learners didn't understand well, it gives you feedback to go back as a teacher and redo it again until those learners are on par with the others (MG19-M). "It's important because it's a tool that is used by the teacher to assess him or herself to see how much did she partake to the learners and how much did the learners grasp. The results of the assessment will tell you how far are you, are you still far behind or were you too fast, or did the learners understand you? That will tell you. And then if you feel that these learners didn't get it, you change the method" (MG20-J). "When we assess, it's like we stop for a moment and try to look back (KG6-K).

[125] Other teachers expressed the same ideas. "Most of the learners see which level they are. When they look at the graph, they will see: 'at this point I was in level one. After redoing the same work, now I'm in level two or I'm in level three'. Then the learner is assessing himself and says, 'now I must pull up my socks'" (MG19-M). "When they do the self-assessment, they see whether they are coping with the work" (SG9-Sus).

7.1.2.2 Belief 2: For assessment processes to have value, certain conditions must be met

Embedded in the professional norm about teachers using "the most suitable assessment methods that accommodate divergent contextual factors" (NCS, p18) is the appropriateness of assessment processes – which in turn raises the question of what factors enhance or diminish these processes. Theresa made the point, "if you assess correctly, then assessment is quite valuable" (PG4-T). Emotionally, the 'if' is important. Teachers may consider assessment to be essential and valuable, but only under certain conditions. One condition has been mentioned above: believing that assessment has value depends on its ability to provide useful information to teachers and learners. Another condition expressed was that assessment should "give learners a sense of achievement" (PG4-T) so that they don't "lose confidence in the subject" or "lose interest" (PG11-T). Assessment needs to "motivate learners to carry on doing this, to know that they are doing the right things and going towards something - not just sitting in the class staring at the walls" (RG19-J). Thus assessment has value when it boosts learners' commitment to learning.[126] A third condition mentioned was for the system of assessment to be fairer to a diversity of learners. For example, when assessment of subjects is done in English with learners for whom this is not a home language, they "really battle with the written assignments" even though "when you have a one-on-one conversation, they know the work and they can actually do it" (PG8-L). The system is believed to be not fair because "they can't put across what they're actually thinking" (PG10-L) and so "they're not going to get the results that they're worthy of" (PG8-L). The flipside is that learners also need to do it fairly – they must make an effort and they must complete assessments honestly. If not, then assessment is "an absolute waste of time" (DG60-V) and cannot be accepted (DG67-C). Thus, the belief in the value of assessment includes conditions like using it to provide useful information, boosting learners' motivation, enabling fair judgements across socio-economic fault lines and, of course, honesty.

These examples are not a conclusive list of conditions under which assessment processes can be trusted to be correct and fair enough to be considered valuable. But they are sufficient to make the case. The emotional issue for teachers is that assessment per se is not a reliable tool to determine learner success or failure, growth or stagnation. Instead, teachers believe that the value of an assessment depends on the quality of the process: on the methods used and the

[126] As Theresa argues in her feedback on this chapter, it is crucial for the learners to "do their part".

quality of communication around assessment. The professional norm of suitable assessment methods providing valid judgements about performance, judgements which are then accepted in the outside world, is mitigated by teachers' belief that assessment only has value, and thus is acceptable, if the processes are done 'correctly'. Emotionally, assessment needs to be investigated and be seen to be fair and trustworthy before it can be accepted. The emotional rule implicit in this belief is that *assessment processes deserve my trust only when they meet certain conditions, i.e. before I am convinced that an assessment has value, I have the right to check that certain conditions are met.* There is an intrinsic scepticism and the possibility of emotional distancing from the outcomes of assessment in this emotional rule.

7.1.2.3 Belief 3: Marks are an incomplete indicator of achievement

The next belief to emerge from the quotes is a professional assumption that teachers partly shared and partly argued against. It goes something like: marks are an incomplete indicator of achievement. Marks are 'effective and efficient indicators' of achievement, but they have limitations. Theresa highlighted the issue by arguing,

> In most cases people think assessment equals marks.[127] But assessment doesn't always equal marks. I think as a teacher you need to look past the marks. You can see in a classroom how children grow or interact or become people, especially if you look at them all the way through from grade 8 up to grade 12. (PG6/16-T)

Theresa is questioning a common professional assumption by claiming that learners' marks are not the only, or not even the most valid source of assessment information and thus of pleasure or distress for teachers. Instead, the more subtle indicator of learner growth is equally a result of a teacher's work and can be seen through assessment. But, she goes on to lament, "unfortunately, in the society and school system that we're in, marks are very important" (PG16-T). Even though personal growth might actually be the more important result, it is marks that count in the outside world of accountability.[128] Theresa is questioning

[127] Theresa confirmed this perception when she gave feedback on this chapter a few years later: "Many teachers don't even understand that marks are not the only test of real learning." (See Appendix 7)

[128] The quote continues: And I think teachers are judged, in many cases incorrectly, by the marks of their classes. And I say incorrectly because different teachers have different levels of learners. Especially if you're streaming classes, you can't judge teachers like that. But teachers *are* judged based on their marks. Because that's what is on paper, that's how the learners have done in your subject for that year. People don't see past the fact that a learner got 35% for your subject. They don't see the other things, the growth, the confidence levels, and things like that. (PG16-T)

a common professional assumption – that marks are the indicator of the quality of learners' and teachers' work. She argues that while marks are easy to see on paper, they are nevertheless an 'incorrect' measure of 'judgement' because they obscure the complexities underlying the 'paper' – like the 'grade level' the teacher is responsible for, the way that classes are constructed ('streaming'), and, most importantly, the less measurable aspects of development – 'the growth, [129] the confidence levels, and things like that'. Theresa considers it unfair on learners and teachers when marks are the only consideration of what good quality learning means.[130] Unless there is also consideration of the context as well as the trajectories of personal development over time, marks provide an 'incorrect' impression and should be 'looked past'. So although Theresa accepts marks as an indicator of the quality of learners' and teachers' achievement, she adds the caveat 'but not always'. Marks give only partial information, and excessive orientation towards marks as the indicator of value takes away both the intrinsic value of learning and a valid judgement of the teacher.

As Archer (2000) illustrated, emotions are "commentaries upon our concerns" that are elaborated on through "the inner conversation" (p195). Regarding marks, the inner conversation of Theresa and others seems to indicate an emotional mistrust of marks. The professional norm may be that 'marks are an indicator of achievement', but the question that arises for teachers and that undermines their belief in the norm is 'what about all the other, often more valid, indicators of learner progress? And what about the negative impact of this norm on learners and the way it generates a false judgement of teachers? This shakes their belief in the professional norm. The implicit emotional rule here is: *'marks can only be trusted when they accord with our experience of the learners'*. This means that the key indicator of learner success, the marks which the bureaucracy and the public at large views as the definitive objective statement about each learner (or school, or education system), is emotionally debatable for teachers.

[129] Thobile expressed the same idea when she talked about the "value of assessment" being "the skill that you get from them" (KG4-TH).

[130] Her colleague Charlotte agreed. "The kids also become mark orientated. If you want to do something in class, their first question is, 'does this count for marks'? Then they don't place enough value on it because it's not for marks. But it still has value" (PG7-C). Cuvanya and Perusha would have agreed too. They were concerned about how good marks acted "like a negative motivation" (RG26-P), "as if the kid is feeling that if they do well, then they're going to be ostracised by their peers and not be very popular" (RG29-C).

7.1.2.4 Summary

Thus, from this data there emerged three sets of beliefs teachers expressed about assessment in general and their accompanying implicit emotional rules.

1. The overall belief is that assessment is essential and fundamental to education, because it is an important and valuable measurement strategy that gives useful information to both teachers and learners. The implicit accompanying emotional rule is: *assessment is essential and requires teachers' emotional engagement*.
2. The belief about assessment processes is that they only have real value if they are done correctly. Conditions for correctness include providing useful information, contributing to learners' growth and motivation, being fair to all, learners making an effort and being honest. The accompanying emotional rule is: *Assessment processes must be fair and correct before they deserve teachers' trust, i.e. teachers have the right to check that certain conditions are met.*
3. The belief about assessment results is that yes, the professional norm about marks being the objective indicator of achievement is the norm - but it is incomplete because there are other, often more valid indicators of learner's growth that teachers need to pay attention to. Marks don't necessarily show learners' growth, confidence or skill. Teachers need to 'look past the marks' to get a truer sense of the situation. The underlying emotional rule is: *marks can only be trusted when they accord with the teachers' more holistic experience of learners' progress*.

It is interesting to compare these beliefs and their implied emotional rules with the professional norms as presented in assessment policy.

	Professional Norms, in policy documents	**Teacher's Beliefs, as stated in interviews**	**Emotional Rules, as excavated by analysis**
Assessment in General	Teachers should be qualified, competent, dedicated … assessors. (National Curriculum Statement (NCS), p9)	Assessment is essential because it provides useful information to teachers and learners; it is key to education; it is an important and valuable measurement strategy. Schools can't function without assessment.	Assessment is essential and requires teachers' emotional engagement.
	Teachers should use the most suitable assessment methods to accommodate divergent contextual factors. The assessments set by teachers should enable learners to integrate and apply knowledge, make judgements about their own performance, set goals for their progress and provoke further learning. (NCS, p18)	Assessment processes only have real value if certain conditions are met. This includes providing useful information, contributing to learners' growth and motivation, being fair to all, and learners making an honest effort.	Assessment processes must be fair and correct before they deserve teachers' trust, i.e. teachers have the right to check that certain conditions are met.
	Teachers should provide indicators of learners' achievement in the most effective and efficient manner. (NCS, p18)	Marks are an indicator of achievement, but an incomplete one. Marks don't show learners' growth, confidence or skill, nor do they provide a fair judgement of teachers' abilities. Teachers need to 'look past the marks' to get a truer sense of the situation.	Marks can only be trusted when they accord with the teachers' more holistic experience of the learners' progress.

Table 4: Some professional norms, teachers' beliefs and emotional rules about assessment in general

7.1.2.5 Comment

In the first comparison of professional norm, teachers' belief and the excavated emotional rules, there is congruence between the professional norm that assessment is a central responsibility of teachers, teachers' belief that assessment is essential and the emotional rule that assessment is worthy of emotional engagement. In the second comparison, the professional norm is complex in that it simultaneously acknowledges the diversity of implementation strategies in varying contexts and also sets high standards for the educative quality of assessment, which implies that when teachers don't meet these standards, they are doing assessment incorrectly. The teachers' corresponding belief makes this implication explicit by assigning trustworthiness to assessment only when it is done correctly. Yet their conditions for assessment processes having value – that assessment processes provide useful information, demonstrate learners' real growth, boost motivation, are fair to all and are done honestly – can be broken by the department and its officials, by the learners or by teachers. Thus the accompanying emotional rule emphasises the need for having the right to investigate the assessment process before being convinced that it can be trusted. In the third comparison, the belief that marks are an incomplete indicator of achievement is partially congruent with the professional norm of efficient bureaucratic assessment processes, but allows for the possibility of disjuncture through its proviso about the limits inherent in reducing assessment to a mark. The accompanying emotional rule lays claim to a level of personal judgement that allows itself to be critical of the norm. Yet exactly what it means for assessment to be done 'correctly' or 'incorrectly', and thus 'fairly', is not an absolute – even the professional norm allows for 'suitable methods to accommodate contextual factors' - so this emotional rule will stimulate re-interpretations, dialogue and negotiation between policies, teachers and department officials. It is important to note that the emotional rules do not contradict or oppose the professional norms. What they do is create some space for personal independence from and the professional right to interpret the norms.

It is also interesting to note the potential tensions within and between these beliefs. Teachers believe that assessment is essential, but does it remain essential under conditions where it is done 'incorrectly'? Assessment can and does provide useful information, but what if teachers or officials ignore or misinterpret the information? What happens when marks provide a different result from other indicators of progress and thus lead to unfair judgements? When

these tensions grow, the emotional rules claiming personal judgement and conditional trust might well generate a sense of mismatch, disorientation and disagreement with the processes and effects of assessment, which in turn will generate emotions that are increasingly negative as the mismatch grows greater – as described in Chapter 6, for example.

In the next two sections of this chapter, I will present the emotional rules and labour in relation to dealing with two aspects of assessment - the formative practice of giving feedback and the summative imperative of dealing with failure. In each case I excavate a key emotional rule, and then illustrate how teachers reflect on the emotional difficulties that arise from formative and summative assessment respectively.

7.2 Formative Assessment: The Emotional Rules and Labour of Giving Feedback

In the introductory chapter I explained the contradictory demands made on teachers by assessment for learning as compared to the accountability of standardised assessment. After several years of teaching and reading assessment literature and policy documents, I took the distinction between formative and summative assessment for granted and expected teachers to be working with the distinction as well.[131] But the focus group interviews showed that expectation to be mistaken. Each time 'formative assessment' was mentioned, it came from me. The teachers in this study did not use the terms and did not make the distinction – for them it was all assessment. Nevertheless, several of the teachers engaged with a key practice of formative assessment, notably, giving explanatory feedback on misconceptions to learners after a summative assessment (e.g. Theresa, Lynn, Perusha, Khumbula).[132] Theresa was the teacher who reflected most about the feedback she gives and the ways in which it could be done, speaking about feedback in six extensive responses during the interview. So this illustration of the emotional rules and labour of giving feedback uses Theresa as a focal point and brings in other teachers where appropriate as support or contrast.

[131] See Appendix 11: Presumed Emotional Rules

[132] When Theresa and the other teachers talked about giving feedback, it was always in the context of returning the marked results of tests, projects or other forms of summative assessment. In Paul Black's terms, Theresa was not talking about the informal feedback that takes place during teaching, but talking only about using summative assessment formatively after it had taken place.

7.2.1 Professional Norms, Teacher Beliefs and Emotional Rules about Giving Feedback

7.2.1.1 The professional norms: Constructive feedback is a vital component and should not be humiliating

The professional norms regarding feedback are laid down by the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) (2003) and the Subject Assessment Guidelines (SAG) (2008). The NCS provides a clear norm, namely that "constructive feedback is a vital component of assessment for formative purposes" (NCS, 2003, p28). The SAG supplements and elaborates on the NCS, so it adds the implementation detail that "continuous assessment … should be used to … assess learners' strength and weaknesses, provide additional support to learners, … and motivate and encourage learners" (SAG, 2008, p7).

Taken from the South African Council of Educators (SACE) [133] Code of Conduct, there is another professional norm that can be applied in conjunction with this norm about constructive feedback, namely the injunction that "an educator avoids any form of humiliation" (Section 3.5). This recognises the damage that can occur when the feedback is not constructive.

7.2.1.2 Teachers' beliefs: Feedback is important, should not humiliate learners and needs to be constructive

Theresa' beliefs about giving feedback were shaped by a defining experience in her last year of school.[134]

> We had to do an assignment whereby we had to write an opening paragraph for something. A friend of mine and myself sat and we decided, ok, we're actually going to put some effort into this thing and we sat and we actually did a little bit of research and we wrote this paragraph that we thought was brilliant, and we handed it in. And

[133] All teachers need to register with the South African Council for Educators (SACE) in order to be eligible for employment.

[134] It is interesting to note that of the 42 quotations coded as 'personal history', (i.e. mostly memories of assessment as a school child and some memories as a young teacher), 22 (i.e. more than half) co-occurred with the code 'being judged' and 14 co-occurred with 'feedback'. This points to how strongly incidents of being judged are remembered and also to the importance of the way in which the nature of a teacher's feedback mediates that experience of being judged – for better or worse.

> the next day when we came to class, our paragraph was written on the board. So we thought, oh, cool, finally we'd done something right for this teacher. Anyway, she proceeded across the lesson to rip this thing to shreds. There was nothing left of the paragraph that we'd written on the board when she was finished.
>
> I've been out of school for almost 20 years and that's something that sticks in my mind. I think as a teacher that has changed the way I look at assessment for learners. So I think it's meant to be a positive experience.
>
> I would never take something of some child that was really bad and write it on the board. I would never do that. Because it was a humiliating experience. So I think feedback needs to be constructive. You can point out mistakes, but you can do those things in private, so you can call them and talk to them afterwards. And rather do the praising in front of other children. I would hate that to happen to somebody that I teach. … Because that just was the end {of the subject} for me. (PG32-T)

This emotional memory still shapes Theresa's assessment practice today. Now that she is in the teacher role, she is determined to behave differently towards learners. She is adamant in her belief that giving feedback should not be a 'humiliating experience' for learners, which correlates with the SACE norm. She also believes that "feedback is important" (PG60-T), that it needs to be "constructive" and that receiving feedback ought to be a "positive experience" (PG32), which correlates with the policy norm. What the young Theresa had needed was for the teacher to recognise the 'effort' that she and her friend had made and to respond constructively, not by ripping the work to shreds. Theresa was not alone in this belief about constructive feedback. Celiwe, Josie and Perusha expressed the same belief, using slightly different words and in relation to different memories.[135] These teachers all

[135] Celiwe remembered how in her youth, learners felt pressurised and stressed because "assessment was never discussed and even if you have performed badly, you'll not get feedback on what to improve on. You'll feel like you are stupid or you are a slow learner". So for her it is a big improvement that "now at least you can get feedback about where you go wrong, so that you can prepare better for the next test" (CG10-C). Josie told of a memory where she felt "silly" and "extremely hurt" because her teacher blithely disregarded a week's worth of effort she had put into constructing a poem and card and did not even open the cards before handing them out to other children. The young Josie needed "acknowledgement" (RG73-J), "some sort of reward, whether it's in the form of marks or praise - even a verbal reward like, 'Josie spent a lot of time on this, congratulations' would have been enough" (RG69-J). In retrospect, Josie wanted her teacher to have been more explicit (RG77-J) and more honest (RG80-J) about what she was doing. Perusha remembered how "devastating" it was for her when teachers returned projects with "no feedback, no comments, no comparison, nothing" (RG91-P), except for "just

believed in the importance of constructive acknowledgement of learners' work because of their own need for it as learners.

Based on her past experience, Theresa also has a preferred method of giving constructive feedback – which is to give critical and thus potentially humiliating feedback "in private" and to give praise in public, "in front of other children" (PG32-T). When her colleague (PG33-C) pointed out the problems associated with "constantly praising" the "good kids" in front of others, Theresa did not respond – and the issue of which methods to use when giving constructive feedback remained open.

In chapter 5 I described how giving feedback shifts the structural position of teachers – having taken on the role of judge during the marking phase, they now become the messenger, the comforter and the teacher / explainer of misconceptions. In line with this structural shift, the belief about giving constructive feedback, regardless of how exactly it is to be done, is another important condition for how assessment must be done 'correctly'.[136]

7.2.1.3 Excavating the emotional rule

Arising from the beliefs about no humiliation and 'constructive' feedback enabling a 'positive' experience for learners, what are the implicit rules about the emotional responsibilities of teachers?

In a way, the belief that *feedback should not humiliate learners* is already an emotional rule, because it regulates the emotion that teachers' actions should not evoke in learners. There is also a necessary flipside – what the feeling is that should be evoked. Like Khumbula,[137]

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a random mark at the top" (RG89-P). In response, she now finds working with rubrics "brilliant" (RG91-P) and has made giving feedback her "focal area" and she "definitely" explains "explicitly" what learners did and did not do (RG93-P)

[136] By implication, that applies to all levels of the education system. Teachers would like the department officials to also do formative assessment 'correctly' by offering them constructive engagement. As Theresa said, it "would be nice to get positive feedback from the department on the type of assessment that we're giving. We work really hard, but we actually get nothing. Nobody ever says, 'well done' or 'that's good' or anything like that" (PG19-T).

[137] Khumbula, having learned from his experience of embarrassment when being laughed at as a child, now takes on the responsibility to tell his learners "not to laugh if a kid is giving a wrong answer or something like that, because it's not necessarily about wrong answers, it's about thinking, and to get to a better level of

teachers need to pre-empt the possibility of embarrassment and humiliation in their learners. In a later response, Theresa states it clearly when she describes how she gives feedback in ways that enable her learners to "feel much better about themselves" (PG60-T). Again, Theresa is not alone – both Lynn and Mathoto expressed the same concern that learners should feel good about themselves in spite of their temporary failure.[138] The teachers accept the responsibility of *giving feedback that enables learners to feel better about themselves* and their effort.

Judging by the struggles that teachers experienced around giving appropriate feedback,[139] this emotional responsibility of giving feedback in ways that does not humiliate but instead generates positive feelings in learners is not easy to implement. So I think there is another, unexpressed by teachers, aspect to this emotional rule, namely, that *teachers need to make the effort to respect and recognise learners' effort and work*. Even if the results are not as brilliant as the learners might expect, teachers need to acknowledge learners' work by giving their own effort in return.[140] By emphasising the need for constructive feedback, by pointing out mistakes in private, creating a classroom environment that does not use mistakes to embarrass individuals and showing concern for learners' private lives when their marks are low, Theresa and the other teachers are creating an emotional climate that makes further intellectual work possible while demonstrating an emotional obligation to respond to learners' efforts by increasing their own.

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reasoning. So I usually warn, please don't laugh at anyone who's giving wrong answers, so as not to embarrass the other child" (KG33-K). Khumbula does not want his learners to feel embarrassed about making mistakes, but rather to see it as a learning opportunity – so he teaches them to respond to each other in ways that turn assessments away from humiliation into learning moments.

[138] When Lynn's learners were upset about their marks, she saw it as her responsibility "to console them, try and boost them again, get the confidence levels up" and understood that "the best thing is to have a one-on-one in the afternoon with them" (PG61-L). Mathoto approaches learners whose marks have dropped and takes time to counsel them outside of the class. "Then it's your responsibility as a teacher to say, 'oh, come here'. Then you talk and say, 'are you alright?'. Then the learner will tell you, 'on that day my mom was critically ill' or 'on that day I did not do well because I didn't eat when I went to bed' or 'my friends they were laughing at me' or 'they were calling me names'. Oh, then I understand, 'alright'! Then I give guidance: Next time this happens, know that it always happened to each one of us. Don't allow them to tease you. So if it happens, just say: 'it happens, but I have to write the test so that I pass'. Then you won't see this problem again, because you are saying to this learner, 'my gate and my heart is open, come to me' and then he will trust you" (MG217-M). Mathoto opens her heart to learners to ensure that they are not demotivated by failure.

[139] See chapter 5, section 5.4.1

[140] As Theresa asserts later "there's nothing worse than getting something back from a teacher and there's actually nothing there" (PG64-T).

Pulling this together, I would formulate the emotional rule as follows: *To counteract the possibility of learners feeling humiliated, teachers should respect and recognise learners' efforts by making their own effort to give feedback in ways that make learners feel better about themselves.* This correlates well with the professional norm that continuous (i.e. formative) assessment should encourage and motivate learners, yet it makes explicit the deep emotional effort that the teachers are making.

7.2.1.4 Summary

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Professional Norms, in policy documents</th><th>Teacher's Beliefs, as stated in interviews</th><th>Emotional Rules, as excavated by analysis</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Formative Assessment (giving feedback)</td><td>An educator avoids any form of humiliation. (SACE Code of Conduct, 3.5)</td><td>Feedback should not be humiliating to learners</td><td rowspan="2">To counteract the possibility of learners feeling humiliated, teachers should respect and recognise learners' efforts by making their own effort to give feedback in ways that make learners feel better about themselves.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Constructive feedback is a vital component of assessment for formative purposes. (NCS, p28)

Continuous assessment should be used to assess learners' strengths and weaknesses, provide additional support to learners, and motivate and encourage learners. (Subject Assessment Guidelines (SAG), p7)</td><td>Feedback is important and needs to be constructive.

Receiving feedback is meant to be a positive experience for learners.</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td>Teachers gain their satisfaction from doing something of value for learners.[141]</td></tr>
</table>

Table 5: Some professional norms, teachers' beliefs and emotional rules about giving feedback

Having excavated the emotional rules, I want to proceed by describing the emotional labour involved in giving feedback.

[141] This emotional rule is expressed in the next section on the emotional labour of feedback, but I felt the need to record it and tagging it on to this summary appeared to be the best place. While expressed in relation to feedback, it also speaks to the identity of the teacher as a whole.

7.2.2 The emotional labour of giving feedback

In order to make visible the emotional labour involved in giving feedback, I will use two analytical concepts explored in the Literature Review. The first is Turner's (2007) explication of attribution processes, which helps to analyse where teachers attribute responsibility or blame for the cause of the situation that generates their negative emotions.[142] The second is Archer's (2000) concept of an "inner dialogue or conversation" (p195), which involves the different stages of "discernment", "deliberation" and "dedication" (p232-241) and is useful to make visible the complexity of the factors that are considered in a situation.[143]

For this explication of emotional labour, I will continue using Theresa as the focus person. Theresa talks[144] about feedback in six of her responses during the interview (PG-T 19, 32, 58, 60, 64, 69). In the first response (PG19-T) she raises the issue of teachers not getting positive feedback from the department officials, in the second (PG32-T), she chooses the story of the teacher ripping her work to shreds as her assessment memory, in the third (PG58-T) she counteracts her colleagues' expressions of not wanting to give feedback with the claim that feedback is essential in her subject. This initiates a conversation about feedback that lasts 9 turns. In a later response (PG69-T) Theresa returns again to feedback as part of an answer to a question about reporting and accountability demands placed on teachers. It is thus quite an important issue to her.

Theresa is a committed teacher who puts effort into the teaching and assessment of her classes. She spends holidays marking and declines invitations from friends because of work related deadlines (PG54-T). As described above, the professional norms, beliefs and emotional rules she subscribes to motivate her to engage with learners' work in a 'constructive' way so as to ensure that 'learners feel better about themselves'. Thus, as part of her assessment practice, Theresa gives general, verbal feedback to the whole class after an assessment task (PG64-T), encourages learners to ask her questions after they have gone through the test at home (PG58-T), and gives one-on-one explanations or an extra lesson to

[142] See chapter 2, section 2.1.3
[143] See chapter 2, section 2.4.2.3
[144] Obviously I can only work with Theresa's 'outer' conversation with her colleagues in relation to my interview questions, but because they were friends having an exploratory conversation and not a declarative one, there was a clear deliberative back and forth in her mode of speech.

learners with low marks (PG60-T), rather than "just writing 'well done' or something on a paper" (PG64-T).

Nevertheless, this commitment to giving feedback generates inner conflict for Theresa. Her experience of giving feedback is that "it's not a nice side of teaching" (PG58-T). It is associated with the pain of failure, the disappointment and tears when learners get back a test with low marks: "when you give it back to them, you realise how disappointed some of them are and then they're in tears" (PG58-T). It is also experienced as one of the "unrealistic expectations" placed on teachers by the department, who check for "evidence of feedback" without considering that teachers "just don't have the time to write on every paper" and "it's just virtually impossible to give a lot of written feedback" (PG64-T).

Reflecting on Theresa, what becomes clear is the intensity of emotional labour she experiences around how and when to give feedback to students. Her emotional rule that teachers should recognise learners' efforts and give feedback in such a way that learners feel better about themselves is counteracted by different tensions, which ensnare her in contradictory impulses. The first tension arises between her past experience of being humiliated when receiving feedback and the policy directive that "feedback is a vital component of assessment for formative purposes (NCS, p28). The model of whole class feedback she remembers is so unpleasant that she does not want to impose it on her learners. Although she would like to point out mistakes so learners can clarify their misconceptions, she rejects the only model she has for doing it with the whole group (PG32-T). Instead, she chooses to "do the praising in front of other children" but wants the clarification of mistakes to remain "private, so you can call learners and talk to them afterwards" (PG32-T).[145] Giving feedback one-on one enables her "to go through the test" with the learners who were "demoralised" by their low mark, explain the "concepts" they struggled with, deal with their "upset" and get them "to feel better about themselves", in a way that is not possible in front of the whole class (PG60-T). This brings her to the second tension – the extra time and effort

[145] Cheryl had a similar experience in her youth and now follows the same method of keeping feedback private. "For me, I remember getting marks back that were really bad after a test. And all my friends, everybody wanted to know, and the teacher sort of handed back and made comments in front of the whole class. Humiliated, that's how I felt then, and (when I became a teacher) I was determined that that would not ever happen (to my learners). I hand back work without any discussion at all. No marks are called out and I will not tolerate anybody telling anybody else in my class what they got. They put it away and finish, no comment. If I want to comment, I call them out afterwards and say something or I comment on the paper. That was my thing: that I would never ever do that to anybody, and that's it. (DG78/80-C)

that private feedback requires.[146] She has no time during the school day, so "ends up doing it in the afternoons" (PG60-T). But even then there is pressure from marking, extra-mural activities or meetings, so Theresa feels rushed, "just coping" and "absolutely drained" (PG88-T). This in turn diminishes her commitment to giving feedback, placing her in an emotional trap:

> I say to them, you can go over it at home and if you've got any questions, come and ask. And then I hope they never come back. *Laughs (at herself)* (PG58-T).

Theresa laughs at her emotional contradiction – wanting to help the struggling learners and simultaneously hoping they will never ask for help. The laughter covers up her inner tension generated by the complex technical and moral decisions she has to make and her insecurity about making them correctly.

Giving feedback is thus an emotionally fraught matter. On the one hand, Theresa's motivation for staying in teaching is to support children in their learning. "To actually help children in their life" is the "reason why we went into teaching" and is the essence of what makes teaching "worth it" (PG82-T). She knows that giving feedback is an essential part of that process. On the other hand, teaching is "very, very difficult" (PG82-T) and giving feedback in ways that make children "feel much better about themselves" (PG60-T) is a complex task both emotionally and in terms of time and classroom management. It requires decisions about what kinds of feedback to give publicly and what to say in private, when and where to find the appropriate time to give it and how to deal with the learner's pain of failure. It complicates the relationship between herself and the department, because the department wants written evidence of feedback that she mostly gives orally. And it demands more time and focus than she has to give. She experiences a constant conflict about how best to do assessment 'correctly'. Thus, when giving feedback, teachers need to constantly weigh up how best to do it correctly and they need to subscribe to beliefs and emotional rules that prioritise the well-being and learning needs of learners.

Using Archer's lens, I would say that Theresa's first (PG19-T) and second (PG32-T) responses are part of a discernment phase – by noticing her desire for positive feedback from people in a position of authority and remembering how she received humiliation instead of the positive feedback she was expecting, Theresa became aware of the emotional need to

[146] Theresa confirms this during her feedback on this chapter: "Good feedback is very time consuming – there is always a dilemma in how much time to spend before carrying on, as the curriculum is too long."

receive encouraging feedback for effort made in order to succeed. That gave her a strong sense that there was a right (i.e. generating positive emotion) and a wrong (i.e. generating negative emotion) way of giving feedback. She knew from policy that "constructive feedback" (NCS, p28), which generates positive emotion, should be given and agreed with the idea that "feedback was essential for the learners", yet was careful to limit the claim to "her subject", so as to not offend her colleagues (PG58-T). And with that claim, her deliberation started. Theresa immediately counteracted her own claim by saying that feedback takes up time that is required for going through the syllabus, then laughed at herself for offering feedback to learners but hoping they would not take up the offer and concluded that feedback is 'not a nice side of teaching' because she found it difficult to deal with their disappointment and tears. Professional issues of syllabus and time were interwoven with emotional issues of disappointment and empathy. In the next response (PG60-T), her deliberation continued with the need to reassure herself that she was a good teacher in spite of the learners' tears and that it was the conceptual demands of the subject that made them struggle, leading to a professional justification with several reasons for why it was more valuable to give feedback to individual learners than to the whole class (a justification that ran counter to the currently prevalent method of giving whole class feedback, but resonated with her childhood experience). In the fifth response, (PG64-T) the deliberation continued, this time in relation to written versus verbal feedback, with Theresa again arguing against the countervailing trend of giving written feedback on each script as demanded by the department - while simultaneously recognising that for learners it is crucial to receive something of value back from the teacher in recognition of their effort. She acknowledged that her need for spending less time on marking was in conflict with the learners' needs for a thoughtful response and the department's demand for evidence of feedback. It is in the sixth response (PG69-T), when she links report writing back to the issue of feedback, that she manages to arrive at a dedication: that writing comments on reports "for every single child in every single subject" is "quite stressful and onerous on the teachers but I think is quite valuable for the children and the parents if you do it properly". Theresa resolves the conflict of interest through coming to an ethical understanding: While acknowledging the writing of feedback as a burdensome obligation, Theresa considers it worth doing properly for the sake of its value to children and parents. It is not the legal obligation to the department that motivates her, but her moral obligation to the learners.

Analysing Theresa's inner dialogue in terms of attribution, she makes both self and external attributions. She makes external attributions to the teacher 20 years ago for alienating her from the subject, and to the department for its 'unrealistic demands'. She makes self-attributions by owning the necessity for feedback in her subject, by acknowledging her conflict between wanting to support learners individually and feeling pressured by lack of time, and by taking on feedback tasks that are 'onerous on teachers' because they are 'valuable for learners and parents'. This pattern of attribution shows Theresa to be feeling a strong sense of responsibility for her feedback work.

7.2.3 Comment

In the terms of my study, I think that the self-attribution Theresa arrives at in her 'dedication' is the reassertion of a deeper emotional rule, namely, that *teachers gain their satisfaction from doing something of value for learners*. This rule encompasses the emotional rules specific to feedback that I excavated at the beginning of this section of giving feedback, it picks up on Theresa's dedication to something that is "valuable for the children and the parents" (PG69-T), relates to Theresa's reason for teaching which is to "help children" (PG82-T), and it echoes what she says about experiencing a "huge degree of satisfaction" when her learners "get it" (in PG47-T). It encapsulates the strong interdependence between teachers and learners' achievement described in chapter 4.

7.3 Summative Assessment: The Emotional Rules and Labour of Dealing with Failure

This section excavates the emotional rule that teachers live by regarding the results of the assessment process and then illustrates the emotional labour that ensues. As described in chapter 4, a teacher's sense of identity is interdependent with the results their learners achieve on summative assessment. When learners achieve good outcomes, all is well, when they fail, teachers' respond with negative emotions, self-attributions and emotional labour. Learner failure was the most obvious concern of all teachers in relation to summative assessment. I re-coded for 'dealing with failure' and came up with 68 sections. I found that this new code co-occurred with a wide range of existing codes – primarily with 'purpose and value' of assessment, then with codes that relate to the work of a teacher/assessor, like 'making a judgement', 'learner characteristics', 'strongly expressed emotions about learner

achievement' and 'enabling learner achievement', and also with codes related to institutional relationships, like 'reporting demands', 'department' and 'policy'. So the focus of these quotes is shaped by three issues: teachers' ideals of assessment, their emphasis on enabling learners to achieve and the impact of policy and department on their work.

7.3.1 Professional Norms, Teacher Beliefs and Emotional Rules of Dealing with Failure

7.3.1.1 The professional norm

It is education policy (and thus a professional norm) that children cannot "stay in the same phase" for longer than one extra year, so that children can "progress with their age cohort". The "decisions about progression" should be based on "the recorded assessment tasks" as well as "the advice of teachers, learners, parents and education support services". It is preferred that when learners "need more time to achieve the Learning Outcomes", they "need not be retained in a grade for the whole year", but should be supported with a "learner support strategy" (National Policy on Assessment, 2001, p20).[147] The policy / professional norm thus intends to promote learner promotion rather than retention. This appears to resonate with teachers' desire for learner success rather than learner failure, but to my initial surprise, teachers' beliefs about failure were strongly opposed to this norm.

7.3.1.2 Teachers' belief: A fail is a fail and covering up the failure is not doing learners a favour. Achievements come from learning and teaching

Reflecting on teachers' responses, there was an emphatic belief that jumped out at me. It arose out of teachers' ideals about assessment and was expressed emphatically by teachers both at the poorest and at the most well-to-do school in my sample. The belief deals with the issue of failure directly and it says '*a fail is a fail*'.

[147] The 2011 version of the 'National Policy Pertaining To The Programme And Promotion Requirements Of The National Curriculum Statement Grades R – 12' retains this perspective. "A learner may only be progressed once (where 'progressed' means "the advancement of a learner from one grade to the next, in spite of the learner not having complied with all the promotion requirements, pX) in the Senior Phase in order to prevent the learner being retained in this phase for longer than four years. A learner who is not ready to function at the expected level … should receive the necessary support" (p26).

Joyce works in a particularly poor school. She named the belief of recognising failure for what it is by insisting:

> If you get a zero, it's a zero! And a fail must be called a fail! They must stop saying a fail is 'not competent'. They're just trying to come up with modernised English here. A fail is a fail. It's nothing! (MG72-J)

Her colleague Hlubi agreed with her wholeheartedly:

> In terms of fail, let it be a fail. Whether I'm using a red pen, a black or a green pen - if it's a fail, it's a fail. We cannot put flowers on something that is not good. (MG80-H)

The issue was equally clear-cut for Theresa, who works in a well-resourced school:

> And I think if you do no work in grade 9, you must fail grade 9! Finished! That's the end of the story![148]

These teachers were emphatic that failure must be recognised as such. They did not want it to be whitewashed by a change of terminology to 'not competent'[149] or by denying the failure and "pushing learners through to Grade 10" (MG82-H). They wanted the failure to be recognised so that the consequences of failure could be implemented. Both Joyce and Hlubi wanted learners to repeat the grade and have a chance to increase their efforts.[150] Other teachers justified the belief by insisting that their motivation was the well-being of the learners. They believed that letting learners move on to higher grades without the ability to cope with the higher levels of work is "*not doing them any favour*" (PG72-L).[151]

The belief about recognising failure fits with the more general belief described in section 7.1.2.2, namely that for assessment processes to have value, they must meet certain conditions. It constitutes another condition for 'correct' assessment: teachers want an assessment system that can be trusted to give an accurate reflection of a learner's ability. Of course these teachers desired their learners' success, but not at the expense of pretending that

[148] Theresa confirmed this point in her feedback on this chapter: "I feel very strongly about this – learners should not progress if they are not competent as it just compounds the problem higher up."

[149] See also, "On the reports we are not even allowed to say they failed. We have to just write they 'did not meet the requirements'" (SG70-K).

[150] "And then, if you fail, you need to repeat! Pull up your socks a bit better and repeat" (MG72-J). "Let a child know if he's done wrong. If the child is incompetent, he's incompetent, let the child remain and redo it again" (MG82-H).

[151] "You can't just keep pushing through these learners because you don't have this proof and that proof, when they're not going to cope when it gets to the higher grades. You're not doing them any favour" (PG72-L). It's not like we want to keep back hundreds of learners. That's not the case. You can see that this child is not coping and needs extra time (PG73-C). "We have one child who has failed every single year in high school and he's now going to grade 10! And he has never ever passed. And then at the end of grade 10 they can't cope anymore. So that is a big problem (SG74-S).

failures do not exist. For them, success becomes meaningful when failure is acknowledged. Without a clear delineation of failure, there is no possibility of clearly delineating success either. As Hlubi said, "Let wrong be wrong and right be right!" (MG82-H).

Hlubi also expressed a corollary of this belief, namely that

> I cannot always assess, assess, or give them work and assess without first teaching them. Assessment is not teaching. Assessment is not about learning. *My understanding is that achievements come from learning and teaching. If I didn't teach and the learners have not learnt, then from where should I get an assessment?* (MG66-H)

This is a belief about what comes before the judgement of a fail being a fail (and a pass being a pass). It is about the responsibility that a teacher has for enabling, and that the learners have for generating, the achievements that are measured in the assessment. It thus places the responsibility for achievement and failure on the prior activities of both teachers and learners.

7.3.1.3 Excavating the emotional rule

The beliefs about recognising failure and assessment requiring prior teaching and learning are clearly strongly held beliefs, but they are not yet emotional rules, as they do not tell teachers how to feel about failure or what currency of feeling is owed in the situation. Yet as beliefs, they encompass teachers' core values of fairness and responsibility. In Turner's (2007) language, they express one of the social factors that have the most impact in shaping emotional rules – the expectation of what is a 'just share' that should be received from an encounter. Maybe the primary implicit emotional rule is simply a variation on the emotional reality that we feel bad when we think we have failed and we feel good when we think we have succeeded, i.e. something like: when learners pass, learner and teacher can rejoice; when learners fail, learner and teacher should feel some variant of shame. What the teachers' belief about a fail being a fail is then saying about emotions, is that these feelings of elation or shame need to be appropriately deserved. The corollary is about what makes the feeling appropriate or not, namely, that success is achieved (and thus appropriately deserved) when prior effort has been made. Teachers need to put effort into teaching and learners need to put effort into learning before experiencing the elation of success. I would thus formulate the emotional rule as follows: *Feelings of elation at success and shame at failure need to be*

appropriately deserved. The elation of success requires that effort be put into learning and teaching.

7.3.1.4 Summary

	Professional Norms, in policy documents	**Teacher's Beliefs, as stated in interviews**	**Emotional Rules, as excavated by analysis**
Summative Assessment (dealing with failure)	Learners cannot be retained more than once. Rather than being retained, they should progress to the next grade and be supported with a learner support strategy. (NPA, p20)	A fail is a fail. Let wrong be wrong and right be right. Covering up failure is not doing learners a favour.	Learners' (and teachers') feelings of elation at success and shame at failure need to be appropriately deserved.
		Achievements come from learning and teaching. If I didn't teach and learners have not learnt, then from where should I get an assessment?	The elation of success requires that effort be put into learning and teaching.

Table 6: Some professional norms, teachers' beliefs and emotional rules about dealing with failure

There is a disjuncture between the policy norm of favouring learner promotion over retention as compared with the teachers' belief that a fail needs to be acknowledged as such. At stake is a differing conception of fairness. The policy considers it fair when teachers ensure learner progress by providing additional, on-going support for weak learners.[152] For the teachers, learner progress is fair when learners are judged on their effort and results. There is also a difference in attribution – the policy attributes the responsibility for learners' passing marks to teachers, while the teachers, while not denying their responsibility, are placing ultimate responsibility at the feet of the learners. They want learners to make the effort so as to deserve their 'just share' of positive success emotions. Emotionally, it is only when effort is made that the elation of success is appropriately deserved.

[152] In her feedback on this chapter, Theresa commented that "passing learners who have actually failed and then saying they should get more support in the next grade is wishful thinking."

7.3.2 The emotional labour of dealing with failure

Although the teachers were emphatic about failure needing to be acknowledged so as to maintain fairness, that does not mean they found it an easy thing to handle emotionally. It cost teachers a lot of emotional labour to personally deal with it. They experienced their learners' failure as "painful" (KG162-TH) and "frustrating" (PG16-T). Theresa pointed out that when she was "learning to teach" she was not "taught how to deal with the major frustration when children don't achieve" (PG16-T). Teachers do not have worked out strategies for dealing with their learners' and their own sense of failure.

7.3.2.1 Discerning the problem: Covering up failure does not enable learner achievement

Several teachers expressed disagreement with the departmental policy of advancing learners even though they have not met the requirements for the next grade.[153] Cuvanya described the situation clearly:

> When we take the schedules to the department, the department is *just looking* at names and numbers. *We know* the background to the child, *we know* how many times this child hasn't done homework or how many tests this child has failed and so on. *The department doesn't know* that, they *just see* the summative assessment at the end of the year. And based *on that alone*, they want to pass that child. So *if we don't have* the evidence, then *the child will be passed*. *They just give learners the marks needed* to pass, and they're condoned. I also think there's only a certain percentage of children that can fail in each grade, its 5%. So when we are doing the schedules before we take them to the department, *we must ensure that we don't exceed* the 5% mark. Children included in the 5% must be *very serious cases, definite failures*. There were even two cases in our school last year where learners failed. The *department failed them* at the schedule meeting last year. But the learners went to the department and *contested it* and the *department passed them*. So *we have had to re-admit them as if* they had passed. (RG568/583-C)

[153] For example: "It gives me a problem that a learner is not supposed to repeat a class twice in a phase. When we look at the Learning Outcomes, we find that the learner has never achieved the Assessment Standards. So I'm not sure whether and how the learner is going to learn that at high school, even though at primary school the learner couldn't achieve those Learning Outcomes" (KG9-TH).

Cuvanya is using neutral, descriptive language, but other teachers were more emotionally explicit[154] and this response was chosen to illustrate how Cuvanya's outrage is just beneath the surface of her neutral language. She differentiates between teachers and the department in terms of insight into the situation: 'we know' while 'the department doesn't know'. She evaluates the department as acting carelessly: they 'just' look at numbers, 'just' see the final year-end mark and 'based on that alone' they make decisions. This violates the belief about needing to 'look past the marks' to get a truer sense of the situation. Even worse, it undermines her trust in assessment by violating the emotional rule of assessment only having value if it is done correctly and fairly, as 'just giving the needed marks' so that the child 'will be passed' is a clear case of doing assessment incorrectly. To add insult to injury, Cuvanya experiences the department as acting in opposition to teachers: even when teachers make the effort[155] to present only a small number of 'very serious cases, definite failures', the department overturns its initial endorsement of the failure and forces the school to 're-admit learners as if they had passed'.

Teacher's discerned two key reasons for why this cover-up was so detrimental. Firstly, it undermined their authority and purpose as a teacher. They experienced it as "demeaning" and "de-motivating" that their admonitions to learners could be "proved to be wrong" (RG287/9/99-C)[156] and were no longer accepted as coming from someone who knows the

[154] For example: "At the end of the year when you go with these failures to the department they will fight bitterly to save a learner and not let them fail, when actually they deserve to fail!" (PG72-L). "The frustration is sometimes that we have children who totally fail, but the department just puts them through. They just insist, whatever their reason may be. And sometimes a child would actually benefit or parents would realise the reality. That is the frustration that we have: children who are put through, and put through, and put through. The department just decides that the child goes through" (SG74-S). "It's so frustrating. If they can see any improvement - it can be a half a percent improvement - they will not fail the learner. Even if you done all the paperwork and have the evidence and the child hasn't improved, they're not willing to keep them back. They're not willing to do it." (PG73-C). "A few years ago when we started this new assessment, there were quite a few incidents where we felt it was not going to benefit the child to go to the next level. And the department just refused. They just said if the child could write a minimal sentence, or a minimal reading could be done by the child, or a little bit of counting, then it's not a failure. So we had a very hard time helping this child to cope the next year" (SG76-Sus). "The progression policy results in a drop in standards" (T in Feedback on Chapters 7/8)

[155] This effort involves teachers in being "very, very instrumental" (RG569-P) in ensuring that they "cannot exceed 5%". So for "borderline children" (RG570-C) teachers have to participate in the scam of passing undeserving learners: "we've got to find marks, we've got to go to colleagues and ask, 'can you give this child 3 marks?' That's what happens at the end of the year!" (RG572-C).

[156] The full quote: "Last year we had two students whom I expected to fail in the grade 12 exam, and they didn't. And for me that was *a bit of a blow* because we all know that they passed because the marks were inflated. We know that. As teachers, we felt like *the wind was knocked out of our sails*. The *whole year* we'd had problems with these learners. They *never worked*; they *never handed* in their work; their CASS mark was *a failing mark*. So it was *very de-motivating* for us to have told them the whole year that, 'you know what, you're heading for failure', and then at the end of the year in the final exam, *they all pass!"* (RG287/289-C). "For me as a teacher I think that's very demeaning, because the department has undermined us, our authority as teachers in the classroom, and as a school, and it hasn't placed any importance to what we've been doing. It's like, you know

path to successful achievement.[157] Passing learners who have not learned anything undermines the purpose of a teacher's work, which is to "cultivate the good culture of an educated society in future" (MG86-H). When teachers feel obliged to pretend that learning is taking place by passing all learners, it makes a mockery of their professional identity and deprives them of the satisfaction of doing something of value for learners. It generating long-term damage to the country,[158] making education, and their job as a teacher, feel like "a travesty" (RG310-C).[159] Not acknowledging failure makes assessment untrustworthy and creates the opposite of the learning and achievement that teachers want to enable. It is a way of 'not loving our kids'.[160]

Secondly, it affected children's motivation to learn because assessment was no longer a means of persuading learners to make an effort.[161] When learners are not held "accountable" through the possibility of failing a grade, they stop "caring", lose "motivation", "don't listen", even "blatantly and proudly" proclaim their disinterest (RG577-P). When children cannot fail, many of them stop being learners, i.e. people whose task it is to acquire knowledge and skills. Hlubi saw no value in giving learners the illusion of being capable - it

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what, these two learners may as well just have slept through the exams, which they literally did, but they passed anyway. So where do we stand at the end of that?" (CRG299-C)

[157] "When learners can pass without making an effort, "what you are saying to them – listen in my class, do your homework, study and then you won't fail at the end of the year – means nothing" (RG574/6-J).

[158] "Even though the learners are not doing well, we are pushing them through to Grade 10. When we say this thing of 'let's polish this mark, let's push the learner to another grade, maybe he will do something good', we are killing this nation. We are not only killing our kids. We are killing the nation in all. I can give a very good example: the 2009 grade 12 examination had a high failure rate in South Africa. Why? Because these are the learners who started with the OBE, RNCS, NCS curriculum, where we were doing trial and error method, using our kids like a ball. Then it gave us results that indicate South Africa is not performing at the end of the day. It happens because of this policy that says we are addressing the imbalances of the past. But we are doing it with the wrong culture, doing the wrong things. We are not loving our kids in such a way" (MG80/82-H).

[159] See also: "For instance last year, we had lots and lots of children in grade 7 who could not write at all (KG68-TH). It's a problem if they cannot write one word at grade 7 level. When they cannot write, it is because they cannot read. So what can you expect from that learner?" (KG197-TH)

[160] This resonates with Winograd's claim that a key emotional rule for the identity of a teacher involves loving the children.

[161] See also: "When children learn that they can fail and be in the same grade next year, then maybe things will get better. Currently there are so few failures that they think, 'I'm not going to bother to bring my books to school. I don't care. I don't like this subject, and they're going to push me through at the end of the year anyway'. That's the way they're thinking. So it takes the accountability away from them completely" (PG74-T). "There's nothing that is pushing them. When you teach, some listen, but those that don't listen know that because of their age they're going to the next level. There's nothing that is motivating them. Motivation is lacking a lot" (MG93-M). "Some kids have even figured the system out. They've said, 'I'm already 16, I'm old enough now, so I'm not going to fail even if I get zero in all my papers'. And you hear kids saying that blatantly and proudly" (RG577-P). "It will have a rippling effect. It will go down to the next year: 'aagh don't worry, I was supposed to fail grade 9 but I was just pushed through'" (RG576-J). "The progression policy has an effect all the way up to Grade 12, as the learners 'learn' that effort is not a prerequisite for success and this undermines the efforts of the teachers. The department are saying that 'mediocre is ok'. This does not bode well for the future of our country" (Feedback on Chapters 7/8).

felt like a choice between “killing” and “loving” the learners. Although he recognised that the policy was meant to “address the imbalances of the past”, he viewed it as furthering “the wrong culture”. Ironically, “polishing and pushing” all the learners to continue up the grade ladder results in “spoiling” and even “killing our kids and the nation” (MG80/82-H). Teachers are acting in good faith when they demand that learners fail in particular cases. By believing that ‘a fail is a fail’, teachers discern the emotional importance of upholding their purpose as enablers of learning and holding learners accountable for effort.

7.3.2.2 Deliberating the problem: Failure feels worse in low socio-economic status schools

As mentioned before, although teachers insist on the need to acknowledge failure, it is still painful for them to confront failure, in particular when the failure of their own learners is conflated with the failure of the nation’s learners. All the focus groups touched on the failure across the nation and in three groups it became a topic for lengthy discussion. Here I am contrasting two of those groups, selected on the basis of the differing socio-economic status of their schools, which I think generated the differences in their emotional labour. This section presents how the pain and soul searching of teachers becomes ever more emotionally draining as the suburbs served by the school drop lower in socio-economic status.

All teachers were aware of the socio-economic and language advantages (or not) that their schools offered them. Working in a well-resourced school, Lynne was concerned about how teachers in poorer schools managed to cope and get their learners to pass English exams.[162] Working in a low-resourced but determined school, Hlubi evaluated a new set of prescribed lesson plans as being designed in ways that did not take into account “the level, the knowledge, the understanding, and the pace” (MG114-H) of the children they taught.[163]

[162] The full quote: “We're in a very privileged school where we still have fairly decent learners who actually do have English predominantly as a first language. But I think of schools in more of the outskirt areas and wonder how on earth are they coping with an English final exam? All their exams are in English, and how do they cope when learners might not even be taught in English! In the rural schools kids are getting taught in their home language, and then they've got to write exams in English and I don't know how they're doing it. So yes, I think it's a huge problem” (PG10-L).

[163] The full quote: “You know, I'm not against the Foundation for Learning, specifically that it's meant for mathematics and the languages, because they want to improve mathematics and language so that we can get the engineers and doctors in our country. But the way it was designed, it was designed in such a way that it has not looked at the level, the knowledge, the understanding, of the African learner. That is the problem. Because the pace that you need to use for Foundations for Learning, you use the high pace, not the pace that we normally

Whereas Lynne was concerned about the failure (or low chances of success) of others, Hlubi was concerned about the failure (or being deprived of chances of success) of the children he is responsible for. Emotionally, that makes a big difference. Let me proceed by showing the emotional differences between two sets of teachers in different types of schools.

Deliberating failure in a brick-walled high school in a middle class area

Cuvanya, Perusha and Josie teach in a clean, relatively new, brick-walled high school in a middle class area. Their conversation about the widespread nature of learner failure began when they were talking about the "challenges" posed by implementing new policies. Perusha initially argued that "the ball is in our court" and "we need to really play our part in it". She backed up her argument with evidence of how implementing OBE policy in her subject was enabling her learners to develop a "worldview" of the connection between topics, something which she had only managed to achieve as an adult (RG190-P). When Cuvanya responded by pointing out how "the essentials of literacy and numeracy" had been "thrown out of" the curriculum (RG193/9-C) it initiated an intense discussion of 47 responses (RG193-240), which I will use to illustrate their emotional labour. They started by asking the question of attribution: whose "fault" (RG200-P) is it that when children arrive at secondary school their "sentence structure doesn't make any sense" (PG207-J), "they can't form their letters properly" (RG210-C),[164] their "mental abilities for maths especially, are almost non-existent" (RG214-C) and "it's a huge gap that we're facing" (RG228-P)? Does the cause of this deep-seated failure lie in the attitude of the learners who no longer engage in a "positive competition" for who is "doing the best", but instead are "striving to the bottom end of it" (RG24-P)? Or is it caused by the "shortfalls of the educators" (RG200-P) who don't exercise their "control" over the "flexibility" that is inherent in the policy (RG196/8-P) or even worse, try to offer a "silent protest" against the policy by deciding to "take the easy route out" (RG215-P) and "not teach them as much as we used to" (RG200-P)? Or does the blame lie with the "instructions" that were "given" to primary school teachers about "the way they have to implement policy" with regards to not drilling literacy and numeracy (RG208-C)?

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know. We know our environment, we know where our children come from, and definitely a hungry child cannot grasp very quickly like a child who is ok in its stomach. So it becomes a problem, definitely so. It becomes a problem" (MG114-H).

[164] Teaching learners in the last year of primary school in a poor socio-economic area, Thobile shared their concern. "For instance last year, we had lots and lots of children in grade 7 who could not write at all" (KG68-TH). "It's a problem if they cannot write one word at grade 7 level. When they cannot write, it is because they cannot read. So what can you expect from that learner? (KG197-TH)

During the deliberation phase of their conversation, Cuvanya, Perusha and Josie tried hard to come to a conclusion about where to place the blame, but they did not manage, they only found counter-arguments. They could not blame the learners, because "it's nothing that the learners have done wrong" (RG239-J). In addition, as Perusha had said earlier, it is "not good enough anymore" to blame the learners by saying "well, they're lazier, they don't study" because teachers have to shoulder "the responsibility" to become "more imaginative, more creative, more innovative in the way we assess our learners" (RG32-P). They could not blame local primary school teachers for misunderstanding or sabotaging policy, because the problem of "not doing reading, writing and mathematics" is "everywhere" amongst "most government schools" (RG212/4-C).[165] They could not blame the policy, because actually, the policy is "brilliant" and teachers are its "implementers" (RG190-P).[166] Having convinced themselves that they could not make an external attribution, their solution was to shoulder ever more responsibility by taking on new tasks. They described how they "try to get a link going between our school and the primary schools in the area" (RG201-C); they do "base-line assessments when the kids arrive here in grade 8" (RG228-P); they "work miracles" by going back to basics and making the kids "more literate" (RG230-P). But they could not stop worrying that "these are the kids who are going to be adults in the real world" (RG231-C), "our future" (RG232-J) and they are "going to be like misfits" (RG234-P) who "fall short of what is normal and acceptable in the real corporate world. They might not be able to write letters properly, they can't spell properly, they can't read documents and comprehend properly (RG236-P). They found it "shocking, scary actually" (RG233-C). What made it worse is that learners "haven't built the mental capacity either", so they don't learn new things easily. This left the teachers convinced that "there are going to be some casualties, definitely" (RG240-P).

Cuvanya, Perusha and Josie deliberated intellectually and emotionally to explain and to find a way out of the low level of achievement of the learners who arrive in their school.

[165] The full quote: "The problem is that it's everywhere. Most government schools have that problem. It's only some private schools that have kept the good elements from the old curriculum and brought in the new elements from this one. Most of the government schools haven't done that. They've completely thrown away the old system; they don't do reading, writing, or mathematics anymore, the way we did it. So how can so many government schools have been wrong?" (RG212/4-C).

[166] The full quote: "This policy is so brilliant that we're not going to see the fruits of it just yet. Rather than always being on the attack against the government, we need to really play our part in implementing it" (RG190-P).

Intellectually, they chose not to blame the learners, the teachers in the primary schools or the policy for low achievement, but instead to accept the validity of the counter-arguments. Emotionally, they were 'shocked' by how many learners arrived in their high school without basic literacy and numeracy skills and 'scared' by the thought of what this means in terms of 'casualties' and the 'future' of our society.

Deliberating failure in a container-classrooms primary school in a working class area

Hlubi, Mathoto and Joyce are working in a primary school where all teaching takes place in ex-shipping containers large enough for maybe 30 children at a squash, but filled with 50 learners in a class, surrounded by a suburb where "our learners come from the shacks and this social economic thing around us is very, very, very poor" (MG67-J). For these teachers, the situation of general failure is much more desperate, although they never actually used that word. The desperation came through in the intensity of their voice and in the stories they told of how they were looking for ways to improve their teaching and learning situation.[167]

The deliberation began when Hlubi described how they felt "confused", "demoralised" and "criticised" by the department officials who visited their school and expected them to meet administrative standards that they were unable to live up to and did not quite see the sense of. They felt harassed by the demand that assessments needed to be written on exactly the same day in all parallel classes, giving them no space to "work at the pace of the learners". They resented being labelled as "lazy". They wanted time for teaching and time for learning, without being forced into a situation where they have to "always assess, assess, or give them work and assess without teaching them". They experienced the department as "putting out a lot of pressure" and themselves as "becoming emotionally out of control" (MG66-H).

[167] Even though the conversation had a strong emotional undertone, the M Group teachers did not use emotion words. They tended to tell stories and present arguments that illustrated their predicaments, without naming the emotions evoked. So occasionally I inferred the emotions, rather than being able to present them as part of a quotation.

The deliberation of the group involved discussing the various factors that made them so anxious – the curriculum policy and its pacing of lessons, their insecurity about ways of teaching and classroom management, and the lack of learner motivation.

Regarding curriculum policy, Hlubi, Joyce and Mathoto experienced it as being designed "*for* us", meaning that "the involvement of teachers was not there", and thus "it was not designed for these learners of this school" (MG67-J). The policy did "not take into consideration learners sitting underneath a tree and overcrowding" (MG69/71-J). This lack of consideration for learners in poor schools showed itself primarily in the pacing of the curriculum. Joyce found it an impossible task to do oral assessments, which required her to listen to the reading and pronunciation of each of the 50 children in her class, in order to assign a mark (MG69-J).[168] She also found the lesson plans in the 'Foundations for Learning' series "not practical for us" because they were "too lengthy" and did not allow her to "go at my pace, teaching these learners until I see that they have grasped it" (MG112-J). Mathoto agreed that expecting learners to participate at those levels is like "killing them and burying them" (MG113-M) and what she wanted instead was to "prepare a lesson at the learners' level, so that you give them a foundation (MG113-M). Hlubi also struggled to fit enough teaching into his EMS lessons (MG66-H)[169] because the lesson plans used too much of a "high pace, and a hungry child cannot grasp quickly like a child who is ok in its stomach

[168] The full quote: "So right now I'm having fifty learners in a class, then I must assess reading. When I assess reading it means I must read for them this book and then after reading, go individually. How many days am I going to take to finish these fifty, listening to their pronunciation, listening to how they are using the punctuation marks? I'm going to go one, two, three, until fifty – it will take me the whole term going around with those learners. Yet on the other side I'm expected to record two formal tasks" (MG69-J).

[169] The full quote: "Because the pace of working it's not the same. Even the policy, it encourages that because the learners that we are teaching are not working at the same pace. So we need to be patient as teachers. So we assess them according to their pace. But the department use their own way of saying, 'no, but you should have to be here', whilst they say they understand that teachers cannot use the same pace. So they put out a lot of pressure and we become emotionally out of control. If more than half of the class are too slow, then obviously I'm going to be slow. But they don't look at the internal problems that may hamper my progress, they just lock it down to say, Mr M is too lazy. And by so doing, that is not what the policy in terms of assessment is saying. That is not how the assessment plan or the assessment program wanted us as teachers to do. So it needs each and every person to work according to his own pace and his own learners' pace. So even sometimes we feel demoralised. If now they come here, instead of supporting us in terms of assessment, they are criticising us. I'm just telling you this because this week they were here. Instead of checking what we need, which is help with informal assessment, they need formal assessment, they need us to have recorded marks by this time. We said, 'no, how can we record learners now because we are still teaching this?' Then they said, 'you've got only one mark. You are not finished with your assessment. By this time you should have been ...'. No, no, I'm using my own pace. I've got only four periods a week. And with these four periods a week I make sure that I teach, I make sure that I give my learners work. I cannot always assess, assess, or give them work and assess without teaching them. That is not teaching. That is not about learning. So it means they look into learners' achievement without understanding where these achievements come from. Because my understanding in teaching is this: achievements come from learning and teaching. If I didn't teach and learners have not learnt, then where should I get an assessment? (MG66-H)

(MG114-H). No matter how much they tried, these teachers could not get the learning pace of the children in their classes to match up with the national norm. Mathoto spoke for all three when she wished she could "make sure that I hide that assessment book where no one would ever find it" so they would no longer spend so much time on assessing but could spend more time on teaching and imparting knowledge to learners instead (MG88-M).

Compared to the teachers in the brick-walled school, these teachers in a poor school felt less able to alleviate the slow progress and low skill level of their learners.[170] They wanted their learners to "learn and use that knowledge" so that "we are building a better nation" (MG90-M), but were faced with the problem of how to "ensure that our learners are taking the right road" (MG94-H). They felt they were no longer allowed to teach according to a familiar and effective model[171] but could not fulfil the expectations of group work and other interactive methods that were near impossible to implement in their cramped teaching spaces. The gap between the pedagogy as set out by curriculum policy and their own learning history made them insecure about their teaching and classroom management.

Intensifying this problem was the sense that the department is "killing the teacher's part of assessment" because "there's no indication in the policies as to how we are supposed to discipline the learners who didn't do the work" (MG94-H). Because learners are 'polished' and 'pushed' through up the grades, assessment loses its function as a disciplining and motivating agent. An indication of how desperate these teachers felt came through Hlubi when three times he raised and deliberated on a taboo subject - the issue of corporal

[170] They were not the only teachers with this problem. Working in a brick-walled primary school in a slightly better off working class suburb, Thobile said: "Last year we had so many learners who could not go to high school, because their work was just zero. And to our surprise, most of that group were able to run away from us to high school. We only have 20 who are back with us this year because they cannot proceed to high school. *But I'm telling you, we still have the same problems. We don't know what to do. The very same learners in the same class, they fail* (KG70-TH).

[171] Here is a vivid description of that model: "There was this Biology teacher. He liked using rote...we call it memorising...rote learning, singing. In grade 10, there was this picture of a tooth, with brackets and labels. And with this diagram we used to sing a song and dance. It was rote learning; it was playing. That method worked for me, because I still remember those words today. The first one was enamel, then it was dentine, and then it was gum. Then we'll be going around greeting each other: 'enamel, dentine, and the gum'. Twisting our tongues. I still remember those. It was nice. Not everything that was done in the olden days was bad. Even when it comes to our language, SePedi, we used to memorise, sing these things, and then if it was time for exams, you will start singing and writing. And that's how we managed to pass. And the other important thing is, we still remember those words even today (bangs hand on table for emphasis). We can still use them today. It was fun. Yes, there were times of teachers beating us, but other times it was fine because we were singing and dancing about what we were doing in class" (MG39-J).

punishment.[172] He knew that enacting corporal punishment would land him in jail (MG177-H), but sometimes he wished he could use it as a way of motivating learners. He remembered a grade five teacher who beat them once for each mistake they made:

> It assisted us and motivated us to read, to work hard and to do the schoolwork properly, so to avoid this kind of punishment. And it fortunately worked for me, because ultimately I became an educator. Because I came from there, I know that if you want to work hard, you need to be beaten a little bit so that you exercise the extra amount of working. (MG51-H)

When comparing his childhood experience with his current experience as a teacher, he thinks it is "unfortunate" that "that kind of discipline, which is called corporal punishment" is no longer available, because that

> demoralises the standard of learning of our kids. Because our kids now, they are no longer punished in the way we have been punished. They've decided not to do their schoolwork because they know no one is going to discipline them. So it affects the results of the matric at the end of the time. They need something a little bit extra to energise them, to make them work hard. Can you see that? Because I've seen myself, it worked for me, and definitely it will also work for other children. (MG51-H)

I personally would get 'demoralised' rather than 'energised' by being 'beaten a little bit', but the point of highlighting Hlubi's recruitment of corporal punishment in the cause of assessment is to show how desperately Hlubi is looking for anything that will 'energise' the children to work harder and to 'exercise the extra amount of working'. His problem is that "really, the way we are assessing is good, but it does not work properly for us" (MG51-H) and "there's no indication in the policies as to how are we supposed to discipline the learners who didn't do the work, who are playing" (MG94-H). In the low socio-economic context of his school, he feels he needs a drastic intervention to make assessment work properly to generate learner achievement. And being beating was something that worked for him. So now he sometimes tries "to scare them. I don't beat them; I scare them. 'I'm going to beat you and I'm going to tell your father that you are not doing my work!" (MG51-H). But the threat of beating does not help. The reality, as Joyce described in her response to Hlubi, is that

[172] Again, they were not the only teachers concerned with this issue. Lynne, in the best resourced school of my sample, said that when she was a child "in the good old days, the punishment was harsh. And you worked a lot harder. Although I don't believe in corporal punishment, I do think to some degree learners today do not have the accountability that we had. We knew there were consequences if you didn't actually achieve. And I'm not sure if the learners realise that now" (PG31-L).

“These children, if they get a zero for their class work, there's no problem, it's just one of those things. They don't care. A zero is also a number” (MG52-J). The children obviously have more pressing concerns to worry about than a zero in their book. In a school where children are very socially disadvantaged and policy does not allow for learners to repeat a class, good marks are no longer a motivator for learning and thus assessment does not operate as a disciplining force. Yet when the learners’ results are bad at school and national level, what happens? “Whenever there's a poor result, the national government blames the teachers” (MG106-H).

In this deliberation process, the teachers in the socio-economically poor school need to do intense emotional labour in order to maintain a fine balancing act. On the one hand they must remain patient and creative with the slow progress of the learners (which is necessary for teachers to gain the intrinsic reward of learner achievement). On the other hand, they must somehow manage to be up to date with the pacing demands of the curriculum and the accountability demands of the department officials (which is necessary for the extrinsic reward of departmental approval). It is no surprise that this balancing act generated insurmountable tension and the teachers easily ‘got emotionally out of control’.

7.3.2.3 Arriving at a dedication: It’s not so easy

In the brick walled school, Cuvanya, Perusha and Josie arrive at a dedication in the form of pedagogical action - they respond to the crisis by energetically taking on the remediation work necessary for developing foundational skills in children and achieving some ‘miracles’. Their emotional labour involves putting aside their shock and fear of failure, and summoning the energy to work extra hard. Bolstered by hope and the elation of some successes, they have not lost faith in the transformative power of their own work.

With regard to the generally low achievement of learners, which they see in their classes and read about in the media, the teachers in the brick walled school avoid making a causal attribution for the learner failure. They rebut arguments that would let them take the easy way out of making external attributions to learners, teachers in lower grades, parents or policy for the failure. Instead, they take on additional responsibility which empowers them to make a self-attribution for enabling achievement and preventing learner failure.

Yet they are holding onto this dedication and hope in a social climate that mistrusts teachers, where parents, department officials and the media can freely make external attributions to teachers. A while later in the conversation, it became clear they were aware not only of the need for doing the work, but also of the need to be seen doing it. They understood they needed to use retention schedules as an "accountability tool" that can help them prove they "are not just failing this kid because we don't like him" (RG555-P), but have "genuinely tried so hard and the kid has not made the mark" (RG557-P). Their motivation for filling in the schedules was to "protect ourselves, because there's always fingers pointed: 'it's your fault that my child failed', or 'it's your fault that so many grade 9s fail' (RG558-J). Having shouldered the burden of responsibility for learner achievement, they also knew they needed to protect themselves against being dumped with having sole responsibility. They could not carry the burden of being blamed for all the learner failures.

Thus the emotional labour of the teachers in the brick walled school needs to deal with the anxiety caused by low learner achievement, the stress of additional work, the temptation to blame others, the fear of being blamed, the felt need for protection and the fear of the future in a country with so much learner failure. It is amazing to me, and a testimony to their inner strength, that they do not defend themselves against these intense negative emotions by making external causal attributions and throwing up their hands in despair.

In the container school, the emotional labour of Hlubi, Mathoto and Joyce involves hanging on tenaciously regardless of not finding a way out of their triple bind. They want their learners to succeed, but for reasons of poverty and class overcrowding, their lesson pacing cannot keep up with national curriculum standards. Their insecurity regarding pedagogical practices diminishes their pleasure in teaching. And by having to 'progress' all learners, they lose the motivating and disciplining function of assessment. This leaves them desperate. They would like to dedicate themselves to their learners experiencing the 'love' of learning, but what is happening feels more like 'killing' learning.

In terms of attribution processes, Hlubi, Mathoto and Joyce are still taking responsibility for the achievement (or lack of it) of learners in their classes.[173] They also have moments when they thoroughly enjoy teaching and assessment.[174] But because the general level of achievement of their learners is low, and they are constantly getting into trouble with the department officials for not having records ready on time, they feel they are being blamed. If they accepted this blame and turned it into a self-attribution, it would overwhelm them completely. So they divert the blame away from themselves by blaming policy for being inappropriate to their school. Policy is a representative of the educational meso-structure that cannot strike back (unlike the department officials whose questioning and implied blame makes them squirm). This blame-game in turn prevents them from acknowledging the successes they do have, so they don't feel sufficiently proud of the learner achievements they have enabled, nor do they recognise their work as a valid interpretation of policy in context. This leaves them stuck in a general frustration around learner failure. I found no dedication, no resolution of this emotional pain around failure and alleviating low learner achievement. The emotional labour they must be doing just to continue teaching every day whilst living with this overwhelming sense of failure is immense.

But I did find other moments of dedication in the words of these teachers. Even though Hlubi, Mathoto and Joyce don't get enough moral reward (Santoro, 2011) from learner achievement, they were determined to remain teachers.

[173] Hlubi: "I feel embarrassed and bad if my learners are not performing the way I wanted them to perform. Because the main aim of teaching them is to ensure that they are well developed, they are well educated. But if they are doing badly in my assessment, I'm definitely being confused, to say, what went wrong? Or where did I go wrong? Then I restart to think again and see what I can adjust, so that they can be able to get some little bit of achievement" (MG137-H). Mathoto: "You are going to assess yourself as the teacher, how much did the learner learn from you. Then you are going to have the record of whatever that you are doing with them, then you are going to realise that some learners they didn't understand well, then it gives you a feedback to go back as a teacher and redo it again" (MG19-M).

[174] An extract from their conversation to back up this claim: "Assessment makes me happy when learners express themselves. After teaching a section, I say, 'now it's your turn. I want to be a learner, then you do the part'. That's where assessment is very wonderful (claps). They assess themselves in peer groups. Everybody participates and sometimes they ask me for clarity and I give them, we interact. That's where assessment is very wonderful" (MG29-M). "It's also wonderful when a group is performing and the class comes up with criteria for assessing. Let's say it's group work or a project, they'll come and present their work in front of the class. And then the class itself will be the one giving the marks. You know, it's so wonderful to see their reasoning around giving marks. It's quite interesting. You can learn a lot of things from these learners" (MG30/2-J). "It's very nice to see your learners being creative in terms of assessing themselves. The level of creativity, understanding and enjoyment in that is very huge. Because when you see learners assessing themselves it's when you see their creativity and whether they understood. So it is progressively developmental, a part of the stage of learning itself" (MG36-H).

At a practical level, there is the security of a steady job. As Joyce laughingly said at the beginning of the interview,

> You won't get retrenched because the job doesn't get finished. Kids are born day in, day out. So whenever I see a woman pregnant, I say, there comes my job. (General laughter) (MG02-J)

At a deeper, more personal level, they experience the job as having emotional compensations and rewards though their interaction with the children quite separate from assessment. When learners "express themselves" and "we interact" (MG29-M), when learners "are performing" and we "see their reasoning" (MG30-J), when we see their "creativity and understanding" (MG36-H), then teachers receive pleasure and moral rewards. The teachers also "learn a lot of things from these learners" (MG32-J), they have the opportunity to "solve other people's problems" and in doing so they find solutions for their own (MG192-M), and they love it "when the learners come to you and hug you" (MG198-M). This resonates with the emotional rules for being a teacher that Winograd highlighted: teachers love their jobs and the children they teach.

And at a community level, they have hope for the future. This did not appear during the course of the interview, but afterwards, when Hlubi took me around the school grounds. He had been with the school since the beginning, when it started as a community initiative, through the years of struggling to get it registered with the department, to where it was now when funds from the business sector had built a small brick school hall, with the promise of grade 1 classrooms to follow. He was proud of what the school had achieved – the recognition from the department, the increasing number of container classrooms to satisfy community demand for attendance, the support from outside the community. The fact that so many parents chose this school for their children gave him hope. If so many parents send their children, then, regardless of teachers' struggles with failure, they must be doing something right. With the community backing them up, they trust that things will continue to get better.

7.4 Conclusion

The emotional rules have shown is that there is not a tight fit between professional norms compared to the beliefs and emotional rules that committed teachers live by. Teachers have emotional rules that go beyond and could be used to challenge the validity of particular policies and professional norms. Using Turner's conception that emotional rules "are often dictated by ideologies of the meso-level structures in which the encounters are embedded" (2007, p172), it becomes possible to understand emotional rules as a layer that connects and mediates between the institutional domain (as represented by professional norms, policy and department officials in this study) and the personal sense of well-being (as expressed by teachers' emotions). Comparing the professional norms to the emotional rules, it is interesting to note that the emotional rules are more demanding of 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 their satisfaction from doing something of value for learners) and more demanding of what is required for assessment work to be 'good' (e.g. assessment deserves trust only if certain conditions of 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 processes and results are trustworthy or not.

The emotional labour of committed teachers illustrates their amazing resilience. When teachers' emotions alert them to the difficulties of assessment issues such as giving feedback or acknowledging student failure / low achievement, their deliberations often lead them to making the ethical choice of renewing their efforts or trying something different so as to overcome the problem. And even when they feel stuck inside the problem, they find other reasons for continuing with hope for the future. In spite of their vulnerability in the face of difficult work and student failure, teachers draw their inspiration from the children they teach and simply continue gaining their satisfaction from doing something of value for learners.

Chapter 8: Teachers' emotional toolkit - The rules and labour of dealing with emotions

In the literature review I argued that emotional labour is an inevitable aspect of teachers' work because they need to

- manage and supervise their emotions in a complex web of relationships
- maintain emotional understanding with other stakeholders in the educational enterprise across physical, socio-cultural, political, moral and professional distances
- struggle to attain their moral purposes for learners
- deal with a work environment in which they do not receive sufficient self-verification and are required to embrace professional changes that involve adjustments at the level of their sub-identities and core-selves. (Section 2.4.2.2)

This means that teachers' emotions will be more intensely negative when the web of relationships in which they are embedded contains social-cultural and other distances that make emotional misunderstandings frequent. When their ways of achieving their key value of learner achievement are not supported and their decisions as teachers are not verified, or when assessment policy changes are at odds with their sense of what it means to be a teacher, negative emotions arise. Chapter 6 illustrated the extremity of the negative emotional hole that committed teachers can fall into under these conditions.

In this chapter I want to look at the emotional toolkit that teachers bring to the task of digging themselves out of the hole again. The chapter is a slight sidestep from my direct object of investigation, i.e. the central question about teachers' emotions in relation to assessment. Instead, it focusses on teachers' relationship with their emotions. It excavates the emotional rules that teachers hold about having emotions and illustrates their emotional labour when working with the emotions that arise, thus generating a broader analysis of emotional rules and labour. It uses teachers' answers to my interview question about how they deal with and manage their emotions, which yielded 70 sections coded 'about emotions'. The questions this chapter attempts to answer are: What are the emotional rules for dealing with emotions? What kinds of emotional labour do the teachers engage in to align with these rules, i.e. what

is it that motivates them to do this emotional labour, what is it that they want to conserve, create or avoid? And are there any implications that can be drawn from these findings?

8.1 Professional norms, teachers' beliefs and emotional rules for dealing with emotions

This chapter follows the same pattern as the previous one: first I excavate the emotional rules using professional norms and teachers' beliefs, and then I illustrate the emotional labour in narrative form. Yet in this case, there is a key difference: the teachers' beliefs about how they should deal with emotions actually amount to emotional rules. As Hochschild (1979, p551) argues, "feeling rules are seen as the side of ideology that deals with emotion and feeling". So teachers' ideology and beliefs about what is the appropriate emotion and its appropriate level of intensity in a school situation can be understood as their emotional rules.[175]

8.1.1 The professional norms

The South African Council for Educators (SACE) Code of Professional Ethics calls on teachers to "acknowledge the noble calling of their profession" (paragraph 2.1); to "acknowledge that the attitude, dedication, self-discipline, ideals, training and conduct of the teaching profession determine the quality of education in this country (2.2); and to "act in a proper and becoming way such that their behaviour does not bring the teaching profession into disrepute" (2.5). The emotional demands of these norms lie underneath the required 'attitudes'– the emotional energy for dedication to the work, the emotional self-discipline required to keep going and the emotional labour to maintain ideals in the face of bureaucratic realities. And what does it mean emotionally to always act in a "proper and becoming way"? The "noble calling" of the teaching profession makes large unspoken demands on the emotions of teachers.

[175] The distinction between beliefs and emotional rules can be difficult to maintain. At times it is just the object that differs – when it is a belief about assessment, it is a belief, but when it is a belief about how to handle emotions (e.g. which emotions are appropriate and how they should be expressed) then the belief is an emotional rule.

Some professional norms emphasise the suppression of dark emotions and action. For example, the SACE Code asks teachers to "refrain from any form of abuse, physical or psychological" (3.5), to "not be negligent or indolent" (3.13), and to "not show disrespect" (5.2). The Code does not mention emotions directly, but it is anger that motivates abuse, alienation that generates negligence and laziness, and arrogance or excessive self-protection that results in disrespect. So the dark emotions are declared undesirable by default.

Other professional norms emphasise the expression of positive emotions and action. For example, the code of conduct of a local primary school explicitly requires the display of "heartfelt" positive emotions from teachers:

> As a substitute parent, the teacher will demonstrate a pedagogic love for the children in his/her care and demonstrate a heartfelt affection, attachment and deep-rooted interests in the child's welfare… By displaying a positive, caring, disciplined attitude, the teacher will create a climate conducive to the development of trust, authority and understanding. (From paragraphs 2 and 3)

This explicit requirement of a positive, affectionate, trusting emotional climate comes from a primary school, where, as Hargreaves (2000) argues, there is more intense emotionality between teachers and learners than in secondary schools, enabling teachers to "secure their psychic rewards by establishing close emotional bonds or emotional understanding with their students as a foundation for teaching and learning" (p817), a foundation which this code is trying to achieve.[176] It is interesting to note that although the positive emotions of love, heartfelt affection, interest and caring are desired and in this case even mandated, they are also circumscribed – the love can only be pedagogic, the caring must be balanced by discipline. Even 'good' emotions cannot overstep the boundaries.

Generally, Teacher Codes of Conduct do not mandate emotions specifically. Instead, they mandate the ethical and bureaucratic behaviour teachers should exhibit and leave it to teachers to supervise their own emotions. But with codes of conduct that imply that teachers'

[176] Except, I am not sure how effective it is. What happens to me emotionally when positive emotions like love, heartfelt affection, positive, caring etc. are mandated, is that everything in me rebels and gets angry at the demand. Of course I agree with the necessity for there to be love, affection and caring in the teacher-learner relationship – in fact, I know from study and experience that learning cannot happen without it – but it needs to be freely given, not mandated. Mandating positive emotions creates the kind of surface/deep acting emotional labour Hochschild (2003) was describing – when an emotion is displayed/evoked not for its intrinsic value but only for financial gain. 'Loving the kids' is an emotional rule that belongs to the identity of a teacher, yes, but, as Kelchtermans (1996) showed, the rule is more naturally generated from teachers' ideals and moral purposes than from regulations.

negative emotions should preferably be invisible, while positive emotions are essential for the job but should not be too intense, the self-supervision is inevitable.

8.1.2 The teachers' emotional rule for dealing with emotions

Of the 70 sections that relate to this chapter, 31 made emphatic statements about how to deal with emotions as a teacher, i.e. they were expressions of an emotional rule for dealing with emotions during the professional part of the day. Comparing the 31 responses, I noticed that actually, they merged into one main rule. Each person expressed it slightly differently, but Cuvanya' expression was the clearest.

> I feel that as teachers, because we are professional, we've got to keep a check on our emotions; that's critical. I think it's important to always be objective, and focus on the teaching and learning. As an adult in the room, we've got to be the better one, you know. We can't give in to our emotions the way these kids sometimes do. In the classroom, if I get frustrated and angry with a child, then I have to make a concerted effort to control myself. (RG586/605/611/613/659-C)

As Cuvanya states, it is the mark of 'professional' and 'adult' behaviour that emotions, especially dark emotions, be 'kept in check'. Teachers must make 'a concerted effort' to 'not give in to' but to 'control' their 'frustration and anger'. Teachers need to be an 'adult' model for keeping emotions in check in a way that children cannot yet do. The language of rule, or obligation is strong – 'we've got to keep', 'that's critical', 'it's important', 'we've got to be', 'we can't give in', 'I have to make'. Re-phrasing what Cuvanya says in the form of an emotional rule, I would say the overarching rule is: *It's critical for professionals like us to make a concerted effort to control ourselves and to keep our emotions (i.e. our frustration and anger) in check.*

Winograd (2003) had phrased the same emotional rule as "teachers avoid overt displays of extreme emotions, especially anger and other dark emotions" (p1054). Cuvanya's phrasing is more emphatic – it's not just about avoiding displays of but keeping a check on emotions and controlling the self. So there might be gradations of strictness embedded in how this main emotional rule is understood and applied.

This emotional rule is suffused throughout the education system: teachers hear it not only in the form of regulations from professional bodies, as described above, but also as advice from principals and each other. For example, Josie's principal gave her the rule before she even started teaching: "The principal said: 'go on monster training during the December holidays and then you can smile in June'. (General laughter). That's what she said!" (RG627-J). This advice is frequently given to dispel the temptation facing young teachers of treating their learners like friends. Yet it also contains the rule of holding back and keeping emotions in check by showing a stern, inscrutable, outer appearance. As a consequence, for Josie,

> the worst situation you can get yourself into is to react badly. To show anger in front of kids is not good and to start crying in front of kids is not good either. I need to make sure in my head that I realise it's not time to break down or to express myself in a classroom to learners until I get myself back to a happy state. You can share your happy emotions with them, but only without appearing soft. So when you've gone through the stages of making sure that they respect you, when they know what the rules are in the classroom, then you can laugh a little bit and share your happy feelings. But before that respect is earned, if you do something like that, your whole classroom structures will fall apart. It's in my head the whole time: you've got to realise that you can't show them emotion! (RG585/620/622/627/646/648-J)

'*You've got to realise that you can't show them emotion*'- here is the rule in different words. For Josie, teachers definitely cannot show the 'bad reactions', like 'anger', 'crying' or 'breakdown', they should preferably show no 'self-expression'. If any emotions are shown at all, then it is only 'happy feelings', and only once the distance and 'respect' has been established. Showing emotion is a sure way of 'losing respect', with the devastating consequence of 'the whole classroom structure falling apart'.

Mathoto and Hlubi draw on education policy[177] and the regulations of professional bodies who "tell us what to do, what not to do" (MG175-M) to substantiate the importance of the rule.

> It is difficult to control your emotions, and to manage them at the same time. It depends on the level of the incident. In a school we are all professionals. We are

[177] In particular, the policy injunctions to be a 'caring' teacher, (i.e. to express commitment motivated by positive emotions) and to 'abolish corporal punishment', (i.e. to give no physical expression to emotions of anger).

> bound by that. And as Mathoto indicated, there are policies that govern us. And that is fortunate, because we are assisted by those policies. If it were not for those policies, most of us would be in jail by now. (MG177-H)

Hlubi is content with the rule that 'governs professionals' to keep their emotions 'under control' and 'managed'. He finds it 'difficult' to implement the rule, but because he takes on the status of a 'professional', he considers it to be 'binding'. And he follows it willingly, in fact, he considers it 'fortunate' to 'be assisted' by such a rule, because without it, he and others might 'be in jail by now' from the consequences of losing their temper. For Hlubi, the "need to calm down" (MG179-H) is an on-going injunction and he is grateful for being "helped by those governing laws that make us calm down and try to work as professionals" (MG183-H). '*As professionals, we are bound by policies to control our emotions*' is how he phrases the rule.

There is yet another phrasing of the rule that comes from Sandy, who started off the interview by denying that she had any emotions in relation to assessment.

> I can't actually say that I have specific emotions about assessment. It's something you have to do and you do it. *There are no emotions involved for me*. (SG16-S)

Sandy does not allow herself to have the luxury of having any feelings about 'something you have to do', because what would happen if her emotions indicated that she did not feel like doing that thing?

There is thus a powerful emotional rule saying that teachers need to keep their emotions in check, under control, invisible to learners, calmed down and managed. The teachers were in general agreement with this rule and recognised the dire consequences - loss of respect from learners, colleagues and authorities – that result if their (particularly negative) emotions are expressed too intensely and they "just fall apart and burst into tears or whatever" (PG112-T). So, to answer my initial question of 'what are the emotional rules for dealing with emotions?' it appears there is one overarching rule for teachers to deal with their emotions, which is phrased by different teachers at different levels of severity.

Professional Norms for Teachers' Emotions	**Teachers' Emotional Rule for Dealing with Emotions**	
We call on teachers to act in a proper and becoming way (2.5), to refrain from any form of abuse, physical or psychological (3.5), to not be negligent or indolent (3.13) and to not show disrespect (5.2). (SACE) As a substitute parent, the teacher will demonstrate a pedagogic love for the children in his/her care and demonstrate a heartfelt affection, attachment and deep-rooted interests in the child's welfare… By displaying a positive, caring, disciplined attitude, the teacher will create a climate conducive to the development of trust, authority and understanding. (Taken from a primary school Code of Conduct)	**Gentle phrasing** Teachers avoid overt displays of extreme emotions, especially anger and other dark emotions. They stay calm and tend to avoid displays of joy or sadness. (Winograd)	**Strong Phrasing** It's critical for professionals like us to make a concerted effort to control ourselves and to keep our emotions of frustration and anger in check. (Cuvanya) You've got to realise that you can't show them (learners) emotion. (Josie) As professionals, we are bound by policies to control our emotions. (Hlubi) **Strict (Self-repressive?) phrasing** There are no emotions involved for me. (Sandy)

Table 7: Professional norms and gradations of teachers' emotional rule for emotions

8.1.3 Comment

The problem with this rule is that keeping negative emotions in check and controlled is neither easy nor productive. It can easily transmute into keeping emotions repressed. As Turner predicts

> The more negative the emotions, the more likely are defensive strategies and defence mechanisms revolving around repression, intensification, and transmutation to be unleashed. (2007, p91)

Hlubi's sense of being 'bound by policies' (even if he welcomes it at times) leaves him willing to repress his emotions, while Sandy's claim about feeling no emotion[178], could be an indication of repression. The possibility arises of self-supervision turning into self-repression.

[178] See below for Sandi's story and the context of this phrasing of the rule.

Turner also claims that

> When emotions are repressed, they are not only transmuted, but they also become more intense; and the longer the emotion is repressed, the more likely will it surface either in transmuted form (e.g. chronically repressed shame emerges as anger and violence) or in very intense spikes of the emotion repressed (e.g. sudden spikes of repressed shame, guilt, anxiety, or other emotions that have been pushed below cognitive awareness). (2010, p183)

Thus, repressing negative emotions does not make them go away, but instead makes them return later (sometimes appropriately, but more often inappropriately) in even more negative ways. Because teachers are emotional beings and teaching is inherently an emotional job (Hargreaves, 1998), and because emotions have this tendency to return more intensely if they are not acknowledged or talked about (Turner 2007, 2010), repression is not a productive strategy. Teachers need to learn to deal with their emotions. Learning to deal with emotions, in turn, requires intense emotional labour.

8.2 The emotional labour of dealing with emotions

8.2.1 Discerning the need for emotional labour

Actualising the rule about keeping emotions in check, invisible, controlled and even unfelt is not so easy, as was already mentioned by Hlubi. Towards the end of a long conversation[179] about how teachers need to keep their emotions in check, be objective and not show how they feel[180], Perusha, Cuvanya and Josie concluded that this was a difficult issue because actually, teaching was an 'emotional job' and they were 'emotional beings'.

> It's actually such an emotional job. I love teaching, that's emotional. I love the kids, that's emotional. I get angry with the kids, that's emotional. You know, we are such emotional beings and a lot of the time it's like we don't even acknowledge that, we don't even use the word 'emotion' because we are not supposed to be emotional. We

[179] RG585-683 – a conversation which lasted 98 responses
[180] For example, see responses from Cuvanya and Josie above

> are not supposed to be that. (RG593/675/677-P)[181] But we are emotional! We are! (RG678-C)

Maybe the reason why Cuvanya was so emphatic about the need to keep her emotions in check at the beginning of the discussion is that she has them, but she has no means of 'acknowledging' and doing something with them. So here she is powerfully agreeing with Perusha about the emotional nature of the job and, in the face of the emotional rule that she is 'not supposed to be', she is discerning her reality of 'being emotional' in her role as a teacher.

Charlotte discerned how they kept their emotions unnoticed, both to others and themselves.

> We don't put an emotion to it. We don't often say, 'I feel so despondent', 'I feel so irritated'. We just say, 'oh, I've got so much marking'. We're not linking the emotions that bubble under for such a long time, and they've got to come out somewhere. (PG105-C)

Not naming the emotions is a way of not acknowledging them and keeping them below the surface of awareness. Yet the 'emotion bubbles' cannot be held down forever, they always come to the surface 'somewhere'. Towards the end of the interview discussion, after Thobile had let several of her emotion bubbles come to the surface, she reflected

> There's something inside we suppressed, so that we should not be seen as weak by our peers or our superiors. As from today I know that those feelings, those emotions, they won't go away, unless me as a person, I learn to deal with them. (KG244-TH)

Thobile discerned that she has been in the habit of 'suppressing emotions' so as not to be considered 'weak' by 'colleagues and superiors'. She also realised that the suppression was not working in terms of her dealing with issues and that 'the emotions won't go away' unless she confronts them and 'learns to deal with them'. The emotional rule of keeping emotions in check stymies her ability to deal with and learn from the emotions she has.

It is required of teachers as a matter of course that they are able to deal with their emotions in an intensely emotional job. It is generally not taught or talked about as part of their training (Winograd, 2005). So teachers work with their emotions the best they can. At times they are

[181] When Perusha gave me feedback on this chapter, she re-iterated: The entire experience (of assessment, of being a teacher) is emotional. Yet it is very hard for a teacher to express their emotions – they are not expected to be human. Even when I spoke more openly to my favourite class, I still had the idea in the back of my mind that it will come back to bite me. We don't acknowledge that 'I am an emotional being'. (See Appendix 7)

not sure how to do it. As a new teacher, Josie discerned how managing her emotions was a steep learning curve.

> I don't know if I can manage my emotions at this stage. I think it's extremely difficult. A lot of emotions rush through you and I don't know how to explain how you manage that. (RG585-J)

Katarina discerned how, after many years of teaching, emotions were still an unresolved issue for her.

> I think I don't deal with these emotions. They're just there and then sometimes I get very frustrated and that's the way they come out. But I think that's the wrong way. So at this stage I don't really know how to deal with the emotions. (SG62-K)[182]

It is 'extremely difficult' to experience 'a lot of emotions rushing through' one's body and mind in a tense situation and in the same moment making the right decision about how to 'manage' the emotions and the situation. This is intensified when the emotions 'just stay there' and later 'come out' as general 'frustration'. Knowing that this is 'the wrong way' does not help, as there is no right way, except to follow the general rule described above of keeping the emotions in check.

Thus, in the course of the interviews, the teachers discerned how much they were emotional beings, how they kept their emotions unnoticed and suppressed, and how unsure they were about good ways of dealing with their emotions. Nevertheless, they needed to keep themselves emotionally balanced, and actually, they had a range of strategies for doing the necessary emotional labour. In order to make visible teachers' emotional labour of keeping their emotions in check, I have structured the rest of the chapter around one teacher's story. In an attempt to illustrate both the representative nature of this story and divergences from it, I have footnoted quotations from other teachers where appropriate.

8.2.2 Sandy's story of emotional labour

Sandy has worked as a teacher for 14 years and is employed in a special needs school diverse by class and ethnicity, which learners attend when they have behavioural, language and learning difficulties. Sandy enjoys teaching "most of the time" because she "enjoys working

[182] Her colleague Susanne felt the same, "It builds up to a frustration where you can actually …. You don't know what to do with your frustration" (SG104- Sus).

with the children" and "loves the subject" (visual arts), yet she considers the "admin", "management" and "salaries" a problem.[183] Her story is interesting because although she tries diligently to align with the general emotional rule of teachers needing to keep their negative emotions in check, she does not always manage to do so. So the contradictions and the resulting emotional labour generated by the rule can be illustrated clearly.

At the beginning of the interview, Sandy denied that she had any emotions in relation to assessment. "There are no emotions involved for me" (SG16-S) was her claim. This is the moment of 'discernment' (Archer, 2000) that begins Sandy's externalised 'internal conversation'. At this moment, Sandy is fully aligned with the rule of keeping her emotions under control. She claims no emotions in response to assessment issues. Yet her statement that assessment is 'something you have to do and you do it' indicates a level of resigned obedience towards the task, with little energy to do assessment well or with creativity. She does not admit to any negative emotions, but that means her positive emotions are deadened as well.[184] And, as Hargreaves (1998) reminds us, teachers need a positive emotional charge in order to do their jobs well.

Shutting down one's emotions and pretending as if everything is ok is a common response[185] to negative emotions and stressful situations, especially in the public sphere of employment, where the pressure is to continue with work. It is often a successful strategy; especially if one can drop the pretence once back in the private sphere. Nevertheless, there is a fine line between pretending to others (surface acting) and pretending to oneself (extended deep acting).

As she listened to her colleagues in the course of the discussion, Sandy gradually began talking about specific feelings that she remembered having experienced. In this phase of 'deliberation', the intensity of her described emotions increased as the interview progressed.

[183] See Appendix 1, Table 3

[184] Cuvanya was aware of the contradiction that arises when she keeps her positive emotions in check along with the negative ones. "The kids actually respond very positively to strong pleasurable emotions, like if you're happy about something or you're excited about something" (CRG613-C). Her colleagues agreed. A teacher's positive emotional energy is necessary to "gel with them" (RG616-P), to "feel that connection" (RG617-C), to "build trust with them" (RG618-P) and to "give them happy emotions" (RG620-J). Positive teacher emotions are necessary for creating a productive learning atmosphere in the classroom (see also the Craighall Primary School Code and the research of Pianta et al (2008) cited in Ch 2).

[185] Ntokozo also tried to "hide" her emotions. "When I come to work, I do try to pretend as if everything is ok and continue with my work (KG227-NZ).

She mentioned the "disappointment" (SG22-S) of getting a weak result for her "best subject" (SG20-S) in the final exams. She wondered why she "hates marking so much" (SG49-S). She talked about her "feeling of failure sometimes" when her learners did not do well and how that was "very demotivating" (SG59-S). [186] She used the word "frustrated" or "frustration" fourteen times (SG30/32/74/105/114/139-S). She confessed that she "threw a few tantrums" when the admin work got too much (SG102-S). She described how she got "very embarrassed" and "feels like an idiot" when her special needs learners were compared with "mainstream kids" and how its "very scary" being judged by "someone who doesn't know anything about our school" (SG143-S).

'Disappointment', 'hate', the shame of 'failure', 'de-motivation', 'frustration', anger 'tantrums', 'embarrassment' and 'fear' are intensely negative emotions. It is not a surprise that Sandy wants to avoid experiencing them.[187] So she also talked about how she represses her negative, stressful feelings. She described how she gets "very happy" when "a child succeeds", but she protects herself from being "disappointed" by "just not expecting anything" and "actually giving up on some of the kids" (SG61-S).[188] She grants that writing reports "can be very depressing", but for her "there's not a lot of emotion" because she turns the reports into a "mechanical thing of just adding up the marks and typing them into the computer" when it is "crunch time, so there's not really time to think about the report" (SG65-S). Sandy avoids disappointment by dropping her expectations and she avoids depression by not reflecting on what she is doing.

In response to the question about how she deals with emotions, Sandy was clear about her denial of emotions as well as the consequences this had for her.

> I don't speak about my emotions. I know I'm dysfunctional when dealing with emotions because I don't talk, I deny it. I go home and sit in my room, I close the door and I don't speak to anyone. (SG78/124/168-S)[189]

[186] Perusha and Cuvanya expressed a similar sentiment "We're always moaning about marking or something" (RG741-P). "We're always griping and groaning about these things" (RG742-C).
[187] Danielle described how "for general stress, for pressure, work pressure, you basically just suck it up. You absorb it" (DG437-V).
[188] Her colleague Susanne acknowledged the inevitability of this strategy. "I've also been teaching long in a remedial school and you learn to accept that you have to expect less" (SG63-Sus).
[189] Several teachers described what they do to release stress and recover when they are alone in a room or in their head. Some reframe their understanding of the situation by standing back and taking a more holistic view (RG113-J, RG585-J, RG586-C, RG607-C, RG610-P, MG179/181-H, MG184-M). They also exhort themselves to feel and behave differently in the situation (RG283-J, RG646/8-J, RG661-C, MG195-H). Others exaggerate

Sandy does not feel comfortable with speaking about her emotions. She knows that this is a 'dysfunctional' pattern, but she does not know how to change it. She feels safer 'sitting alone in a room' than 'speaking to anyone'. Yet, at the same time, she is fully aware of the negative consequences this repression has for her.

> I'm not someone that talks a lot, especially not about my emotions. But I get sick, physically sick with my stomach.[190] I had to leave a meeting the other day because I looked nine months pregnant. And now today again, my stomach is sore. So emotions come out that way with me. I'm back on prescribed medication[191] because my stomach is sore. (Laughs.) (SG80-S)

Sandy realises that her unexpressed emotional tension goes to her stomach and makes her physically ill. She laughs in recognition at the craziness of her situation. Not acknowledging her negative emotions in the early stages of the feeling leads her into the more serious negative consequences of physical illness later on. She does not want to get into a state where she is 'sore', has to 'leave important meetings' or 'take medication'. But what can she do?

In addition to getting sore and incapacitated, she also got into an unnecessary fight, which she is embarrassed about later (SG82/102/160-S). The fight leaves Sandy embarrassed about 'losing it' and her ability to 'get so angry' so suddenly. She is ashamed of wasting her anger on a 'ridiculous' issue rather than saving it for something 'big' and worthy of being angry about. Here she is carrying the "compounded emotional agony" of carrying "the negative emotions aroused for violating a feeling rule piled upon the ones that were not supposed to be felt or displayed in the first place" (Turner, 2007, p174). During the course of the interview

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and act out positive emotions until they become infectious (MG196-M, KG228-K, KG232-K) or use a self-help methods, like taking a deep breath and counting back from 10 (MG175-M) or visualizing leaving one's burdens at the school gate for re-collection on the way home (MG190-M). Josie took her intense emotions from school to home, letting her parents and boyfriend "have it". She had to "let go of the steam and release it. Then I've gone through the steps: I've really gotten angry and expressed it to let it go and I've calmed back down. Then I can come back to school and I'm ready to face the next challenge, instead of holding on to everything" (RG652/4-J).

[190] Celiwe made the same connection, "If you don't talk, you'll end up in a hospital bed. Really! (CG72-C). Susanne gave expression to her emotions, but had physical symptoms anyway, "I'm a volatile person, so I give expression to my emotions. It's hard for me not to show my frustration. So in my body, it goes to my back. At exam time of the year I just have to go to the physiotherapist and I'm in a lot of pain" (SG93-Sus).

[191] Other teachers self-medicated by using "Rescue Remedy, Rescue Remedy and more Rescue Remedy" (PG76-L) or "Biral, a homeopathic natural tranquilliser" (DG423-V), which is "stronger than Rescue Remedy" (DG430-V). Danielle described how during a crisis at the school "literally in the mornings you had people passing around Rescue Remedy and Biral. I said, there is something seriously wrong in this situation where your morning routine is to take your tranquilliser, (laughs) and to swap tranquillisers (DG431-D). Another form of self-medication was to "go and have a drink with a friend, or two drinks, or more" (SG63-Sus).

discussion, Sandy's deliberations made her became aware of how her strategy of repressing her everyday negative emotions gets her into a space of physical illness and embarrassing behaviour.

The emotional labour involved in getting out of such a negative space is enormous. Sandy described four strategies that help to relieve the build-up of her emotional tension. The one is going "to the gym with {her} daughter to swim, which is a big release". The problem is that generally she "does not feel like it, does not have the energy to go".[192] But luckily her daughter "forces" her, and whenever she exercises "it does make a difference" (SG80-S).[193] The other is the "hilarious humour" that is evoked when teachers "share some of the answers" they are marking (SG114-S).[194] The third is "social gatherings" with colleagues,[195] going to "have coffee somewhere", because it is "actually so nice" and "teachers need to support each other more[196] and not fight amongst ourselves, like we sometimes do" (SG154-S). The last strategy is holidays and rest. "When you come back in January you feel fresh again and then you can cope better". But Sandy qualifies that statement with "I think" and a

[192] Several teachers shared this desire to release emotions and stress and feel better by going to the gym or doing sport, as well as the complaint that they were at work longer and longer and simply could not find the time or were too tired to go (SG63/93-Sus, PG87-C). They found it "frustrating" that they were "not looking after their own balance" (PG105-C).

[193] Other ways of releasing stress were "listening to classical music" (SG63-Sus), "crying" (DG435-C), "getting together and having meals" (DG436-D), "watching mindless things on TV" (DG438-C), "reading mindless things" (DG441-D), "taking a break just to be a bit mindless" (DG443-D), "telling learners to sing in class" (MG199-H), "drinking strong coffee" (MG201-H). The most creative method was going into a spare room and playing guitar "maybe play a sad song to deal with my emotions, play a sad song, play a sad song until I escape the hard, difficult feelings. If you look at the guitar now, the strings are almost torn because from time to time that's where I really express the sadness and anger that are inside me, playing soft, soulful or jazzy songs that are going to calm me down. When I come out of that place, then I can smile again and greet people" (KG228-K).

[194] Josie talked about how having "a bit of a giggle" and "a nice laugh" with colleagues when sharing outrageously wrong answers helped her to overcome her "frustration", "anger" and "helplessness" (RG448-52-J).

[195] Conversations with groups of colleagues as well as having trusted colleagues to whom one can vent and unburden oneself were the most frequently mentioned strategies of emotional labour. "It does help to talk about it" (PG112-T) and "together, collectively, you find some of the solutions" (CG72-C) were common sentiments. Talking enabled both release (KG228-K, RG450-J, RG652-J, RG742-C, KG233-TH, DG419/21-D) and new understanding (PG112-T, RG593-P, RG679-P, RG745-J, CG72-C, KG199-K, KG228-K, SG63-Sus, MG186-M). Talking about problems and venting their emotions helps teachers to "support" each other (DG419-D) and "share the burden" (SG63-Sus). "We all can learn from each other" (CRG641-P).

[196] Hlubi extended the injunction to be supportive to the school structures that are implicated in teachers' efforts to manage their emotions. He implied that teachers could create some respite for themselves if they are accountable and talk more openly about their emotional problems with HOD or principals who are writing them off as "lazy and not committed". As HOD, it is Hlubi's responsibility to check the "summary statistics" of learner progress across teachers. When he finds that a class "performs badly", he has to not only "intervene" but also "assist" (MG167-H). When he has teachers who "explain their problem, then it's ok, it's understandable, then we have to assist you in this to cope, and give advice, and possibly, if the teacher allows, then we refer the teacher also, so that he can be able to get help. So that is the accountability from the level of the teacher and from the level of the HOD, the deputy principal and the principal in a school framework" (MG171-H).

laugh (SG105-S). She's not totally sure that a holiday will do the trick. Nevertheless, not doing the job for a while allows time for the emotional tension to dissipate. .

Sandy was very brave to open up as she did during the interview. It helped that she trusted the two other teachers in the focus group, with whom she had been colleagues and friends for a long time (SG162-S). Through her 'deliberation' in response to the interview questions and the conversation with her colleagues, she came to the end of the discussion with a changed perspective on her emotions, admitting that she did have emotions at work and the emotions did affect her.

> You get frustrated and irritated at school. You can't go to the principal and shout at her, so you take the emotions home and you shout at your kids. You do! You do take it home and I think you shouldn't. (SG168-S)

It was a brave move for Sandy to acknowledge her 'frustration and irritation' at school, to make explicit the link between her inability to speak about her emotions and her stomach ache, to admit to her explosive fight with the HOD and to reflect on why she shouts at her children at home. Acknowledging these emotions allows for an important insight: that in spite of being a professional, she does experience anger and frustration at work, which she takes home in unproductive ways. Acknowledging her emotions can be seen as a 'dedication', which in turn could become the beginning of a new journey of discernment and deliberation. It is this kind of courage to manage and explore their emotions[197] that is needed for teachers to engage in a liberating form of emotional labour. As Winograd realised, "it seems like the emotional health of a teacher is so fragile" (p1664).

8.2.3 Comment

The stories teachers used to illustrate how they deal with their emotions were mostly drawn from their relationships with learners.[198] It is for this relationship that they become teachers, it is this relationship they want to preserve and it is this relationship that requires their emotional focus and labour. To have "connection" (RG617-C) and "build trust" (RG618-P)

[197] Which Perusha also displayed. She experienced "the emotional part of it" as "a tough one" and talked about the "years of going through trial and error" to learn how to "manage this huge balancing act that we are constantly doing". It required great determination on her part to "sort out" her emotions (RG593-P).

[198] A few examples came from stories with colleagues, but there were practically no examples from relationships with officials - maybe because that is a relationship teachers have to survive and recover from, not maintain.

with learners, the teachers need to "give so much of ourselves to the children", which can become "totally draining" (SG110-Sus). The emotional rule of 'keeping our emotions in check' is insufficient to maintain, and possibly at times even destructive to, teachers' relationships with learners. What is required instead, are emotional rules that encourage active engagement with the inner dialogue of emotional labour, so that negative emotions can be released, positive emotions can be evoked and teachers are able to get excited about their work again.

Extracting from the story and additional quotes, teachers mentioned many strategies for the emotional labour of releasing negative emotions. Some strategies for emotional labour are a way of diminishing the intensity of the emotions: denial, sublimating it into the body, lowering their expectations, breathing deeply, prescribed and self-medication, gym, sport, listening to and playing music, reading, TV, allowing time to be 'mindless', having a holiday and so on. Other strategies are a way of expressing the emotions to colleagues and family members: exploding into a fight, expressing frustrations, sharing the burden, crying, talking, laughing or venting. Yet other strategies are an inner dialogue that leads teachers to new perspectives: leaving their problems at the school gate, deep-acting positive emotions until they feel real, reframing their understanding of a situation, looking for new solutions. At times, these strategies give teachers the rest they need so as to work another day. At other times, they enable teachers to visualize a different scenario. Some of these strategies might lead more easily than others towards overcoming negative emotions by using them to gain insight and generating an impulse for positive action.

Initially I thought it would be useful to use Winograd's (2003) distinction of the functional and dysfunctional use of emotions and use the question 'Where are teachers reflecting on their emotions to make a plan and where are they stuck in anger and blaming?' as a way of analysing the above story and footnotes. In some cases it is clear. For Josie, it is functional to "release the steam" at home and go back to school "ready to face the next challenge" (RG652/4-J). For Danielle it is dysfunctional, in fact "seriously wrong", when "your morning routine is to take your tranquilliser, (laughs) and to swap tranquillisers (DG431-D). In other cases it is not so clear. 'Talking about it' can be functional in arriving at new understanding and insights leading to new actions or it can be dysfunctional in that it entrenches negative perceptions of the situation. And because I did not work with the

teachers in this study over an extended period of time, I did not see how they made choices and changed over time. Winograd was making the distinction in relation to his own emotions and choices, but for me as an outside researcher to make the judgement about functional or dysfunctional use might be a patronising exercise. Also, patterns change over time - what might be functional at one point may become dysfunctional a few months later. It is only from the inside that a person can truly judge whether the way they are working with their emotions is functional or not. So I am leaving that route and turning instead to Turner (2007) for a deeper analysis of Sandy's story.

It is Turner's (2005) concept of the basic human need for verification of our core and sub-identities that is pertinent to understanding Sandy's story more deeply. When I looked again at all the responses Sandy made during the interview, I found only two positive expressions of her identity as a teacher ('sub-identity' in Turner's language) yet many negative ones - an indication that her teacher identity was not receiving much verification. The positive verification came when she felt competent as a teacher because she had "excellent training" for an aspect of the new curriculum and so she "knew exactly what to do" (SG28-S), and when she remembered that she was making a difference in her learners' lives: "luckily, there are a few kids where I can actually show that I did do something" (SG59-S). The negative verification came when her efforts did not bear fruit and she felt invisible: when, in spite of her being very interested and trying her best, she looked at learners' work and it was "absolutely atrocious", "sounded like you did not teach them at all" (SG32-S) and made it "look like you weren't even in the class" (SG49-S). In those moments, "it's just effort, and it's so senseless" (SG49-S), it's "very demotivating" and "you feel like a failure sometimes" (SG59-S). Sandy deals with this sense of failure by "giving up" and "just not expecting too much" (SG61-S). This negative verification of her teacher-self was intensified by the negativity towards school expressed by her learners.

> Our children are very negative towards school. They have a lot of failures in their lives, so they just don't see the point. They have a lot of emotional problems as well, so for a lot of the children, the last thing on earth they're concerned about is school. Many don't even have a place to sleep because the parents have kicked them out, or parents are drug addicts. All our children have got a life story. So it makes a difference. (SG108-S)

There is both compassion and hopelessness in this description of her learners. Sandy understands why learners do not see the point of making an effort at school. Yet being a teacher of learners who don't succeed makes her feel unsuccessful too. This lack of verification of her teacher identity makes a difference to her motivation and makes her effort feel senseless. Together with her identity as a teacher, her core identity as a person is under threat.

In a school environment of failure, where the basic human need of verification of self is not confirmed and an overload of negative emotion is experienced all round, it might be totally functional to deny the existence of any emotions. The only problem is that, as Turner predicts, "repressed emotions increase in intensity and become transmuted into new kinds of emotions that often disrupt social relations" (2007, p106). In Sandy's life, the repressed emotions exploded into a fight with the HoD. For many other teachers in South Africa, they explode into periodic strikes.

8.3 Conclusion

Emotions, emotional labour and strategies for achieving a more positive state of mind are not topics that teachers talk about much. It's a "taboo" (RG679-P) subject; "no-one in my 11 years has asked me about my emotions" (RG737-P). It requires "a forum like this" (RG679-P) to make it safe enough to "share all those emotions" (RG682-P). The sharing gives teachers a chance to be "enlightened" by hearing that "colleagues also go through the same things" (SG151-Sus) and to reflect on new ways of dealing with emotions productively. This resonates with Nias (1996), Zembylas (2005c), Winograd (2003), Kelchtermans (1996) and Nodding (1996), who all talk about the potential benefits in the "sharing of teachers' 'stories'".

The implications of this chapter will not be used in Chapter 9, as the next chapter focusses on an analysis which answers the research questions specific to assessment. But they do feed into my reflections in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 9: Answering the Research Questions

This chapter seeks to first answer the two empirical research questions and then the overall research question of this study. At a descriptive level, the empirical research questions were answered by the findings in chapters 4-8. In this chapter I reflect on those findings in a more analytical way by making and substantiating eight claims in relation to the empirical questions. The claims draw out the significance of the findings by focusing on the structural position of teachers' emotions in relation to assessment and illuminating the challenges that arise for teachers. Then the answer to the overall research question, namely, 'What can be learned about assessment from taking teachers' emotions seriously?' becomes a summary and discussion of the claims in relation to each other.

9.1 Empirical Research Question 1: Teacher's Emotions towards 'Objects' of Assessment

The question was formulated as:
Which emotions arise in teachers 'towards' various 'objects' of assessment and in what ways they are conflictual? (Nussbaum, 2001)

- What are the 'objects' of teachers' emotions, e.g. students, scripts to be marked, particular assessment policies or changes in those policies, particular assessment practices like formative or criterion-referenced assessment, reporting procedures, or whatever?
- What is the range of emotions that teachers experience in relation to assessment, e.g. anger / sympathy, frustration / enthusiasm, despair / hope?
- How do the emotions cluster around particular 'objects'?

To answer this research question with its accompanying sub-questions I will draw on data presented in chapters 4, 5, and 6, as well as on the conceptual understanding of emotions developed in the first section of the literature review. Of particular value is Nussbaum's (2001) understanding of emotions as evaluative judgements in relation to 'objects' that we consider important for our flourishing; Archer's (2000) understanding that emotions arise in

three different ‘orders’ or realms of living – the natural, practical and social order – and that the demands of these orders, and thus the emotions, are often conflictual; and Turner’s (2007) insight that positive emotions function as symbolic media in exchanges between people, which shows how people’s public / professional sense of value and self is at stake. In answer to these research questions, I want to make four claims and ensuing explanations.

9.1.1 Claim 1: The three key ‘objects’ of assessment that emotions of teachers are directed towards are their educational ideals, their assessment practice and the accountability demands of the education department.

Compared with the six ‘objects’ of assessment I posited at the beginning of my study (see chapter 3, section 3.3.2.1), this analysis is suggesting a slightly different grouping and focus. Initially, I posited six categories of ‘objects’: the first three concerned with the professional identity of the teacher (teachers’ personal history, social ideals, educational ideals), the next three around the nature of their assessment work (assessment practice, reporting demands and accountability demands). I adjusted to only three ‘objects’ in response to the findings. The category of ‘teachers’ personal history’ was dropped because exploring its relationship to current practice would have led too far into a psychological perspective and in terms of the data, most of the personal history incidents were stories of receiving feedback from former teachers, which were more appropriate to illustrate the emotional labour involved in formative assessment (i.e. they were used under ‘assessment practice’). The categories of ‘social’ and ‘educational ideals’ were merged, because teachers did not make that differentiation. The category of ‘reporting demands’ was subsumed into ‘assessment practice’ because teachers considered reporting demands as part of their accepted assessment practice, whereas accountability demands were seen as additional. This re-grouping highlights three main ‘objects’ that teachers consider important for the flourishing of their teacher core self: their educational ideals, their assessment practice and accountability demands. Teachers’ educational ideals and their assessment practice are ‘objects’ related to the responsibilities and identity of a teacher and arise primarily from the practical order, while accountability demands come from the institutional framework, shape their identity as employee and arise primarily from the social order.

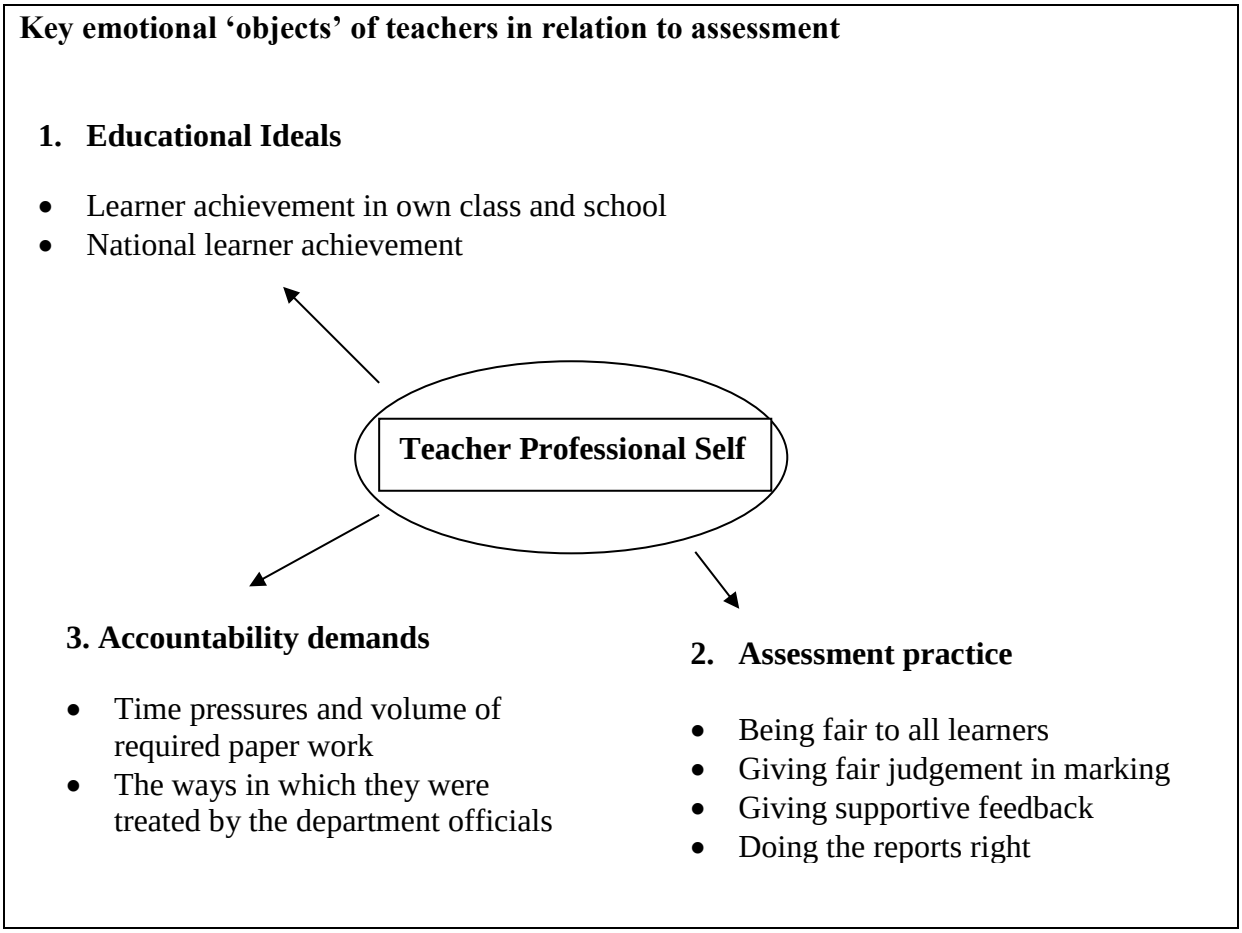


Figure 9: Key emotional 'objects' of assessment that teachers feel strongly about

In terms of their educational ideals, the teachers are most concerned with the achievement of their own learners (Ch. 4), but that concern also extends to the learners in their school, in other schools and in the nation (Ch. 7). Ideally, they want all learners to grow and pass. They also want the structures and regulations of assessment to be fair, i.e. to indicate the extent of the growth and the quality of the pass accurately. When executing their assessment practice, the teachers apply those ideals of fairness to themselves. They feel that they make great efforts to design assessment in ways that allow all learners to show what they know, to mark fairly even under difficult conditions (Ch. 5), to give supportive feedback that enables learning and counteracts learners' feelings of being judged a failure (Ch. 7), and to write reports that are valuable to school and parents (Ch. 6). These efforts are directed at their "performative achievement in the practical order" (Archer, p9). In response to accountability demands, i.e. the ways in which teachers need to justify their work and decisions to the department, they are thrown off balance by the amount of paper work required and resulting time pressures, as well as by how they experience being treated by the department officials

(Ch. 6). Here it is their "self-worth in the social order" that they need to safeguard (Archer, p9).

The three key objects in the teachers' emotional world are thus the achievement of the learners, the teachers' assessment practice, and the accountability demands of the department.[199] I came to these 'objects' by counting the 'objects' coded with strongly expressed emotions, i.e. by following Nussbaum's (2001) understanding that people feel most strongly about the 'objects' they consider most important for their flourishing. Comparing these 'objects' to the literature on assessment and teacher emotions described in section 3 of the literature review, they are in line with what other researchers have found. For example, in her summary of research, Nias (1996) talks about teachers' intense involvement with their students' learning (p296-297) (cf. educational ideals), their desire for professional efficacy and the need to act consistently with their beliefs and values (p297-299) (cf. assessment practice), and their relationships with other adults in the school system, particularly those in more powerful positions (p300-304) (cf. accountability demands).

9.1.2 Claim 2: Assessment is an emotional practice that lies at the centre of teachers' professional identity.

In relation to learner achievement, (Ch. 4), the range of emotions is broad and intense – from 'very happy and excited' to 'feeling like a total failure'. Learner achievement takes teachers' emotions on a roller coaster, with peaks of positive emotions (joy, satisfaction, excitement) when learners achieve, which motivates them to further effort, alternating with sloughs of dark emotions (self-doubt, despondency, frustration) when learners do not achieve understanding or fail, which de-motivates teachers. As the teachers, in spite of their best efforts, have an influence on but cannot control the outcomes of their learners' assessment results, they are hanging on to the seatbelts of their roller coaster for dear life. The intensity of teachers' emotions indicates how important this 'object' of learner achievement is to them. For the teachers in my study, learner achievement is the prime assessment 'object', which they are invested in to the extent that their sense of self-worth as teachers depends on it. It

[199] As mentioned earlier (Chapter 6, section 6.7), principals did not feature much in the conversations of the teachers in my study, except when they were dysfunctional. But as a model, what I am describing here will apply to whoever the authority is that holds teachers accountable.

makes visible their focus on the core purpose of teaching, namely, to enable learners to achieve, whether in the form of marks or growth of understanding.

MacIntyre (1981) enabled me to understand that it is the practice of assessment that distributes both the internal and the external goods of the practice of teaching.[200] Because assessment functions as a summary of what has been taught, it becomes a comment on the effectiveness of teaching – both internally for the teacher (in the form of growth in learner understanding and marks) and externally for the system (in the form of marks and statistical comparisons). The results of assessment thus reflect on the teacher nearly as much as they do on the student – yet it is the student who produces the results while the teacher can only enable them. Hargreaves (1994) has commented on the deep insecurity of teachers, quoting a teacher as saying "there is fear of not measuring up … we are very insecure as a profession" (p150) – an insecurity which the intensity of teachers' emotional roller coaster regarding learner achievement clearly illustrates. Kelchtermans described how this fear of not measuring up arises from a "structural vulnerability", which is partially caused by the "limits to teachers' efficacy" (1996, p313). This resonates with my findings – the insecurity is inevitable because teachers understand their identity as someone who is responsible for generating the achievement of others. Teachers' efforts and the quality of their teaching performance in the practical order are essential and defining features of students' achievement. Analytically, the findings of this study indicate that the emotional roller coaster of teacher joy /self-gratification at learner success and teacher disappointment /self-doubt at learner failure is a structural feature of the practice of assessment and intrinsic to the profession.

Turner's (2010, p173) claim that positive emotions function as a symbolic medium and resource that every person strives to have more of, enabled me to see an important implication of this finding, namely that if teachers want the symbolic medium of positive emotions, they need to work hard at enabling learner achievement. Because teachers' sense of professional self is inter-dependent with learner achievement, they need sufficient positive assessment results to give them the positive emotions that maintain their energy and

[200] I know that MacIntyre later had an exchange with Dunne (2002) in which he argued that teaching was not a practice and that only the disciplines of knowledge transmitted during teaching could lay claim to being a practice. So he would not accord to assessment the status of being a practice. But with the increased institutional infrastructure and academic research that has been developed to manage and teach about assessment in schools, universities and the workplace, assessment can lay claim to being a practice on practical if not disciplinary grounds.

motivation to continue enabling learner achievement. Too many negative learner results will generate negative emotions which de-energise and de-motivate teachers. If teachers want to gain access to positive emotions, i.e. to have more joy /self-gratification and less disappointment /self-doubt in the course of their work, then, if they want to remain teachers (and not move out into management or administrative positions), they structurally have no choice but to care about and work hard to enable good learner achievement. Attaining high learner achievement is thus an intrinsic self-interest for every teacher.

9.1.3 Claim 3: As seen through the lens of teachers' emotions, their assessment practice is torn between the demands of the practical and the social order.

Archer (2000) proposes that

> we live, and must live, simultaneously in the natural, practical and social orders. … The three kinds of emotional imports relate to our physical well-being in the natural order, [201] our performative achievement in the practical order and our self-worth in the social order. Here, there is a major dilemma for every human being, because their flourishing depends upon their attending to all three kinds of emotional commentaries, and yet these do not dovetail harmoniously: attention to one can jeopardise giving due heed to the others. (p9)

The emphasis of the national curriculum policy and the ways in which accountability demands are implemented by the education department (the social order) shape the context for teachers' assessment practice (the practical order). By shaping the context, the education department also generates an emotional frame within which teachers work, i.e. the "background emotions" that "often explain patterns of action" (Nussbaum, 2001, p69). The episodic highs and lows of teachers' emotional roller coaster in response to learner achievement are thus nested within an institutional context that provides an emotional climate which shapes the intensity, duration and range of the emotions. So an important aspect of understanding assessment as an emotional practice is looking at the emotional experience of teachers within the institutional frame of policies and regulations provided by the department. In order to do this, I will summarise the emotions of teachers towards various aspects of their

[201] This study was not concerned with teachers' emotions directed towards their physical well-being in the natural order because it assumed they were healthy and capable of doing their work.

assessment practice, contrast these with emotions towards departmental policies and accountability demands, and then discuss the relationship between these sets of emotions.

As described in chapters 5 and 7 (section 7.2), teachers engage in neutrally expressed, thoughtful professional reflection as well as experience strong emotions in relation to the practical order challenges of their assessment practice, like marking and giving feedback. Their performative achievement in the practical order of assessment does not come without exertion and struggle. While marking, teachers are alone with their learners' minds and see most clearly what has been understood or not, thus riding the roller coaster from inadequacy to satisfaction and back. Giving feedback after marking opens teachers to challenge and attack by learners (and occasionally their parents), thus increasing their vulnerability (a finding that accords with Stough and Emmer, 1998). The time pressures under which marking and feedback need to be accomplished are endless and exhausting, leading the teachers into desperation and despondency. In addition, doing assessment is intrinsically difficult. It requires complex judgements and decisions and a constant struggle to make it fair, as committed teachers are driven by utilitarian rather than retributive motives (Reyna and Weiner, 2001). This process becomes more complex, and more distressing, when learners are weak. It is only curiosity about the effects of their own teaching and the hope of good learner achievement that motivates teachers to continue the effort. Compared to emotions regarding learners' achievement, teachers' emotions regarding marking and feedback indicate less happiness, less engagement, more frustration and more exhaustion. Performative achievement in the practical order of assessment practice makes great emotional and intellectual demands on the teachers. But the teachers don't doubt their engagement with assessment practices – they understand it as an intrinsic part of their job.

The findings in chapters 6 and 7 (section 7.3) illustrated teachers' emotions generated by the social order of the institutional context. Here the dominant emotions expressed are variations of anger and fear. There is an escalation from dissatisfaction and critique, through anxiety and irritation, to panic accountability. The teachers talk about having to survive "unrealistic expectations" (PG74-T), having to do "unimportant, useless, ridiculous admin" (SG96/98/102-S), developing "intense negative feelings" (DG170-D) because of being reprimanded for "little things" (DG163-V) that are "petty beyond belief" (DG169-C), and "feeling inadequate all the time" because the demands come from "panic accountability" and are "grossly unfair" (RG458-P). This sense of inadequacy is intensified when assessment

results are made public and teachers are judged alongside their learners. Nevertheless, the teachers generally comply with department requirements, which leaves them feeling undermined, enslaved and exploited by the surveillance and lack of trust from the department, disillusioned about their profession and verging on alienation from their purpose of enabling learner achievement (see also Smith, 1991; Jeffrey and Woods, 1996; Mahony et al, 2004). In addition, the teachers' emotional energy is sapped by the way in which department officials deal with learner failure by brushing aside teachers' judgements and refusing to acknowledge the reality of learner failure. This undermines teachers' educational ideal of fair assessment regulations, making them fearful of a future in which the nation's children do not learn the basics of literacy and numeracy. During the interview discussions, the teachers needed long deliberations before they could step away from their anger and disillusionment at the system and refocus on their work with learners (see also Kornfeld et al, 2007). This morass of intensely negative and dark emotions, with practically no positive emotions, indicates an emotional crisis for committed teachers.

Teachers thus present conflicting emotional responses towards assessment practice on the one hand and accountability demands on the other. Regarding assessment practice, their emotions (even when conflicted) indicate that teachers place a high value on doing their job well, i.e. on performing in the practical order. They find purpose in their learners achieving well and in producing assessments that are fair and supportive. They talk about their assessment practice with strong emotion but also with reflective engagement to understand the complexity of and improve the situation. For them, assessment that is well done by both learners and teachers is an internal good of the practice of teaching and the identity of a teacher. On the other hand, accountability demands undermine their sense of self-worth in the social order and evoke intensely negative emotional responses to the point of crisis. These negative emotions diminish their willingness to engage with the details of the 'object'.[202] Teachers are not reflecting on what the value of accountability might be or where the department officials could possibly be right – they simply feel so imposed upon that they do not want to know. They see no purpose in accountability demands because for them it does not contribute to learner achievement nor make assessment fairer.[203] Meeting

[202] Although the teachers in this study had not yet lost their sense of the "quality of teaching" being the important "real issue", they were expending less focus on it (DG233-V).
[203] When teachers insisted that "what we're expected as the teachers is to teach" (MG90-M) they were making this claim for their identity in defiance of "the reporting and writing, recording and writing" (MG88-M) that they felt the department officials were expecting of them.

accountability demands does not contribute to their internal goods of the practice, nor does it provide them with external goods like additional money or public recognition. In addition, their sense of fairness in assessment is betrayed by the education department's refusal to recognise learner failure.

From the perspective of the teachers, the interventions and demands of the department create an emotional frame that detracts from, rather than supports, the focus on and motivation for working to enable learner achievement. As a result of their anger and fear experienced towards the department, teachers are shifting where they place their attention – away from teaching clearly and assessing fairly, towards complying with, as well as resisting against, bureaucratic demands. This takes energy away from their focus on enabling learner achievement. Pekrun et al's (2007) control-value theory of achievement emotions predicts this possibility:

> Emotions help focus attention on the object of the emotion. Therefore … it can be assumed that positive or negative emotions that do not relate to an ongoing achievement activity distract attention away from the activity, so that they reduce cognitive resources available for task purposes and impair performance needing such resources. … Positive emotions relating to the activity, on the other hand, are assumed to focus attention on the activity, thereby benefiting performance. (p26)

Sullenly, or frantically, complying with and/or resisting accountability demands and encounters with department officials reduces the cognitive and emotional resources that teachers have available for their task purpose of learner achievement. Thus their teaching and assessment practice, which requires these cognitive and emotional resources in order to be effective, is impaired.

To restate, what I am arguing with regard to the practice of assessment is that teachers' emotional commentaries on accountability demands do not dovetail harmoniously with their emotional commentaries on learners' or their own achievements in the practice of assessment. Yet because accountability demands originate from the authorities in the social order, teachers are giving undue heed to these demands, which could jeopardise the due heed they should be giving to enabling learner achievement in the practical order.

9.1.4 Claim 4: Teachers' emotions are an inevitable and influential structural aspect of the national project of enabling high learner achievement.

As described above, teachers are positioned between their responsibility for learners and their dependence (for salary and curriculum guidance) on the department. Because learners' achievement ultimately depends on learners' own effort, and the department often has the determining say in what counts as 'fair' assessment tasks and final decisions on results, it leaves teachers in a position where they work towards and strongly shape, but cannot control, the outcome of learner achievement. Thus the success of teacher's work is interdependent in two directions - with both the learners and the department.

In relation to the learners, the teachers' emotions are structurally caught in the emotional roller coaster, with the highs and lows depending on whether their educational ideals of learner achievement and fairness are met or not. For as long as the highs and lows of the roller coaster balance each other out, so that a sense of failure is balanced by a sense of success, the teachers remain motivated to do their job to the best of their ability. It is when the elation of the highs cannot carry them past the long duration of the failure lows that teachers can become unstable in their commitment to the effort involved in enabling learner achievement. At those points, teachers need support (administrative, technical through increasing knowledge or skills, and/or emotional) to lift them into a more capable and hopeful state.

In relation to themselves and their assessment practice, my findings indicate that the teachers are relatively emotionally stable for as long as they are able to fulfil their ideals of doing assessment in ways that are both fair and supportive of learners, and as long as they feel in control of reporting decisions and of the timing of assessment tasks, marking and feedback. Their emotions move into the negative side of the spectrum when the volume and time pressure of assessment work increases without abatement and when the department overrides their assessment judgements – which leaves them feeling exhausted and their self-confidence undermined. Feeling exhausted and undermined can detract substantially from the focus required for doing assessment well.

In relation to the accountability demands, my findings show teachers experiencing unabatedly negative emotions. Thrown off course by department officials who themselves "don't even

really make sense" (KG124-K) of what and why it is required, teachers get into a panicked frenzy to meet externally determined deadlines that feel intrinsically meaningless to their job. Accountability demands feel imposed, need to be suffered through and are demoralising. Teachers are left feeling that their efforts of enabling learner achievement as well as their responsibilities for fair assessment practices are undermined by and in conflict with what the department wants from them.[204]

Ball (2003) argues convincingly that a culture of accountability places teachers in a position where they are straining to perform in the practical order by writing required reports and "fabrications"[205] (p224) and where they feel robbed of their sense of self worth in the social order by the constant implication that they are not doing enough, or should be doing something different. The teachers in my study were constantly busy "saving so many lives, resuscitating so many people", that they had little time to reflect on how they did it and struggled to "write it down on that form" (RG547-P). As Ball describes, accountability makes teachers and academics "ontologically insecure" and

> unsure what aspects of work are valued and how to prioritise efforts. We become uncertain about the reasons for actions. Are we doing this because it is important, because we believe in it, because it is worthwhile? Or is it being done ultimately because it will be measured or compared? … These things become matters of self-doubt and personal anxiety rather than public debate. (2003, p220)

The 'ontological insecurity' and personal anxiety generated by accountability amongst the teachers in this study led them to much the same response as the teachers described by Ball (2003), namely, "a potential 'splitting' between the teachers' own judgements about 'good practice' and students 'needs', and the rigours of performance" (i.e. the administration required by accountability demands)(p221). This means they understood the work they need to do for accountability purposes as a different category of work. This new category of work

[204] This resonates with Hargreaves' (2003) description of Canadian teachers' responses to curriculum and assessment policy changes. Many valued the substance of the curriculum changes and saw them as "promising starting points for future improvement" (p75). But "the opposite was true for teachers' responses to system-wide testing" (p76). Most teachers saw these tests as having little value for improving teaching and learning, believing that the tests "neither motivated pupils to learn nor enhanced their confidence as teachers" (p76). Whereas the new curriculum and assessment policy "encouraged and demanded deep learning from students", the system-wide testing "in some ways actively hinders teachers in supporting their pupils to learn in a knowledge society" (p76).

[205] "Fabrications are versions of an organization (or person) which does not exist - they are not 'outside the truth' but neither do they render simply true or direct accounts - they are produced purposefully in order 'to be accountable'" (Ball, 2003, p224).

was seen as belonging outside of the core identity of a teacher and thus as interfering with their 'real' work.

The question arises what effect this 'splitting' has on the quality of teachers' assessment practice and their ability to enable learner achievement? For a while, the teachers' negative emotions towards accountability may be 'split' off from their emotions about learners' achievements and their professional ideals of doing assessment fairly. But when the accountability demands increasingly encroach on teachers' time, override their values and undermine their identity, then, regardless of 'splitting', the resulting demoralization and despondency can easily spread to affect all aspects of their professional lives, making teachers question their choice of profession and lowering their energy / motivation for doing their work well. Replicated throughout the country, that in turn will have a noticeable effect on the national level of learner achievement.

Schematically, the relationship between the policies / accountability demands of the education department, teachers' emotions and the level of national learner achievement can be illustrated as follows:

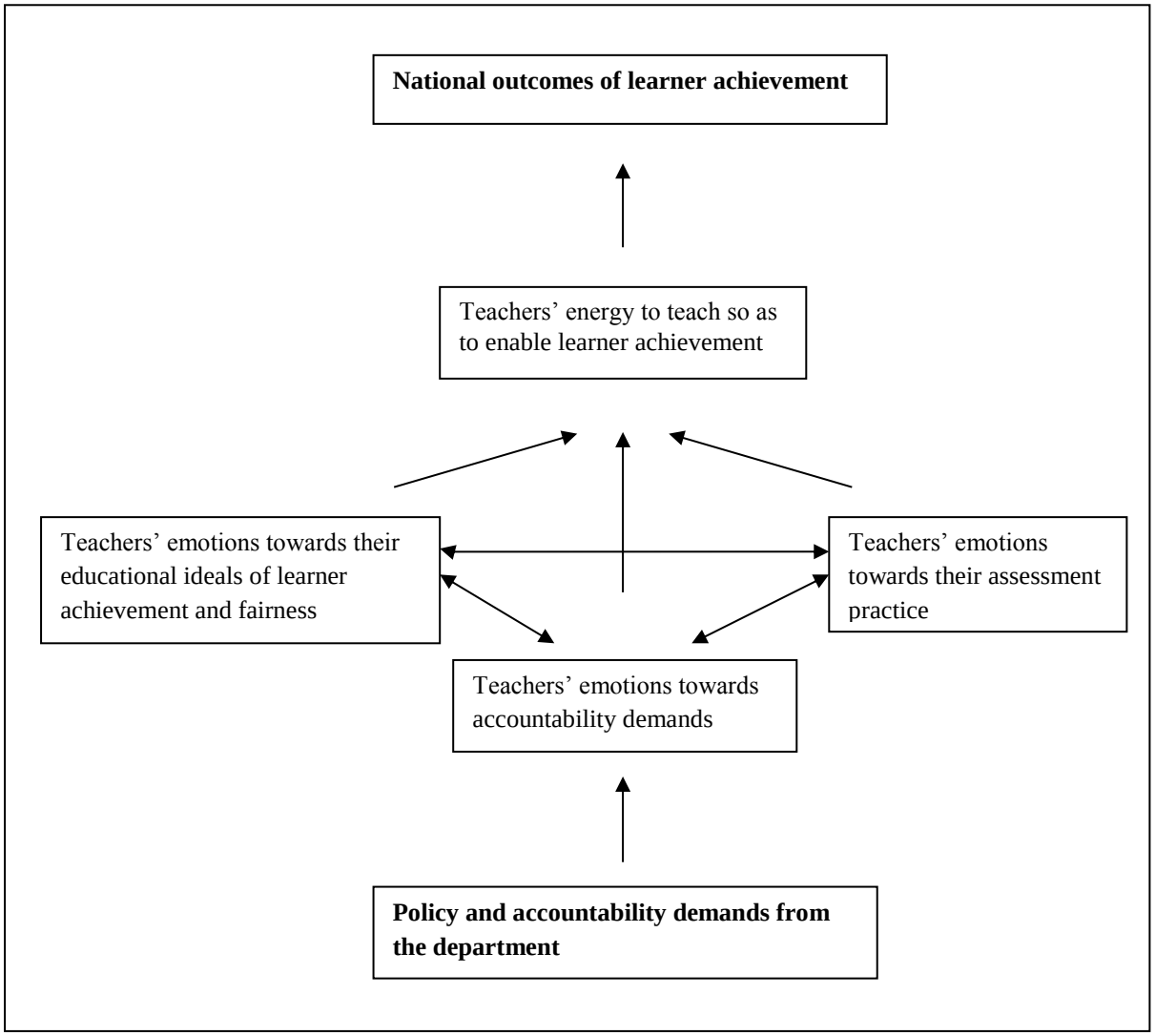


Figure 10: A schema of how departmental accountability demands pass through the emotions of teachers before they can affect improved national learner achievement outcomes

What the schematised relationships show is how teachers' emotions operate as a filter because they occupy a structural space between what the education department asks teachers to do and the level of learner achievement that the nation wants to achieve.[206] The project[207] of national outcomes for learner achievement begins with policy directives and accountability demands from the department. These directives are filtered through teachers' emotions – their emotions towards the department and accountability demands, but also their emotions

[206] There are other factors in that space as well – like teachers' knowledge and skills, resources for teaching, institutional culture, etc. – but those are not my concern in this study.

[207] Thank you to Blunden (2011) for formalising for me this concept of a 'collaborative project' on which many people work simultaneously, with contradictions and differences regarding their conception of the project, in co-operation or conflict, like "a cloth which is constantly being stitched and embroidered by human activity" (p250).

related to educational ideals of learner achievement and fairness as well as their assessment practice. The arrows indicate an intense interplay of emotions – the emotions around one 'object' will impact the others. The combinations of these emotions then motivate the quality of teachers' energy for teaching and enabling learner achievement, which in turn affects the quality of their work and its outcome in the form of the desired learner achievement. Teachers' emotions are thus powerfully present in the space between departmental demands on teachers and national outcomes of learner achievement and need to be considered as an important resource for enabling improved learner achievement. They need to be understood as an inevitable, structural aspect of the education system that produces national educational achievement. And the nature of the emotions – whether they are a balance of positive and negative emotions focussed on enabling learner achievement or whether they are primarily negative and focussed on surviving departmental demands – will shape the national outcome of learner achievement. Thus, when teachers' emotions are primarily positive they can enhance the national project, but when they are primarily negative they have the potential to disturb the national project of enabling high learner achievement.

This schema should not be interpreted in a way that enables the apportioning of blame. If used normatively, the department could use it to attribute blame for low learner achievement outcomes to teachers by arguing that because teachers emotionally resist the accountability demands that are meant to make things more efficient, so if their resistance generates negative feelings which diminish their energy, then teachers are at fault. Equally, teachers could use it to attribute blame to the department because it imposes administrative demands which are not teachers' real responsibility and it does not use accountability structures to provide professional support for teachers, so it takes away time away from teachers' focus on learner achievement and causes debilitating emotions. But in a context of "institutional trust" (Louis, 2007, p3) this schema can provide recognition of a structure in which the accountability demands of the department move through a chain of processes that include teachers' emotions before there is an impact on national learner achievement. Then the implications of this structural and influential position held by teachers' emotions could become the focus of reflection, further research and practical action.

9.2 Empirical research question 2: The Emotional Rules and Labour of Assessment Practice

The question was formulated as:

What implicit cultural and institutional 'emotional rules' do teachers hold in relation to assessment and what 'emotional labour' (Zembylas, 2002b) do they engage in?

- What are teachers' professional norms, beliefs and emotional rules regarding the purpose and practice of assessment and accountability? (see Ch. 7)
- What is the alignment or not between their emotions and their beliefs? (see Ch.7) [208]
- Do teachers change their emotional rules when they are working with different forms of assessment, e.g. formative or summative? (see Ch. 7)
- Are there differences in patterns of emotional labour across teachers from schools in different socio-economic circumstances? If so, what are they? (see Ch. 7)
- How do teachers manage their emotions with regards to successful and failing students? In what ways do they take responsibility for student results? (see Ch. 4)
- Do teachers make 'functional' or 'dysfunctional' use of their emotions? (Winograd, 2003) (see Ch. 8)[209]

The sub-questions have been answered in the various data chapters. What I want to do here is to answer the overall question with the insights I have gained. I will make and justify four claims with regard to emotional rules and labour.

[208] When I started on this research journey and formulated this question, I assumed that when a teacher, like Celiwe, believed that assessment was "important" (CG2-C), but then said she experienced assessment as "a burden" because it made learners feel "threatened" and she wished she could "just teach them and then promote them to the next grade without assessing them" (CG4-C), it indicated an inherent contradiction and that the emotions were telling the deeper truth. But Turner (2007) taught me that negative emotions are caused by lack of self-verification. So teachers can hold the ideal of assessment as being valuable, yet if their learners do not succeed in it, they cannot live up to their ideal nor experience self-verification. Then assessment makes them feel inadequate in relation to performative achievement in the practical order (Archer, 2000). So the apparent contradiction between beliefs and emotions becomes an interesting example of the complexities of the inner dialogue during the deliberation phase.

[209] In retrospect, this is a normative question about individuals, which is not appropriate to answer from the outsider perspective of a researcher. Instead, I used Archer's concept of 'inner conversation / dialogue' to describe, rather than evaluate, the process of emotional labour.

9.2.1 Claim 5: Emotional rules can be excavated and become a site of insight

I want to justify this claim by relating the emotional rules I excavated to emotional rules that other researchers presented and then reflecting on the insights to be gained. In the process of excavating emotional rules, I came to realise that emotional rules do not influence which emotions arise in a teacher, but they do influence which emotions are given expression, which are suppressed and to what extent. So it becomes worth analysing how these emotional rules relate to teachers' work, i.e. which emotional rules give teachers something to strive towards, which are demotivating or what kind of image of a teacher is embedded in the emotional rules.

It is interesting to note that Zembylas (2005), who substantively theorised emotional rules for teachers, did not attempt to operationalize the concept by extracting emotional rules from his case studies. It was Winograd (2003), who like me is a teacher educator with a professional orientation, who provided examples and gave me the courage to excavate emotional rules that underlay what teachers felt and believed about assessment. He provided five emotional rules for the identity of a teacher and management of emotions, and in his literature review he implicitly presented an emotional rule for the identity of the teacher as an employee. Yin and Lee, writing in 2012, rightly say that "the empirical studies which summarise the emotional rules governing teachers' work are surprisingly limited" (p58) and then present four rules that govern Chinese teachers' emotions. In the table that follows, I have presented Winograd's (2003), Yin and Lee's (2012), as well as my own (Ch. 7 and 8) attempts at specifying emotional rules for teachers. My contribution is that I am presenting emotional rules with a specific focus on assessment.

Emotional Rules relating to the identity of a teacher	**Emotional Rules relating to the management of emotions**	**Emotional Rules relating to assessment**
1. Teachers have affection and even love for their students. (W)	7. Teachers avoid overt displays of extreme emotions, especially anger and other dark emotions. They stay calm and tend to avoid displays of joy or sadness. (W)	13. Assessment is essential and requires teachers' emotional engagement. (S)
2. Teachers have enthusiasm or even passion for subject matter, and teachers show enthusiasm for students. (W)	8. Teachers have a sense of humour and laugh at their own mistakes as well as the peccadilloes of students. (W)	14. Assessment processes must be fair and correct before they deserve teachers' trust, i.e. teachers' have the right to check that certain conditions are met. (S)
3. Teachers love their work. (W)	9. Hide or suppress negative emotions (Y&L)	15. Marks can only be trusted when they accord with the teachers' more holistic experience of the learners' progress. (S)
4. Commit to teaching with passion (Y&L)	10. Maintain positive emotions (Y&L)	16. To counteract the possibility of learners feeling humiliated, teachers should respect and recognise learners' efforts by making their own effort to give feedback in ways that make learners feel better about themselves. (S)
5. Teachers gain their satisfaction from doing something of value for learners. (S)	11. Instrumentalise emotions to achieve teaching goals (Y&L)	17. Learners' (and teachers') feelings of elation at success and shame at failure need to be appropriately deserved. The elation of success requires that effort be put into teaching and learning. (S)
Emotional Rule relating to the identity of a teacher as employee (implied) 6. Teachers need to be acquiescent to principals and supervisors. (W)	12. It's critical for professionals like us to make a concerted effort to control ourselves and to keep our emotions of frustration and anger in check. / As professionals, we are bound by policies to control our emotions. / There are no emotions involved for me. (S)	

Table 8: A collation of emotional rules for teachers as proposed by Winograd (2003), Yin&Lee (2012) and this study (Steinberg)

It is interesting to look at the similarities and differences between these emotional rules from the USA (Winograd), China (Yin and Lee) and South Africa (Steinberg). When the emotional rules relate to the core identity of a teacher, there was international agreement – being a teacher is about having enthusiasm for giving value to students through subject matter (emotional rules 1-5). All of these emotional rules portray an inspiring, passionate image of a teacher, providing a motivation for generating positive emotions so as to be able to live up to this teacher identity.

It is worth noting that no one explicitly unearthed emotional rules relating to the teacher as employee – being an employee seems to be something teachers do not hold in the forefront of their identity. Yet the table presents an implied emotional rule (6) that teachers must acquiesce to their employers. It was quoted from Winograd's (2003) literature review (p1645) and is implicit in his description of how he and his colleagues "avoided open displays of anger when faced with difficult or irrational institutional structures or expectations (p1665). It is also implicit in the "paradox of power" Yin and Lee (2012) refer to, whereby Chinese teachers, although (or because) they have "high social status", are subjected to the "great burden of following society's moral norms" - norms which also demand respect for authority. The same in South Africa – the teachers in my study complained vehemently about the department officials not being professionals (DG172-V, RG512-C), imposing from above (KG139-K) and playing a power game with teachers (DG176-D), nevertheless, the teachers consistently kept quiet rather than challenging "them".

These emotional rules relating to identity – of a teacher and of an employee – are an internal aspect of teachers' working conditions. They shape the type and extent of motivation that teachers muster to do their work. To live the enthusiasm and passion required for good teaching requires a strong self-referral professionalism, while at the same time the emotional rule about teachers as employees being acquiescent to superiors runs deep. The tension that can arise between conflicting these rules places teachers in a vulnerable position.

When the emotional rules relate to the management of emotions, teachers in all three countries talk about keeping emotions in check. Yet there appears to be a difference in emphasis between the national cultures. The USA emotional rules (7&8) are phrased more lightly: 'avoiding overt displays of extreme emotion' still leaves a lot of space for expressing moderate emotions, while emphasising the 'need for humour' encourages positive emotions

and the ability to laugh away problems. The Chinese emotional rules (9&10) are more stern – negative emotions must be 'hidden or suppressed' while positive emotions 'must be displayed' – which can easily lead to "surface acting" (Hochschild, 2003). The South African emotional rules (12) have the same sternness as the Chinese – as professionals we 'are bound by policies to control our emotions'. But they differ regarding the ability to use emotions in functional ways: the Chinese teachers want to maintain positive emotions and are conscious of manipulating their own and their students' emotions in the service of learning, whereas the South African teachers talked only about keeping negative emotions in check, expressed with ever increasing severity, to the extent that at times they lose touch with their emotions and think they don't have any. As Perusha said while giving me feedback after reading Chapter 8, "I am an emotional teacher, but I didn't understand it".[210] I did not excavate a South African emotional rule that encourages teachers to creatively work with their emotions.

My study is the only one that attempts to isolate emotional rules for dealing with a specific practice of teaching like assessment. The basic emotional rule for assessment (13) is actually an implied rule: because assessment unavoidable, it is inevitable for emotions to arise. Teachers cannot emotionally disengage because assessment is central to their work. Emotional rule (14) is concerned with the implementation of assessment, while (15) relates to its effects. Both rules assert a space for teachers' independent emotional judgement regarding when an assessment process or result can be considered correct and fair. Teachers cannot withhold their emotional engagement from something as essential as assessment, but they can withhold particular emotions like trust or agreement. Emotional rule (16) displays the complexity of the formative assessment relationship between teachers and learners. Because giving feedback involves learner and teacher interaction (not just a summative judgement) regarding learner errors, the possibilities for misunderstanding and humiliation become so much greater. So teachers need to put in extra effort to counteract negative and generate positive emotions in learners, i.e. they need to take on responsibility for actively creating an emotional climate in which learners can engage with their errors without humiliation and increasing self-respect. This emphasises a relationship of care, respect and support for learners. Emotional rule (17) deals with the instinctive positive emotion responses to success and negative responses to failure by creating a proviso: regardless of

[210] See Appendix 7

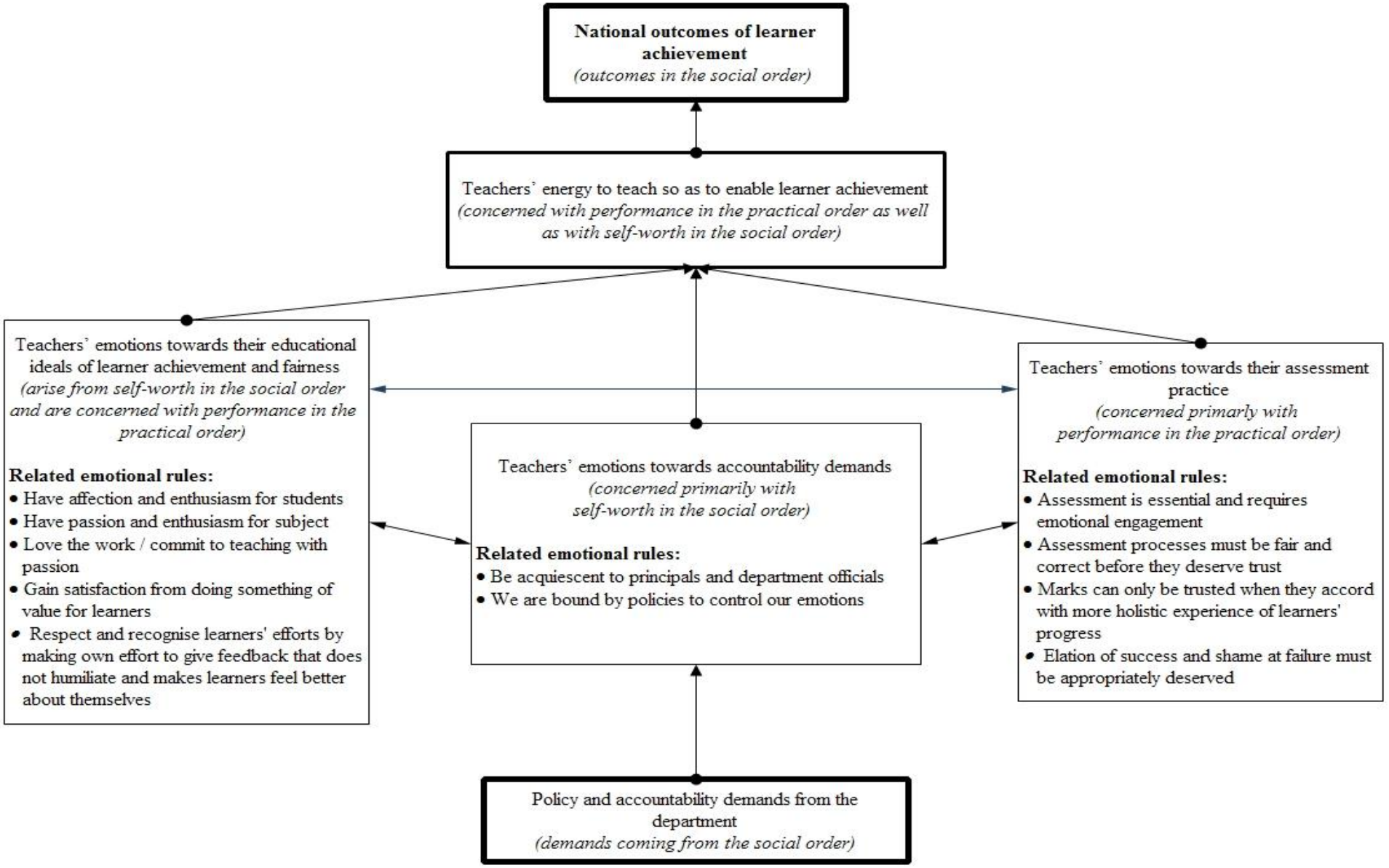
how desirable the positive emotions are, they need to be appropriately deserved on the basis of effort. This effort involves both learners and teachers.

When I compare these excavated emotional rules with the potential emotional rules I postulated as part of my proposal, interesting differences emerge.[211] In the proposal I used an academic distinction between formative and summative assessment to postulate different emotional rules (like absence vs. presence of emotions, emotional distance vs. emotional engagement, separating in time vs. integrating the pleasurable emotions of learning from the often unpleasant emotions of assessment). But the teachers I worked with did not make that distinction. Although most of them felt the obligation to give learners feedback when returning assessment tasks, not all of them actually did it, and even those who did, understood feedback as part of the system of summative assessment. The concern for learners made evident by emotional rules (15) and (16) comes not from an academic distinction but from a teacher identity that wants learners to succeed. Teachers acted from a sense of empathy (CG28-C, PG58-T,) or a desire to keep learners motivated (PG61-L) when mitigating the negative emotional responses of learners to a lack of achievement. The concern for fairness made evident in emotional rules (14) and (17) comes from an ethical commitment to education ideals, which will be discussed in the next claim.

Before moving on, I would like to show how the emotional rules fit into the schema described in the previous claim of accountability demands passing through the emotions of teachers before they can impact on the national project of improved learner achievement outcomes.

Figure 11: The elaborated schema, which includes the emotional rules that shape teachers' emotions towards different assessment 'objects', through which the departmental accountability demands must pass before they can affect improved national learner achievement outcomes[212]

[211] See Appendix 11
[212] I did not include the emotional rules for emotion management, as they apply to all three 'objects'.


National outcomes of learner achievement
(outcomes in the social order)
Teachers' energy to teach so as to enable learner achievement
(concerned with performance in the practical order as well as with self-worth in the social order)
Teachers' emotions towards their educational ideals of learner achievement and fairness
(arise from self-worth in the social order and are concerned with performance in the practical order)
Related emotional rules:
• Have affection and enthusiasm for students
• Have passion and enthusiasm for subject
• Love the work / commit to teaching with passion
• Gain satisfaction from doing something of value for learners
• Respect and recognise learners' efforts by making own effort to give feedback that does not humiliate and makes learners feel better about themselves
Teachers' emotions towards accountability demands
(concerned primarily with self-worth in the social order)
Related emotional rules:
• Be acquiescent to principals and department officials
• We are bound by policies to control our emotions
Teachers' emotions towards their assessment practice
(concerned primarly with performance in the practical order)
Related emotional rules:
• Assessment is essential and requires emotional engagement
• Assessment processes must be fair and correct before they deserve trust
• Marks can only be trusted when they accord with more holistic experience of learners' progress
• Elation of success and shame at failure must be appropriately deserved
Policy and accountability demands from the department
(demands coming from the social order)

The emotional rules that relate to teachers' educational ideals emphasise positive emotions and are thus rules to live up to because they enhance teachers' well-being. The emotional rules related to accountability demands emphasise self-restraint and acquiescence to authority and are thus rules can depress well-being. The emotional rules related to assessment practice emphasise fairness, professional judgement and the need to be deserving of positive and negative emotions. These different kinds of emotional rules illustrate a tension between the identity of a teacher and the identity of an employee – and individual teachers will react to situations differently depending on which emotional rules they experience as stronger. The schema also illustrates how interwoven the social and practical orders are: teachers' educational ideals arise in the social order but need to be operationalized in the practical order, and teachers' energy to enable learner achievement depends on them receiving positive emotions in both the practical and the social orders. From the perspective of which order provides more positive emotions, the tension remains regarding which feels more important: preserving self-worth by acquiescing to accountability demands or exercising professional judgement so as to achieve practical performance in assessment practice.

Thus, as illustrated in this claim, the excavation of emotional rules has allowed for insights into cultural differences, into the self-image of teachers, into teachers' perspective on assessment (the prime object of this study) and teachers' rules for how to treat learners. It has also illustrated the vulnerability of teachers in the tension between being professionals and being employees.

9.2.2 Claim 6: The emotional rules of teachers are ethically demanding

Turner (2007) argues that emotional rules are shaped by prevailing ideologies, hierarchical differentiations, the frame / situation in which an encounter takes place and people's expectation of their 'just share' in an encounter (p172-5). So maybe it is possible to look at this relationship from the opposite direction – given that Winograd (2003), Yin and Lee (2012) and I have specified a few emotional rules for teachers, what are the prevailing ideologies, hierarchical differentiations and expectations of a 'just share' that can be read off those rules?

Using the excavated emotional rules tabled above, I would argue that the prevailing ideology embedded in the emotional rules for being a teacher (e.g. to 'commit to teaching with passion' and to 'hide or suppress negative emotions') is to be emotionally positive and engaged. Yet there is also a sense of teachers needing to be constantly vigilant embedded in 'assessment can only be trusted when it is correct and fair'. The emotional rules place teachers in-between the learners and the authorities in a hierarchical manner: teachers have responsibilities for learners (they need to 'love', 'show enthusiasm' and 'do something of value' for learners) and at the same time they need to 'be acquiescent to principals and supervisors' (see also Rousmaniere's historical analysis, 1994). It is interesting to note that the 'just share' expected by teachers is for the benefit of their learners more than for themselves: the assessment of learners needs to be done correctly and be fair before it can be trusted, while the learners need to be supported to 'feel better about themselves' and their 'efforts' must be treated with 'respect'. Yet teachers also expect something in return: learners must do their 'just share' by making the 'effort' required for achieving success. These emotional rules generate a teacher and assessor identity that is of high ethical standing. Teachers don't just need to be present, they need to be enthusiastic and passionate about their learners and their subject; they don't just need to hide their anger and other dark emotions, they need to maintain their positive emotions; they don't just need to enact assessment, but need to ensure its correctness and fairness; they don't just need to give feedback to learners, but need to do it in a way that avoids humiliation and instead supports and uplifts learners, motivating them to do their share.

That makes me wonder where and how teachers get the emotional energy necessary to live up to these ethical standards embedded in the emotional rules? Kwo and Intrator (2004, p288) argue that teachers need the "inner power" to "make critical choices", to "continue learning" and to not "lose sight of their inner values". MacIntyre (1982) reminds us that for a practice to flourish, the participants in the practice need to cultivate "the internal goods and standards of excellence" of the practice, which requires the "virtues of justice, courage and honesty" (p178), "truthfulness and trust" and "perhaps some others" (p179). For him, a practice cannot produce internal goods unless its practitioners exercise their virtues. Chan (2009) links virtues with emotions by demonstrating how teachers with the "strengths" of wisdom/knowledge, courage, humanity, justice, temperance and transcendence (p808), which "connected them to higher meanings in educating and serving students" (p874) also had more

positive emotions and subjective feelings of well-being (p874). There is thus a connection between living up to ethical standards and feeling good about self and teaching.

That makes me wonder whether it is the explicitly prescribed professional norms or the implicit but internalised emotional rules that are more influential on teachers' behaviour? Should professional norms be made more ethically exacting or should institutional norms become more trusting of teachers' emotional rules? Which is the more powerful motivator: mandated professional norms or the desire to live up to emotional rules and feel good about self? I am also left wondering whether, paradoxically, it is precisely because their emotional rules provide them with a higher ethical stance than the mandated professional norms, that teachers can claim the moral high ground and through that gain a sense of professional autonomy from the accountability demands imposed by the department?

Realising that teachers' emotional rules embed ethical standards enables me to bring the findings from chapters 4 and 7 together into one argument. Chapter 4 showed how the internal goods of teaching and assessment are learner growth and achievement, which, when attained, make teachers feel good (happy, satisfied, motivated) about themselves and their work. Chapter 7 showed how the emotional rules about assessment that teachers live by encourage higher ethical standards than the related professional norms, which again, when attained, make teachers feel good. Thus I am making an argument that achieving learner development, having a correct / fair assessment practice and finding ways of engaging learners in making an effort are internal goods of the practice of teaching and assessment. These internal goods might well demand of teachers that they dig into their 'inner power' so as to exercise their 'strengths' and 'virtues', but in return, when attained, they reward teachers with the 'symbolic medium' of positive emotions and feeling good about themselves.

This is a very different insight compared to my initial enthusiasm about the possibility of becoming able to "disturb, destabilize and subvert these rules" (Zembylas, 2002, p206) so as to "create new emotional rules in a school culture that are less oppressive than the previous ones" (2002, p203). Based on my evidence and argument, I can now say that it is not the emotional rules related to the identity of a teacher that are oppressive and require subverting – on the contrary, those emotional rules are aspirational and uplifting, and, once excavated, could lead to greater dedication. If we want to follow Zembylas' suggestion, we need to turn

our attention to the emotional rules that arise from the identity of an employee, like the 'acquiescence' to institutional authority[213] or even the denial contained in 'there are no emotions involved for me'. These emotional rules belong to a different sense of self and are seldom conducive to teachers' well-being and effectiveness. The evidence I presented in chapter 6 illustrated how institutional norms of efficiency, accountability and other forms of bureaucratic control (and their implied emotional rules of disrespect for teachers) arouse intensely negative emotions in teachers and how, when these negative emotions get intertwined, they lead to alienation and thus a disassociation from the job and the emotions it evokes. In this space of alienation, where the identity of an employee becomes stronger than the identity of a teacher, a different set of emotional rules arises and can become dominant. Exploring the relationship between these different sets of emotional rules is worthy of further study.

It is also an issue of who makes the rules – I have only excavated the rules expressed by teachers and not looked at the pressures they may be defying by expressing these rules. For example, the emotional rules about assessment only being trustworthy when it is done correctly and fairly can be used as an ethical measure for teachers' own assessment practice, but can also be used to defy certain policies or departmental instructions that are considered to be unfair. As this study did not ask directly about teachers' working conditions and teachers' relationship with the department and various superiors, I was not able to excavate a number of emotional rules about being an employee, so I do not have the empirical evidence to explore this line of thinking further.

Concluding my insights into the nature of teachers' emotional rules for assessment in particular and their identity in general, I would argue it is important to recognise the ethical dimension of emotional rules. Emotional rules are not necessarily oppressive and limiting; they can also embody an ideal to live up to. Thus they can potentially enhance teachers' identity and their professional judgement in relation to assessment.

[213] As Hlubi said: "there's no other way that we can do it as teachers, because no, that is the policy" (MG94-H)

9.2.3 Claim 7: The concept of 'Emotional Labour' requires adaptation for professionals

When Hochschild (1983) coined the term 'emotional labour', she used it to point out a previously unnoticed form of exploitation of labour: the emotional work of friendliness demanded of service workers without them receiving any additional payment in return. As analysed in the literature review (section 4), this definition of emotional labour is insufficient for understanding the emotional labour for teachers as professionals. The emotional rules of teachers, as excavated above, require teachers to love their work, to care about the level of achievement of their learners and to be concerned for the emotional well-being of learners, particularly when the efforts of the learners did not show success. Living up to these emotional rules demands "naturally felt emotions" (p339, Diefendorff et al., 2005) or "authenticity" (Zhang and Zhu, 2008, p105), as well as "deep acting", which Zhang and Zhu describe as teachers "faking *in good faith* by trying to experience the emotions they show to their students" (p116) and which Winograd (2003) illustrates through his strategies of increased physical movement, self-exhortation and cognitive reframing (p1656-1660). The emotional labour of teachers involves satisfying this inner drive to live up to the emotional rules and their embedded "ideal teacher image" (Hosotani & Imai-Matsumura, 2011, p1039). Thus emotional labour is an essential, and can be a satisfying, aspect of a teachers' work.

Thanks to Theodosius' (2008) recruitment of Archer's (2000) concept of an "internal dialogue / conversation" it becomes possible to re-describe the emotional labour of professionals. The internal conversation is initiated by emotions that emerge from the inevitable conflict between the concerns of the natural, practical and social orders, i.e. the tensions we experience between our desire for physical well-being, performative achievement and a sense of self-worth (p199). For teachers, the main conflicts are within and between the practical and social orders, unless they get exhausted and burnt out, in which case the natural order also stakes its claim. The process for resolution involves (in a simplified form) emotionally and cognitively discerning the conflict, deliberating on the various priorities and arriving at a dedication for a preferred course of action (Archer, 2000, p230-241).

Re-describing chapters 5, 6 and 7 in these terms, there are different orders of emotional labour. The teachers were emotionally labouring with their performance in the practical order when they had to force themselves to get started with marking or administrative tasks,

when they worried about whether they were marking fairly or giving feedback in constructive ways, or when they grappled with the language difficulties of their learners. They were emotionally labouring in the social order when they had to maintain their self-worth in the face of their learners' failure or when reluctantly complying with instructions from department officials. The conflict between the two orders became visible when teachers in the container school did not know whether to comply with the pacing set by the teaching materials (social order) or to take extra time for the explanations and writing practice needed by their learners (practical order). The interviews did not explore the technical detail of these conflicts, so the step by step process of teachers' emotional labour was not made visible. But the intensity of their expressed emotions would have made emotional labour a necessity. Chapter 7 isolated two key assessment issues (giving feedback and dealing with failure) and traced the processes of discernment, deliberation and dedication in the conversation between the teachers, finding that the dedications primarily considered the well-being of learners and led teachers to confirming ethical choices, like taking on additional work to make up for the gaps in learning that children brought from lower grades.

Thus, using an expanded understanding of a professional concept of 'emotional labour' to illuminate the practice of teachers is valuable because it enables the researcher to look at how the 'object' of emotions is emotionally discerned, what professional and ethical issues are drawn into the deliberations, and what kind of dedications are arrived at. Looking at the emotional labour involved with an issue, i.e. how the emotions, together with associated thoughts and beliefs, are deliberated, enables a more complete picture than looking only at the emotions themselves.

9.2.4 Claim 8: Analysing which factors intensify teachers' emotional labour is a powerful way of making visible their professional challenges

Having described teachers' emotions in the data chapters and in response to the first empirical research question above, what I want to do here is reflect on how describing the teachers' emotions and analysing their emotional labour made me aware of the professional challenges that intensify the emotional labour they need to perform, or, differently expressed, point out the deeper issues that give rise to their internal deliberations and require resolution in their dedications. I specifically focus on two key challenges the teachers faced when

deliberating in their emotional labour: the causal attribution that is made for learner achievement, and the vulnerability embedded in the structural tension of living up to their moral purpose of doing assessment fairly while simultaneously meeting the demands of institutional accountability.

9.2.4.1 The challenge of causal attributions for learner achievement

Turners' (2007) insistence that "individuals are constantly making causal attributions as to the sources of various outcomes" (p97) alerted me to looking for the attributions teachers made for the cause of learner achievement. I expected that analysing their causal attributions would provide insight into the pressures they need to emotionally labour their way through in order to do their assessment work in ways that can "enable learners to feel better about themselves" (Emotional rule 16 in Table 8).

I found teachers to be very aware of the multiple causes for learner achievement. Teachers made three main causal attributions for learner achievement - to themselves, to the learners and to the education system. It is interesting to note that most of their causal attributions were internal attributions to self (43), followed by external attributions to learners (37) and then to a variety of factors in the education system (35).

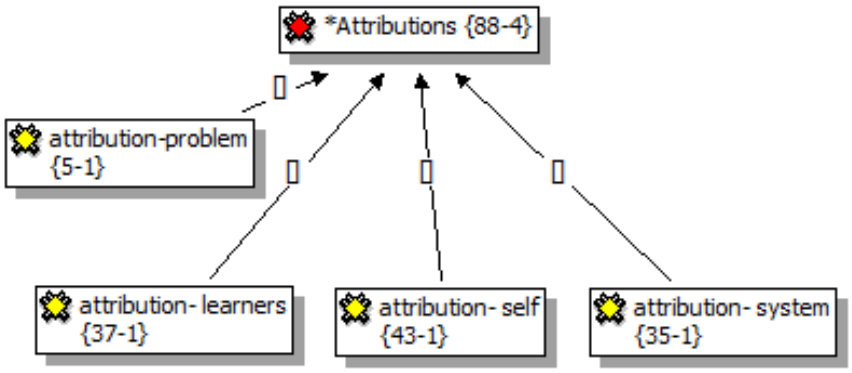


Figure 12: Causal attributions that teachers made for learner achievement[214]

[214] Attribution was coded 120 times, but there are only 88 sections.
The additional 32 codes co-occurred as follows:

- Co-attribution to self and learners: 24.
- Co-attribution to self and system: 3.
- Co-attribution to learners and system: 5.

The distribution of these figures obviously does not describe an absolute relationship, but it does indicate that the committed teachers which my study drew on were clearly taking responsibility for learner achievement. Yet they also had the clarity of mind to know they were working with others and in a context – their causal attributions to learner effort and contextual conditions followed close behind. They saw themselves in the middle, between the learners and the system, trying to care for the learners in a hostile environment. They also understood the difficulties or even unfairness of making an attribution for learner achievement, so at times talked about the problem without actually making an attribution.[215]

Turner (2007) also presents the principle that "positive emotional arousal reveals a proximal bias with individuals making self-attributions" (p99) while "negative emotional arousal evidences a distal bias, with individuals making external attributions" (p100), i.e. there is a tendency for the positive feelings aroused by success to lead people to attributing the cause of success to themselves, while the negative feeling aroused by failure leads people to attribute the cause of failure to others. Since chapter 4 established that positive learner achievement arouses positive emotions while low learner achievement arouses negative emotions in teachers, it becomes interesting to note whether or not the pattern of attribution changes when the achievement being talked about is satisfactory or not. I found that the distribution of learner achievement roughly follows Turner's prediction, but is slanted away from his prediction because the teachers are not avoiding their responsibility for low learner achievement.[216]

Teachers' causal attribution for learner achievement to:	**Learners**	**Self**	**System**	Total
High achievement	1	2	0	3
Low achievement	21	21	28	70
Achievement in general	15	20	7	42
Total	37	43	35	115

Table 9: Causal attributions subdivided into types of learner achievement[217]

[215] See 5 sections coded as attribution-problem, which raised difficulties such as a lack of transparent accountability (RG482), sudden changes in reporting procedures (KG94), school comparisons (SG143), statistical manipulation of national results (DG385-387) and results-based teacher bonuses (DG388-393).
[216] For details about which sections were coded to arrive at these numbers, see Appendix 12.
[217] The total is 115, not 120, as the 5 sections coded as 'attribution-problem' are not included in this table because teachers made multiple attributions without deciding on a specific one.

Teachers were primarily concerned with attributing causes for the low achievement of learners (70), and often attributed causes to learner achievement in general regardless of its outcome (42), yet they seldom made an attribution for high learner achievement (3). The teachers made a majority of self-attributions (43), which is appropriate in terms of their job-description.[218] It is important to note that although they took responsibility for high levels of achievement (2), they took clear responsibility for the level of learners' achievement in general (20) and in no way shirked their responsibility for low achievement (21). Teachers' attributions for low achievement were equally shared between themselves (21) and their learners (21), but in addition, they apportioned a large responsibility for low achievement to the education system and surrounding community context (28) as well.[219] Most of the attributions teachers made to the education system were for low learner achievement (28/35). There was a general sense that the department was not supporting teachers sufficiently and was in fact interfering with teachers' ability to obtain the desired high learner achievement. That does not mean that teachers gave up their own sense of efficacy and responsibility for learners' achievement – teachers from all the schools made self-attributions for low learner achievement and there was no discernible pattern across socio-economic levels. But it does mean that, as education is a collective enterprise, teachers felt they needed partners with whom to share the effort and responsibility: learners who make an effort, an education department that puts in place supportive policies and administrative structures, collegial collaboration and supportive parents/communities.

So what does this focus on the attribution for learner achievement mean for the emotional labour of teachers? As described in Chapter 4, teachers feel upbeat and re-motivated when their learners achieve, distraught and de-motivated when they don't. Turner (2010) shows how positive emotions are a "symbolic medium" (p173) like money and power – something that teachers, as much as other people, aspire to having, both for its intrinsic and its exchange

[218] Nevertheless, teachers balked at taking full responsibility for learners who did not hand in their work; as described in Chapter 4, and the emotional rules in Chapter 7, they expected learners to make an effort.

[219] Issues included in the sections that made external attributions to the system:

- policy issues (PG43, PG74, RG208-210, RG236, RG246-250, RG 443-445, RG544-566, CG26, KG24-29, KG137, SG89, MG67, MG71, MG73, MG80, MG94 MG110, MG112-118, MG124-128)
- administrative assessment demands of the department interfering with teaching (PG17, PG25, PG39, RG251, RG287-299, PG300-306, DG483, MG88-91, MG106)
- learners' language diversity (PG8, PG14, PG45, SG2, KG78)
- class sizes (KG80-85, MG106)
- colleagues lower in the system (RG201, KG70, KG86, DG391-V)
- parents (KG88-90, KG97)
- generally overwhelming low socio-economic conditions (KG68-72, KG73-78, SG2, MG67)

value. Positive emotions provide emotional and life energy, and, because people pick emotions up from each other through a process of "emotional entrainment" (Turner, 2007, p32, p107), teachers with more positive emotions are more likely to have positive interactions with learners and colleagues, can thus gain increasing emotional energy and, through that, are more likely to experience the success of high learner achievement, which in turn continues the positive cycle. In contrast, when teachers experience negative emotions because of learners' low achievement, they lose emotional energy, have less emotional symbolic media to exchange and a negative cycle ensues.

When this process is linked with causal attribution, the result is intensification. When teachers receive the positive emotions and energy of their learners' success and at the same time they make a self-attribution for that success, then they feel doubly good. Turner (2007, p99) calls this the 'proximal bias' of positive attributions. In the space of this positive emotional intensification, it becomes easy to make additional external attributions to learners for their effort, colleagues and parents for their support and even the education department for its guidance. In fact, these positive external attributions entrain others and generate more positive emotions to go around. But when teachers are faced with the negative emotions and loss of energy coming from their learners' failure, the nature and direction of their attribution really matters. If teachers make a self-attribution for low achievement, then they feel doubly bad – not only do they have to deal with their naturally felt negative emotional response to failure; they also have to deal with the self-recriminations about having caused that failure through their own incompetence or lack of effort. If they make an external attribution, then they still feel bad about the failure, but at least they don't have to feel guilt and shame about themselves as well. It also matters to whom the external attribution is directed – if it is directed towards learners, with whom teachers are in daily contact, the negative attribution can cause their relationship to sour, making the teaching an unpleasant experience, generating even more negative emotions. If the external attribution is directed towards the 'system' – department officials and parents who are only seldom seen, or, even better, policy documents or unknown policy makers who cannot fight back, then the negative feelings don't go so deep and personal. Turner (2007, p100) calls this the 'distal bias' of negative attributions. So from this theory, one would expect teachers (like other humans) to make primarily self-attributions and additional external attributions for learner success, while making primarily external attributions for learner failure, first to the system and then to the learners, with only a small margin of self-attribution.

At first glance, the figures above support Turner's theory. There is the distal bias of a high external attribution to the system for low learner achievement, followed by attribution to learners. There is not much causal attribution for high achievement, but the little there is shows the proximal bias of a self-attribution. But what goes against the trend predicted by Turner is the high self-attribution not only for learner achievement in general, but also for low learner achievement in particular. Contrary to the general trend for humans to refuse to accept the double dose of negative feeling from failure and from responsibility for that failure, these committed teachers are taking their responsibility for the failure of learners seriously. The responsibility for learner achievement, whether positive or negative, is embedded in their teacher identity. This resonates with Reyna and Weiner's (2001) study where teachers, more frequently than college students, responded to student failure with utilitarian goals.

What this means is that teachers inevitably need to do intense deliberation and constant re-dedication so as to overcome the energy loss of their doubly negative emotions when learners fail. The more they do what is correct for their teacher identity, which is to take responsibility for the achievement of their learners, the more they will take responsibility for learner failure, which gets them a double dose of negative emotion and requires emotional labour to recover.

Next, I want to illustrate the intensified emotional labour of teachers caught in a vulnerable structural position of inevitable tension between their moral purposes and their accountability to institutional structures.

9.2.4.2 The challenge of structural vulnerability, i.e. of working in the tension between moral purpose and institutional accountability

In this section I want to present and illustrate the argument that teacher's emotional labour is intensified by the struggle to maintain their professional and ethical ideals regarding assessment in a context of institutional micro-politics that emphasises accountability and unequal power relations. As Nias already argued in 1996, "teachers' feelings become an index of their capacity to achieve the workplace conditions which they feel to be necessary for good job performance. In this sense, they are inseparable from issues of power" (p303/4).

As I illustrated in claim 3, the teachers' emotions were aroused (and required the emotional labour process of discernment, deliberation and dedication) by assessment issues that challenged them to remain true to the integrity of their purpose as a teacher in spite of the accountability context in which they work.

The personal/ethical and political aspects of teachers' work are generally researched separately, through the academic distinction between philosophy of education and school management, for example.[220] I too made that distinction in the way I coded my data. As described in chapter 6, the teachers were caught in a political relationship with administrative policies and department officials that left them alienated and demoralised about their work and profession, while in chapter 7, the same teachers were shown to have high ethical expectations of themselves through the emotional rules of 'doing something of value for learners' and taking the responsibility for fair assessment seriously. Yet emotions can move across that distinction – as Nussbaum (2001) pointed out by emphasising that background emotions have a strong shaping influence on the emotions of the moment. Thus, as the panic and anger generated in teachers by administrative demands continue over time, they become background emotions for assessment practice, making teachers less able to commit the time and thoughtfulness required for fair assessment and constructive feedback. In the data chapters, I described these issues separately. Here I want to put them together, using ideas from MacIntyre (1982), Kelchtermans (1996) and Santoro (2011).

I used MacIntyre's (1982) conception of a practice at the beginning of my thesis (section 1.3.2) to make the claim that assessment speaks to both the internal goods (satisfaction) and the external goods (high marks) of the practice of teaching. I now return to this conception from the perspective of the tension between the internal goods that arise from striving for excellence in a practice and the external goods that are distributed through the institutional structures of the practice. What this study has shown is that for the teachers a most desirable internal good of the practice of teaching /assessment (i.e. of enabling learner achievement) is positive learner development and achievement, while the external goods of respect and recognition (and salary) are also important. MacIntyre emphasises that for the internal goods of a practice to be maintained, practitioners need to exercise virtues:

[220] After writing this, I noticed that Kelchtermans (2005) has made the same point, arguing that "the individual and organizational approaches on educational change are still largely uninformed by each other" (p1003).

> The ability of a practice to retain its integrity will depend on the way in which the virtues can be and are exercised in sustaining the institutional forms which are the social bearers of the practice (p182).

MacIntyre thus makes explicit how practices, and the institutional structures that maintain them, can lose their integrity and their internal goods if people in the practice do not, or cannot, place high ethical demands on themselves by striving for excellence whilst exercising virtues like courage, honesty and justice.

Kelchtermans (1996) exposes the vulnerability of teachers as arising from their structural position between carrying responsibilities for learners' development on the one hand and being accountable to their superiors in the education system on the other. He maintains that "vulnerability for teachers always has political *and* moral roots" (p314, emphasis added) and presents case studies illustrating the distress that arises when internally satisfying working conditions come under threat. The structural position of having authority over learners and yet being sub-ordinate in the education system can often make teachers feel like their "professional identity and moral integrity, as part of being a 'proper teacher', are questioned and that valued workplace conditions are thereby threatened or lost" (p319), with the resultant need for teachers to explain and defend their moral integrity. Other studies (Hargreaves 2001a, Winograd 2003, Dunning et al 2005, Gao 2006) also expose this structural tension.

Santoro (2011)[221] illustrates the plight of teachers when the 'virtues' of the institutional frame and the individual teachers no longer coincide. She argues that educational policies in the USA often prevent teachers, particularly teachers in low socio-economic contexts, from accessing the internal goods of the practice of teaching. When teachers feel they can no longer do good work with learners, or teach in ways they consider to be 'right', or enable learner achievement, their internal sense of vulnerability grows too strong and they become demoralised.

> Demoralization indicates an inability to access the moral rewards of teaching; it can lead to feeling depressed, discouraged, shameful and hopeless (p19).

Santoro thus makes explicit that the moral rewards of teaching, like the satisfaction gained from doing something of value for learners, are the internal goods of the practice which keep

[221] Santoro (2011) referenced both MacIntyre and Kelchtermans in her article.

teachers going in their job. When teachers lose access to these internal goods because they are dealing with consistent failure or feeling too demeaned, they might stay around for a while longer because of the external goods in the form of a salary, but the intrinsic motivation to do the work is lost and alienation sets in.

These concepts – the exercise of virtues (in my language, educational ideals), the vulnerability of teachers generated by moral and political tensions and the need for teachers to have access to the moral rewards / internal goods of their practice – together explain the key source of emotional labour for teachers, namely, their structural position of vulnerability. The vulnerability arises from the tension between the high ethical standards of being a caring and knowledgeable teacher on the one hand and being an employee in a subordinate position on the other. I kept on thinking that it is not a necessary constitutive tension in the identity of a teacher, but a contextually determined one – yet Kelchtermans says it is a structural vulnerability, which makes it constitutive of being a teacher. Ideally, it should be possible for a teacher to live up to the ethically demanding emotional rules of caring for learners, being enthusiastic about the subject knowledge, assessing fairly and managing one's emotions for the benefit of learners and at the same time be a socially respected employee. But in the lives of the teachers in this study, that was not the case. So, in my desire to understand more analytically where the committed teachers I had interviewed stood on the vulnerability scale, I went back to coding the data one more time, looking for whether the structural position of vulnerability that the teachers experienced enabled them access to the internal goods of the practice or not. [222]

[222] See Appendix 13 for all the quotes that contributed to the portrait table and descriptions.

Portrait of teachers who feel they have access to the internal goods of the practice / moral rewards of teaching	**Portrait of teachers who feel they have little or no access to the internal goods of the practice / moral rewards of teaching**
They have and live out an ideal (a moral purpose): Being a teacher means being motivated by love and care for children and wanting the community to develop	**They lose their sense of having a moral purpose /an ideal to sacrifice for:** Because 'all the other stuff just makes it impossible to teach', their love of teaching is destroyed, they feel disappointed and they wonder why they still do it. They give up, feeling useless, small, discouraged and demotivated.
They sacrifice for the ideal: Being a teacher means being prepared to do huge amounts of work, to give up leisure time and to give of self in order to do the necessary work of enabling learner achievement.	**They lose their faith in learners' effort:** They perceive that learners are totally lazy, don't care about failing, are not held accountable, thus making performance meaningless.
They do their work with an open heart and mind: Being a teacher means marking fairly / doing justice / being fair, regardless of how difficult it is and remaining curious about what learners have done in response to a question.	**They experience deep insecurity about how to do their work:** They worry about the quality of their teaching, as a lot of effort brings no positive result. They struggle to make sense of the many assessment rules, especially since assessment techniques that used to work well are now no longer allowed and they feel that the rules are 'brewing disaster'. They also feel pressurised to pass learners regardless of lack of achievement.
They live on an emotional rollercoaster: Being a teacher means feeling satisfied, reaffirmed in self and motivated or disappointed, pained and worried depending on the quality of learners' achievement. It means accepting that teaching is an emotional job.	**They experience their working conditions as too stressful:** It's a huge stress to get the job done at school; they feel like they are drowning in problems, with no time to breathe and they end up not knowing what to do. They feel enslaved by panic accountability.
They are open to learning: Being a teacher means being open to learning from the HOD, colleagues and learners whilst living with the insecurity of constant trial and error.	**They stop learning and risking:** They avoid learning opportunities that could grow them because they just want to survive the day. They give up and stop expecting so they cannot be disappointed. They comply with what the authorities say.
	There is a relationship breakdown between teachers and the education department: Teachers see bureaucratic demands as detractors which destroy their 'real' work. They feel unvalued, unsupported and undermined by the department officials.

Table 10: Contrasting portraits of times when teachers feel they have access to the internal goods / moral rewards of teaching, compared to when they do not

In the first portrait, the teachers are in moral integrity with their identity, are living up to the emotional rules that embody their educational ideals, have the courage to learn and experiment and feel institutionally recognised. In moments when they have access to the internal goods of teaching and assessment, they endorse their choice of profession and strive for clarity and improvement in their practice in a way that is in integrity with their ethical purpose as a teacher who wants learners to achieve. The collective portrait shows teachers inspired by moral purposes like doing something for the community, helping children, and enabling the achievement of weaker learners. In living their ideal, they enjoy and find satisfying the interaction with young people. They are prepared to sacrifice for their ideal by giving up their leisure time to do huge amounts of work, going the extra mile to give learners what they need, and giving of themselves to the children. When doing assessment work, the teachers open their hearts and minds to remain curious and reflective about their learners' work, so they can mark fairly. They also strive to improve their practice, by questioning themselves, collaborating with colleagues, exploring new methods while valuing the existing ones. They accept that it is ok to live in an emotional balancing act – feeling re-affirmed and intrinsically motivated when learners do well, worried and pained when learners fail. In addition, they remain life-long learners, willing to continuously learn from learners, colleagues, heads of department, education department officials, policies and workshops, as well as making changes at deep levels of self in an insecure, trial-and-error world. Their emotions (both positive and negative) are aroused by the challenges and successes on their way to achieving goals of learner growth and development that are morally important to them, making the sacrifices worth it. In summary, the teachers are living on an emotional roller coaster while attaining their moral rewards through striving towards their moral purposes. It is this experience of struggling for and achieving a worthwhile moral purpose that lies at the centre of a teachers' structural vulnerability.

Yet that purpose is often elusive and not easy to achieve. The second portrait captures the many moments when the teachers lose their sense of having an ideal and feel their love of teaching being destroyed. They feel disappointed, useless, discouraged and demotivated when they receive no recognition, are doing something that does not make sense, are losing their focus on teaching and cannot save their learners from failure. Even worse, they lose their faith in learners' desire to make an effort - they perceive learners as not being invested in achievement, not being accountable, not following test instructions, not giving their co-operation and being totally lazy, mainly because learners know they would not be disciplined

for their lack of effort and would still be promoted. In those moments, the teachers also lose their sense of being capable professionals, experiencing deep insecurity and a sense of failure about how to enable learner achievement. This is related to their struggles with prescribed departmental policies and rules for assessment, which are often seen as arbitrary, not making sense or not valid, to the extent of 'brewing disaster'. The most undermining assessment practice is the department's insistence that learners pass to the next grade regardless of their lack of achievement. The teachers are infuriated by the worthless bureaucratic demands that distract them from their 'real' work, experiencing accountability as something which kills teachers, drives them crazy, encourages them to become deceitful and destroys the job. They feel betrayed by an education department who places no value on teachers as educated professionals but cares only about bureaucratic compliance and having power. The result is that teachers experience their jobs as too stressful and go into survival mode – no new learning, no seeing things from the perspective of the learners and avoiding disappointment by lowering their expectations. At those times they live in morass of dark emotions aroused by issues outside of and detracting from their moral purposes.

These two portraits come from an analysis of the same teachers, so in real life the teachers I worked with are still swinging back and forth between the two positions. There are times when the teachers are proud of sacrificing their time and energy for their ideals, put energy into quality and fair assessment work and accept living on an emotional rollercoaster, but other times when they feel hopeless about their learners, insecure about their own ability and breathless with stress. This emotional see saw is a feature of all lives, but the distressing finding in this study is the balance between these moments in the lives of committed and professional teachers. Of the 146 sections coded as structural vulnerability, only 46 showed the teachers expressing their pleasure in, desire for and reflection on how best to achieve learner growth and development - compared to 100 sections in which they expressed the anxiety of not achieving their purposes and the insecurity of not knowing what to do about that. The experience of not having access to the moral rewards of teaching and assessment is expressed far more frequently and the teachers' overall experience is leaning in the direction of increasingly less access.

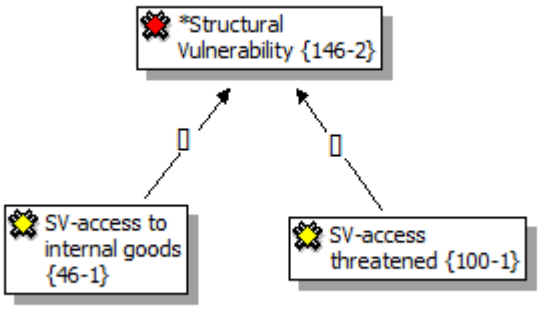


Figure 13: Number of statements that indicated teachers' access (or lack of it) to the internal goods of the practice of enabling learner achievement

In summary, teachers can lose their self-confidence and moral purposes in the welter of negative emotions aroused by institutional and political interference. It is this experience of being deprived of positive emotions and moral reward by a system that is weighted against them that makes teachers feel eroded away and unable to continue with the work. To continue working, teachers need to labour emotionally to maintain their commitment to good teaching and fair assessment in spite of, and even in opposition to, the policies and accountability pressures imposed by the department. The more committed they are to their moral purpose / professional responsibility of enabling learner achievement, the more they will need to engage in emotional labour when institutional accountability demands interfere and vie for their attention.

I offer these two collective portraits of the teachers, (and the patterns of teacher attributions for learner achievement above) as evidence for justifying claim 8, namely, that analysing the issues that intensify the emotional labour of teachers is a powerful way of making visible their professional challenges. By holding a spotlight on which issues intensify emotional labour, the tensions that concern teachers become visible in a new way and become available for re-analysis. Turner, Kelchtermans, MacIntyre and Santoro provided me with the concepts for re-analysis, but it was the concept of emotional labour that first alerted me to paying attention to the processes of emotions around workplace issues.

9.3 In summary: What has been learned about assessment from understanding it as an emotional practice?

I started this research by wondering what could be learned about assessment through taking the emotions of teachers seriously. I ended the research journey with the above 8 claims about teachers' relationship with assessment. Together, these claims and insights give teachers' emotions towards assessment a central place in the national project of enabling learner achievement while illustrating how teachers' emotions are a valid object of research.

Claims 1 and 5[223] are descriptive. Claim 1 specifies the key assessment 'objects' that the emotions of committed teachers are primarily concerned with, namely their educational professional ideals, their assessment practice and the accountability demands of the education department. Claim 5 presents and compares the emotional rules that shape teachers' emotions in relation to their ideals and conduct regarding assessment practice (e.g. "Assessment processes must be fair and correct before they deserve teachers' trust", or "the elation of success and shame of failure need to be appropriately deserved") and also in relation to their identity and the required emotion management. Describing which issues teachers have strong feelings about and what emotional logic guides these feelings is the beginning of insight. Claims 2, 3 and 6[224] are analytical, making connections between teachers' emotions towards assessment and their professional identity. Claim 2 emphasises the necessity of positive emotions as part of the assessment roller coaster in order for teachers to retain their motivation for continued effort. Claim 3 highlights the tension teachers are caught in between different ways of attaining self-worth: engaging in correct and fair assessment in the practical order or complying with accountability demands in the social order. Claim 6 points to the high ethical standards that teachers expect of themselves through their implicit emotional rules, e.g. that teachers have responsibilities for learners (they need to 'love', 'show enthusiasm' and 'do something of value' for learners); that teachers need to work for the learners' benefit (assessment of learners needs to be fair and done correctly, learners need to be supported to 'feel better about themselves' and learners' 'efforts' must be

[223] Claim 1: The three key 'objects' of assessment that emotions of teachers are directed towards are their professional ideals, their assessment practice and the accountability demands of the education department. Claim 5: Emotional rules can be excavated and become a site of insight.

[224] Claim 2: Assessment is an emotional practice that lies at the centre of teachers' professional identity. Claim 3: As seen through the lens of teachers' emotions, their assessment practice is torn between the demands of the practical and the social order. Claim 6: The emotional rules of teachers are ethically demanding.

treated with 'respect'). The tensions exposed in these claims - between positive and negative emotions, between fair assessment practice and complying with accountability demands, or between making and not making the effort required to live up to emotional rules that contain high ethical demands - all take their toll on teachers' "inner power" (Kwo and Intrator, 2004). Claim 7[225] is methodological: it argues for an expanded conception of emotional labour when researching professionals, so that the researcher can begin to see how the 'object' of emotions is emotionally discerned, what professional and ethical issues are drawn into the deliberations, and what kind of dedications are arrived at.

Claims 4 and 8[226] contain the key research insights provided by this study. Claim 4 schematically presents the structural position of teachers' emotions as constituting an inevitable filter through which all efforts at achieving the national project of high learner achievement pass. Understanding that teachers' emotions occupy this strategic position makes it possible to argue that teachers' emotions towards assessment and accountability have the power to enhance or destabilise learner achievement and thus are a valuable object of exploration for educational research, policy and practice. Claim 8 makes the methodological point that analysing the factors that generate intensified emotional labour for teachers provides useful insights into their professional challenges regarding assessment and proceeds to illustrate this with two examples – teachers' causal attributions for learner success and failure, and the structurally vulnerable position of teachers in between the needs of learners and the demands of educational authorities. These examples illustrate that although the teachers in this study took responsibility for the achievement of their learners and made the effort to fulfil their moral purposes of caring for children and doing assessment in fair and just ways, they were only too frequently distracted from their real work and were feeling unvalued, unsupported and undermined.

[225] Claim 7: The concept of 'Emotional Labour' requires adaptation for professionals.

[226] Claim 4: Teachers' emotions are an inevitable and influential structural aspect of the national project of enabling high learner achievement.

Claim 8: Analysing what factors intensify the emotional labour of teachers is a powerful way of making visible their professional challenges

- The challenge of causal attributions for learner achievement.
- The challenge of structural vulnerability, i.e. of working in the tension between moral purpose and institutional accountability.

Chapter 10: Reflections on the significance and implications of this study

This concluding chapter contains three sections. First I reflect on the significance of the research findings for practice. Given that I am a teacher educator, this section uses my voice quite strongly. Then I shift into the mode of researcher and reflect on the methodology of using 'emotion' as a lens for enquiry and the conceptual contribution this study makes. Thirdly, I reflect on the limitations of this study as well as the new possibilities for research that it makes available.

10.1 Reflecting on the significance of the findings for educational practice

Reflecting on the claims in chapter 9, it appears to me that through this study I have learned more about the relationship between teachers and assessment than about assessment per se. I set out to see what could be learned about assessment by taking the emotions of teachers seriously and I ended up learning about the joys and struggles of committed teachers in their assessment work. I can understand this shift by looking back at Nussbaum's definition of emotions. Emotions arise in people as an evaluation of how an 'object' (event, situation, person, thing, idea, etc.) contributes to the person's flourishing. Emotions are thus expressions of the perspective of the person about how the 'object' enhances (or not) the person's well-being and the nature of the relationship between the person and the 'object'. The evidence provided by this study illustrates how teacher's emotions towards and relationship with assessment and the accountability context that surrounds it [227] are multifaceted, complex and change as the institutional context for assessment practice changes. Researching the emotions, emotional rules and emotional labour of teachers thus provided me with a productive lens for seeing the dynamics of the teacher – assessment relationship.

At times I wonder whether I have painted only a 'common sense' picture of committed teachers. Reflecting on the data I have presented, it feels obvious that teachers who are

[227] See Sections 2.3.3 - 2.3.5

committed to their job are happy when their learners achieve well and unhappy when they don't (Ch. 4), that teachers get insecure and doubt themselves when their learners do not achieve (Ch. 4), that marking is difficult because of its high volume and constant requirement for fair decision-making (Ch. 5), that giving feedback is a more complex activity than marking because the teacher has to engage with the emotional consequences for learners as well as the intellectual consequences of needing to provide remediation for learners who have only partially understood what was taught (Ch. 5), that panic arises when administrative demands encroach on teaching and preparation time (Ch. 6), that teachers get angry when they are patronised and micro-managed by department officials, get fearful when they are threatened by district officials and get alienated when they are demeaned and undermined (Ch. 6). It also feels self-evident that committed teachers have ethical ideals for their profession and assessment work, which can be an emotional struggle to live up to (Ch. 7). When empathising with teachers, it becomes obvious that teachers with learners who for socio-economic or other reasons require more time to achieve national standards will experience more desperation and less efficacy, more fear and less satisfaction when their learners' results are measured against national standards, compared to teachers with more able learners (Ch. 7). And keeping ones dark emotions in check, rather than taking them into account, is a general professional norm related to the expectation of objectivity (Ch. 8). But then I remind myself that if this were a 'common sense' picture, then these insights would be used in the practice and policy making of education – which they are not.

The insights into the relationship of teachers and assessment that I will most take away with me are the many internal struggles of committed teachers: between wanting learners to succeed and accepting responsibility when they do not; when striving to mark fairly within a limited time; when agonising over whether or not and how to give feedback; when struggling to regain self-esteem after the department officials have found fault with administrative issues; when losing the benchmarks for what failure, and thus success, means. It is a complex struggle for teachers to assess (and be assessed) in a context that makes them emotionally interdependent with learners' achievements and structurally dependent on doing it right bureaucratically. Their moral purpose makes them resilient in the face of many difficulties, so they maintain their sense of responsibility and agency in relation to learners and colleagues, but they often feel helpless in relation to the department. Yet this sense of struggle is not the image of teachers and assessment that is conveyed by the media or educational research. The general perception in South Africa is that teachers do not have

enough subject knowledge to teach properly, are lazy and have to be forced to stay at school, collect their salary but run other businesses, abuse children, and increase the marks of the school-based component of assessments so as to make themselves look good. The public 'common sense' is that the results of annual national assessments prove that teachers are not doing it right and do not deserve respect[228] - a perception which adds to the demoralization of committed teachers.

In contrast to public 'common sense', my findings show the committed side of teachers - their ideals of learner development and the joy when their learners succeeded, their self-doubt when learners did not achieve, their frustrations with their own imperfections of not knowing how to reach the children and motivate them to learn and also their panic, anger and alienation in the face of no professional support and active obstruction from their superiors in the department. That does not mean they are perfect teachers – if I had done a pedagogical study and observed them in their classrooms, I might well have seen methods I would not always approve of (in the same way I do not always approve of my own teaching). There is a difference between the ideals that we live by and what we manage to do in the practical order. But the findings of this study (as summarised in the two teacher portraits in section 9.2.4.2) show the moral values, internal satisfactions and intense struggles that make committed teachers both love their work and want to leave it.

In my understanding, there are three key implications for practice that arise from these findings into teachers emotions about assessment. The first implication for practice relates to the integrity of committed teachers.[229] For assessment to be trustworthy, teachers need to continue to make self-attributions for both learner success and failure. My findings show that

[228] On 14th November 2012 I picked up a news banner from 'The Times' that read: "Mamphela: SA's 'sorry excuse for teachers'". When I read the article, the context of Dr Mamphela Ramphele's words had been twisted, as she had been referring only to a particular group of unionised teachers, but the negative message about all teachers had gone out onto the streets anyway. On 9th December 2012, after the latest ANA (Annual National Assessment) results were made public, the 'Sunday Independent' headline read: "Incompetent teachers blamed for poor results". On 20th January 2013 the 'Sunday Independent' proclaimed: "Poor teaching at the heart of education crisis". Van der Berg and Shepherd (2008) conclude their report on the discrepancies between teacher's continuous assessment marks and the external examination marks in Grade 12 by arguing that it is teachers who are responsible for the unreliability of the marks: "It is extremely worrying that differentials between CASS and examination marks appeared not to result in feedback to the following year's CASS marks. Teachers did not appear to be seriously re-evaluating their own assessment standards on the basis of the examination marks, thus the already weak link between CASS marks and curriculum standards remained weak" (p30).

[229] The findings and implications I reflect on here would obviously not apply to teachers who are disinterested in or alienated from their work (which does not exclude the possibility that individuals may cross the line between committed and disinterested in both directions).

the teachers I interviewed still had enough self-confidence to do that. Their pattern of self-attribution for learner achievement showed them taking responsibility for their work and their teacher identity was still strongly tied in with the success and failure of their learners. Emotionally that is a good feedback system when learners, on the whole, have more success than failure, because it spurs teachers on to putting more effort into their teaching. Yet national learner achievement is consistently low, as seen through the results of the Annual National Assessments (ANA 2011 Report), the low position of South Africa on the PIRLS, TIMMS, SACMEC international tests (Fleisch, 2007; Van der Berg and Shepherd, 2008) and the constant media focus on low pass rates. In fact, at least 60% of teachers in South Africa work in schools where failure is endemic (Shalem and Hoadley, 2009). Even when the learners progress as individuals, they still look weak on the annual national assessments. This failure is structurally endemic for a variety of reasons: long-lasting historical and economic inequalities beyond the control of teachers, ineffective teaching and ineffective teacher support from the education department. Yet the media and public debate focusses on what teachers should do to improve the scores and how teachers should be better regulated so that the scores improve, back-grounding the deep connection between poverty and low achievement. For committed teachers this is a humiliating place to be – they work hard, they take responsibility for their learners' results and yet they are the ones who are blamed by the department and public media. This generates a sense of public failure and embarrassment about being a teacher[230] and exacerbates the deep insecurity about their effectiveness.

Maintaining self-attribution for learner failure in a context of endemic national failure and public blame can strain the 'inner power' and demoralise the strongest teacher. As described in Chapter 9, maintaining self-attribution, i.e. taking responsibility, involves teachers in a double dose of negative emotions: resonating with the despondency of failure among their learners and blaming themselves for the situation. When the failure continues over time, and there is no or little support from the department, then what is there to keep teachers going? The source of negative emotion that is easiest to get rid of is taking responsibility for learner achievement - teachers simply follows the bias of all humans to change from self- to other-attribution when their negative emotions around learner failure arise. Nobody would notice, only the teacher who feels a little better when s/he drops the burden. Thus Turner's theory

[230] For example, "Whenever there's a poor result, the national government blames the teachers" (MG106-H) and "I'm almost embarrassed to say I'm a teacher. And that is an awful thing to be" (PG100-L).

(2007) predicts that teachers, when caught in an on-going context of failure and social blame, will shift their position and make external attributions, i.e. blame others rather than themselves for the failure of their learners, because that is the tendency of all humans and because it is the only way they can salvage their self-respect and motivation to continue teaching. But for teachers to let go of that self-attribution can have devastating effects on the whole educational project - it opens the way for teachers to slip into a mode of 'pass one pass all' or 'pushing and polishing' learners into the next grade and to lose the honesty that is necessary for assessment to be valid and fair. It is ironic that the teachers in this study felt it was the education department that was pushing them in this direction.

For teachers not to give up on the self- attribution for learners' achievements (good or bad) requires courage and honesty in their efforts to keep assessment fair and just. It requires courage to remain curious about learners' writing while struggling to make out what they are trying to say, and more courage to fail a learner when the department demands passes. It requires honesty to counteract one's own biases while marking, and more honesty to give criteria and feedback that make the marking process transparent. It requires both honesty and courage from teachers to admit that their learners are failing to learn their subject and to use that insight to go and learn new ways of teaching and assessment. Assessment cannot be trustworthy and fair without ethical teachers who live the virtues not only of justice, but also of honesty and courage. This leaves me with the question: What happens to the emotions and assessment ethics of teachers when, over time, there is no emotional solidarity in the education system and teachers' position of structural vulnerability keeps them torn between responsibility for learners and expected compliance towards the department, which gradually erodes their ethical imperative to make self-attributions for learner achievement?

The next implication is for teacher education. The findings show that teachers are enthused about their work when they gain the satisfaction of learner growth, development and achievement. That is the moral reward of the job, the internal goods of the practice, which generates self-verification of their identity as a teacher and with it the motivation to continue (Ch.4&7). So teacher education needs to strengthen teachers' ability to teach and assess well, not only from a technical/practical but also from an emotional perspective, so that the emotional value of teachers' work as well as the emotional depressions and alienation that teachers can fall into (and need to climb out of) can become better understood.

The third implication is for the "social solidarity" (Turner, 2007, p91) of the national educational project of enabling high learner achievement. The success of the national project is underpinned by the quality of teaching and assessing in classrooms, thus teachers are carrying direct responsibility for the success of a common national project. Successfully carrying out this responsibility requires committed teachers to be in an emotionally positive space, so they can maintain the motivation and energy required to persevere and be resilient in a difficult job. Maintaining this positivity requires, in Turner's (2007) language, more "social solidarity" within the different levels of the education system. Thus, for the national project of enabling high learner achievement to be successful, department officials need to uplift the emotions and self-confidence of teachers by offering more "social solidarity" and support to committed teachers.

For me, the deepest message that came out of my findings is that because teachers carry the responsibility for enabling learner achievement, because their emotions are interdependent with learner achievement, and because their emotional experience of their work shapes their motivation and energy available for enabling learner achievement, they need to be treated with respect and given support by all the surrounding stakeholders in education so they can continue their work with self-respect. Emotionally, the education department and our society have a stark choice: uplift the view of, respect for and support for teachers, or continue the downward slide of learners' achievements. A criterion for analysing policy initiatives should be: will this policy, and the way it is communicated about with teachers, enable teachers to access positive emotions and their moral rewards and thus will this policy support teachers in wanting to work creatively towards learners' achievements? Following Nussbaum (2001), I would argue that the education department has a responsibility to provide teachers with a "facilitating environment … capable of supporting the adult's continued search for health … (and) their efforts to develop their capacities for love and reparation" (p226).[231]

[231] Theresa would agree. In her feedback on chapters 7 and 8 she wrote: "Schools (in particular principals) need to ensure that teachers are happy at school. It should be a place that teachers love coming to, and there need to be processes in place to ensure teachers are happy. In this way there will a lot of positive emotion to counter the negative. Schools also need to be places that the learners enjoy coming to – many of them have totally dysfunctional home lives and school needs to be a structured environment where they feel they can be effective." (See Appendix 7)

10.2 Reflecting on the significance of using 'emotion' as a lens of enquiry for research

What does respect for teachers' emotions mean in relation to research? Going back to the Latin roots of the word *respicere*, it means to look at, pay proper attention to, regard and consider, i.e. being willing to look again, to relook at something that appears to be familiar and obvious. Re-looking requires deep levels of enquiry – which is something offered by using emotion as a methodological lens. Using emotion to enquire into assessment provides a different lens to using, for example, statistics and the quest for efficiency, or beliefs and highlighting different voices. When using emotion as the lens for enquiry, what becomes visible are the motivations, decisions and dilemmas faced by people and the relationships they have with the various 'objects' and issues they are concerned with.

In this study, I constructed the lens of 'emotion' through the use of particular definitions and related concepts that bridged the cognition / emotion divide. I used Nussbaum's (2001) definition of emotions as 'evaluations' of 'objects' (persons, things, events, situations) that are outside of the person's control but important for their flourishing (and thus related to their ideals and goals). This makes emotion a driving motivational factor. During analysis I looked at which emotions were involved, what / who they were aimed at, at what levels of intensity, related to which beliefs and ideals, and what they said about the teachers' flourishing, i.e. what the emotion evaluations told me about the teachers' relationship to the 'object'. I used Turner's (2007, 2010) understanding that emotions are exchanged in institutional encounters and that positive emotions are a desirable symbolic medium, so I started looking for what teachers expect as their 'just share' of positive emotions in an encounter, which blended with MacIntyre's (1982) 'internal goods' and Santoro's (2011) 'moral rewards' i.e. what are the positive emotional rewards that teachers get from assessment and, conversely, what are the negative emotional hits and put downs that demoralise them and who/where do they come from. Turner also alerted me to noticing the emotional impact of encounters and whether or not they increase social solidarity within the institution, while Kelchtermans (1996, 2005) showed me how these encounters place teachers in a structural position of vulnerability. I used the concept of 'emotional rules' (taken from Hochschild, 2003 and Zembylas, 2005) to show how teachers' emotions are not individually random but are shaped by the given professional norms, their professional identity and the responsibility for enabling learner achievement they take on with that identity. I found

(following Winograd, 2003) that emotional rules can make visible the ethical ideals that teachers espouse. I also used an expanded version (thanks to Theodosius, 2008 and Archer, 2000) of Hochschild's concept of 'emotional labour' to explore how teachers discerned what the problems and dilemmas were, which ideas they recruited for their deliberations and what, if any, dedication they arrived at. I found that analysing emotional labour can make visible the power relations that teachers are operating within.

Through this theoretical and empirical work, I created a conceptual framework for researching teachers' emotions towards assessment. The articles that dealt specifically with teachers' emotions in relation to assessment (Stough & Emmer, 1998; Reyna & Weiner, 2001; Smith, 1991; Falk & Drayton, 2004) and accountability (Hargreaves, 2004; Jeffrey & Woods, 1996; Mahony, et al., 2004; Kornfeld, et al., 2007; Ball, 2003) were concerned with teachers' emotions in as far as they illuminated the issues under consideration, without seeking to generate a conceptual frame for researching teachers' emotions into assessment. Yet the conceptual tools enlisted above, namely, of analysing emotions in relation to an 'object', of understanding positive emotions as a desirable symbolic medium in exchanges between people, of emotional rules and emotional labour, gave me a language through which I could begin to describe the complex fluidity of inter-relationships that make assessment such an emotional practice for teachers, enabling me to respectfully consider and re-look at different facets of the assessment-teacher relationship. I hope this can become a valuable conceptual and methodological resource for use in future research into teachers' work.

A finding that I have not seen anywhere else in the field of teacher emotions is my excavation of emotional rules in relation to assessment, by working with the professional norms that govern the practice and paying close attention to both teachers' beliefs and their emotions. This could be the beginning of excavating emotional rules for assessment in other contexts, so as to compare and deepen the insights. I trust this is a useful contribution to a nascent focus on teachers' emotions in relation to assessment and to the developing field of teacher emotions in general.

Empirically, there are several advantages of constructing interview schedules that ask teachers not only about their experiences, beliefs and perceptions, but also specifically about their emotions. When teachers express and name emotions, it enables the researcher to gain insight into the nature of the relationships in the situation. In addition, when researchers ask

about emotions, teachers feel they have been given permission to speak not only from the head but also from the heart, so the interview situation feels less 'official' and thus less in need of a mask, allowing teachers to say things that normally they might say only to trusted colleagues or friends and family. This more open talk stimulates the flow of ideas, enables reflection and allows the integration of new ideas during the interview, which enriches the data. Analysing these in-depth interviews is more complex but, because it allows more insight into the identity of being a teacher, more rewarding.

When I embarked on this research project I was moving out into new academic territory and was delighted to discover a growing focus on emotions in education, and teachers' emotions in particular, during the last 20 years or so. As mentioned before, I was fascinated by Hargreaves' accounts of teachers' guilt, their emotional responses to educational reform, their use of students as an emotional filter for evaluation of proposed change and other aspects of teachers' work. I was intrigued by Zembylas' insistence on the liberatory potential of resisting certain emotional rules and I deeply resonated with Louis' call for institutional trust. It made me feel part of an avant garde in education, championing a focus on the ignored significance of teachers' emotions in education. I also came across "old" books[232] which indicated how the study of teachers' emotions has had a steady, if non-central, research presence. During the research, I got lost in the emotions I was describing, often overwhelmed by the extent of teachers' frustration, anxiety and struggle. By the time I reached the end of the data analysis journey, I noticed that Hargreaves had moved on to other areas of research, Zembylas was using his understanding of emotions in a range of fields and that the latest articles on teachers' emotions were coming out of Japan and China, from teaching academics like me, who were describing the emotional pains and joys of teachers, tentatively isolating the possible rules and telling the stories of emotional labour. I started worrying that educational research with a focus on emotions might not be that insightful, as it had enabled me to paint a picture of the teachers' emotions and recognise the factors that might enable or block productive assessment, but did not have much to say about the technicalities of how to change the situation or design assessment structures that do not generate as much pain.

[232] For example, Ekstein & Motto 1969, Salzberger-Wittenberg et al, 1983, Batcher, 1981)

Yet actually, a description of teachers' emotions in assessment and an illustration of the factors that generate their negative emotions is an important beginning. Emotions are a complex area to research, because they sit at the foundation and centre of each person's inner world, giving indications of and expression to their thoughts, beliefs, ethics, personal history, desires and goals in relation to various significant others, institutions, physical realities, forces and possibilities in the natural, practical and social worlds. Describing emotions in the multifaceted way I have outlined above can begin illuminating the complex interrelationships between people and their world.[233] Maybe research into teachers' emotions does not yet need to make recommendations for changes in assessment practice - a careful capturing of the issues is in itself valuable.

I have noticed an interesting phenomenon about emotions in research. Either, like in my study, they are the centre of the field of vision, or they side-lined to such an extent that they get forgotten, or even ridiculed as negligible. Somehow, when the intellect and the many differentiations it creates come to the fore, then emotions and the values they embody recede into the background. An insight into how this works came to me when reading Martin and Rose's (2003) book on Discourse Analysis. It was the structure of their book that carried the message that emotions are foundational but then get forgotten in the welter of technical accomplishment. Martin and Rose ordered the discourse analysis process by arranging their chapters as follows. They start with analysing the appraisals, attitudes, feelings of an experience / event / declaration or whatever the text is about. The second step is to analyse the main ideas and content of the experience or text, i.e. the factual details of who/what/how/when. The next chapter shows how to analyse the conjunctions, i.e. the connections and relationships between people, things, events and ideas, followed by a chapter on identifying how all of the above are kept track of over time. After that, the discourse analysis leaves the description of the 'real' world and moves on to 3 chapters on how the discourse is organised for the reader: how the flow of information is presented, how the text is structured and what genre is used.

[233] Of course, what I have done does not go deep enough. Emotions are the ultimate in fluid relatedness because they are cognitive yet have a neurological and chemical base, are both conscious and sub-conscious phenomena, are both a cause and a result of action, are both the filters through which we experience the world and our response to what we experience. Trying to capture the significance and impact of emotions is like trying to fulfil the Faustian quest of wanting to understand what holds the world together in its essence. I am nowhere near being able to do it. Nevertheless, in order to gain a better understanding of complex and socially important practices like teaching and assessment, there needs to be at least an attempt at capturing and considering the emotional.

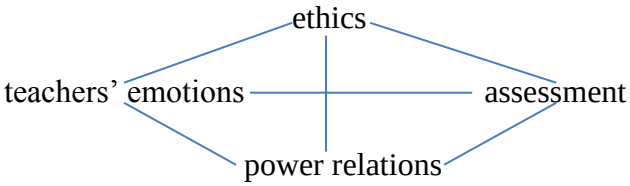
So what happens in this structure for a discourse analysis is that emotion sits at the beginning, as the foundation for all else – but after the first chapter it gets forgotten in the technicalities of increasingly abstract levels of analysis. This places the analysis of emotions simultaneously at the beginning of a process and at the bottom of a hierarchical pile. For me, the structure of Martin and Rose's book became an analogy for the place of emotion in educational research: although emotions are fundamental to everything that happens in education, this foundation has long been lost from sight by the time that the results of statistical research are used to generate educational policies. I suggest that once the field of teacher emotions is fully established and the insights it presents are integrated into the academic understanding of teachers' work, it might be more appropriate for emotions to be integrated into the fabric of all educational research so that facts and figures, thoughts and beliefs, perceptions and emotions all have their place in the mosaic of the issue under investigation.

10.3 Reflecting on the limitations of this research and the doors it opens for future research possibilities

One limitation is the small sample of teachers for this study: 19 teachers are not many. Yet, given that I worked with their words in great detail, blending their voices while including their differences, I doubt I could have coped with much more data. The small sample enabled me to construct an in-depth description and analysis without being swamped by scope. I think the findings extracted from these 19 teachers provide a useful prism through which to see other teachers, for two reasons. Firstly, assessment is a core practice in that it embodies the outcomes of teaching and involves all teachers. Because assessment is core, it may be possible for some of the insights to have relevance for assessment in other contexts or other aspects of teaching. Secondly, studying the emotions of teachers who are committed to their job gives insight into what it means to be a teacher and furthers understanding about the dilemmas at the core of their identity.

Another limitation may be the way I worked with theory. I made a decision to incorporate and blend concepts from several theorists,[234] using their concepts as tools to present a clear and nuanced perspective on the relationship between teachers and assessment as seen through the lens of teachers' emotions. I was not interested in arguing with aspects of their theory that I disagreed with, but was only concerned to build a conceptual frame that served to illuminate my purpose. I was not afraid of disagreeing with or pointing out the limitations of ideas, (see particularly section 2.4 on emotional rules and labour), but it is an emotional preference for me to focus on what I am building rather than to argue with what others have built. Nevertheless, I trust that what I have built is a coherent conceptual frame and argument.

I now think that a key limitation of this study is that the conceptual frame I created is too limited. But that only became clearer to me towards the end of the research journey, when it was too late for me to start again. The limitation is that I did not pay enough attention to the relationship between emotions and ethics on the one hand (as Nussbaum does) and power relations on the other (as Turner does). I tried to show the tensions descriptively in the data chapters and I drew them out in the analysis chapter, but they remained implied for most of the time. Thus, a conceptual puzzle that I recognised but was unable to take apart and reconfigure in an insightful way is the relationship between



This study has explored the teachers' emotions – assessment connection and has only touched on ethics and power relations when analysing the emotional rules and labour of teachers. There are many situations which contain a tension between ethical ideals and power, like the relationship between professional norms and emotional rules, the different emotional rules for the identity of a teacher compared to the identity of an employee, the struggle for what it means to be fair and have fair assessment processes, the pattern of attribution for learner failure, or the struggle to maintain access to the internal rewards of learner achievement. Teachers' emotions are often grappling with ethics (What is the right thing to do in this

[234] In particular: Nussbaum, 2001; Turner, 2007, 2010; Hochschild, 1983/2003; Hargreaves, 1994, 1998, 2000, 2001a, 2004a; Zembylas, 2002b, 2003a, 2005; Kelchtermans, 1996, 2005; Winograd, 2003; Theodosius, 2008; Archer, 2000; MacIntyre, 1982; Santoro, 2011

situation?) and power relations (Who has more say in this situation? Am I getting a 'just share of positive emotions?') at the same time. The practice of assessment is, by its nature, deeply concerned with both ethics (is it fair?) and power relations (who has done better?). But the tension between ethics and power generally remained implicit. I have ended the research journey seeing these components clearly, but it would require another journey to tease out the complex interrelationships. It may even be that any description provided by emotions is incomplete unless it is embedded in a consideration of ethics and power relations. Taking emotions seriously makes it possible to give ideals like social justice, fairness, community or development greater weight and importance. Yet without attention to both ethics and power relations, the conclusions drawn from a study of emotions may not have enough to say about social justice.

In terms of possible future research, the permutations of this study allow for a range of re-examinations of teachers' work through the lens of emotions. For example, it would be interesting to keep the conceptual frame yet vary the sample – to work with reportedly uncommitted or alienated teachers, or with rural or union-active or private school teachers, or work with a mix of these in the same institutional setting - and then to analyse whether and how different contexts or different forms of agency have an influence on which 'objects' and relationships are prominent, how emotional rules shift, or how the intensity of the emotional labour differs. It would be possible to keep the frame yet change the overall focus of the study: within assessment, by looking at teachers' emotion responses to the standardised Annual National Assessments (ANA) that are becoming increasingly prominent in South Africa, or beyond assessment, to other aspects of teachers' work. It would be possible to keep the frame but to vary the methodology of gathering data, so that data is collected from groups over a period of time allowing for a development of emotion responses, or from individuals over time through a variety of discussion, journaling or planning activities, or from participants who are considered to be on opposite sides of an issue (like teachers and district officials on the issue of accountability). And lastly, it would be an interesting challenge to shift the conceptual frame more towards the implications of Turner's and Nussbaum's work. This would involve taking from Nussbaum the societal need for the ethical education of emotions towards increasing love and compassion and from Turner the understanding of how emotions can support or challenge social stratification in institutional structures, and then designing a study with very different methods of sampling and data gathering. That would engage with the conceptual limitation described above.

In my study there is an inevitable blind spot that arises from research that uses the lens of participants' emotions, namely that emotions always tell a story from the perspective of the person who has the emotions. It is only through a conscious process of stepping into the shoes of the other, i.e. through empathy and compassion, that one becomes able to see 'objects' through the emotional lens of others. So the blind spot results from interviewing only teachers, not other participants in the assessment project. I did not ask teachers to look at assessment through the eyes of learners or district officials. I asked teachers to tell me about assessment through the lens of their own emotions, i.e. from the perspective of how assessment affects their own flourishing. So I have told this story of assessment exclusively from the perspective of committed teachers and any claims that I make can be generalised only to that group of teachers. But this does not mean that anything the teachers said from the perspective of their emotions is subjective and can be disregarded. On the contrary, the emotions of committed teachers are a powerful factor in the national project of enabling learner achievement[235] and thus need to be considered and coherently explained.

And now, having arrived at the end of this research journey, I would like to return to some research principles I encountered very early on. Shahjahan (2005) presents an argument that researchers are knowledge creators, and that if we want to infuse a spiritual perspective into knowledge production, we need to generate research that

- has a sense of community
- is empowering for participants
- acknowledges the living relationships involved in the research
- leads to inspiration and hope
- uses language that is natural and emotional
- makes us aware of all creation
- and produces healing.

These principles (which could also be described as educational ideals and emotional rules) guided my work on this research project and I trust this doctoral thesis lives up to them.

[235] See claim 4 in section 9.1.4.

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