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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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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction - Why emotions and assessment? 1
1.1 The Nature of the Problem 1
1.2 The research question 4
1.3 Rationale for the significance of this study 5
1.3.1 Why teacher emotions? 5
1.3.2 Why assessment? 6
1.3.3 The significance of relating teacher emotions and assessment 7
1.4 The order of chapters 10
Chapter 2: Literature Review - Towards understanding teachers' emotions so as to more fully understand assessment 11
2.1 What are emotions? 11
2.1.1 Emotions are hardwired into our bodies 11
2.1.2 Emotions are cognitive: they are value-judgements of and commentaries on objects in the world in relation to self 13
2.1.3 Personal emotions are both constructed by and construct the social order 16
2.1.4 Emotions are motivators for action 20
2.1.5 Conclusion: What do I mean by 'emotions'? 21
2.2 Research into Teacher Emotions 22
2.2.1 Teachers' emotions in relation to students 23
2.2.2 Teachers' emotions in relation to their professional identity and ideals 25
2.2.3 Teachers' emotions in relation to educational reform 27
2.2.4 Teachers' emotions in relation to colleagues and parents 28
2.2.5 Other 'objects' of teachers' emotions 29
2.2.6 Positive and negative emotions 30
2.2.7 Conclusion: Research into Teachers' Emotions 31
2.3 Teachers' Emotions towards Assessment and Accountability 31
2.3.1 Teachers' emotions are at play during the assessment process 33
2.3.2 Formative assessment is more emotionally demanding than summative 35
2.3.3 Accountability measures intensify teachers' emotions 37
2.3.4 Accountability might evoke inadmissible emotions around assessment 41
2.3.5 The performance management of teachers intensifies the negativity of accountability 43

2.3.6 Are there possibilities for doing assessment in 'emotionally sound' ways? 46
2.3.7 Conclusion: What picture of teachers' emotions towards assessment emerges from this mosaic of research literature? 47
2.4 Emotional Rules and Labour 48
2.4.1 Emotional Rules 49
2.4.2 Emotional Labour 64
2.5 Overall Conclusion 81
2.5.1 Pulling it all together 83
2.5.2 Assessment is an emotional practice 85
2.5.3 Understanding of teachers' assessment practices is deepened by reflection on the emotional rules and labour involved 87
2.5.4 Final Reflection 89
Chapter 3: Research Methodology - An interpretative qualitative study 91
3.1 Research Paradigm 91
3.1.1 An evidence-based study 91
3.1.2 A qualitative study 93
3.1.3 The role of the researcher 93
3.1.4 Research Type: A basic interpretative qualitative study 96
3.2 The Research Process: Dialogical interviews with a purposive sample 99
3.2.1 Changes of plan 99
3.2.2 Sample 99
3.2.3 Focus group interviews 102
3.2.4 Maintaining the Relationship 106
3.3 Data Coding and Analysis: A thematic content approach 107
3.3.1 Analysing qualitative data 107
3.3.2 The process of coding for themes 109
3.3.3 Generating networks 119
3.3.4 Finding the 'Story' 121
3.4 Trustworthiness: reliability, validity and ethics 124
3.4.1 Reliability 124
3.4.2 Internal Validity 125
3.4.3 External Validity 130
3.4.4 Ethics 130

Chapter 4: Teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to learner achievement.....134
4.1 Introduction.....134
4.2 Discovering teachers' focus on learner achievement.....134
4.3 Teachers' self-image is inextricably linked to learner achievement.....138
4.3.1 Learner achievement causes teacher self-reflection.....138
4.3.2 Teachers take responsibility for enabling learner achievement.....140
4.3.3 Weak learner achievement causes teachers distress.....145
4.3.4 Strong learner achievement motivates teachers.....148
4.3.5 Learner achievement takes teachers on an emotional roller coaster.....150
4.3.6 Without learner achievement, teaching loses its meaning.....152
4.4 Conclusion.....154
Chapter 5: Teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to their assessment practice .157
5.1 Introduction – How the quotes were selected.....157
5.2 The emotional roller coaster when doing assessment.....158
5.2.1 Teachers need learners to achieve.....159
5.2.2 The anxiety about weak achievement intensifies when teachers are also judged 161
5.2.3 Teachers are uncomfortable when having to give negative feedback.....162
5.2.4 Teachers expect learners to make an effort.....164
5.3 The pressure of getting it done.....167
5.3.1 Marking is endless and exhausting.....167
5.3.2 Not all marking is the same.....169
5.3.3 Getting through it requires strategies and extrinsic rewards.....170
5.3.4 Over time, the stress builds up.....171
5.4 The struggle to do it right.....172
5.4.1 It requires complex judgements.....173
5.4.2 Making the judgement becomes more complex for weaker learners.....177
5.4.3 Struggles to make the judgement fair.....178
5.5 Curiosity makes marking enjoyable.....183
5.6 Conclusion.....186
Chapter 6: Teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to structures of accountability 187
6.1 Introduction – How the quotes were selected.....187
6.2 Satisfaction – "everything is clear" (MG61-M).....191

6.3 Torn between agreement and critique - “much more alive, but not successful” (SG14-Sus) 192
6.4 Anxiety and Irritation – “everybody is confused” (PG35-T) 197
6.4.1 Anxiety and irritation about confused understanding of policy 197
6.4.2 Irritation and anxiety about the unrealistic expectations of reporting demands 199
6.5 “Panic accountability” (RG485-P) – the intensification of negative emotions 203
6.5.1 Feeling undermined 203
6.5.2 Feeling “enslaved” 206
6.6 Alienation 208
6.6.1 Feeling disappointed – there’s no support 208
6.6.2 Feeling exploited – they take all the glory 211
6.6.3 Feeling alienated – losing the purpose 213
6.7 Conclusion 217
Chapter 7: Teachers’ emotional rules and labour of dealing with assessment 218
7.1 Professional norms, teachers’ beliefs and emotional rules about assessment in general 218
7.1.1 Professional Norms for assessment in general 219
7.1.2 Teachers’ beliefs and emotional rules about assessment in general 220
7.2 Formative Assessment: The Emotional Rules and Labour of Giving Feedback 228
7.2.1 Professional Norms, Teacher Beliefs and Emotional Rules about Giving Feedback 229
7.2.2 The emotional labour of giving feedback 234
7.2.3 Comment 238
7.3 Summative Assessment: The Emotional Rules and Labour of Dealing with Failure 238
7.3.1 Professional Norms, Teacher Beliefs and Emotional Rules of Dealing with Failure 239
7.3.2 The emotional labour of dealing with failure 243
7.4 Conclusion 257
Chapter 8: Teachers’ emotional toolkit - The rules and labour of dealing with emotions 258
8.1 Professional norms, teachers’ beliefs and emotional rules for dealing with emotions 259
8.1.1 The professional norms 259
8.1.2 The teachers’ emotional rule for dealing with emotions 261

8.1.3 Comment....264
8.2 The emotional labour of dealing with emotions....265
8.2.1 Discerning the need for emotional labour....265
8.2.2 Sandy's story of emotional labour....267
8.2.3 Comment....272
8.3 Conclusion....275
Chapter 9: Answering the Research Questions....276
9.1 Empirical Research Question 1: Teacher's Emotions towards 'Objects' of Assessment....276
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.....277
9.1.2 Claim 2: Assessment is an emotional practice that lies at the centre of teachers' professional identity.....279
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.....281
9.1.4 Claim 4: Teachers' emotions are an inevitable and influential structural aspect of the national project of enabling high learner achievement.....285
9.2 Empirical research question 2: The Emotional Rules and Labour of Assessment Practice....290
9.2.1 Claim 5: Emotional rules can be excavated and become a site of insight....291
9.2.2 Claim 6: The emotional rules of teachers are ethically demanding....297
9.2.3 Claim 7: The concept of 'Emotional Labour' requires adaptation for professionals....301
9.2.4 Claim 8: Analysing which factors intensify teachers' emotional labour is a powerful way of making visible their professional challenges....302
9.3 In summary: What has been learned about assessment from understanding it as an emotional practice?....315
Chapter 10: Reflections on the significance and implications of this study....317
10.1 Reflecting on the significance of the findings for educational practice....317
10.2 Reflecting on the significance of using 'emotion' as a lens of enquiry for research....323
10.3 Reflecting on the limitations of this research and the doors it opens for future research possibilities....327

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Aligning the key concepts of the study: the flow of teachers' emotions in relation to their assessment practice 84
Figure 2: Model of 'objects' of assessment that teachers might have strong emotions about 109
Figure 3: The network of 299 coded sections that contain strongly expressed emotions and what 'objects' the emotions are about 120
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 136
Figure 5: The family of codes that constitute SEE-Doing Assessment 157
Figure 6: The family of codes that constitute SEE-Accountability, ordered according to the main 'objects' of emotions 188
Figure 7: SEE-Accountability ordered according to the type of emotions expressed 189
Figure 8: SEE-Accountability ordered according to objects and emotions 190
Figure 9: Key emotional 'objects' of assessment that teachers feel strongly about 278
Figure 10: A schema of how departmental accountability demands pass through the emotions of teachers before they can affect improved national learner achievement outcomes 288
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 295
Figure 12: Causal attributions that teachers made for learner achievement 303
Figure 13: Number of statements that indicated teachers' access (or lack of it) to the internal goods of the practice of enabling learner achievement 314

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Name and composition of the focus groups for interviews.....100
Table 2: Referencing system for quotations from the data 103
Table 3: List of final primary codes 116
Table 4: Some professional norms, teachers' beliefs and emotional rules about assessment in general.....226
Table 5: Some professional norms, teachers' beliefs and emotional rules about giving feedback.....233
Table 6: Some professional norms, teachers' beliefs and emotional rules about dealing with failure 242
Table 7: Professional norms and gradations of teachers' emotional rule for emotions....264
Table 8: A collation of emotional rules for teachers as proposed by Winograd (2003), Yin&Lee (2012) and this study (Steinberg).....292
Table 9: Causal attributions subdivided into types of learner achievement.....304
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.....311

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.

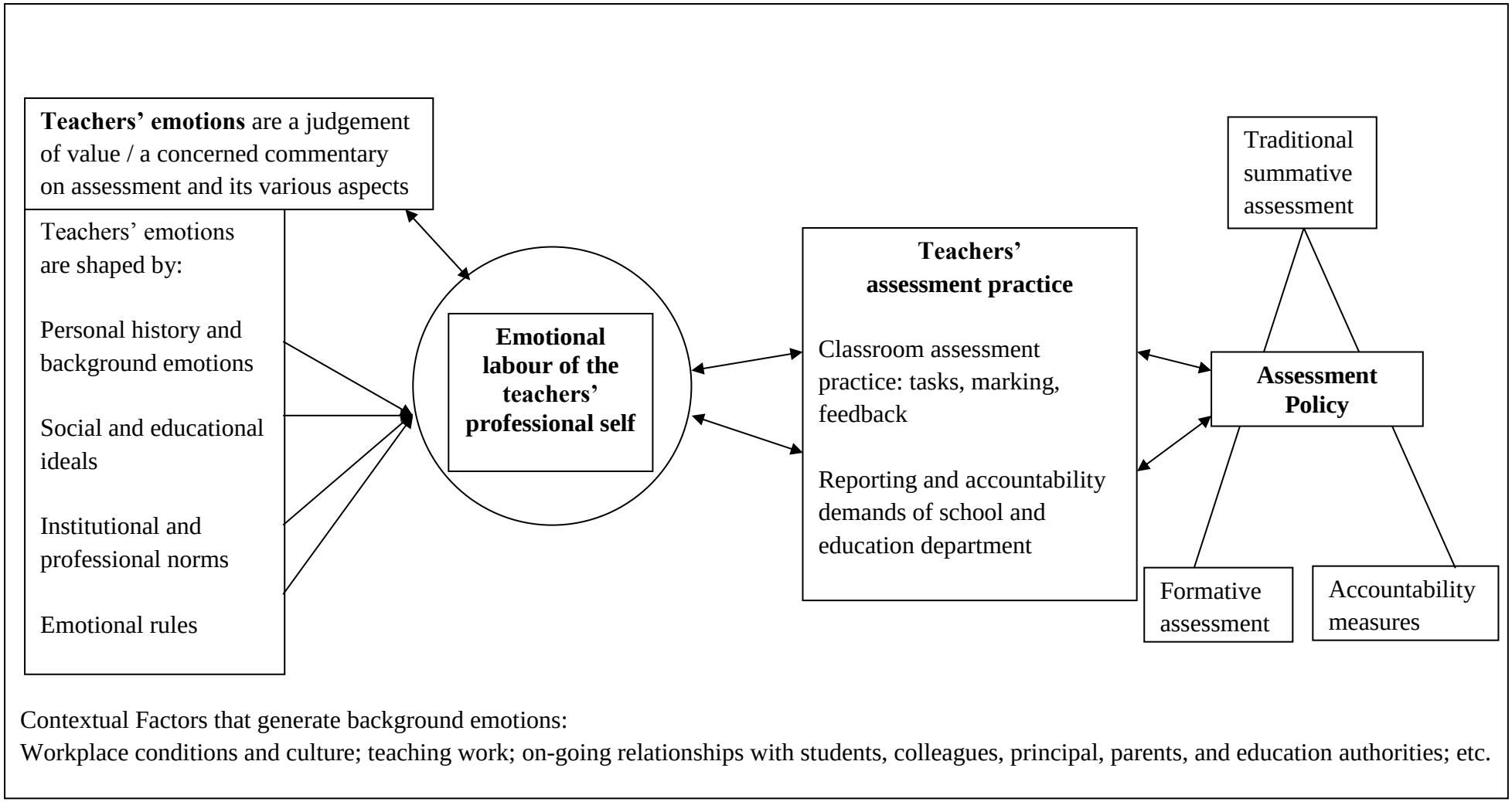


Figure 1: Aligning the key concepts of the study: the flow of teachers' emotions in relation to their assessment practice

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).

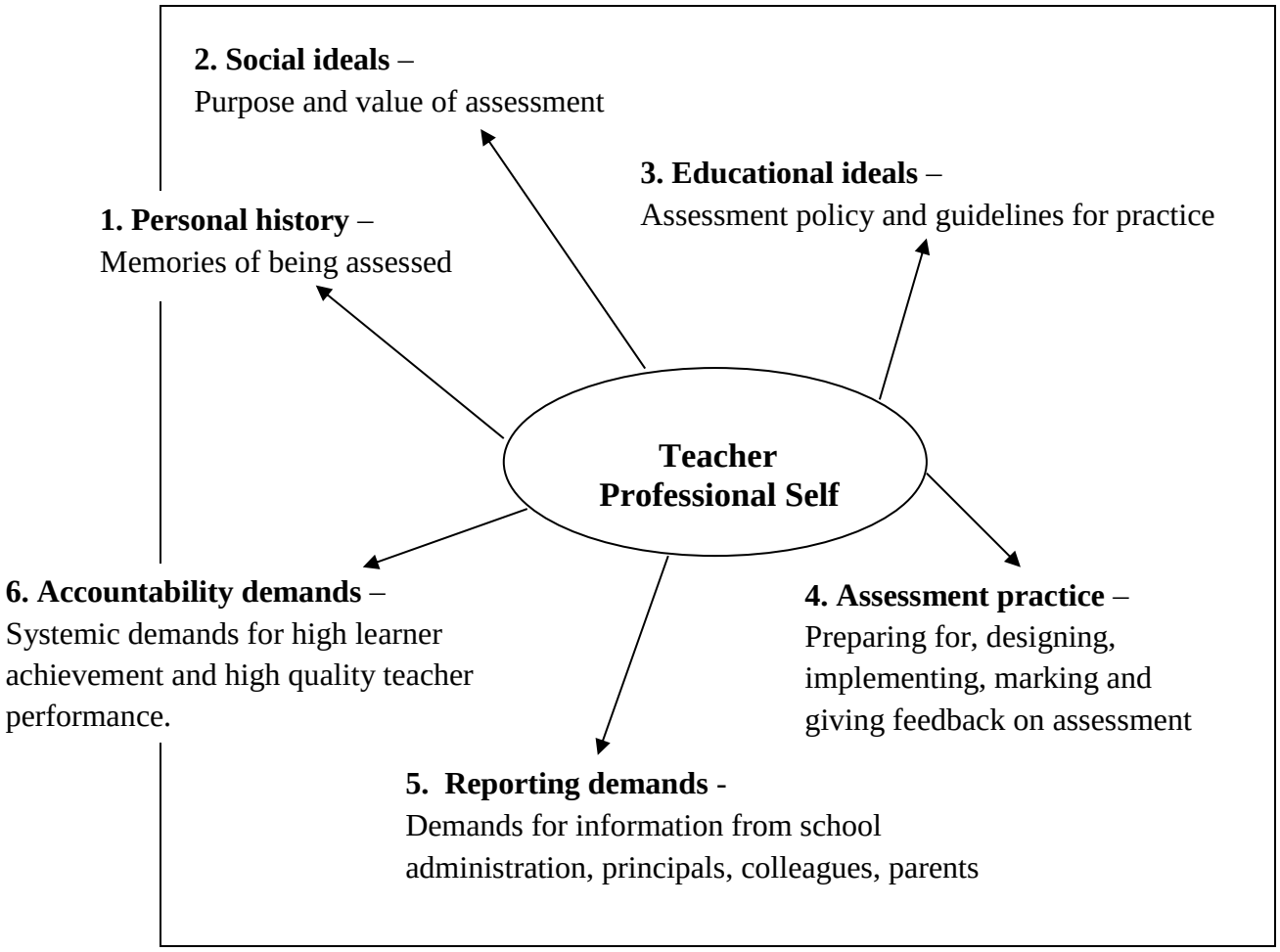


Figure 2: Model of 'objects' of assessment that teachers might have strong emotions about

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.

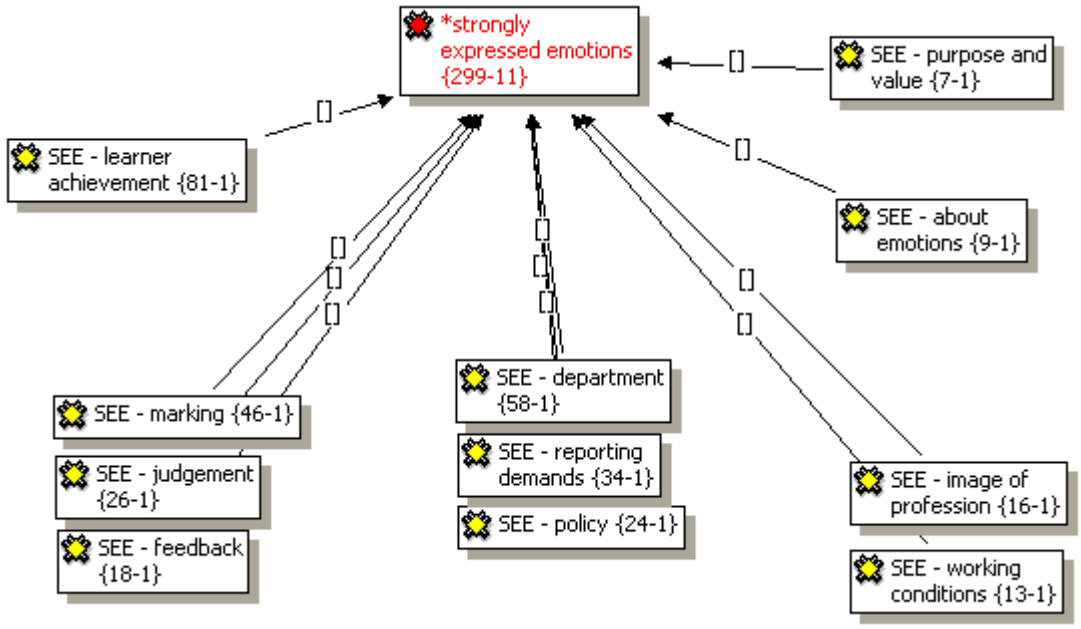


Figure 3: The network of 299 coded sections that contain strongly expressed emotions and what 'objects' the emotions are about

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)

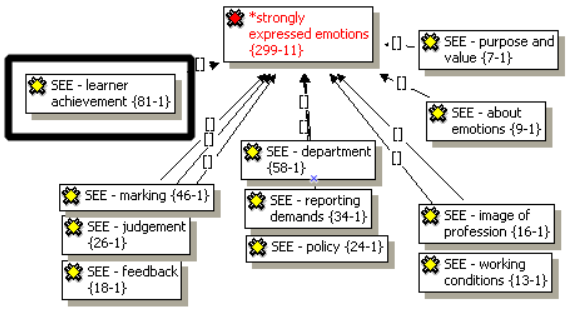
Chapter 4: Teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to learner achievement

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.

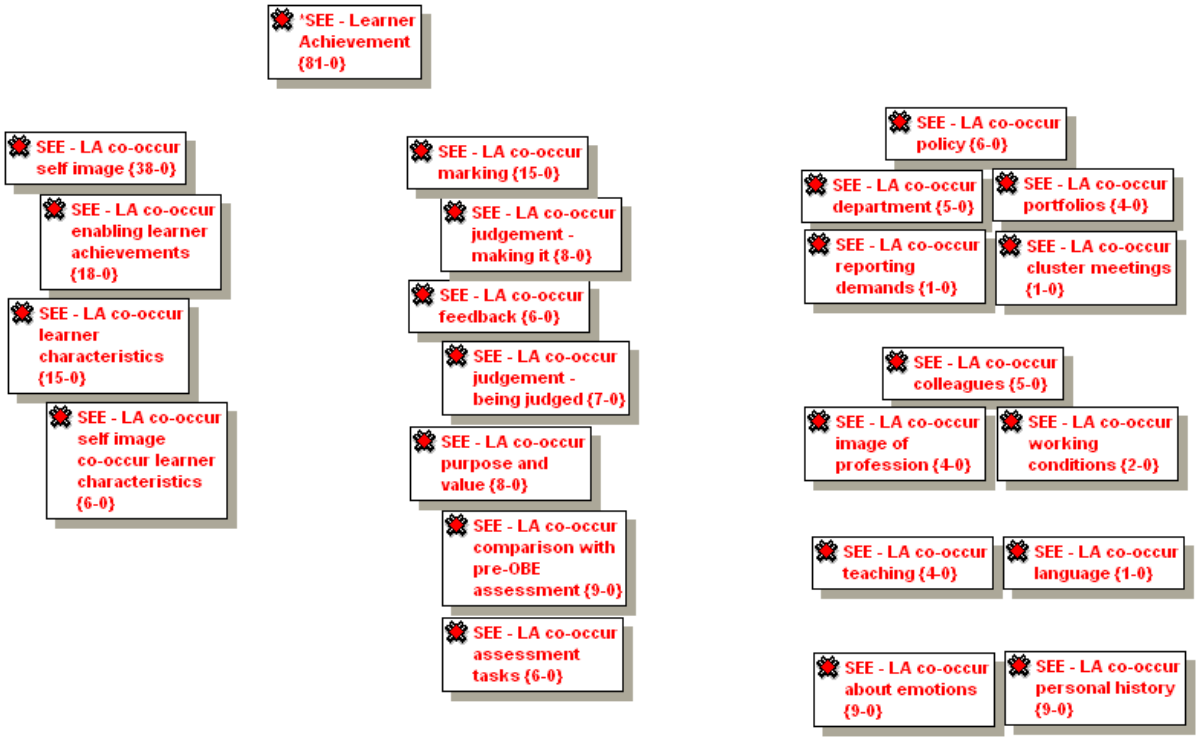


Figure 4: The family of 81 quotes containing strongly expressed emotions about learner achievement (see-la) and the codes that co-occurred in the same quotes, as collated by Atlas.ti[75]

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.

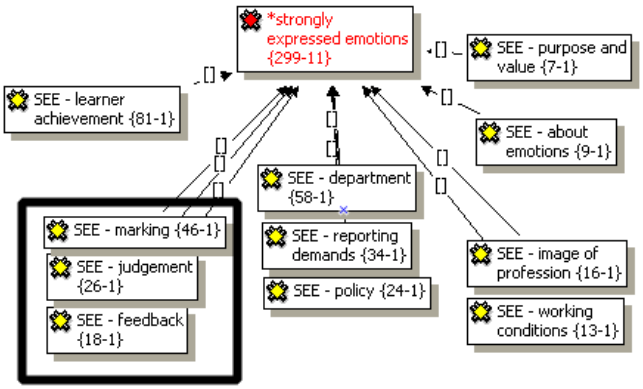
I think one implication of the data presented in this chapter is that bureaucratic measures to control teachers' work cannot be effective if the primary relationship of teachers with

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.

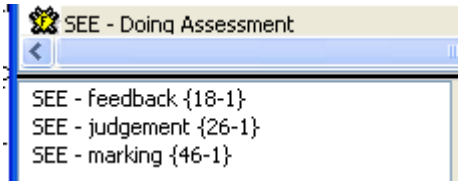


Figure 5: The family of codes that constitute SEE-Doing Assessment[85]

[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.

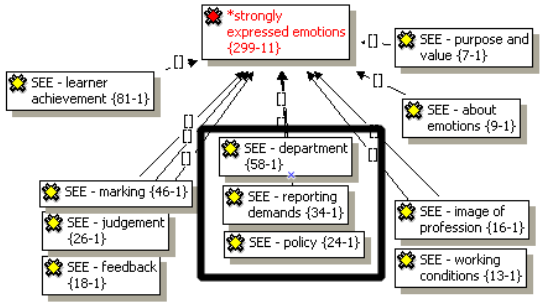
Against all odds, the teachers in this study managed to maintain their sense of curiosity when marking by retaining their ideals of fairness and their interest in learner achievement, buoyed by the possibility of learners producing good and surprising results that gratified the teacher.

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.

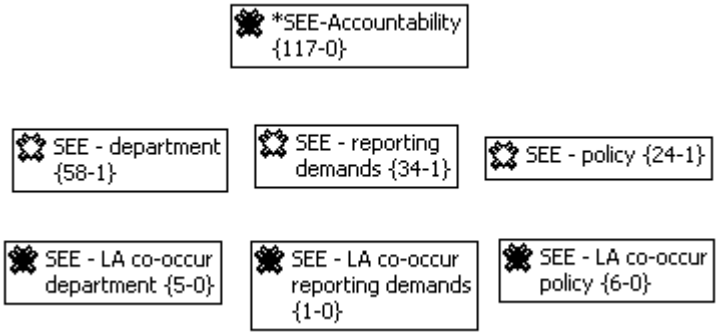


Figure 6: The family of codes that constitute SEE-Accountability, ordered according to the main 'objects' of emotions

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.

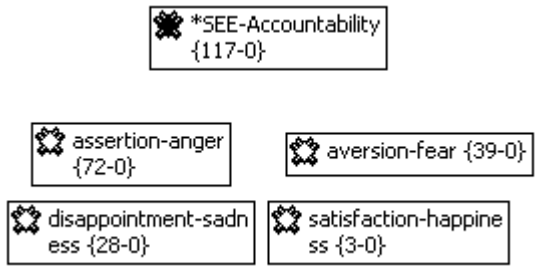


Figure 7: SEE-Accountability ordered according to the type of emotions expressed

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.

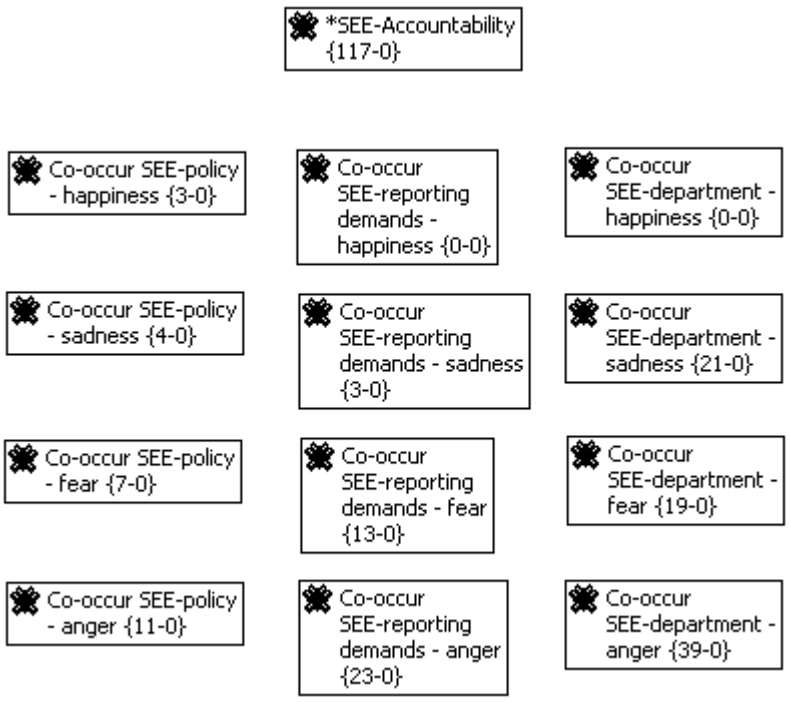


Figure 8: SEE-Accountability ordered according to objects and emotions[101]

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.

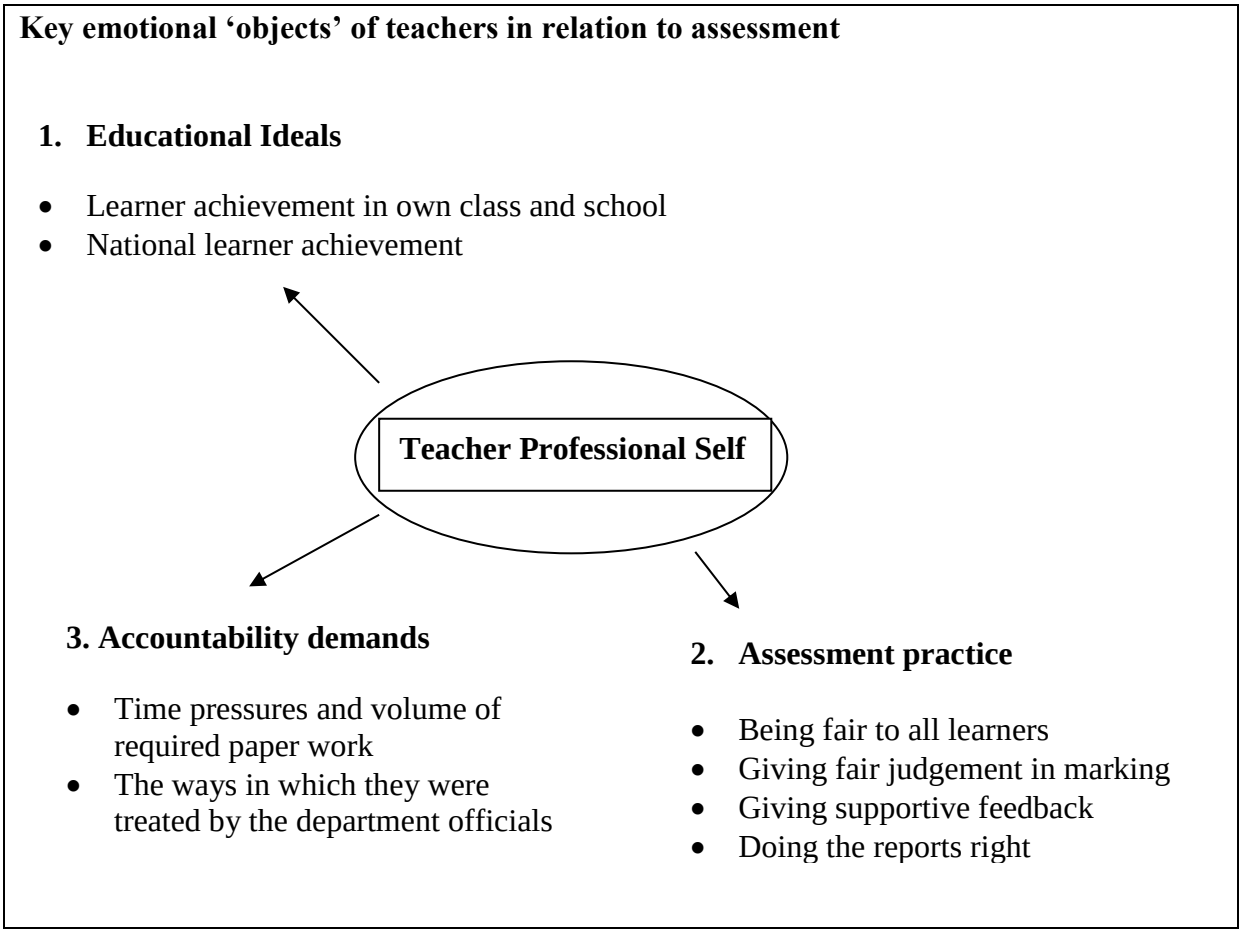


Figure 9: Key emotional 'objects' of assessment that teachers feel strongly about

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:

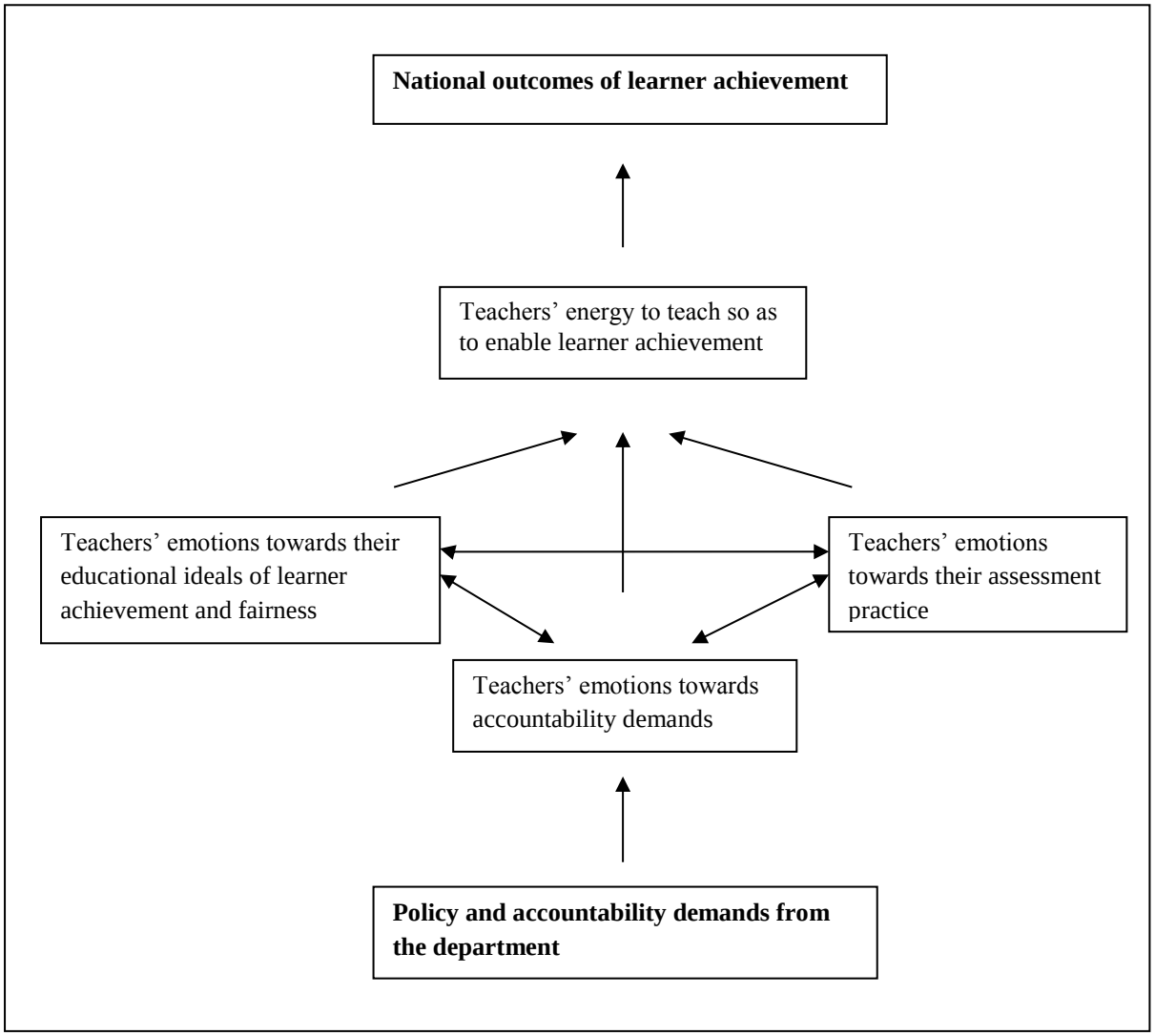


Figure 10: A schema of how departmental accountability demands pass through the emotions of teachers before they can affect improved national learner achievement outcomes

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

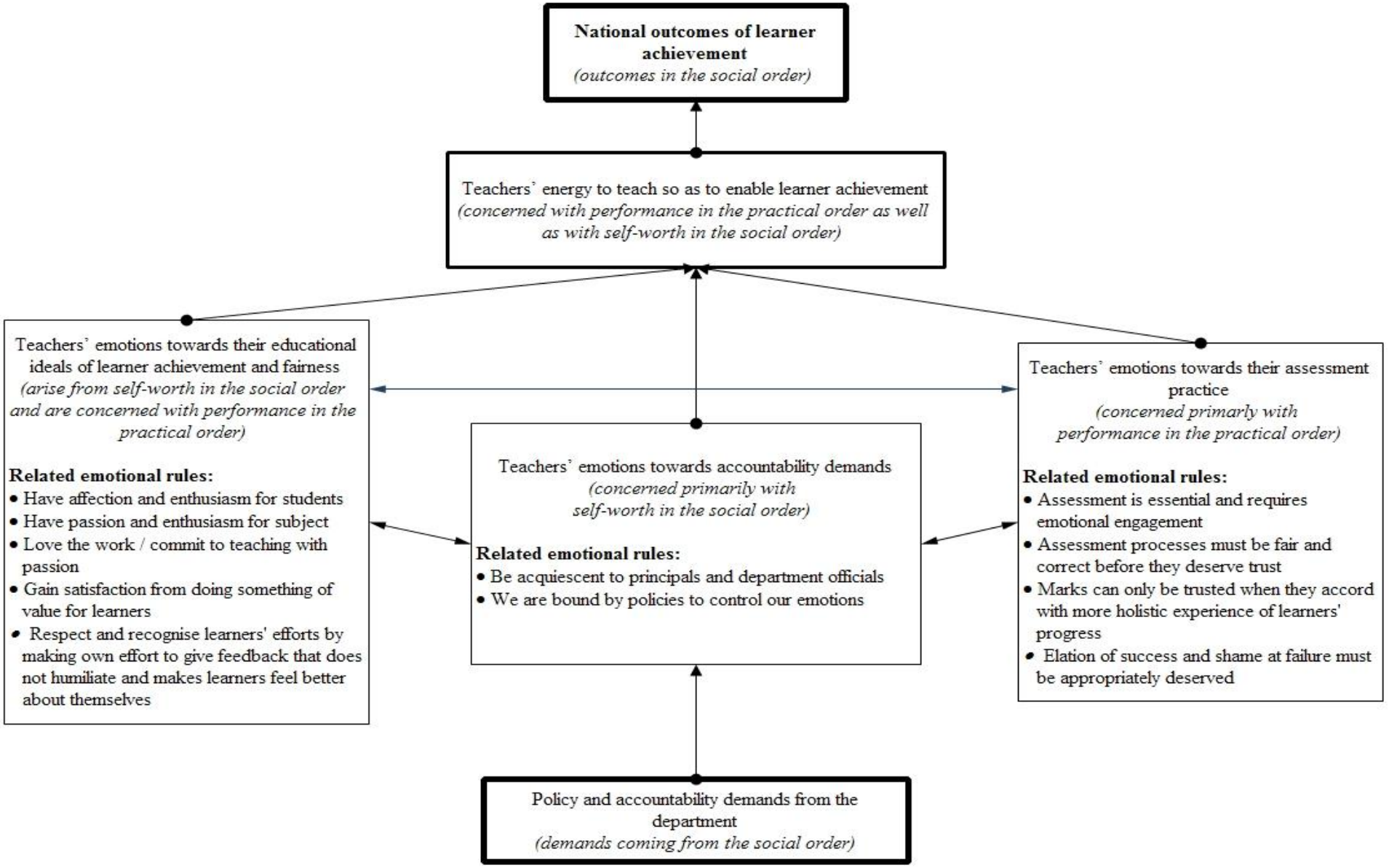
how desirable the positive emotions are, they need to be appropriately deserved on the basis of effort. This effort involves both learners and teachers.

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).

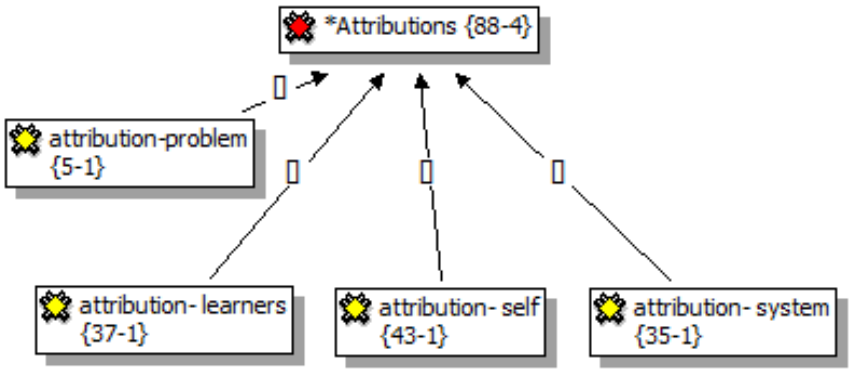


Figure 12: Causal attributions that teachers made for learner achievement[214]

[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.

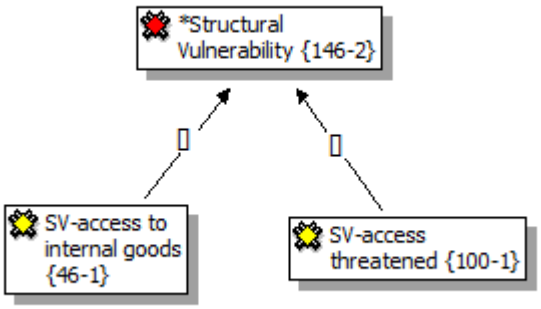


Figure 13: Number of statements that indicated teachers' access (or lack of it) to the internal goods of the practice of enabling learner achievement

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.

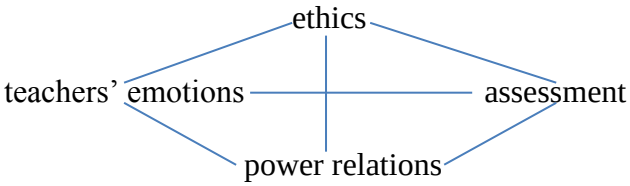
So what happens in this structure for a discourse analysis is that emotion sits at the beginning, as the foundation for all else – but after the first chapter it gets forgotten in the technicalities of increasingly abstract levels of analysis. This places the analysis of emotions simultaneously at the 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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Appendices to accompany Doctoral Thesis
Teachers' Emotions towards Assessment:
What can be learned from taking the emotions seriously?
by Carola Steinberg

Table of Contents

Appendix 1: Biographical and demographical data 2
Appendix 2: Interview schedule for the focus groups 11
Appendix 3: Letters of Invitation and Information, with Consent Form 14
Appendix 4: Actual interview questions during the first two interviews 18
Appendix 5: Letters requesting feedback from teachers 28
Appendix 6: Feedback from teachers on Chapters 4, 5, 6 31
Appendix 7: Feedback from Teachers on Chapters 7 and 8 38
Appendix 8: Final list of codes generated by Atlas.ti 45
Appendix 10: Exploring the meaning of the physical emotional pain 49
Appendix 11: Appendix 11: Initially presumed emotional rules 52
Appendix 12: Data to substantiate attribution table 53
Appendix 13: Data to substantiate Teacher Portraits 55
Appendix 9: Coded Interview Transcripts 63
Appendix 9.1: P Group
Appendix 9.2: D Group
Appendix 9.3: R Group
Appendix 9.4: S Group
Appendix 9.5: K Group
Appendix 9.6: M Group
Appendix 9.7: C Group

Appendix 1: Biographical and demographical data
Ethics Protocol Number: 2008 ECE 204

I asked each participating teacher to fill this in this form and bring to the focus group interviews. It provided me with background information about the teachers' overall feeling about their work, as well as with the social context they work in.

Information about yourself and your school

Please tell me about yourself

1. Name:

2. Gender:

3. Age:

4. Years of experience as a teacher:

5. Which subjects do you teach?

6. Do you enjoy teaching?
   Yes / No / Most of the time / Occasionally
   Why do you say so?

7. Would you recommend that your children become teachers? Yes / No
   Why do you say so?

8. What gives you the energy to continue teaching?

Please tell me about your school

9. What kind of school is it? (e.g. primary / secondary, racially diverse or not, well-resourced or not)

10. About how many children are in the school?

11. About how many children do you have in your classes?

12. What are the socio-economic backgrounds of the children and surrounding community? (e.g. parents are unemployed / employed but poor /middle class / professional / wealthy, children are orphaned / come from single parent / extended / nuclear families, etc.)

13. How would you describe the culture of the school? (e.g. is it authoritarian / strict / easy going; is it collaborative between teachers or individualistic, etc.)

These tables capture all the information that teachers wrote on the biographical forms asking for information about themselves (Table 1), their schools (Table 2) and their commitment to teaching (Table 3), which they filled in prior to the focus group interviews.

Table 1: Participating teachers in their focus groups

Group	Name	Gender	Age	Years of experience	Teaching Subjects
P Group	Theresa	Female	35	13	Accounting, EMS
	Lynn	Female	39	16	Maths, Mathematical Literacy, Computer Applications, Technology
	Charlotte	Female	49	23	English, Life Orientation, Maths
D group	Danielle	Female	49	27	English
	Vicky	Female	49/50	25	Maths
	Cheryl	Female	50	29	English, History
R Group	Cuvanya	Female	37	12	Life Science, Natural Science
	Perusha	Female	33	11	Business Studies, Economics, Accounting
	Josie	Female	23	5 months	Technology and Computer Literacy
S Group	Susanne	Female	53	23	Current: Afrikaans in Gr 9,10; Past: All subjects in Gr 3,4
	Sandy	Female	41	14	Visual Art
	Katarina	Female	54	18	Natural Science and Technology
K Group	Khumbula	Male	41	15	Arts and Culture, English First Additional Language
	Thobile	Female	47	22	Natural Science, Technology, Life Orientation
	Ntokozo	Female	39	7	Zulu, Social Science, EMS
M Group	Hlubi	Male	42	15	EMS, Home Language
	Mathoto	Female	38	10	Mathematics, Technology
	Joyce	Female	49	20	Language (SePedi), Arts and Culture
C Group	Celiwe	Female	32	8	English and Zulu

Table 2: The socio-economic status of the schools where the teachers worked

Group	Kind of school	Number in school	Number in classes	Socio-economic background	Culture of school
P Group: Theresa Charlotte Lynn	Secondary school, racially diverse, well resourced	1050 -1080	25 - 39	Extremely varied, we most certainly have all sorts. Very diverse, combination of all of the above. Mainly middle class.	- The leadership of the school is collaborative. The structure of the school is such that everyone has a role in the authority of the school. The Head is very forward thinking and she takes the staff with her in her thinking. - In certain aspects it is authoritarian and strict. As with any organization there are certain non-negotiables. - I think the staff would like to think they are collaborative, but in reality they are individualistic. I think time is a factor and it is easier just to get on with your own tasks.
D Group Danielle Vicky Cheryl	School 1: Secondary, racially diverse, relatively well resourced.	1100	25 - 35	All of the above - (e.g. parents are unemployed / employed but poor /middle class / professional / wealthy; children are orphaned / come from single parent / extended / nuclear families, etc.)	Prior to 2010: was easy-going, friendly collaborative, relaxed between teachers. But new headmaster in 2010: now chaotic, unfriendly, more subtly authoritarian and run on fear. Previously learner discipline was firm but now seems to be less so.
	School 2: Secondary, religious (i.e. private), not resourced	60	11-14	From unemployed, poor to wealthy	Easy going, community / family type feel, individualistic

Group	Kind of school	Number in school	Number in classes	Socio-economic background	Culture of school
R Group Cuvanya Perusha Josie	Secondary, racially diverse Secondary, racially diverse but majority is black. Fairly well-resourced, good sports fields, labs and classrooms.	About 1100 learners	About 35 learners	Mixed, i.e. all of the above. Some are professionals and recently affluent. Many are single-parent families or families with 1 / no breadwinners.	Strict – semi-authoritarian and semi-collaborative. Teachers help each other but we take our instructions from the principal and SMT.
S Group: Susanne Sandy Katarina	- It is a primary and secondary remedial school. - The school is divided in a Foundation phase grade 1 to 3, Intermediate phase grade 4 to 7 and then the High School.	500 - 620	16-20	- Quite a diversity, rich, poor, etc. - Racially diverse, sort of resourced, have unemployed and employed parents, but poor, middle class. Many children are orphaned or from single parent household, some are in nuclear families, i.e. liquorice allsorts. - Most of our learners have social problems: either language barriers or ADD, with parents divorced or single parents. Most parents are employed, but poor or middle class. Some of the learners are from homes: they have parents but parents can't provide for them or they abuse them. Lots of alcohol abuse. A few have nuclear families and they are very supportive.	- Authoritarian, strict, collaborative between teachers. No (or very little) insight or support from principal. - I would describe the culture of the school as individualistic authoritarian, but with some collaboration between teachers and between teachers and learners. - Racially we are diverse, 60 % black, 20 % white, 15% coloured, 5% Indian and the rest are Asian. More male than females: for every 20 students, only about 4 would be girls. There are many ADD and ADHD people; but ADD and ADHD girls tend to be passive and do not cause any problems in mainstream school so they just pass as below average or average students. The boys are very active and are classified as uncontrollable and have behaviour problems as well as learning problems. - The resources of the school are not enough and I think that a teacher never can have enough resources and helpful equipment, like technology and computers.

Group	Kind of school	Number in school	Number in classes	Socio-economic background	Culture of school
K Group Khumbula Ntokozo Thobile	Primary school, racially diverse, shortage of resources. Primary school, serving a black community, not well resourced.	About 850, 179 in grade 7	57 learners per class in grade 7	- The socio-economic background of our learners is quite poor. Parents are unemployed; some learners are orphaned due to HIV. Some are extremely poor. - Employed but poor, single parent families, extended families - We have a mixture of poor and middle class community. Most children come from the old locations, while others come from the squatter camp nearby.	In my phase it is collaborative between colleagues. We always discuss our learners, their performance in different learning areas. It is mostly easy-going, but not ruling out an element of authoritarian culture in certain instances. Again, when it comes to teachers, there is good collaboration and some individualistic brilliance is accepted and upheld.
M Group Hlubi Mathoto Joyce	Public primary school, which caters for all races but is primarily black. Not a well-resourced school, as it has prefabricated classrooms and offices, made of containers.	1485 in, grades 0-7	50 - 53	Most parents are unemployed and illiterate, depending on social welfare (grant) money. All families are poor, some employed, others with no income. Some learners come from single parents or are under care of a guardian because orphaned through HIV/AIDS and surrounding diseases. They come from shacks. We have different cultures in our school, e.g. SePedi, Zulu, Xhosa, Coloured, Shangaan, etc.	Our culture in this school is a collaborative kind of leadership where communication is good (and sometimes lacking because of many commitments) and hardworking, however transparency sometimes is difficult. The school is very accommodative to every situation and teachers can handle any problem they come across. Sometimes the school is strict so as to discipline unruly learners to show them the ways of behaving good. Teachers are very dedicated as they are willing to show learners that it does not matter where they come from, they can still make it in life.
C Group Celiwe	Secondary school which has a lack of resources	1200	60-70	It is a no-fee school. Parents are unemployed, high rate of illiteracy, children are orphaned and most of them are heading families.	We've had a very authoritarian principal who was also corrupt. His management style was very bad. (He stole the schools' annual money and ended up in hospital when older learners beat him up.)

Table 3: Participating teachers' commitment to the task of teaching

Name	Do you enjoy teaching?	Would you recommend that your children become teachers?	What gives you the energy to continue teaching?
Charlotte	Most of the time	No	No more energy, have resigned. (But she moved to another school and was teaching happily a year later.)
Lynn	Yes. I love the interaction with the learners.	Yes. It is extremely rewarding and fulfilling.	Motivation from learners, ever- changing environment.
Theresa	Yes. I feel I do make a difference and that is very rewarding.	Yes. It is a rewarding and fulfilling career and essential to the future success of our country.	The number of learners who return and thank you for making a difference in their lives. (You only need one or two positive affirmations to make it worthwhile.)
Danielle	Most of the time. I enjoy the actual teaching of pupils, most of the time, but not the insane demands of the GDE such as paper work, etc.	Yes. It's a rewarding profession and there is job security. I do have reservations, though, about salary and the non-teaching demands of the job, in the modern world.	The positive interactions with pupils and colleagues.
Cheryl	Most of the time. Have not had a break in 29 years – I am tired.	Yes, but to think about it very carefully as the salaries are low.	Need the salary.
Vicky	Most of the time. Certain aspects of the job. I enjoy being in the classroom. I do not enjoy the admin / break duty, extra murals / register class / invigilation, etc., etc., ad nauseum.	Only maths or science. Less marking and always in demand.	The school holidays. And the fact that I don't know any other way of life and have accepted that exhaustion is just part of the life.
Perusha	Yes. Contact with learners. Ability to influence them.	No. Lack of parental involvement!	The love of the job.
Cuvanya	Most of the time. I do like interacting with most of the learners. However, the paperwork and record-keeping is too time-consuming and often unnecessary; it gets in the way of the teaching.	No. It is not a profession that pays well. The learners are getting more undisciplined as the years go by and I do not want to subject my son to that kind of abuse.	I need the money! But I also anticipate new developments in education. I feel that if I am given a job to do, then I will not rest until I do it and I do it properly. So that's my energy.
Josie	Yes. I feel it is a rewarding job and I get great satisfaction out of enriching children.	Yes.	The children that are enthusiastic are the one's that make progress due to your influence.

Name	Do you enjoy teaching?	Would you recommend that your children become teachers?	What gives you the energy to continue teaching?
Sandy	Most of the time. I enjoy working with the children. Admin is a problem, as well as management.	Yes. Right subjects are in demand. Will have to work on salaries if they want to keep teachers.	I love the subject. Working with smaller groups. Have to earn a salary.
Susanne	No. Teachers don't get enough recognition. Too much admin. Discipline in schools very difficult.	No. See previous answer.	Nothing any more. In my early years, I enjoyed sharing knowledge with children.
Katarina	Yes. Children are my passion and I love them to pieces	Yes. If teaching is in your blood, go for it.	The learners and their unconditional love, and interaction are very rewarding.
Ntokozo	Yes. At this point in time I still enjoy teaching, but if I had to change career, I would start a business.	No. I wouldn't unless they insist. In order to be a teacher, you must fall in love with it; otherwise you will never be a good teacher.	Because I am still new in the field, I haven't had difficulties that I could not handle.
Thobile	Occasionally. There is a lot of stress in my work.	No. There is no growth.	My family background.
Khumbula	Yes. Because I love working with kids. I enjoy almost every moment of meaning-making, stimulating interest to learn, being a nation-builder and to be regarded as a professional.	Yes. In fact, the importance of Education and teachers in the development of any nation needs continual emphasis. The future of this country needs future teachers.	
Hlubi	Yes. To assist the South African communities to be improved and develop educationally.	Yes. It is so good to work and assist the community, which you believe they will be well cultured and educated in the future.	It is so lamentable to see the nation struggling and suffering. This however gives me much energy to assist them where I believe I can, to ensure their lives become better every day.
Mathoto	Yes. Talking and interacting with learners gives me joy every day. Listening to me is good. I wholeheartedly enjoy teaching.	Yes. To teach and guide somebody is a good achievement. Seeing people achieving what you have taught in class, some verbally and some formally, it gives you peace. I will encourage my children to be teachers as I am an example to them.	God. And being a learner at all times. I always strive to be the best teacher as I can. I always read to empower and upgrade my knowledge.
Joyce	Yes. To me kids / learners are angels that needs to be helped every step they take. They must be helped by adults.	No. The education system is now politicised. Teachers are not recognised as human beings.	The love of children.

Name	Do you enjoy teaching?	Would you recommend that your children become teachers?	What gives you the energy to continue teaching?
Celiwe	Yes, occasionally. Sometimes I get frustrated due to the paper work.	No. There is too much work yet little / less salary.	The reason is that it's my only source of income & it's where I get my bread & butter.

Appendix 2: Interview schedule for the focus groups
Ethics Protocol Number: 2008 ECE 204

These introductions, questions and prompts were used to guide the focus group interviews. Additional prompts were used depending on how participants responded. Participants also received and read this schedule prior to the interview.

1. The value of assessment, and the feelings

Assessment is so ingrained in the school system that we seldom stop to think about its social and educational purposes. But it can be useful to look at the big picture every now and then, especially in times like now when assessment policy goals have changed and teachers are being asked to do assessment in new ways.

- Why do you think assessment is important?
- What is its value to you as a teacher?
- What do you think is the value of assessment for learners?

Sometimes our feelings about something are slightly different to our beliefs about the same thing, so it is worth thinking about assessment again from the perspective of our emotions.

- What are your feelings when you think about assessment?
- Is there any aspect of assessment that makes you particularly happy?
- Or particularly upset or uncomfortable?

2. Memories of assessment

Experiences that we have had in the past, particularly experiences that were strongly emotional, often influence how we do things in the present. So I want us to explore our emotional memories - of assessing as teachers and of being assessed as children or as adults.

- Was there an incident (or a gradual development) in your life as a teacher when assessing learners caused intense emotion? Can you tell the story?
- What were the emotions involved and how did you deal with them?
- Did the incident and the accompanying emotions generate any changes in your assessment practice? If yes, how?

- What are your memories of being assessed as a learner?
- Think about an incident(s) in your life when being assessed caused intense emotion, be it positive, negative or both? Can you tell the story?
- How did you feel?
- How did you deal with those emotions at the time?
- Do you think this incident and the emotions that came with it might have affected your assessment practice today? If yes, how? If no, how did you deal with it?

3. Issues in your current assessment practice

Assessment policy

Many teachers are confused and frustrated with regards to the assessment policy that is part of the National Curriculum Statement, while others are excited about the new forms of assessment. So I would like to know how you respond emotionally to the NCS.

- Do you work with the assessment policy in the National Curriculum Statement?
- What is your emotional response to the assessment policy?
- How does the assessment policy relate to your ideals about what makes for good teaching in your subject?
- If you could change assessment practice or policy, what would you suggest?
- In what ways would this change make you feel better about assessment?

Learners

Research studies (and your memories) show that students feel intensely about assessment, and that teachers get emotionally involved with their students' results – they want their learners to do well, they identify with their learners and get upset when learners don't do well, etc. I'd like us to talk a bit about how your feel towards your learners with regards to assessment.

- Think back about students of yours who failed. Maybe you expected them to do well, but they didn't. Maybe you knew all along that they would fail. What happened?
- How did you feel about them? About the situation?
- Think back about students who passed well. How did that make you feel?
- How do you think you are supposed to feel about students and their results?
- How does that compare to how you actually feel?

Marking

Marking is as aspect of teaching that never ends. It is supposed to be done objectively, and without emotion, but I know from my own experience that is not the case. So I want to find out what you feel when you are marking. Think back to a time recently when you had a big pile of marking.

- What type of assessment was it? How long did it take you per script and how many scripts did you have?
- How did you feel before you started marking?
- And during marking?
- Were there any scripts that frustrated you? Or surprised you? Or made you feel excited?
- And how did you feel afterwards?
- Did you do anything with all those feelings, e.g. speak to students or colleagues, change the marks?
- Are some forms of marking easier to deal with emotionally than others?
- Do you feel responsible for students' results?

Report writing and accountability

In my experience, there seems to be a general sense of panic about report admin deadlines and despair about students' achievement in the air at the time of year when marks have to be handed in. It's only at prize giving ceremonies that satisfaction or happiness returns.

- Does that concur with your experience?
- What are your feelings about the end of term/year reports you need to prepare for the school?
- And the feelings of your colleagues?
- Do you think there are ways of working that could make this process less stressful?
- Are there any other issues in the school or with the education department that affect how you feel about being accountable for assessment results?

4. Managing emotions

There is no one way of dealing with emotions. We feel them, ignore them, shift them onto others, express them in some environments but not in others, forget about them or change them. But strong emotions related to a particular event or issue have a tendency to come back each time we are reminded of that issue. When these emotions are angry, painful or in other ways difficult, that can make it difficult for us to continue working well.

During this interview, you have talked about happy and upsetting emotions towards assessment issues. My question now is about how you deal with and manage your emotions.

- What do you do when you feel strong, pleasurable emotions?
- What do you do when you feel strong difficult emotions?
- How do you think you are 'supposed to' feel about assessment?
- What do you do when you feel differently?

5. Ending the Interview

- Is there anything else you would like to say about your understanding of assessment and the feelings it generates in you?
- Is there anything you would like to ask me?

Appendix 3:
Letters of Invitation and Information, with Consent Form
Ethics Protocol Number: 2008 ECE 204

Letter of invitation

Dear _____ and colleagues

I am sending this invitation to you as a teacher who might be interested in participating in research on the topic of teachers' emotions in relation to assessment.

My name is Carola Steinberg and I work as a teacher educator at the Wits School of Education. I am also studying towards a doctoral degree in education. This research project is a requirement for the degree and the full title is: Teachers' Emotions towards Assessment: What can be learned from taking the emotions seriously? The aim of the research is to investigate what teachers feel about assessment, so that the ways in which assessment is an emotional, rather than an 'objective' practice, can be better understood. The study will thus be asking questions about how teachers feel about various aspects of assessment - their ideals for assessment, the assessment they do in their classrooms, the reporting procedures of the school, the ways in which teachers are held accountable and their memories of having been assessed.

I am looking for 3 teachers who

- Are interested in the topic and are willing to talk about their emotions about assessment.
- Are employed in a public school.
- Have 6 years or more of teaching experience, so that they been teaching for long enough to be affected by changes in curriculum and assessment policy
- Teach in the senior phase (i.e. grades 7-9), where assessment is more formal than in the foundation and intermediate phases, but is not yet a source of great anxiety as in the FET phase.
- Are employed in schools that are functional and well managed.

Thank you for agreeing to participate to participate in the research study. If you have any further questions, please contact me through one of the numbers below.

Cell: 083 414 4870
Home: 011 882 2131
Work: 011 717 3192

csteinberg@global.co.za
Carola.Steinberg@wits.ac.za

Letter to teachers who volunteered for focus group interviews

Dear _____ and colleagues

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the first phase of my PhD research study, entitled: 'Teacher Emotions towards Assessment: What can we learn from taking emotions seriously?'. The aim of the research is to investigate what teachers feel about assessment, so that the ways in which assessment is an emotional, rather than an 'objective' practice, can be better understood. The study will thus be asking questions about how teachers feel about various aspects of assessment - their ideals for assessment, the assessment they do in their classrooms, the reporting procedures of the school, the ways in which teachers are held accountable and their memories of having been assessed.

The first phase of the research will involve about 12 teachers who will come together in focus groups of 3 to discuss what it is about assessment that evokes intense emotions in themselves. Focus groups will meet at a time and venue that is mutually negotiated and appropriate. I estimate that the discussions will last for about 2 hours. The discussions will be recorded on audiotape. Only the transcriber, my PhD supervisors and myself will have access to the tapes. Once the tapes have been transcribed, I will send you a copy of the discussion transcript for your record. That will enable you to check for any inaccuracies, make clarifications, offer additional comments or withdraw some / all of your words. The content of the discussions will be treated as confidential. When your responses are used to support research findings, they will be presented using a pseudonym so that you cannot be identified. The research will be published as a PhD thesis, conference proceedings, journal articles and for other academic purposes. When the project is complete, I will destroy the tapes. If you want, I can burn you a CD, so that you have a copy.

The questions for discussion at the focus group are attached, so you can reflect on what you want to say. If there are any questions you would prefer not to answer, that is totally fine. This focus group is an exploration of how you feel about different aspects of assessment, it is not in any way an assessment of your feelings and beliefs. The questions are not rigid, but are meant as a stimulus for your ideas. So please feel free to not answer questions, to voice your difficulty with any of the questions, or to comment on areas that are not covered by the questions.

You will notice that all of the questions enquire about your feelings in relation to various aspects of assessment. Feelings are generally not talked about outside of our circles of trusted friends and family. So why is this research using feelings as a way of gaining insight into assessment? I am using Martha Nussbaum's (2001) theory of emotions, which defines emotions as a cognitive and evaluative feeling towards something. Emotions are essential elements of human intelligence and motivation, related to our beliefs and goals. They alert us to things or events we consider important and valuable in our lives and how those things impact on our identity. They make us notice which things / events help us to flourish and which do not. Thus emotions should not be ignored when we are trying to understand or deal with a problem. In this research I am trying to understand the impact of assessment policy on teachers. Teachers' emotions towards assessment are thus a crucial focus of enquiry.

When you participate in the focus group discussion, please will you fill in and bring the two attached forms. The first form asks for your consent to me using your opinions and ideas for

my research. The second form requests some basic biographical and demographical information about you and the type of school you work in. I ask for your name so that my records are accurate. The information about the school will be used to check if there are any patterns across different types of schools. But there is no need to mention the name of the school. I assure you that the final research report will treat all the information I receive as confidential.

There is no financial benefit to you for participating in this research. But I hope that reflecting on, listening to other teachers and talking about your emotions around assessment will give you new insights into yourself and your assessment practice. Should you have any negative emotional effects after participating in the discussion, I will refer you to a clinical psychologist and will cover the payment for your first session.

With thanks

Carola Steinberg
PhD student at the Wits School of Education
Tel: 083 414 4870 / 011 882 2131 / 011 717 3192

An interview schedule with the questions for the focus group discussion is attached**.**

Consent Form

Consent to participate in PhD research study on teacher emotions towards assessment, by participating in a focus group discussion

I understand that my participation in the PhD research study "Teacher Emotions towards Assessment" is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw my participation at any point as I wish, without any repercussions.

I agree to participate in a focus group interview, which will be audio-taped and transcribed, with a few other teachers to discuss my emotions as a teacher who works with assessment in the classroom and school. I understand that the discussion is confidential and that when my responses are used to support research findings, they will be presented under a pseudonym.

I understand that I have the right to check the transcript of the discussion I participated in for any inaccuracies of what I said and to make any clarifications or additional comments. If at that point I do not want certain or all sections of what I said to form part of the study, I have the right to withdraw my words.

I understand that there is no financial benefit to me for participating in this research. But if I experience any negative emotional effects because of my participation in the study, I can contact Carola Steinberg and she will refer me to a clinical psychologist from whom I can receive a free counselling session.

I give consent to my confidential contributions being used as part of the findings towards the above-mentioned study and that this can be published as part of the PhD thesis, conference proceedings, journal articles and other academic purposes.

Name

Signature

Date

Appendix 4: Actual interview questions during the first two interviews

You will notice that I was more nervous with the first group, and asked the questions less directly and forgot some questions.
In the second group, I did much more prompting, to make them feel at ease.

In both groups, I added questions in response to what teachers had said.

In both groups the order is occasionally slightly different to the plan, but I have grouped the questions here to fit with the plan.
For example, in the first group I asked about their memories of assessment as a teacher, but they didn't want to do that, as they had prepared memories of assessment from their days as a learner. In the second interview, I asked the learner question first.

In both groups, the most open answers came towards the end, in particular, after I had answered their questions about why I was doing this research.

Planned questions	**Actual questions in P Group**	**Actual questions in S Group**
		Hello, and thank you very, very much for coming. And, I think I want to start maybe with you (K) talking about what you said just now about the causes of stress for you and where assessment fits into that. And then I will start working through the questions here.
1. The value of assessment, and the feelings Assessment is so ingrained in the school system that we seldom stop to think about its social and educational purposes. But it can be useful to look at the big picture every now and then, especially in times like now when assessment policy goals have changed and teachers are being asked to do	So thank you for coming. Thank you again. And you've seen the questions, but I just want to ask a whole lot of different questions about assessment. And my first question is, what do you think is the value of assessment is in schools? I mean, I've gone through stages where I've just thought its got to get scrapped. So I'm happy with any opinion. I've come to a place where I think maybe it is valuable, so I'm asking you what do you think the value of assessment is in schools?	Thank you, that's really useful to place. Ok, um…my first question is: what do you think is the value of assessment? Why do we do it? Why is it valuable? Do you think schools could do without it? What do you think the value is? I'm interested to explore more what you meant when you said, we now assess the whole child and it's more skill based and more varied than before. Can you elaborate on that?

assessment in new ways. • Why do you think assessment is important? • What is its value to you as a teacher? • What do you think is the value of assessment for learners?	What would you say is correct kind of assessment? So do you think that assessment loses its value if it's not done in a language that kids can understand?	
Sometimes our feelings about something are slightly different to our beliefs about the same thing, so it is worth thinking about assessment again from the perspective of our emotions. • What are your feelings when you think about assessment? • Is there any aspect of assessment that makes you particularly happy? • Or particularly upset or uncomfortable?		Ok. Alright so now what I want to ask is…I mean, for all of you it's clear that assessment has a value. So my next question is: how does assessment make you feel? When you do it…you know, what are your feelings around assessment?
2. Memories of assessment Experiences that we have had in the past, particularly experiences that were strongly emotional, often influence how we do things in the present. So I want us to explore our emotional memories - of assessing as teachers and of being assessed as children or as adults. • Was there an incident (or a gradual development) in your life as a teacher when assessing learners caused intense	Can I change subject? Can I ask about your personal memories of assessment? Were there any events as a teacher that shifted your understanding or your emotional response towards assessment? (But they answered only about learner experiences)	Yeah, I mean I agree with all of you. I also think that the new emphasis on formative assessment rather than only summative assessment is a real improvement. Ok. And is there anything as a teacher, once you were a teacher that you remember, that actually made a shift and a change in your understanding of assessment? And that has influenced you? Any particular memory?

emotion? Can you tell the story? • What were the emotions involved and how did you deal with them? • Did the incident and the accompanying emotions generate any changes in your assessment practice? If yes, how?		
• What are your memories of being assessed as a learner? • Think about an incident(s) in your life when being assessed caused intense emotion, be it positive, negative or both? Can you tell the story? • How did you feel? • How did you deal with those emotions at the time? • Do you think this incident and the emotions that came with it might have affected your assessment practice today? If yes, how? If no, how did you deal with it?	This group started talking about their memories before I had the chance to ask the question.	Ok. So, before I ask about your assessment practices, what you do now and how you feel about it, I want to ask about memories. Is there…because I think that often what we do now in assessment is also shaped by our memories. You were saying that just now S, about what you didn't like about assessment when you were a school child. So I'm asking now, is there any particular incident that you remember from when you were a school child that…that imprinted itself on you, that you carried emotions around, and that has in some way affected maybe how you assess now? Can you put a name to that feeling?
3.Issues in your current assessment practice **Assessment policy** Many teachers are confused and frustrated with regards to the assessment policy that is part of the National Curriculum Statement, while others are excited about the new forms of assessment. So I would like to know how	-Okay. Um. Anything …? That's fine. In terms of the policy, I want to know what's your emotional response to the new assessment policies? -Yes. If you could change things, how would you change things to make you feel better about assessment? -Why are they (the CTAs) a waste of time? Or what is it about them that makes them a waste of time?	Thank you. Ok. Um…alright. Now I'm going to ask some questions about general assessment practice. And I want to start with the policy. What's your feeling about the new assessment policy that's come with the National Curriculum Statements? Just talk a bit more about the CTAs

you respond emotionally to the NCS. • Do you work with the assessment policy in the National Curriculum Statement? • What is your emotional response to the assessment policy? • How does the assessment policy relate to your ideals about what makes for good teaching in your subject? • If you could change assessment practice or policy, what would you suggest? • In what ways would this change make you feel better about assessment?	-Shoo. What you guys are talking about now is the whole problem of accountability. That's what it's called in the literature. The teachers are held accountable for the students' work, but especially teachers in lower socio economic classes and schools, they get completely demoralised because their children can't achieve at the same level as more higher socio economic kids. If you want to talk more about that I'd be really interested. -What are the portfolio frustrations for you, in your school? -Can I ask a clarificatory question. From the outside, the way I understood the portfolios is that they were supposed to be a learning experience. They were supposed to support teachers in creating tasks that enabled learning. So why is that not happening? Why do they not count? Why are they unreasonable?	

Learners Research studies (and your memories) show that students feel intensely about assessment, and that teachers get emotionally involved with their students' results – they want their learners to do well, they identify with their learners and get upset when learners don't do well, etc. I'd like us to talk a bit about how your feel towards your learners with regards to assessment. • Think back about students of yours who failed. Maybe you expected them to do well, but they didn't. Maybe you knew all along that they would fail. What happened? • How did you feel about them? About the situation? • Think back about students who passed well. How did that make you feel? • How do you think you are supposed to feel about students and their results? • How does that compare to how you actually feel?	Talk a bit more about that. How do students' results make you feel? Oooh. (Unclear laughter and interjections) Oh no, I think you guys are heroes. Okay, um, so can we move to learners? Think about learners of yours that failed. What happened and how did you feel about them? Or learners who passed well? What happened and how do you feel about them? So what's your relationship, your emotional relationship to learners in terms of their success and failure? (silence). … That's a complicated one.	- Ok. Learners. There's a lot of research that shows that teachers identify quite strongly with their learners. And they get very happy when the learners do well and they feel very disappointed or frustrated or guilty when the learners don't do so well. So I'm asking you, how do you feel towards your learners in an assessment situation? And maybe, how does that compare to a teaching situation? How do the feelings change from teaching situations to assessment situations in response to learners? - What do you mean 'the marks is the same'? - So you're saying two things. One you're saying…what you were saying is that you reward effort. If the kids are making an effort you (Sus) want to give a higher mark. And the two of you were saying…your current…well you (K) were saying your emotional state in response to what you're marking makes a difference, and you (S) were saying your response to that particular kid makes a difference. Now it's… - Now, do you think that allowing emotions into the process of assessment, given that we're talking about open ended assessments, ok, not correct answers or not, I mean, those are objective and there's no issue there. But the more open ended ones. Do you think it's a problem to bring emotions into the nature of that judgment?
Marking Marking is as aspect of teaching that never ends. It is supposed to be done objectively,	Thank you. Ok. Marking? … I want that on video. How does it (marking) make you *feel*?	Ok. Um…alright, let's look at marking. I mean, you've talked a little bit about marking already but I want to talk a bit more. I mean, my experience of marking is that it's the shadow side of teaching.

and without emotion, but I know from my own experience that is not the case. So I want to find out what you feel when you are marking. Think back to a time recently when you had a big pile of marking. • What type of assessment was it? How long did it take you per script and how many scripts did you have? • How did you feel before you started marking? • And during marking? • Were there any scripts that frustrated you? Or surprised you? Or made you feel excited? • And how did you feel afterwards? • Did you do anything with all those feelings, e.g. speak to students or colleagues, change the marks? • Are some forms of marking easier to deal with emotionally than others? • Do you feel responsible for students' results?	Shoo. Alright, now, I'm going to give you my theory on marking. I think that marking is the shadow side of teaching, because in teaching you have the potential for learning, for growth, for flourishing. And in marking, you're faced with the inevitability of imperfection. So I want to know, do you ever think about your marking afterwards, or are you so pleased that you made it through the pit that you never think about it again? So when they're in tears, what do you do? I find exactly the same thing. I can't remember what people write, so the only way to say is, bring me your piece of paper, let's go through it again together, so that I can remember. So do you give written feedback on the thing and is your feedback: good, bad, try harder? Or is your feedback, hey you didn't understand this? What kind of written feedback do you give? Or don't you because of what you said earlier about, it's like too much and too exhausting and you just want to get it over with?	*Laughs* You thought it was only you? No. And it's interesting that you all went down to…with your heads to the table…um…in agreement. I mean, it's like when I'm teaching it's got potential, it's got growth, it's got excitement. Me and my students are learning and growing. And when I'm marking I'm faced with the inevitability of imperfection. So I want a bit more from you…talk about that, how it is for you and what you feel? And why do you think that is? Just … what kind of emotion? So how does that make you feel? Maybe I can ask one more question about this: when you (Sus) have these feelings of failure, or you (K) have the feeling of a little bit of happiness, because it's interesting, and you (S) have that feeling of…now I've forgotten…

Report writing and accountability In my experience, there seems to be a general sense of panic about report admin deadlines and despair about students' achievement in the air at the time of year when marks have to be handed in. It's only at prize giving ceremonies that satisfaction or happiness returns. • Does that concur with your experience? • What are your feelings about the end of term/year reports you need to prepare for the school? • And the feelings of your colleagues? • Do you think there are ways of working that could make this process less stressful? • Are there any other issues in the school or with the education department that affect how you feel about being accountable for assessment results?	November and report writing time and accountability. What reporting responsibilities do you have? And how you feel about those? Now there's some of the teachers that I teach, from township schools, who complain bitterly about all the information they have to fill in if they want to fail a child. Do you have that problem?	Good, thank you. Ok, report writing and, sort of, accountability demands. I mean, at the university, November time is marking time and there's like this general air of depression. (Yeah) And it changes a bit with graduation when it's all over. So I'm asking, how do you feel during report writing time? What are the things that stand out for you most emotionally? And do you need to report to parents? And the report just has marks or also comments? And do you have any problems or any issues around if you want to fail a child? And the paper work associated with that? What's it, the 403 forms or something the forms that you have to fill in for the department? ? the admin is?
4. Managing emotions There is no one way of dealing with emotions. We feel them, ignore them, shift them onto others, express them in some environments but not in others, forget about them or change them. But strong emotions related to a particular event or issue have a tendency to come back each time we are	Okay, um, last area. Managing your emotions. You've all used the word frustration several times. What do you do to keep yourselves sufficiently happy to carry on teaching? So did she (the principal?) make changes? You're really leaving (teaching)?	Ok, that leads me into my next question: what do you do with these feelings? Ok, how do you get to the place of not taking it personally anymore? What do you do with your feeling of failure? How do you extend your feeling of happiness? So I'm asking, how do you manage and work with and do things with these feelings? Or do you ignore them?

reminded of that issue. When these emotions are angry, painful or in other ways difficult, that can make it difficult for us to continue working well. During this interview, you have talked about happy and upsetting emotions towards assessment issues. My question now is about how you deal with and manage your emotions. • What do you do when you feel strong, pleasurable emotions? • What do you do when you feel strong difficult emotions? • How do you think you are 'supposed to' feel about assessment? • What do you do when you feel differently?	Just tell me what the other side is. What the other side consists of.	Ok. Um…yeah, I do want to ask once more about just managing your emotions in general. Um…it's like we've got lots of ways of dealing with emotions. Sometimes we ignore them, sometimes we deny them, like you said at the beginning you don't have any emotions, and then it changed. *Laughs* Exactly! So that's what I want to know. Ok, so what is it about this time of year that makes life more stressful? Ok, now, why do you think that's happening? Now do you think assessment could have anything to do with it being 'this time of year'? Why was it this time of year that was so stressful? So, just talk a bit more. What are the stress factors? What is it that sets off the pain in your back?
		And my last question is: do you think…I mean, I didn't realise that you were all working in a special school. Do you think that your um, attitudes and feelings around assessment are shaped in any way by being in a special school, that it might be different to a normal school or do you think it's pretty much the same?

		I mean, you haven't talked about that, maybe I should ask. Do you at your school have to write standardised assessments? Like you were talking about the CTA now. And then suddenly you have to do a lot of teaching. Ok. Is it a problem for you, if you have to do standardised assessments, is it a problem for you that your kids have to write the same assessment task compared to all the other kids in other schools? And how does that make you feel? But I mean, alright, if you say it has nothing to do with the emotions, then my question is: well how does it make you feel to have had a support and now the support has been taken away? Ok, so this is my last question: how do you feel when all your kids get 30% in higher grade? What does it do to your morale as a teacher that your kids are compared in the exam with other school kids, other schools' kids, and you end up with a bunch of 30%s?
5. Ending the Interview • Is there anything else you would like to say about your understanding of assessment and the feelings it generates in you? • Is there anything you would like to ask me?	Is there anything else you want to say? Is there anything you want to ask me? You're amazing. All three of you. You've been really amazing. Is there anything that I can offer you that might be supportive?	That's it. Alright, so then, is there anything else that you would like to say about assessment and your feelings, or what makes you happy, what makes you frustrated, what makes you sad? Anything else that wants to be said? Anything that you want to ask me? So that's the one area. That's like emotional

		labour for teachers. It's like, how do you deal with it? And there is an article if you're interested that talks about a functional use of emotions versus dysfunctional use of emotions. Would you be interested? Thank you. Anything you want to add? Is that it? Thank you very much. *Break* Sus: What you guys say ….. Please put that on, it's useful. Just say what you said about it's scary and emotional and say why. Why do you (K) think we judged you? And if you did, you were very brave, because you said lots of things. Ok, so then this is a deal. This was a confidential conversation. When I write about it, I won't use your names and you don't go and tell other teachers. Because that does have to…otherwise the sense of trust just goes. And I mean, you've (S) made a big shift in this hour. You started off saying, I don't have emotions and you ended off saying, I hate this, it's scary, I'm embarrassed. You started using all sorts of emotion words, and giving expression to your feelings. So, you've (K) also been really brave this hour. Why do you think you should get rid of the emotion? *Laughter*

Appendix 5: Letters requesting feedback from teachers

20 February 2011

Dear ……

Attached are drafts of the first 3 chapters describing the data I have collected for my doctoral study on teachers' emotions towards assessment. As you were one of the group discussion participants who contributed to this study, I am sending you these chapters for your interest and in the hope of receiving your comment on the work so far.

I would deeply appreciate your comment on the following 4 issues. You can comment on any one or on all of them, as you prefer. If you would like to make an appointment for me to come and listen to your comments (rather than you writing), that would also be fine.

1. Overall comment

Taken overall, does the story of teachers' emotions towards assessment ring true? Do you agree with the emphasis on learner achievement, the description of the difficulties intrinsic to the task of doing assessment and the crescendo of feelings towards the accountability demands of the department? Do you think I have managed to combine all your individual voices in such a way that something truthful about teachers in general is emerging? What are your feelings as you read these chapters?

2. Particular comment

As far as my use of your words goes – have I captured what you wanted to say? Is there any place where I have misrepresented you and you would like to suggest any changes in emphasis or wording? Or are there any additional comments you want to make?

3. Your pseudonym

Are you ok with the pseudonym that I have given you? If not, please give me a different one, as long as it begins with the same letter as your first name.
The names are:
C group: Celiwe
D group: Danielle, Vicky, Celia
K group: Khumbula, Thobile, Ntokozo
M group: Hlubi, Mathoto, Joyce
P group: Theresa, Lynne, Charlotte
R group: Cuvanya, Perusha, Josie
S group: Susanne, Katarina, Sandi

4. Additional data

I'm still writing 2 more chapters on the data to illustrate the implicit emotional rules that shape teachers' emotions and the emotional labour that teachers need to perform. I'll send those when they are done – hopefully in a month or two. So if you think there was something important you said, but it has not appeared here, don't worry, as it might still come. In the meantime, let me know if you feel strongly about an assessment issue that you think needs to be added to these chapters or be dealt with in the case studies.

I want to thank you for participating in this study. I have been working a lot with your words and feelings, and always I like what you say and how you say it. I feel privileged to be spending time with you. It has not been easy for me to describe your pain and confusions – as the emotions of the accountability chapter coursed through my body I got sick before I could write at all – but always I felt surrounded by people of integrity with a teachers' heart. Your learners are lucky to have you.

With best wishes
Carola

Carola Steinberg
011 717 3192
011 882 2131
083 414 4870

18 December 2011

Dear ……

Thank you for the thoughtful feedback you have given so far. In February I sent you three chapters describing teachers' emotions for comment. I have used the comments I received to edit details of those chapters and also to comment on the process of this work in the methodology chapter. Each comment I received was valuable.

I am now sending you two more chapters for comment. These chapters deal with emotional rules and labour, i.e. they analyse your (collective) expressions about what you think you ought to feel about assessment and how you ought to deal with your emotions. These chapters are more analytical than the three I sent previously, and I would really appreciate your feedback on whether I got it right or not – especially from those of you whose ideas I used extensively. I am also attaching a section of my literature review in which I describe what emotional rules and labour are, so that you can get a theoretical background to the concepts.

Some of you gave feedback after the last chapters saying 'yes, that is how it is, but its so depressing and what is the way out?'. Well, these chapters are the beginning of the way out, because they try to understand the mechanisms of how the emotions are generated socially. On the basis of that clearer understanding, it should become possible to begin seeing a way out. But that will only be written up in the last chapter – which I will send to you in about June 2012.

In the meantime, I would deeply appreciate your comment on these two chapters. You can comment in any way you wish – by emailing or by talking to me on the phone (in which case I will take notes furiously). I will phone you in January. If you want to talk face to face, I am happy to come to you.

I thank you again for participating in this study. I have learned a lot from working with your ideas.

With best wishes
Carola

Carola Steinberg
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Appendix 6: Feedback from teachers on Chapters 4, 5, 6

Written Comment from PG-Theresa

1. Overall comment

As an overall comment, I think you have very accurately captured the feelings, frustrations and emotions of most teachers. All the teachers in your sample seem to be talking with the same voice and I think you have very successfully combined the opinions of a few to create a truthful reality about teacher's emotions in terms of assessment, learner achievement and accountability.

Teaching has become a very emotional profession (much more so than in the past and I think this is because we are dealing with such diverse and sad stories in the learners we teach – we are human and I think in teachers this caring quality is intrinsic to the profession (teachers are people and this makes dealing with children's sadness very difficult). We therefore have to weigh up the effort we put in vs. what the children are able to do based on their circumstances. I am not making excuses for poor performance or accepting mediocrity but the circumstances of some children are dire and I value effort and good or improved results in the 'weaker' children more than the excellent results of the top children who would get the results without much input from us anyway.

As for the department, they are certainly my biggest frustration as their demands are totally unrealistic and, in many cases, not academically sound. They want improvement and they change things (not least of all the curriculum) and then expect instant results. They have no capacity to provide any worthwhile assistance to teachers who need help and they have no idea what a real classroom environment is like (in most schools i.e. class sizes are too big, no resources, etc.).

They require all this administrative work from us but cannot give any constructive feedback. Most teachers in the survey seemed to express similar views.

Going through these chapters was a bit depressing actually as 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. Unless something positive happens more teachers are going to leave the profession for 'greener pastures'.

2. Particular comment

I think you have captured my particular comments pretty accurately – in particular my irritation with the department and their unrealistic demands on teachers and their inability to offer any constructive help to teachers.

I personally don't get overly emotional about poor learner performance (this came out very strongly from some of the other teachers) but this may be because I teach in a school where generally learners do perform well most of the time (especially by the time they get to matric). I think this total lack of hope and despair at repeated learner poor performance has a contextual factor to it (I am not sure what schools the other teachers were from) and is also based on the expectations the teachers have on the learners in terms of achievement . We

have very high expectations in terms of achievement, and although not all learners get there at the same time, they eventually do all achieve very well. Having said that we do have to work really hard with the learners right from Grade 8, drumming into them that poor performance and excuses for poor performance are not acceptable, while bearing in mind the contexts and backgrounds they are coming from (we have many learners from poor, disadvantaged backgrounds and even they manage to achieve very well by the time they get to matric as we do not allow them to use this as an excuse.

Nowhere in these chapters do I feel I have been misquoted (I was not quoted a lot, especially in the first two chapters, and I think this is because I do not feel the raw emotion that the others seem to feel). I am not necessarily saying this emotion is wrong or inaccurate as I think it is felt by most teachers – I just don't let it get to me.

3. My pseudonym

I am happy with my name – it does not need to change.

4. Additional data

I can't really think of anything else at this point but should anything else come up I will let you know.

Phone comment from DG-Danielle

It's quite an accurate portrayal; it is portrayed effectively; nothing needs to be changed; it is accurate and it is good that this issue is being looked at.
Interesting to note how different people were saying the same thing.

I found it depressing to see the sadness and disillusionment from dedicated people. I'm hoping it will go to the department. We've been heard – so now what?

The department should just see which people are doing fine – check once, see that the standard is fine, and then leave them alone.

Their antagonistic approach does not help anybody. Like at a subject meeting they tell us: if you choose your own topics for assessment, you must give a suitable standard. If it is not up to standard, we will make you do it again. They are in our face the whole time, lecturing us in such a patronising way. They say that there should be zero tolerance for language errors, but actually, the people lecturing us are making language errors.

We need compassionate truth telling. We need less surveillance and more support. The TED was never this restrictive, so prescriptive. When N.V. was the department facilitator, he used his discretion, he never patronised us, but they made him leave when he turned 65. They need a shift from hierarchical to diversity thinking; they need to accept differences, not expect us to be form-filling clones.

Phone comment from DG-Cheryl

I read it when I first got it – the thing that occurred to me is that it is all very sad. My question is: Will it make a difference? It's pretty valuable but will anybody act on it?

It made me think – I had another incident with the department recently – I would walk out if I had another job. This young person telling me that 'you did not comply' and 'I must report you to the subject advisor for non-compliance' – when in fact I had complied – she was just throwing her weight around. I think if I could get a job in a bookshop that paid enough, I would take it.

Your work is great, it's good writing, but it's sad, yet it's the truth. If it goes anywhere, it will do us a service.

I don't want their 'support' – all they do is check our work and they have a chip on their shoulder. I don't need a 20 year old to moderate the marking of my essays – I've been doing this for 30 years. They just harass you. It would be great if we could lay a complaint whenever they harass us.

I've decided I'm not playing that game of compliance anymore. I can tell my principal – the more cross I get, the more articulate and calm I become.

Normally I am the kind of person who wants to stay under the radar, but now they must stay away. They are just trying to make points, rather than getting on with it. There is also an undertone of racism.

As I work at a small private school, we don't need the GDE. I'm doing 3 jobs, as I am the breadwinner in the family, and each one is in a different system. The IEB is a better alternative, it treats us a little more like professionals. Cambridge is even better, its fantastic, they leave us alone to teach and they just supply the exams, but their standard is much higher and it requires committed learners.

The pseudonym Cheryl is fine.

Phone comment from DG-Vivian

What you wrote sounded accurate.

On p 8, I don't remember saying 'demoted'. (She is correct – she said teachers 'were given' lower grades. In my attempt to make it read easier, I had exaggerated.)
On p 15, I don't remember saying 'undermined' – that is something that Debbie would say. (She is correct – the number of the quote was correct, but the initial had slipped up one utterance – it was C who said those words.)

I felt depressed, despair even, after reading, because it was so accurate.

It's a crappy profession, there is no joy, I can't think of much positive to say about it, even though I enjoy it. It's like an internal gratification. I can't say to a new teacher 'it will get better' – there's no money, praise or reward. If someone's not coping, I can't say it will get

better – unless you feel the internal gratification of doing a good job. And that's hard to achieve, because you need to feel that you are a good teacher.

There needs to be a positive aspect in what you are writing, because reading it and identifying with the problems, I was saddened.

You should have a workshop with the department and tell them of your findings.

It sounds great.

Written Feedback from RG-Cuvanya

Hi Carola,

Was good to see you again yesterday.

Started reading your chapters. WOW! What a lot of work you have invested into that. The analysis of what we all said could not have been easy. I realise why you said in your letter that you got sick. I guess your topic is also an emotional experience for you! So far I am happy with what you have said about my comments.

The pseudonym is cute, thank you! It feels strange seeing comments you have made under a name that is not your own! I love your writing style - it is easy to read and understand and there is a very pleasant tone used. I would love to see your lit review at a later stage if you don't mind - just to have an idea how you were able to bring other literature into your study.

I received this notification that I'm forwarding to you, maybe you did too? It looks like something that would help your study involving narratives?

Take care, Carola!

Phone feedback from RG-Perusha

I read the first chapter. I never imagined it to look like this, but it made sense of what we told you. It definitely is true – we are very emotional about our own achievement based on our learner achievement. Teachers are accountable as they want learner achievement.

It's interesting – we thought it was the primary school teachers that did not care, but you show that teachers care across the board.

I agree with much of what was written. (When I ask what she did not agree with), she said: I'm in agreement with most, don't have it in front of me now, I can't remember what I would not agree with. (This feedback was given in December 2011, when I phoned about the next chapters. When I had phoned at the beginning of the year, she was nursing a baby and moving town – and later I did not phone again.)

Phone feedback from RG-Josie

I can see that my words were those of a very new teacher. You need to mention that I was a first year teacher. I can see it's the words of a new teacher – it was nice to look back on it. I have learned a lot since then. I feel different, but the sparks I had then are still with me. I enjoyed my naivety.

While reading, I found myself smiling and identifying – not just with what I said, but with what others said. I put smiley faces in spaces. I giggled. It was nice to read about it, nice and refreshing to read. We never read about these things and teachers don't talk about them.

I am happy with my pseudonym.

I would love to read more chapters.

(By chance, Josie has moved to one of the other schools where I interviewed teachers, so I asked her whether she could recognize which of her new colleagues had participated.) She answered: Actually, I can't pinpoint my current colleagues, I couldn't pick it up at all.

Written feedback from KG-Khumbula

Comments on Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of your doctoral study on "Teachers' Emotions Towards Assessment".

I would like to congratulate you for having successfully finished three out of five chapters of your doctoral study. The amount of details in each chapter, with regard to teachers' strongly expressed emotions in relation to learner achievement, to doing assessment and to structures of accountability, shows how dauntless you are.

As one of the group discussion participants who contributed to this study, I feel the sense of honour, pride and encouragement to be associated with such an abstract but also well-grounded study about teachers. I am truly impressed by the coherence in each chapter and between chapters. The manner in which chapters of this study have been organized depicts a careful build-up from bright teacher moments to depressing ones.

Chapter 4 is the better one because we were enticed by your interview questions to verbally show our positive efforts not to lose interest in learner achievement. In this chapter, you have captured and explained the essence of our 'emotional roller coaster rides' that; if learners do badly-we feel like we have done something wrong, or learners pass-we feel happy. One of the sophisticated emotions you were able to decipher was either laughter or a sigh shortly after the spoken words. I could not understand why I had expressions of laughter or sighs in my speeches till I read page 8 of this chapter where the meaning of my laughter is made explicit and more meaningful. Correctly so, the following quotation shows the precision of explaining my laughter after talking about curriculum delivery: "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 (p.8)." I believe every word of this explanation as a true reflection of my emotions. This is something truthful about me and other teachers in general.

Chapter 5 is somehow depressing but there are brighter moments in it. The depressing part is largely on the process of marking and the time it takes to finish doing it. But through the depressing process of marking, the brighter moments in marking emerge as teachers described strategies to make marking enjoyable and getting it done. I could not think that marking can ever be enjoyable. It has always been my worst experience. Now, I know that curiosity about my learners' progress leads to enjoying marking. I think this idea is important for improving my marking experience.

Chapter 6 is the most depressing one as it contains issues that arouse very strong emotions. Accountability to the department involves tension between teachers and officials. The incompetence of many, if not all district officials, in terms of assessment issues frustrates us because we'll drown in assessment confusion for too long without proper support.

In concluding, I like the pseudonym given to me. Your knowledge of Zulu names is really good. Only two pseudonyms disturb my memory each time I read them, that of Celiwe and Celia. I find them too similar in the first four letters to the point that I would think that Celiwe could have been automatically changed by the computer into Celia. I hope something can be done to one of these names.

Thank you for sharing your impressive work with me. And also asking for my comments is a value which I hold dearly in my heart. Now, I'm waiting for the last two chapters which you are still writing. Wishing you rejuvenated energy.

With kind regards

Phone feedback from KG-Ntokozo

I read parts of it.
It was accurate what I said.
It was interesting – I learned from others, as I was new at the school.
I'm busy writing an assignment on multilingualism.

Phone feedback from KG-Thobile

When I read, everything there was my feeling, what I am feeling as an educator. I enjoyed reading it; it lifted up my spirit and encouraged me.

(Why?)
Because I never understood why the government wanted us to assess children like this. Now, reading this, it made me to understand the importance of assessment.

(Would you be interested in reading more chapters?)
Yes, I want to see more.

Phone feedback from MG-Hlubi

Go on writing – to me it is wonderful. You have captured it correctly. When I read it, I was so happy.

The S-group did not give me feedback, no matter how often I phoned (Katarina and Sandy) or emailed (Susanne, who has left the country).

Appendix 7: Feedback from Teachers on Chapters 7 and 8

Written Feedback from Khumbula, K Group

Feedback on Chapters 7 & 8

I liked everything which the two chapters touched on, especially the logical and enticing sequence of sub-headings. The sub-headings where you have made comments or summarized the discussions have provided illuminating and deeper understanding of Teachers' Emotional Rules and Labour when dealing with assessment. However, on page 30 of Chapter 7, the paragraph starting with: 'There is a triple bind here...' The sixth line below, starting with 'Thirdly...' suggests that 'Firstly and Secondly should have been used earlier.

In concluding, I would like to say; 'Congratulations for completing these two chapters!

Written feedback from Cuvanya, R Group

Hi Carola,

So sorry for not getting back to you sooner as I promised but you cannot imagine what a crazy week this has been with schools re-opening. 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 after realise that we meant something else. Other times we realise that we said quite the right thing and feel quite pleased about it. I must say that now that I am in management (I was not when you did the interview) I look at learner assessment slightly differently. Now I am able to see the bigger picture - that of the whole school and how we fare compared to provincial or national results. Also I am able to look ahead into how my assessments will help the learner in the future in terms of problem solving. I don't just look at a task as a means for giving the learners marks. 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.

That is all I have to comment on at the moment. If anything else comes up I will certainly drop you another mail.

Good luck and I hope that you meet your submission deadline as intended!

Written feedback from Theresa, P Group

CHAPTER 7

Overall comment

As an overall comment, I think you have accurately captured the emotions (emotional rules and labour) around assessment in education. There are many conflicts between department policy and what is practically and emotionally possible in the classroom.

7.2.1 Professional norms for assessment in general

The problem with working within the professional norms is that the supervisors (district officials) of those professional norms o not necessarily have the qualifications or know-how to do the job adequately and this causes much frustration amongst teachers. They just want to tick boxes and teachers tend to be more creative than that. These supervisors cannot give good advice on our assessment practises.

7.2.2.1 Belief 1: Assessment is essential

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 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.

Assessment can be useful but in order for assessment to be a truly good indicator of achievement, learners also have to do their part in being diligent in preparing for their assessments (after being well-taught).

Children should not be encouraged to measure themselves against other children in the class - they should be encouraged to work against themselves (all children are different and learn at a different pace).

7.2.2.2 Belief 2: Marks are an indicator of achievement, but an incomplete one

Because our school system is still so focussed on marks, teachers tend to 'teach to the test' in order to get good marks (teachers are unfortunately judged on marks – this is wrong but a fact). This creates conflict and does not result in real learning.

Many teachers don't even understand that marks are not the only test of real learning.

Often learners with 7A's in matric do not cope in the world indicating that they have not really grown as people. We need to create people with social skills, personality and academic ability (not only academic ability).

7.2.2.3 Belief 3: Assessment has value only when it is done correctly

Assessment can be done correctly but if the learners don't do their part (i.e. prepare), the assessment still does not necessarily give an accurate indication of progress.

Our system fails as it is practically impossible to allow all learners to be assessed in their home language. These second language English speakers can prepare for assessments and still do badly as they are not proficient in the language of learning – they cannot express themselves correctly. Is this fair? I don't think so but I am not sure what the solution is. This also becomes emotionally difficult for teachers as these learners often try hard.

7.3.1.2 Teacher's beliefs: Feedback should not humiliate learners and needs to be constructive

You have captured my feelings on constructive feedback quite accurately in this section.

Constructive criticism of a general nature can be given in front of the class, otherwise no-one would ever learn anything; the key is not to humiliate individual children.

7.3.1.3 The emotional rules:

Children must, however, understand that making mistakes is how they learn.

7.3.2 The emotional labour of giving feedback

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.

The conflict with feedback is that the department wants it written which is practically impossible.

7.4 Summative Assessment: The emotional rules and labour of dealing with failure

This section is well-written

7.4.1.2 Teacher's belief:
A fail is a fail and covering up the failure is not doing learners a favour

I feel very strongly about this – learners should not progress if they are not competent as it just compounds the problem higher up.

7.4.1.4 Summary

Passing learners who have actually failed and then saying they should get more support in the next grade is wishful thinking.

7.4.2 The emotional labour of dealing with failure

Maintaining fairness is one thing, but we also need to maintain standards.

7.4.2.1 Covering up failure does not enable learner achievement

The progression policy results in a drop in standards.

I agree with the fact that the department does not understand.

This progression policy has an affect 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.

7.4.2.2 Failure feels worse in low socio-economic schools

The socio-economic problem is huge. I can understand how it causes major problems in really poor schools but the problem should not be underestimated in more well-resourced schools. We have learners from both ends of the scale which is sometimes very difficult to deal with as some have and others don't have. This creates its own problems (i.e. jealousy etc.).

Parents also need to play their part in their children's education – they are conveniently left out of most conversations about learners and their schooling.

7.4.2.2.1 The container-classroom primary school …

The department has instituted necessary but unrealistic demands (creates a lot of tension).

The department must take some responsibility for providing functioning schools.
The school curriculum is good but in many cases it is unrealistic.

They talk about going at the right pace for the learners to grasp the content, which means they can't finish the curriculum.
Even I do this in grade 11 and 12 in a well-resourced school – there is no point in rushing the content if the learners have not grasped it (this does cause problems as in many cases we can't finish the curriculum which is unrealistically long).

Disciplining children has become difficult but corporal punishment is not the answer.
Children want teachers to take an interest in them and then they respond positively to you. It takes time and energy (often emotional) but it is worth it.

CHAPTER 8

Overall comment

I think this chapter accurately reflects the fact that teaching is an emotional job, in its very nature, and that teachers bring their own emotions into the equation, which can result in a serious conflict.

The emotions of teachers go beyond just the emotions of teaching and assessment – so many of our learners come to us as 'burdened' due to socio-economic circumstances, broken homes, hunger, etc. and teachers, who are generally caring people (otherwise they would not be in this profession) feel obliged to try and help them. This is an impossible task and causes great conflict within teachers in general. This problem is becoming worse by the year and I don't see a solution to this in the foreseeable future.

In addition to that, teaching is hard work and dedicated teachers spend a lot of time preparing their learners for assessment etc. When the learners don't perform it is disappointing (our job is to get them to perform). However, I think learners, parents and the education department need to take more responsibility for the learners learning - if they put in the effort they will perform (in most cases) and teachers need to realise that they can only do so much. As long as a teacher is doing everything they possibly can, they have nothing to feel guilty about. They are only one spoke in the wheel (as I have said, the learners, parents and the education department also need to play their part).

The education department is totally ineffective at present and they are responsible for selling the teachers short.

Sitting on your emotions is really not healthy, but taking them out on the learners and/or colleagues and/or your family is also not fair. We have to find ways to self-regulate and release this energy in a positive way and I think that exercise is one of the most effective ways of doing this. Finding the time to exercise is another matter.

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 needs 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.

Teachers also cannot afford to become too emotionally involved with the learners – they need to understand what their responsibilities are and stick to those.

Teachers cannot afford to become over-emotional in front of the learners or their colleagues as you tend to lose credibility and the learners will take advantage of this – know what your triggers are and work on avoiding those triggers or learn how to manage them effectively.

As teachers we have to be very careful not to lower our expectations of our learners (just to avoid being disappointed). Children respond to expectations - if we expect a lot from them and show we believe in them they will deliver (first you have to have built up a good relationship with them through showing them you are prepared to put in the effort, being prepared for class etc.). Our job is to get the best out of them and lowering our expectations is not professional and not what we are paid to do.

Teaching is a stressful job (that is not going to change) and we do have to learn to manage the stress.

Written feedback from Vicky, D Group (17. 01. 2012)

I've read part of it, but have not finished. It is really interesting, but I worked through it slowly.

It gave me food for thought about myself and about how I give feedback. It made me wonder why I feel it is a waste of time to go through a maths test when I hand it back after marking. I do give learners feedback on their homework. But when it comes to tests I feel it is a waste of time because that section of work was done thoroughly and I stopped because kids were not learning and listening but were often disruptive during that feedback. So I just give them the memo and they go through the memo fishing for marks and then they come to me and ask for more marks on specific questions and then we can have a discussion.

It was interesting to re-examine the way I do things. Like giving feedback on homework – my policy is: they do homework, I ask if they had any problems, the person with a problem writes up their answer and then the whole class interacts. I emphasise that mistakes are a wonderful opportunity to learn. I also make sure that we are pulling apart the work, not the person.

P9 – the remedy is 'Biral'

I am a slow reader, even with a novel, I only read 2-3 pages a night. I might even continue reading and then I'll phone if I think of anything.
Comparing the policy / belief / emotional rule made sense to me.

Telephone feedback from Hlubi, M Group (29. 01. 2012)
(Hlubi has become the principal of the school.)

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.

For example, this year they introduced the GPLS, a new way of teaching for the Foundation Phase (last year it was Foundations for Learning FFL for intermediate phase). The educators have gone to workshops, which reduces their classroom time. This GPLS gives more workload to teachers and learners – instead of 1 book per learning area for the year in Grade 2, there are 4 books for each of the 3 learning areas.

On Friday, the inspectors came to our school to see how we were working with the GPLS, but we have not yet received the manuals that we are supposed to follow. I haven't seen the inside of one of the books yet. The manuals tell teachers what to do day by day. The school year started two weeks ago, so now our learners are already two weeks behind. They won't be able to catch up. It's really difficult.

It's a problem – the planners plan, but they don't look at what is happening in the schools. If they could see what teachers are feeling, maybe they could do something.

Really, what you have written is good. For us, to keep on trying is the best.

Telephone feedback from Perusha, R group (25.02. 2012)

I found the research very interesting, easy to read and very valuable.

I enjoyed the theory of emotional rules – it make me realize that we are expected to show a reaction to situations; so if we don't live up to those expectations as a teacher, then it would be like shooting in the dark, we would become more fraught with emotions, but no one cares.

The theory married very nicely with the description and it is crucial for us to understand that you might repress emotions, but then they come out towards the next person and in other places. What you wrote is amazingly, shockingly true.

Certain schools are more emotional than others, but I find it valuable to accept that we have emotions. We just need to understand it and then we could do things better. It would help if you could give feedback to our school.

The entire experience is emotional, for all. If we don't understand our emotions, then …. (I couldn't write fast enough). Our approach changes when we learn that our worldview is an emotional view and that even when we are marking, we do it in accordance with our emotions. Normally we just label the judgement as favouritism, because no one acknowledges their emotions. Now I know it is not favouritism, it is an emotional experience – so that makes it more human, rather than seeing it as favouritism from a non-emotional teacher. I had never seen it as an emotional experience before. Where were you when I needed you 10 years ago?

It is very hard for a teacher to express their emotions – they are not expected to be human, to eat, smile, drink, have friends. Kids still have an idea of the teacher as unemotional, not being human. And we took that expectation on. My 2008 group, I was fond of them. So I talked to them more openly – but still with the idea in the back of my mind that it will come back to bite me. I never cried in front of the class – they don't accept that we are emotional as teachers.

So this was an epiphany. It would be helpful to offer workshops. But it must be a non-threatening approach, no telling teachers what to do.

I was an emotional teacher, but I didn't understand it. If I had, I could have gone from being a tyrant in the class to being a softi 'mam. We have to get to the point of trusting that in front of them all you can show affection – we are scared to praise learners as we can get accused of favouritism. We tend to shut the kids up, not acknowledging that I am an emotional being. So we act like I'm just here to do the job, just have to survive, and if we don't keep discipline then we are judged in the classroom – all because we don't have the emotional tools to understand and do that.

Appendix 8: Final list of codes generated by Atlas.ti

Code-Filter: All

HU: PhD Final
File: [E:\Data\WordDocs\A PhD\Atlas\Text bank\PhdFinal.hpr5]
Edited by: Super
Date/Time: 2013/01/07 11:46:13 AM

***Attributions**
***SEE - Doing Assessment**
***SEE - Learner Achievement**
***strongly expressed emotions**
***Structural Vulnerability**
about emotions
assertion-anger
assessment tasks
attribution- learners
attribution- self
attribution- system
attribution-problem
aversion-fear
cluster meetings
Co-occur attribution- self and attribution-system
Co-occur attribution- self and attribution learners
Co-occur attribution- system and attribution learners
Co-occur department and reporting demands
Co-occur personal history and feedback
Co-occur personal history and judgement - being judged
Co-occur personal history and strongly expressed emotions
Co-occur SEE-department - anger
Co-occur SEE-department - fear
Co-occur SEE-department - happiness
Co-occur SEE-department - sadness
Co-occur SEE-policy - anger
Co-occur SEE-policy - fear
Co-occur SEE-policy - happiness
Co-occur SEE-policy - sadness
Co-occur SEE-reporting demands - anger
Co-occur SEE-reporting demands - fear
Co-occur SEE-reporting demands - happiness
Co-occur SEE-reporting demands - sadness
Co-occur SEE - LA and about emotions
Co-occur SEE - LA and assessment tasks
Co-occur SEE - LA and cluster meetings
Co-occur SEE - LA and colleagues
Co-occur SEE - LA and comparison with pre-OBE assessment
Co-occur SEE - LA and department
Co-occur SEE - LA and enabling learner achievements
Co-occur SEE - LA and feedback
Co-occur SEE - LA and image of the profession
Co-occur SEE - LA and judgement - being judged
Co-occur SEE - LA and judgement - making it
Co-occur SEE - LA and language
Co-occur SEE - LA and learner characteristics
Co-occur SEE - LA and marking
Co-occur SEE - LA and personal history
Co-occur SEE - LA and policy
Co-occur SEE - LA and portfolios
Co-occur SEE - LA and purpose and value

Co-occur SEE - LA and reporting demands
Co-occur SEE - LA and self-image
Co-occur SEE - LA and self-image and learner characteristics
Co-occur SEE - LA and teaching
Co-occur SEE - LA and working conditions
colleagues
comparison with pre-OBE assessment
dealing with failure
department
disappointment-sadness
enabling learner achievement
feedback
image of profession
judgement - being judged
judgement - making it
language
learner characteristics
marking
Methodology
my research purposes
parents
personal history
policy
portfolios
principal
purpose and value
reporting demands
satisfaction-happiness
SEE - about emotions
SEE - department
SEE - feedback
SEE - image of profession
SEE - judgement
SEE - learner achievement
SEE - marking
SEE - policy
SEE - purpose and value
SEE - reporting demands
SEE - working conditions
self-image
striking metaphor
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened
SV-access to internal goods
teaching
working conditions

CODES-PRIMARY-DOCUMENTS-TABLE (CELL=Q-FREQ)
Report created by Super - 2013/01/07 10:44:50 AM
"HU: [E:\Data\WordDocs\A PhD\Atlas\Text bank\PhdFinal.hpr5]"

Code-Filter: All [97]
PD-Filter: All [7]
Quotation-Filter: All [530]

	PRIMARY DOCS							
CODES	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
*Attributions	12	14	20	8	18	12	4	88
*SEE - Doing Assessm	18	16	14	13	12	6	8	87
*SEE - Learner Achie	6	18	12	12	15	12	6	81
*strongly expressed	56	63	41	40	44	40	15	299
*Structural Vulnerab	25	19	35	17	27	13	10	146
about emotions	4	4	21	19	9	11	1	69
assertion-anger	16	22	9	7	11	7	0	72
assessment tasks	0	7	5	2	2	4	2	22
attribution- learner	5	8	9	6	3	5	1	37
attribution- self	3	10	12	3	9	3	3	43
attribution- system	8	1	7	2	9	7	1	35
attribution-problem	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	5
aversion-fear	6	4	11	1	10	5	2	39
cluster meetings	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	6
Co-occur attribution	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
Co-occur attribution	3	7	6	3	2	2	1	24
Co-occur attribution	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	5
Co-occur department	7	9	5	3	6	1	0	31
Co-occur personal hi	1	0	6	1	4	0	2	14
Co-occur personal hi	3	3	5	3	4	3	1	22
Co-occur personal hi	3	5	6	5	5	3	1	28
Co-occur SEE-departm	9	10	7	2	8	3	0	39
Co-occur SEE-departm	3	1	5	1	7	1	1	19
Co-occur SEE-departm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Co-occur SEE-departm	5	5	5	0	4	2	0	21
Co-occur SEE-policy	2	0	1	1	3	4	0	11
Co-occur SEE-policy	0	0	4	0	2	0	1	7
Co-occur SEE-policy	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
Co-occur SEE-policy	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	4
Co-occur SEE-reporti	6	14	0	2	1	0	0	23
Co-occur SEE-reporti	4	3	1	0	1	4	0	13
Co-occur SEE-reporti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Co-occur SEE-reporti	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
Co-occur SEE - LA an	1	0	4	2	2	0	0	9
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	2	2	1	0	1	0	6
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	5
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	2	5	0	2	0	9
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	5
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	3	1	1	5	8	0	18
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	6
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	4
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	2	1	3	0	0	1	7
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	1	0	4	1	2	8
Co-occur SEE - LA an	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Co-occur SEE - LA an	2	0	4	1	2	2	4	15
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	5	4	4	1	1	0	15
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	4	1	2	1	1	0	9
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	6

Co-occur SEE - LA an	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	4
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	4	0	0	3	1	8
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Co-occur SEE - LA an	5	8	5	5	9	4	2	38
Co-occur SEE - LA an	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	6
Co-occur SEE - LA an	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	4
Co-occur SEE - LA an	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
colleagues	0	3	11	7	8	2	2	33
comparison with pre-	4	2	9	13	5	7	2	42
dealing with failure	9	4	13	10	16	12	4	68
department	12	23	11	7	24	6	1	84
disappointment-sadne	6	5	6	2	5	4	0	28
enabling learner ach	2	5	7	4	15	13	2	48
feedback	13	1	6	1	7	1	5	34
image of profession	6	9	7	2	3	2	2	31
judgement - being ju	3	6	5	4	6	3	2	29
judgement - making i	1	0	5	5	21	2	8	42
language	5	0	0	1	5	0	2	13
learner characterist	23	0	26	14	15	5	8	91
marking	10	18	13	15	4	3	4	67
Methodology	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
my research purposes	1	2	6	4	2	3	0	18
parents	2	1	1	1	7	3	0	15
personal history	3	5	12	7	5	6	4	42
policy	4	6	17	6	16	10	4	63
portfolios	11	0	2	6	0	0	3	22
principal	0	3	2	5	2	0	0	12
purpose and value	13	2	15	6	3	3	3	45
reporting demands	16	17	7	8	13	5	1	67
satisfaction-happine	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3
SEE - about emotions	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	9
SEE - department	11	14	9	3	16	4	1	58
SEE - feedback	8	3	2	1	1	1	2	18
SEE - image of profe	6	5	0	4	0	1	0	16
SEE - judgement	4	0	4	4	9	2	3	26
SEE - learner achiev	6	18	12	12	15	12	6	81
SEE - marking	7	14	9	8	2	3	3	46
SEE - policy	2	0	7	3	5	6	1	24
SEE - purpose and va	3	0	1	0	1	0	2	7
SEE - reporting dema	8	16	1	2	3	4	0	34
SEE - working condit	6	4	1	0	0	2	0	13
self-image	19	15	17	11	11	6	8	87
striking metaphor	5	1	11	0	15	3	3	38
strongly expressed e	56	63	41	40	44	40	15	299
SV-access threatened	19	14	15	13	22	9	8	100
SV-access to interna	6	5	20	4	5	4	2	46
teaching	2	1	6	2	2	0	2	15
working conditions	24	11	1	6	2	2	0	46
Totals	557	568	639	435	590	370	189	3348

Appendix 10:
Exploring the meaning of the physical emotional pain

What do you, my body, have to say about the emotional journey of teachers in relation to the department?

Lips:
It's totally depressing. There are only 3 quotes about policy that express any positive emotion. All the other quotes of strongly expressed emotion deal with disappointment, stress, fear and anger. Fear often occurred in the first part of the interview and was then overtaken by anger. But I think back wants to talk.

Back:
I am in pain because I do not want to go there. I feel so unsupported, just like the teachers. I lack warmth in the present and the promise of a better future. How will it ever get better if the department does not support us? We, the muscles in your back, cannot constantly keep holding up the heavy spine without a warm cushion to support us, in the same way as the teachers cannot keep on holding the learners to produce good results, unless they are warmly supported by the department.

Bladder:
I am bursting with urine, just like the teachers are bursting with frustration. They need to have a space to release and be heard, so that they can recover and start focusing on their work – which is what they actually want to do, judging by the relationship between learner results and self-reflection that emerged in the first section. Thanks, that's better.

Back:
Thanks, that also feels better. I feel a bit guilty that I am needing this support constantly, would be more proud of myself if I could manage without support, but the reality is that I cannot. The pain is too great. For teachers, it is the pain of the non-achievement of their learners – that is a really heavy burden to carry. It sucks out all their strength and power for creative teaching, leaving teaching as no fun. That's what all the petty administration required by the department does too – it looms as the threat that dampens creative ideas for teaching because they all have to be described in writing and recorded. Doing things is fine; having to analyse and record them is a drag. So I get dragged down by too much weight. (I'm glad for your current weight slowdown – a bit more weight loss would help me too.)

Colon:
It all gets clogged up. Too much food, too many different kinds of food – and I am already wounded. Same as the teachers; too much change, too many different kinds of change and they are already undermined by their confidence having been taken away from them by the way C2005 characterised all their existing practices as wrong and bad. In assessment, it has meant that there are many things about the old assessment – exams, extended writing, clear cut-off points between pass and fail, that they appreciated as part of the system, but now feel that they are not allowed to use anymore. That cutting off from their previous securities is a wound that cannot heal with new policy changes each year and with each change in district official. And with me being clogged, it generates a feeling of over-fullness in the stomach, so

that there is no desire for anything else, unless it is intoxicating, like chocolate or alcohol, which dampens the awareness of the body discomfort.

Fanny:
There is no sense of desire left, no energy for anything real. Only escape and fantasy for an unknown place of lazy comfort.

Throat:
I want to scream out my rage and fury. It is so unfair that teachers need to give to kids all the time, but nobody gives to them. And the thing is: giving to kids is actually rewarding, because energy and good results come back, but the department, with all its bureaucratic demands and lack of trust in teachers' judgement and constant undermining of teachers' ability through the public media and in the reporting they demand, makes it very difficult to focus on teaching, never mind being experimental and creative in the teaching. Teachers are no longer left alone to produce good results. They are harassed and hounded to do things in particular ways as if those ways by themselves will produce good results.

Eyes:
I don't really want to look too closely at the quotes and the exact things that teachers are saying. It is so exhausting to look at that level of detail, and it is so slow. But then, unless I do, I am not sure that I can see the correct big picture. The big picture that I am seeing at the moment is one of increasing frustration and despair, of fear of speaking out, of confusion about what is the right path to take, of sadness about being left alone without help, of apathy in the face of insane demands, of exhaustion in the face of insurmountable odds and of small moments of hope when some gratitude comes back – from learners, never the department.

Back of head:
I'm aching, I want to shut this down.
Thanks for the break.

Jaw:
I'm clenching – it's the only way I know to keep in control, to keep sane. Just carry on with the least amount of change or movement. Black teachers wanted to change, wanted to teach better, wanted to be recognised for their position, but instead they were told they were useless, needed to do everything differently and to continue obeying. White teachers thought they were doing fine and did not particularly want to change, but they were persuaded by the policy to use more open-ended methods and they got into the creativity of planning and experimenting. They didn't like being inspected much more rigorously, and with suspicion. And they particularly did not like being admonished by people whom they considered to have less knowledge than themselves.

Right wrist:
There is an imbalance: I am doing much more work than the other wrist, so I get sore. It's like the teachers doing much more work than they used to do and much more emotionally stressful work than the department officials – but they are not supposed to get sore, so they get sore but everybody ignores it.

The thing about emotions, is they capture a moment in time as if it were the whole world – they take a static snapshot, when actually they are fleeting. When we see emotions in time sequence, they present many different perspectives on the same issue. And here I am taking words from 19 different people, spread over 2 years, and fixing them in a unitary snapshot, as if it was the voice of all teachers for all time. When even one individual, during the space of one interview, moved from fear to anger and back to fear in relation to the department, from joy to frustration to gratitude in relation to learners, from exhaustion to cautious optimism in relation to doing assessment.

There is a difference in emotional tone when it comes to the department, as compared to learners and doing assessment. Both the other sections had a more complete range of emotions, which included positive emotions, and included more self-reflection and more ambiguity and variation. But the emotions towards the department are more negative, more clear-cut, more uni-dimensional. The most positive emotion is disappointment, and it goes downhill from there. But, disappointment is probably the key, indicating the injury of unmet expectation at the heart of the relationship, with the fear, frustration, anger, rage all being the result of that expectation remaining unmet and the insult of petty and time-consuming bureaucracy being added to the injury.

So I could start with the 3 quotes of positive emotions towards policy and add examples of neutral and ok ones, to make the point that there is potentially a positive response to the principles of policy change and a desire to change and fall into line with what the department wants. Then move on to the sadness quotes, with a focus on those that indicate disappointment. Then describe the stress of implementation, moving on to the fear of reprisal from department officials for incorrect implementation. Can't decide whether to move between policy, reporting demands and department or have 3 parallel strands – I think I should try moving within and between. Then describe the anger, first the anger that is still engaged, then the anger that is moving into apathy and alienation.

In terms of the stress process I read about this morning – it goes from idealistic enthusiasm and taking on too much work, to stagnation, to frustration, to apathy. Here they are given too much work in addition to the teaching interaction they are enthusiastic about, and most of them are in the frustration stage, although I might well find a few stagnation quotes and end off with apathy quotes.

Yael said I did not need to use all the quotes – I must just make sure that I don't ignore any quotes that don't suit my argument without pointing towards the conflicts.

So I wrote to her:

Been free-writing today - working to get my head around the story implied by the quotes and discovering that I am carrying the story in my body - the painful muscles in my back that correspond to the teachers without support from the department, the clenched jaw that corresponds to the increasing hardening of emotional positions from teachers towards the department, the reluctance of my eyes to looking at the detail of the situation, just like the teachers are generally frustrated but are not clear about what they would do instead, and the absence of any energy and desire in my body to make a move forward because it means facing teachers' absence of hope for improvement .....

Appendix 11: Initially presumed emotional rules

When writing the proposal for this study, I postulated the possibility of different emotional rules for summative and formative assessment as follows:

Potential differences in the emotional rules between summative and formative assessment

Possible implicit emotional rules for summative assessment	**Possible implicit emotional rules for formative assessment**
Emotions have no place in assessment practice. Teacher should show, and preferably have, no emotion.	The presence of emotions in assessment needs to be acknowledged. Teachers should acknowledge, reflect on and talk about the emotions evoked by assessment.
Teachers are not responsible for student failure, so they can keep an emotional distance.	Teachers are co-responsible for student failure, so they need to be pedagogically involved through giving feedback and engaging with students over the misunderstandings that caused the failure. This requires emotional commitment and energy.
A culture of 'teach first, then test'. The more pleasurable interactions around learning can be separated in time from the less pleasurable emotions evoked by assessment.	A culture of teaching interwoven with assessment. Teacher is required to be curious about learners' conceptions, offering constant feedback, both praise and correction. Both pleasurable and unpleasurable emotions are part of the on-going flow of cognitive interaction.

When I analysed the data, it became clear that the distinction between different forms of assessment was not an issue for the teachers: all assessment was summative and giving feedback was a way of re-teaching or helping learners to understand, not a deliberate attempt to make assessment formative. My expectation of teachers using different emotional rules when engaging in formative and summative assessment was much too subtle. This does not exclude the possibility that when formative and summative assessment are analysed as systems, they imply different emotional rules for the relationship between learners and teachers, because analytically they depend on different theories of learning and knowledge (Hargreaves, E, 2005). But the teachers I interviewed were thinking in practical professional, not theoretical, analytical ways and so, in terms of the data collected in this study, this attempt to differentiate between formative and summative emotional rules led me nowhere.

Appendix 12: Data to substantiate attribution table

Allocation of attribution statements

- **to cause (self / learners/ system)**
- **and to level of learner achievement (high/ low/ in general)**

Attributions for learner achievement ordered by focus group

Attribution to self	Attribution to learners	Attribution to system
PG11 – in general PG46 – in general PG47- in general	PG11 – in general PG46 – in general PG47 – in general PG23 – low PG74 – low	PG17 – in general PG25 – in general PG39 – in general PG43 – in general PG08 – low PG13 – low PG45 – low PG74 – low
DG279 – in general DG345-353 – in general DG492 – in general DG249 – low DG260-268 – low DG269 – low DG299-300 – low DG341 – low DG449-459 – low DG467-476 – low	DG417 – high DG279 – in general DG345-353 – in general DG260-268 - low DG269 – low DG299-300 – low DG341 – low DG449-459 – low	DG 483 – in general
RG45-50 – in general RG51-56- in general RG190 – in general RG275-283 – in general RG325-328 – in general RG365-371 – in general RG372 – in general RG32 – low RG200-220 – low RG311-315 – low RG434-442 – low RG544-560 – low	RG45-50 – in general RG51-56- in general RG275-283 – in general RG325-328 – in general RG329-342 – in general RG22-24 – low RG311-315 – low RG434-442 – low RG443-448 - low	RG244-252 – in general RG200-220 – low RG231-240 – low RG287-299 – low RG300-310 – low RG443-448 – low RG544-560 – low
SG53 – in general SG59 – in general SG61 – low	SG53 – in general SG59 – in general SG2 – low SG61 – low SG107 – low SG108 – low	SG89 – in general SG2 – low

KG175-176 – high KG16 – in general KG174 – in general KG4 – low KG56-66 – low KG68-70 – low KG152-6 – low KG157 – low KG158 – low	KG16 – in general KG4 – low KG137 – low	KG24-27 – low KG68-70 – low KG74-78 – low KG79-85 – low KG86 – low KG88 – low KG89 – low KG137 – low
MG19 – in general MG20 – in general MG137 – low	MG19 – in general MG20 – in general MG52-54 – low MG55-57 – low MG93 – low	MG67-71 – low MG73-79 – low MG80-86 – low MG88-92 – low MG94 – low MG106-110 – low MG 110-129 – low
CG8 – high CG2 – in general CG48 – low	CG48 – low	CG26 – low
Totals: 2 high achievement 20 in general 21 low achievement **43** in total	Totals: 1 high achievement 15 in general 21 low achievement **37** in total	Totals: 0 high achievement 7 in general 28 low achievement **35** in total

Appendix 13: Data to substantiate Teacher Portraits

Having access to moral rewards, i.e. the internal goods of assessment, involves:

Having and living out an ideal (a moral purpose):

- Being a teacher for the sake of love, care and wanting your community to get somewhere (MG181-H)
- Going into teaching to help and to help children (PG82-T)
- Entering into on-going relationships with individual children (RG656-P)
- Living in a complex, fluid authority dynamic with young people (RG639/41-P)
- Getting satisfaction from enabling the achievement of weaker learners (PG47-T)
- Being delighted about the improvement of weaker learners (RG281-J)
- Feeling sympathetic towards struggling learners (RG283-J)
- Enjoying learners' self- expressions (MG29-M)
- Enjoying the creativity and understanding of learners (MG36-H)
- Letting learners perform and present their work (MG30-J)
- Enjoying the interaction with learners when explaining knowledge (KG15-K)
- Being satisfied with rewards coming from interactions with learners (DG284-C)
- Getting angry about a learner cheating yet making a plan to uncover it to the learner without humiliation (DG76-C)
- Finding more pros (rewarding interactions with learners) than cons (measly salary) to the job, i.e. not expecting money but a greater reward (PG83/95-L)

Sacrificing for the ideal:

- Being prepared to give up leisure time in order to do the marking and other work one is responsible for (PG54-T)
- Being prepared to do huge amounts of work, in spite of horrific pressure (PG50/52-L)
- Trying one's level best and going the extra mile to give learners what they need to achieve (CG48-C)
- Making a bit more effort to support learners and getting excited when they understand (SG52-K)
- Making extra efforts to accommodate the special needs of children (SG107-S)
- Giving a lot emotionally and so much of self to the children (SG110-Sus)

Doing their assessment work with an open heart and mind:

- Being curious to know what learners have done in response to a question (RG351-371)
- Finding assessment and marking exciting for what can be learned from it (DG47-D)
- Marking fairly / doing justice / being fair, regardless of how difficult it is (RG98-C, RG315-P, RG317-323, RG355-J, DG48-D, DG114-D, CG34-C, SG33-K, PG22-L)
- Staying open to the possibility of good work from learners regardless of its appearance (RG399/403-C)
- Reflecting deeply about different ways of making knowledge accessible and relevant to learners (RG166-171)
- Passing on to learners the study methods that have worked for you (RG100-C)

- Doing peer and self- assessment with learners in ways that resonate with how good assessment was experienced in childhood, i.e. experiencing good assessment as having continuity over time (MG58-H)
- Having the courage to question self if learners don't achieve (KG157-K)
- Being able to change to new methods of teaching and assessment (RG154-C) yet also keeping steady about the value and uses of existing methods (RG158-C)
- Discussing new ways of teaching and assessing with colleagues (RG173-183)
- Working with colleagues to make a plan to overcome low learner achievement (KG58-K)
- Having the courage to remain apprehensive about the quality of one's own work, (even after many years of experience and post-graduate studies) (RG45-C)

Living on an emotional rollercoaster:

- Feeling reaffirmed in self when learners do well (RG 372-P)
- Feeling the pain when learners fail (KG162-TH)
- Becoming intrinsically motivated to do more when learners do well (KG170-TH)
- Worrying when some learners don't respond (KG15-K)
- Accepting the rollercoaster from satisfaction to disappointment, from demotivation to renewed motivation in response to varied learner achievement (RG43-J)
- Accepting that teaching is an emotional job and that it is ok to live in an emotional balancing act (RG93-P)

Being open to learning:

- Being open to learning from constructive criticism from the HOD (RG109-J)
- Continuing to learn on the job (RG142-C) and from colleagues (RG563-P)
- Being open to learning from learners (MG32-J)
- Learning not to take learners' work too personally, so as to become able to take a step back before reacting angrily to bad work (RG585-J)
- Learning to stand up for yourself (RG596-P) while living with the insecurity of constant trial and error (RG602-P)
- Controlling one's temper because one believes in the professional norms (MG183-H)

Box 1: Portrait of teachers with access to the internal goods of the practice

When teachers' access to moral rewards / the internal good of learner achievement is threatened, then:

Teachers lose their sense of having a moral purpose /an ideal:

- They give up their life for teaching, but after many years they feel so disappointed and they wonder why they did it because they received no recognition (SG104-Sus)
- The love of teaching is destroyed because "all the other stuff just makes it impossible to teach" and the teachers cannot "give as much to teaching as you should be, because you are spending so much time on nonsense" (DG189/91-D). "Nonsense" and "nit picking" overtake the "real issues" which are about "the quality of teaching" (DG233-V)
- Actually, "no-one seems to know what's going on" (PG36-C)
- They feel so extremely stressed about all the assessment that they are not teaching to the optimum level (PG17-L)
- The increasing assessment paperwork takes away the focus on teaching, which means less and less time interacting with learners in a classroom (PG37/39-L)
- They feel forced to cram something with children because it is unexpectedly part of a standardised assessment task, even though it doesn't make any sense (RG251-C)
- They realise they have to give up because they cannot save the learners from failure in the final exams (SG84-S)
- They wish all learners could simply pass because they feel so sad when learners fail and feel useless, small, discouraged and demotivated (CG6-C)

Teachers lose their faith in learners' effort:

Teachers perceive that learners:

- think there are no consequences for not achieving (PG31-L)
- are not held accountable for the effort of bringing their books and doing their homework, instead, the department holds teachers accountable for not phoning the parents (PG74-T)
- don't follow test instructions (RG436-P)
- don't give their co-operation (SG36-Sus)
- decide not to do their schoolwork because they know that no one is going to discipline them (MG51-H)
- are totally lazy, have no intrinsic motivation and don't care about failing because they know they will not be disciplined and will still be promoted (MG52-J/54-M, MG94-H)
- are so threatened by assessment that they cannot perform (CG4-C), so teachers wish they could abolish formal assessment so learners need not perform (CG26-C)

Teachers experience deep insecurity about how to do their professional work:

They worry about the quality of their teaching:

- Now that 'old-fashioned' teaching is not acceptable anymore and attracts the displeasure of the department officials, teachers feel they cannot achieve anything with their learners (PG43-T)
- You stand in your classroom for 3 weeks and then they write a test or an exam or something and they do badly and you don't actually know what else to do (PG14-T)
- A lot of effort brings no positive results (SG142-K) and learners continue failing (KG70/72-TH)
- Because learners do not learn the basics of reading and writing (KG191-NZ) and fail all the time, teachers suffer: they feel like a failure and worry about not doing it right, about

living in the "olden days" and being unable to communicate with, understand or explain to learners (KG158-TH)

- There is not enough guidance from policy in terms of what subject material to teach, in what order and at what level of depth (RG246-C)
- The prescribed lesson plans are not practical because they are designed in ways that do not allow enough time for learners from low socio-economic backgrounds (MG112-J / MG126-J&H)
- The essentials in terms of literacy and numeracy have been thrown out of the curriculum (RG193/9-C)

They struggle to make sense of many assessment rules:

- There are disagreements with department officials about what counts as a valid assessment (PG28-T)
- The standards of common assessment tasks are arbitrary (PG43-T, SG89-K, SG90-S)
- It does not make sense for learners to write English exams when teaching happens in other home languages (PG10-L)
- Cross-curricular activities are prescribed, but there is no time allocated in the timetable, nor any way of assessing them (RG187–C)
- Peer and self-assessment is prescribed, but it appears to be neither successful nor objective (SG9-Sus)
- It does not make sense that the required little bits and pieces of assessment tasks test only small amounts of work, which do not give a clear picture of the cognitive ability of learners and undermine the quality of learning that exams can produce in learners (KG103/105/133-K)
- Assessment processes that used to work well are now no longer allowed. For example, an ever-changing scoring code has replaced the percentage-based scoring system which cannot be used anymore because it is considered part of "the old education, which is not supposed to be done now" (KG108-NZ/111-TH/124-K); there is a lack of emphasis on assessing reading and writing in the types of assessment tasks prescribed (KG132-TH); the format of using only continuous assessment in primary schools is "brewing disaster" for when learners move to high school and beyond (KG135-K);

They feel pressurised to pass learners regardless of lack of achievement:

- The department will not let learners fail, when actually they deserve to fail (PG72-L)
- Learners don't submit work, but teachers cannot give them a zero (CG62-C)
- Parents want their children to pass on to the next grade regardless of achievement (KG89-TH)
- The department condones learners who do not deserve to pass for statistical reasons, ignoring and undermining the judgement of teachers, discrediting the national examinations and undermining learners' motivation to make an effort (RG287-C/302-P/568-C/576-J/577-P, SG74-S)
- Failing children must be pushed through to the next grade, but international comparative assessment results show that South Africa is not performing (MG80-H)
- Assessment is not an easy thing to do because you look for those marks, you try to remark the scripts, but still you can't find anything to make the learner pass, so it's hard (CG32-C)

They suffer bureaucratic detractors from their 'real' work:

- Because of the paperwork we cannot do what is expected of us, which is to teach, and through that to build a better nation (MG90-M)
- Teachers who are experienced, who know what they are doing, who have proved through their learners' results that they are able to do it, are nevertheless expected to fulfil all the bureaucratic reporting demands that take away time from real work (DG138-C)
- There are too many worthless tasks, too many records required, too many little numbers to write down (PG109-T, DG125/8-V)
- There is no time for written feedback on every paper, but the department wants written evidence of feedback (PG64-T)
- Teachers must moderate each other's marking and fill in 2-page forms to prove it (DG185D/186-V)
- Writing reports becomes a mechanical thing and there is no time to think about the reports (SG65-S)
- The bureaucratic demands don't contribute to improved teaching and assessment for either teachers or learners (DG146-C/154-D)
- The paperwork becomes a huge inconvenience, kills teachers, drives them crazy, destroys the job (RG544-C, DG158-D, DG178-D, DG184-V)
- Teachers are doing it "just for them" and there is no intrinsic benefit to the job (DG175-V, RG480-P)
- Teaching stops immediately when reporting deadlines must be met (KG203-K)
- Teachers start writing random numbers on documents because the authorities who check the documents don't take the care to read properly, making it a wasted effort all round (DG130/4-C)
- Bureaucratic demands become so pointless that it encourages teachers to be deceitful (DG139/145-D, DG159-V)

Teachers experience their working conditions as too stressful:

- It's a huge stress to get the job done at school (PG103-T) and teachers end up not knowing what to do (KG211/213-TH)
- Our hands are full, we need two people to do the job, and we are drowning in problems. (KG10-NZ/29-K)
- Teachers are being enslaved in panic accountability (RG488-P)
- The job itself and then dealing with learners' problems is extremely stressful, so teachers need regular Rescue Remedy (PG78-L)
- The structure does not support, e.g. through remedial teachers, psychologists, parents; the government does not pay enough; teachers cannot finish their job in their day, so the stress just gets worse and worse (PG108-C, KG78-TH)
- Training workshops for new assessment policies are too short, the curriculum /assessment policy or materials change every year, these changes are strictly yet differently enforced by a variety of officials, until "all the things are confusing" and teachers don't have time to breathe (MG95-J/106-H, CG20-C)
- Curriculum and assessment policy does not take into consideration the conditions in poor and overcrowded schools (MG71-J)
- Learners in a special school need to produce like the mainstream learners, but they cannot read or understand the questions, nor have the financial resources to produce artworks (SG130-K/143-S)
- Older teachers must take the weight of all the extra pressure because younger teachers are not fulfilling their duties (PG100-L)

- Principals use assessment results to "divide and rule" teachers by instituting a system of bonuses for teachers whose learners get high marks (DG388-V/400-D)

They stop learning and risking:

- I avoid things that could grow me because I just want to survive the day (PG111-C)
- I feel eroded away because there is no balance in life (PG78-C)
- When I get assessed, I really like to put in my 100%, but I'm nervous and worried because its intimidating, and it has not helped me to improve as a teacher (RG104-C)
- I become punitive, angry and frustrated because learners don't follow the instructions in an assessment task, so I become the victim because I feel they didn't listen to me and I forget to think about where the learners are coming from. I know it's wrong and not very effective, but I still do it. (RG436-P)
- I give up sometimes, I don't expect too much and then I cannot be disappointed (SG61-S)
- We cannot go against what the authorities say because our job is where our bread is buttered (KG226-TH)
- I wish I could not be available of the day of the results so someone else could tell learners the news that they have failed (CG78-C)

There is a relationship breakdown between teachers and the education department

- The department and government place no value on the profession of teaching and on teachers as educated professionals (PC100-L)
- The department expects accountability from teachers, but is not accountable in return (PG72-L)
- The "little bureaucrats" are not interested in "how successful you are as a teacher or how well the children are doing", but only care about "their ticks on sheets and their little power thing" (DG176-D)
- The department shoves administrative work onto teachers at the last moment, which teachers cannot see the value of because it is just for statistical purposes (RG480-P)
- The education department is not doing it properly, which results in teachers "getting rapped over the knuckles" and feeling they are "falling short" and "inadequate all the time" (RG485-P)
- The department officials enforce lesson plans that don't work, offer no support or accountability, are not reachable, lose files, don't attend cluster meetings, don't communicate fully, don't care, pass their pressure on to teachers and generally infuriate teachers (MG111-J/129-H, RG503-C/536-P, KG8-K, KG9-TH, KG94-TH)
- Department officials criticise teachers for not complying with the bureaucratic requirements of assessment dates instead of supporting teachers with good quality tasks for informal assessment (MG66-H)
- Teachers learn about new policies on TV and don't have ownership of whatever happens in their department (KG100-TH, MG95-J)
- All teachers are painted with the same brush, regardless of whether they do their work or not, and good teachers are not given any recognition for doing their work well (RG487-C, SG105-S)
- Moderation processes do not distinguish between new teachers who need mentoring and experienced teachers who know what they are doing (DG192-V/199-D)

Box 2: Portrait of teachers with little or no access to the internal goods of the practice

Having access to moral rewards, i.e. the internal goods of assessment, involves:

Having and living out an ideal (a moral purpose):
Being a teacher motivated by love and care for children and wanting the community to develop

Sacrificing for the ideal:
Being prepared to do huge amounts of work, to give up leisure time and to give of self in order to do necessary work well.

Doing their assessment work with an open heart and mind:
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

Being open to learning:
Being open to learning from the HOD, colleagues, learners whilst living with the insecurity of constant trial and error

Living on an emotional rollercoaster:
Feeling satisfied / reaffirmed in self/ motivated or disappointed / pained / worried depending on quality of learners' achievement and accepting that teaching is an emotional job

Summary 1: Portrait of teachers with access to the internal goods of the practice

When teachers' access to moral rewards / the internal good of learner achievement is threatened, then:

Teachers 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.

Teachers experience deep insecurity about how to do their professional work:

- They worry about the quality of their teaching, as a lot of effort brings no positive result.
- They struggle to make sense of many assessment rules, especially since assessment techniques that used to work well are now no longer allowed and they feel that the system rules are 'brewing disaster'. They also feel pressurised to pass learners regardless of lack of achievement.

Teachers 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.

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

Teachers 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.
- Teachers end up not knowing what to do and feel enslaved by panic accountability.

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.

Summary 2: Portrait of teachers with little or no access to the internal goods of the practice

Appendices 9.1 – 9.7 Coded Interview Transcripts

Appendix 9.1: P Group

Appendix 9.2: D Group

Appendix 9.3: R Group

Appendix 9.4: S Group

Appendix 9.5: K Group

Appendix 9.6: M Group

Appendix 9.7: C Group

P Group

PG1-I So thank you for coming. Thank you again. And you've seen the questions, but I just want to ask a whole lot of different questions about assessment, and my first question is, what do you think is the value of assessment is in schools? I mean, I've gone through stages where I've just thought its got to get scrapped. So I'm happy with any opinion. I've come to a place where I think maybe it is valuable, so I'm asking you what do you think the value of assessment is in schools?

PG2-C It's one way of testing if the children have understood what you've taught. But it doesn't always give you a true reflection of the learner's capability.

- purpose and value

PG3-L To some degree I think so. The problem is with the new OBE there is so much assessment, so sometimes I wonder if it is the true reflection and whether all the hours we put in to assessing is worthwhile. We could assess a lot less and get the same result, I think, and that's the problem.

- purpose and value

PG4-T I think assessment is the key to education. You can't know what people understand or know if you don't assess. And I think it's also important because if you assess correctly I think it gives the learners a sense of achievement. If they do well in an assessment then I think it's quite valuable. But you do need to give them the correct kind of assessment, and I think that is the problem. So there is value in assessment but it's the correct kind of assessment.

- dealing with failure
- purpose and value

PG5-I What would you say is correct kind of assessment?

PG6-T Well, that is a good question. Laughs You know, unfortunately at the moment I think what's happening is the type of assessment that we do is being dictated to us, so we're effectively being dictated to as to how assess, and I think that's the irritation for most teachers. If I could go home and come up with some kind of an assessment, which maybe I don't need to write down the marks or whatever, but that's a good exercise for the children to do. Because I think in most cases people think assessment equals marks. And assessment doesn't always equal marks. But we're not given enough opportunity to give them that kind of assessment. Everything we do has to be written down and marked and marks and I think that stresses everybody out. If you could come up with some nice assessments that test what you need to test in a fun way or whatever, then there is value in assessment. But it doesn't always have to be for marks.

- assertion-anger
- aversion-fear
- purpose and value
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

PG7-C Yes, and I think what T is saying is that the thing is, the

- dealing with failure
- purpose and value

kids also become mark orientated. If you want to do something in class, their first question is, does this count for marks? And then they don't place enough value on it because it's not for marks. But it still has value.

PG8-L One of my concerns, and it has been for quite a while, is that I feel in the assessment that we do at the moment, the problem is the language. Those learners who are not English 1st language learners really battle with the written assignment and their marks are proof of it. But yet if you actually have a one-on-one conversation with them they know the work and they can actually do it but they can't put pen to paper and put it across because it's not their 1st language. And I think to some degree it's a concern of mine that, possibly, that exam papers are in English - I understand it's a world language - but it is a problem for learners who are 2nd language speakers, and I mean, it's a huge problem with the assessment. I can see it in the matrics especially that they can't put it onto paper. And it worries me that they're not going to get the results that they're actually worthy of.

- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- language
- learner characteristics
- purpose and value
- SEE - purpose and value
- strongly expressed emotions

PG9-I So do you think that assessment loses its value if it's not done in a language that kids can understand?

PG10-L 100%. Because I think the learners then don't feel confident and they can't put across what they're actually thinking. So it almost makes me wonder if we shouldn't be doing some more verbal assessment rather than written. Until we get learners on a par where they're all at the same level and English is for all of them a 1st language. We're in a very privileged school where we still have fairly decent learners who actually do have English predominantly as a 1st language. But I think of schools in more of the outskirt areas and how on earth are they coping with an English final exam? All their exams are in English actually, and how do they cope when they actually might not even be taught in English! Because I'm sure in the rural schools that kids are actually getting taught in their home language, and then they've got to write in English and I don't know how they're doing it. So yes, I think it's a huge problem and maybe we should be looking more at some verbal exams, and probably maybe mother tongue, until we're all on a par.

- dealing with failure
- language
- learner characteristics
- purpose and value
- SV-access threatened

PG11-T I think it's quite a good point because I said earlier that I think one of the values behind assessment is creating confidence in learners. I mean if you give them an assessment and they do well, there's confidence and they go forward. And you find that the learners that enjoy your subject, in most cases, are the learners that are doing well. So that is a sense of achievement. And I think that is a problem, because I think the girls that don't understand then do badly in their assignments or in their assessments or whatever, and then they lose confidence. And as soon as they lose confidence in

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- purpose and value

your subject, they lose interest in the subject and then you've lost them.

PG12-C I teach English and I often put myself in the place of the learner and I think 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.

- language
- purpose and value

PG13-I What you've all raised is the big issue of language and knowledge, and that people can have knowledge but not the language. Or people learn the language and they rote learn but they don't really understand the knowledge. And South Africa's got a huge problem there. And what you're saying is the assessment mark reflects the language-knowledge problem.

PG14-T It causes, I think, major frustration. Your thing talks about emotions, and I think it's frustrating. It's frustrating for the learners and it's frustrating for the teachers. Because you stand in your classroom for 3 weeks and then they write a test or an exam or something and they do badly and you don't actually know what else to do.

- attribution- system
- language
- purpose and value
- SEE - purpose and value
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

PG15-I Talk a bit more about that. How do students' results make you feel?

PC16-T Well I think as a teacher you do need to look past results. You can see in a classroom how children grow or interact or become people, I suppose, if you look at them through from grade 8 up to matric. But unfortunately in the society that we're in and in the school system that we're in, results are very important. And I think teachers are judged, in many cases incorrectly, by the results of their classes. And I say incorrectly because different people have different levels of learners, especially if you're streaming classes and things like that, so you can't really judge teachers like that. But teachers are judged based on their results. Therefore it is a major frustration when children don't achieve. And I think it's frustrating for them and it's frustrating for us and I don't actually know, I don't think we have been taught how to deal with that. And I think that's something that needs to come up with teachers that are learning to teach, is that you need to look past results, but unfortunately we don't. Because that is on paper, that's how the learners have done in your subject for that year. And people don't see the other things, the growth, the confidence levels, things like that. They don't see past the fact that that person got 35% for your subject.

- dealing with failure
- purpose and value
- SEE - purpose and value
- strongly expressed emotions

PG17-L It's actually a good moment to be doing this interview because portfolios are due for grade 9s on Wed and you've spent the whole year trying to achieve these 9 or 10 tasks that have to be in the portfolio, getting the marks in, making sure they're the right

- assertion-anger
- attribution- system
- aversion-fear
- enabling learner achievement

level, making sure there are enough marks. Now we've got to get them all in from the learners, get the marks in, and then a child's lost an assignment or the mark is not there, and it is extremely stressful for us. And then it creates a stressful environment for the learners as well, and I think it's not fair. It shouldn't be like that. Because it doesn't mean a great or a happy teaching environment. Because we're so extremely stressed to get all this assessment in and you're not actually teaching to the optimum level. And it's a huge problem.

- portfolios
- purpose and value
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

PG18-C And I think what T is also saying is that sometimes 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's still not achieving. And somehow that makes you, as the teacher also, feel somehow inadequate.

- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

PG19-T I'm just going to add to what L said about the portfolios. I talk about frustrations and things like that and I think the most irritating thing for us as well is that we've spent so much time getting these portfolios together and you send them off to the department and somebody sits down and looks at them that doesn't even have a clue. They come back with a moderation report that is, this work is good, or, this work could be improved. That's the kind of comment that you get back from the department and it's like, well, what is the point of spending the entire year stressing about these stupid portfolios and that's the feedback that you get. And that's the feedback on the type of assessment that we're giving, not necessarily on the marks. But on the type of assessment it would be nice to actually get in some positive feedback and say, this task was excellent, well done, or something like that, but you get nothing like that back from the department either. So I think that is also a frustration for teachers, that you work really hard but you actually get nothing, nobody ever says, 'well done' or 'that's good' or anything like that.

- assertion-anger
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- feedback
- portfolios
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

PG20-I Shoo. What you guys are talking about now is the whole problem of accountability. That's what it's called in the literature. The teachers are held accountable for the students' work, but especially teachers in lower socio economic classes and schools, they get completely demoralised because their children can't achieve at the same level as more higher socio economic kids. If you want to talk more about that I'd be really interested.

PG21-T I just want to say as well, I think I think, the thing that also adds to the frustration is that the people that are putting these prerequisites, or whatever you want to call them, in place, the portfolios, are people that in many or in most cases are not teachers. So I think some of the things that they're asking us to do are not viable or... you know, they are just ... you sit there and you think, whoever put this together is obviously not a teacher and

- assertion-anger
- department
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

you're sitting ... you know, some of the ... certain of the ... wait ... I know what I want to say, I just need to put it into words...

PG22-L Some of the requirements of the portfolio assessments also require a lot of computer skills, the ability to go onto the internet to do research, to purchase, and they're not keeping in mind the environment that we're actually living in and the economy we're in. And for a lot of these kids it's a huge amount of pressure to achieve and get everything that needs to be done. Half of an 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 an assessment to not look at that and think, wow, some effort. And then to look at a handwritten one and assess it on the same level is very difficult, and you're getting marks for that as well. And that's not very fair at times. And I think that that is a problem as well, they're not keeping in mind that there are learners from all sorts of situations. I'm also involved in a Maths research project at Wits and I can tell you from the teachers I'm with there, who come from a lot of rural schools, township schools, and when we talk about resources, they don't even have text books for their whole class. They have to photostat the exercises, and the one guy is actually in a school that's brand new, they've just finished building it, and they've not been given a Photostat machine. They don't even have electricity. So it's not even a case of overheads. He has to write on the board and the kids then have to copy down the maths exercises. Now that can take 20 mins of your lesson before you've even started working on the stuff! And then how do you then do a portfolio assessment, where we've got computers in our school? And this is a huge problem. The discrepancy between the different levels.

- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- portfolios
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

PG23-I What are the portfolio frustrations for you, in your school?

PG24-L In our school in particular, I think it's 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 and the kids just don't seem to have a sense of responsibility. Or accountability, I should say actually. Because they just feel, well, it's not really a problem, it's one little assignment. And they don't actually see the repercussions of it. 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.

- attribution- learners
- learner characteristics
- portfolios
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

PG25-C I think for portfolio work in English, as T said earlier, there are so many tasks that they want the children to do, that you have to mark and things like that, that it's the amount of time that

- attribution- system
- disappointment-sadness
- portfolios

you spend doing something that counts for a really small percentage at the end of it. So it must look beautiful and it must all be there, but it doesn't count this huge amount at the end, and so you spend hours and hours and hours of time and it may come up to 20% at the end of the year.

- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

PG26-T I think what I was also referring to earlier was, when I say that unrealistic demands, I think of people that are not in teaching, so they sit in their office and they think, ah, this is a lovely task. But they don't actually think about the fact that you've got a class of 37, the marking is enormous. And just one example of, I suppose, unrealistic demands: the grade 9 portfolios are due tomorrow, the matric portfolios are due on Wed, but they don't think, well maybe there's teachers that actually teach both. So you know, let's split the time because now we're struggling to get everything together. And yes, we do know that it's due tomorrow but the last assessment task was probably done in the last week of last term, so it had to still be marked, etc. So I think their demands, from that point of view, are unrealistic. I think if you look at some of the matric stuff, matrics do 6 subjects, they've got 6 big projects to do in matric, which I also think is ludicrous, if you look at things like Geography, the research project that they have to do is enormous. And they have to do 6 projects. So that's very time consuming from the learner's point of view. So I think the problem is that they actually need some people who are teachers to start designing some of the assessment tasks that actually do make sense and are realistic.

- assertion-anger
- department
- portfolios
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

PG27-I Can I ask a clarificatory question. From the outside, the way I understood the portfolios is that they were supposed to be a learning experience. They were supposed to support teachers in creating tasks that enabled learning. So why is that not happening? Why do they not count? Why are they unreasonable?

PG28-T Part of what I actually wanted to say earlier was, I think the problem is that the people that are sitting in the district levels or who are slightly supposedly above us, are actually not necessarily qualified in the subjects that they're supposedly in charge of. And I've just had an experience with my grade 9 portfolios when the GDE came to check up on our portfolios and they asked for certain portfolios and the educator's portfolio and so on, and then they go through it with you, and it's like, ok, what's this? What's this? And they're actually not happy if ... I had a big argument with the lady because she wasn't happy about the fact that the task that we had set...now we're supposed to set 3 tasks for the grade 9s across the year...then they turned around and said, but one task needs to consist of 6 tasks or something. And it's like, well, what does that mean? It's meant to have bits or I don't know, included. So actually it's not one task per term, it's actually then 6 tasks per term or whatever. And she went through the portfolio

- department
- disappointment-sadness
- portfolios
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

and she wasn't happy...in term 2 our task was the exam, because they wrote a summative assessment in term 2. I teach EMS, accounting, whatever... An Accounting exam is an exam, where they actually sit down and answer questions, I suppose in the old format. And she wasn't happy with that because, she seemed more happier with the things in the 1st term, which was a poster and a pretty picture, something that they'd stick and cut out of a newspaper, whatever. And I said to her, so what you're telling is that old fashioned summative assessment or testing is no longer a task? And as far as I'm concerned that shows more learning than being able to cut some pictures out of a newspaper and to make a poster. But they're not qualified enough to sit down and look at the exam and say, ok, this is at a good level or a bad level or whatever. So it's easier for them to look at a poster and to say, ok, well that's quite nice, so we'll go with those because we can moderate those. They can't moderate our exams. And it's maybe a horrible thing to say, but it really is the truth. I think the people that are sitting in those positions are not qualified enough to look at our exams and to say, well actually this is quite a good exam and it's at a good level and it does test what they need to know. It is easier for them to look at a poster.

PG29-I Can I change subject? Can I ask about your personal memories of assessment? Were there any events as a teacher that shifted your understanding or your emotional response towards assessment?

PG30-C I think in the old days when you were a fairly good student you were fine. I think it was ok. But I have memories of watching a boy being smacked, day in and day out for misbehaving, for talking, for not doing stuff, and as an adult now I look back at that and I think, I wonder how he is? It's never gone away that this child was constantly in trouble and never seemed to be able to do anything that he was required to do, and then was humiliated in front of all of us.

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

PG31-L I think as a learner you were a little petrified in the good old days of not getting an assessment in, or an assignment, or not achieving, because you knew that the punishment was harsh if you didn't get it in on time. And you worked a lot harder. And although I don't believe in corporal punishment, I do think to some degree learners today don't have the accountability that we had. I think to some degree they're a lot more casual about their learning. Where we were…I wouldn't say we were obsessive, but you knew there were consequences if you didn't actually achieve. And I'm not sure the learners realise that now.

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- judgement - being judged
- learner characteristics
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

PG32-T I have an example, I suppose, of when I was a learner, which I think changed my view on how I assess or look at the way I assess now. So I don't know if you want me to relate that story to

- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- learner characteristics

you, you've probably heard it already. But I remember when I was in matric I hated English. It was my worst subject. And we had to do an assignment whereby we had to write an opening paragraph for something. And 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 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. It didn't do anything to improve my relationship with the teacher to start off with. And secondly I think it's changed...I've been out of school for almost 20 years and that's something that sticks in my mind, and in fact I actually stopped going to her classes. 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 it needs to be constructive and 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. So I think that experience of mine...I wouldn't want to say, changed the way I assess, but that is the way that I do things, because I would hate that to happen to somebody that I teach. Because I absolutely hated the subject to begin with and that just was the end for me. So I think that's quite important.

- personal history
- SEE - feedback
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

PG33-C The one thing that T mentioned there that becomes a problem is, 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 then those good learners then want to hide. They don't want to always be the focus of attention, so that also has problems with it.

- feedback
- learner characteristics
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions

PG34-I Okay. Um. Anything ...? That's fine. In terms of the policy, I want to know what's your emotional response to the new assessment policies?

PG35-T The first thing that comes to mind is complete irritation. Because the problem with the policy is that this policy document says, this is what you need to do, and then you get another document that says, circular number whatever, and that you're supposed to do that, and nothing ever corresponds. So everybody is confused. Are we supposed to do 3 tasks? Are we supposed to do 6? Is the ranking levels or whatever, 1-7 or is it 1-4? It is 1-7, but some of the documents still say 1-4. So the department actually haven't changed their documents. So I think if we got 1

- assertion-anger
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions

document that said, this is what we require, this is exactly what you need, then I think it would make life a lot easier for all of us. But it irritates me that they don't even know what they want or what they expect from us. So everybody is irritated and confused, and I think that's part of the problem.

PG36-C Yes, I think the irritation is high and I think that also people 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.

- assertion-anger
- strongly express
- policy
- SV-access threa
- SEE - policy
- self image

PG37-L Another part of this new assessment policy and with the new curriculum is the clusters that they've formulated. They're not functioning like they should be and it causes huge amounts of stress for teachers because you're having to go for cluster moderation every so many months. You arrive there and it's the same good old schools who have done all the work and the rest who don't even come to the cluster moderation or haven't done what's required. And it's the stress involved, because those of you that are there, there's always snide remarks made by the cluster leaders about some people's work and it's actually just huge amounts of stress for no reason at all. We don't need to go to the cluster moderation. It achieves nothing, it's a waste of an afternoon where you could actually be doing other work. And I think with this new policy it's just more and more and more paper work. And a teacher's work load has become horrific. No-one actually has a life outside of teaching anymore. Your whole life consists of assessing. And I think the focus of actually teaching has been taken away. It's pure assessment now and I think that is a huge problem.

- assertion-anger
- aversion-fear
- cluster meetings
- policy
- purpose and value
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

PG38-I Yes. If you could change things, how would you change things to make you feel better about assessment?

PG39-L I suppose to some degree I would almost go back to the good old days. I'm not saying everything about it was great in the NAT ED document. But in fact less assessment can achieve so much more. We're having less and less time interacting with the learners in the classroom and teaching. Because it all revolves around now getting the marks in and I think it would be better if we had less assessment and more interaction. You can learn so much more from interacting with learners and developing, than you can from assessing all day long.

- attribution- system
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- learner characteristics
- SV-access threatened
- teaching

PG40-C And if I look at the CTAs that the grade 9s have to write at the end of the year, which are standardised, they're actually a waste of time. And again you spend hours and hours of time marking and it reduces to a mark out of 20 or something at the end of it. And if the department wants us to have assessment then they must supply us with the tasks. Printed tasks, everyone

- assertion-anger
- department
- marking
- portfolios
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

does the same, and we can get them out of the way in one lesson and then move on with the real teaching. General laughter

PG41-I Why are they a waste of time? Or what is it about them that makes them a waste of time?

- learner characteristics
- portfolios

PG42-C The CTAs? They are at a standard that is way below what we've been working at the entire year. So they are a standardised thing so that everyone can cope, but in fact it means that our girls, there's nothing to study, they're not given any work to study, so they don't have to study for anything. They create posters, they read a document, they answer comprehension questions and that is it.

PG43-T I think the big problem with the CTAs is actually there's no standardised syllabus. There's no syllabus in grade 8 or 9 so there's nothing to say - we've got certain assessment standards that you've got to cover, so like let's say for example, one of our assessments standards is entrepreneurship. Nobody says what under entrepreneurship you have to cover. So there's nothing standard in the syllabus, therefore they can't set standardised questions because they don't know that this school has taught X and that school has taught Y and that school has taught Z, so they just ask these arbitrary, like C says, a comprehension, which everybody can do. And make a poster on needs and wants, which you could do even if you hadn't done the section, or something stupid like that. So I think that is the problem. The other thing I was going to say about changing assessment, I think one of the major problems that we find in grade 8 or 9, is all the group work. They've got to do a lot of group work, or that's what they want. And then the problem is that there's no accountability for the one child who does all the work and the rest who do nothing. And what we're finding is when they get to grade 10, they actually have no ability to work on their own. So we're having huge problems with the grade 10s, and you see newspaper headlines, grade 10s that are failing. And it's all because of this OBE group work, whatever, in grade 8 & 9. And we actually had a discussion at our one ASAT meeting about, maybe the school must go back to old fashioned teaching. And the department can do to us, I hope this doesn't get repeated anywhere, nervous laughter, the department can do to us what they want. But actually we're not achieving anything in grade 10 because they just play games in grade 8 & 9. That's all they do.

- assertion-anger
- attribution- system
- aversion-fear
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- learner characteristics
- policy
- portfolios
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

PG44-I Oogh. (Unclear laughter and interjections) Oh no, I think you guys are heroes. Okay, um, so can we move to learners? Think about learners of yours that failed. What happened and how did you feel about them? Or learners who passed well? What happened and how do you feel about them? So what's your relationship, your emotional relationship to learners in terms of

- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- language
- learner characteristics
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

their success and failure? (silence). ... That's a complicated one.

PG45-C I just know that my answer links to what L said before, because teaching English, there's so much frustration involved when you know that a child is actually eloquent and they can hold a conversation and they are fine but their written work is not up to standard. And so they're having to repeat because they can't write because it's not their 1st language. So there's 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 for the department. because most of us later on, as long as we can hold a decent conversation, we're actually fine. But it's the writing part. So for an English teacher that's horrible that you are the one who's marked this child the entire year knowing it's not their 1st language and knowing that you couldn't do any better if you had to do it in a 2nd language.

PG46-L I think when a learner does well it's extremely rewarding. I get a great sense of satisfaction that possibly I've achieved. It may have nothing to do with my teaching because the learner might actually just be brilliant. But it is very rewarding when you see learners achieve and especially those you've been battling and then managed to do an assessment. When their faces light up that is the most rewarding moment I think for any educator. But the problem is when the learners fail. And some of them I really feel sorry for. I teach Maths and I know that they really do battle. But then there's other learners who don't come to school, are often absent, don't hand in work, and then they fail and it's extremely frustrating. Because I don't know what to do for them. I don't know how to get them to school, to make sure they come to school. I don't know how to make them accountable for getting the work in, and then if they're not going to do all that, you're wasting your time! And that is very frustrating. So you actually go from all ends of the scale.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- striking metaphor

PG47-T I don't get a huge sense of satisfaction from girls that are...you're always going to get the bright kids. Ok, I teach Accounting - it's one of those subjects where either you understand or you don't. there's not a lot of middle ground so you either get the concepts or you don't. So the girls that have got it, and they always do well in tests, and it's quite nice having them because you can check your memos against, mark so and so's paper first, ok, there's a difference, let's check quickly. But I think for me it's the kind of subject whereby, from beginning of grade 10 to the end of grade 11, there are a lot of girls that 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 it's like 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. You

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

can see in the matric results at the end that by the end of matric 99% of them have got it. And that's very satisfying because it's a kind of subject where you can actually see progress. But it does take quite a long time for some of them to get to that point, so it's quite nice because you can see the growth and you can see the progress but they do get there. So that for me is much more satisfying than actually the children that were bright to begin with. Because they were going to always get it regardless of whether I was there or not. laughter

PG48-I Thank you. Ok. Marking? ... I want that on video.

marking
SEE - marking
strongly expressed emotions

PG49-T 24 hours a day. Unfortunately I think the department have done us a disservice because they've given us the week holiday, which is fantastic, the whole week that we have. But they've made the portfolios due, as I say, tomorrow and Wednesday. So basically I had matric projects, 60 of them, to mark in the holidays, plus other assessment tasks that they'd done - we just don't get time to mark during the term - so you tend to just leave it or whatever, and so therefore now you sit in the holidays and you do the marking, and I think quite a lot of us did quite a lot of marking in the holidays. So there's no holiday. They say, ok, you've got a holiday, but it's actually not a break. So the marking is endless, absolutely endless. And if you teach 3 or 4 grades, you might say, you've only got 3 marks for your grade 9s for this term, but you've got 3 marks for the grade 9s, 3 marks for the grade 11s, 3 marks for the grade 12s, and it's not easy marking. So, under the new, especially for us in the FET phase, the new syllabus is good, it is good, but it makes it much more difficult to mark. Because they're doing a lot of analysis and writing. In the old days Accounting was easy because it was just figures and it was easy to mark. Now it's not like that anymore and 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 girls have written, because it's not 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 and you can't watch TV and mark anymore. laughter

PG50-L It's extremely time consuming. I also spent the whole week marking matric portfolio work. And I don't think there is a week that goes by with no marking. And most weekends, you might get the Saturday off, but the Sunday inevitably everyone puts in at least 2 or 3 hours of work because you just cannot get the marking done. I mean, on average most of us, with extra murals and that, only leave school at about 4, 5 o'clock. You're then going home, a lot of people have families, and you only start working then at 8 in the evening again, and there is always huge amounts of work. Preparation, and the marking is endless. That is the worst thing with this new assessment.

marking
SEE - marking
strongly expressed emotions

PG51-I How does it make you feel?

PG52-L Very despondent. The most frustrating thing is you don't get time for you anymore. And it's all the stress involved with that. And also teaching has changed so much. We deal with a lot of social work now. Learners don't come with normal lives anymore. There is a lot of social work involved. So you're taking all of that home, as well as your marking, and I can tell you it's 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.

- learner characteristics
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- teaching
- working conditions

PG53-C Yes, I think despondent is probably a good word because it just seems endless and you have to juggle your time and then you get pressure from your spice or spouse or whatever, because, why are you working again? And I'm not working, and this is ridiculous because you get paid just about nothing and I'm earning 4 times what you're earning and I never work in the evenings. So you get that pressure all that time as well. And, come and watch some TV, and you say, I have to finish this. If I leave it another day then it's just, when am I going to actually do it? And as they both said, you end up doing it in the holidays. 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. Laughter

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

PG54-T I think also the biggest frustration as well - and my husband's also a teacher - so between the 2 of us I'm quite lucky because he does understand. So if you sit and work till 12 at night, invariably so does he. So it's fine. Now in the holidays we were invited away for the weekend and we just said we can't. And they're like, but you're on holiday? Actually if I don't mark these projects by Monday...I have to. I have no choice. So we didn't go away for the weekend. And often you'll get a phone call on a Tues night and say, come to movies with us. It's like, I can't go to movies. X has to be done by tomorrow. But you've got a half day job. And then you just want to hit them. Because it's like C says, 12 out of 24 hours is a fair half day job, yes. So it is very frustrating and very irritating and you don't have a life. You actually don't have a life.

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods
- working conditions

PG55-I Shoo. Alright, now, I'm going to give you my theory on marking. I think that marking is the shadow side of teaching, because in teaching you have the potential for learning, for growth, for flourishing. And in marking, you're faced with the inevitability of imperfection. So I want to know, do you ever think about your marking afterwards, or are you so pleased that you made it through the pit that you never think about it again?

- marking

PG56-C Yes, you're just so relieved. I do like little ... : there's 10

- feedback

scripts and then I'll go make myself a cup of tea and then it's another 10 scripts, and then I can have a chocolate bar, and then there's another 10 scripts, and then I just can't wait to pack it away, hand it over and I actually don't want to give the kids feedback after I'm done with it. I just want it to be done.

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

PG57-L Exactly the same way. It's very rare that you pick up something and think, let me go over it with the learners. A, you don't have the time to spend a lesson on going over it. So here's your marks, put them in your portfolio, great, record the mark, we've done another task. And that's all it is. 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.

- feedback
- marking
- portfolios
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions

PG58-T Yes, I think in my subject the feedback is essential to the girls but I agree with what they've said. It's finished but...and if you spend a whole lesson on it you're actually not going to get through your syllabus so if you've got any questions, come and ask, you can go over it at home. Hope they never come back. Laughs And also, obviously when you give it back to them, you realise how disappointed some of them are and then they're in tears. It's not a nice side of teaching.

- feedback
- learner characteristics
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions

PG59-I So when they're in tears, what do you do?

PG60-T I don't get any of those, I'm a good teacher. Laughter No, I'm joking. I think I get quite a lot of them, because as I say, in the subject that I teach, a lot of them struggle with the concepts. I do prefer to talk to girls one-on-one. So if they've done badly in a test I'll often have them for an extra lesson or something like that. I can go through the test with them. Because it doesn't actually help to go through a test generically anyway. Because you've always got the one at the back who's got a 100%. She's not interested in going through the test and then you've got the poor 6 in front that have got 30% who need to go through the test. So I would actually rather do it on a one-on-one basis anyway, because then I think they feel much better about themselves as well. But you do need to go through it with those girls, because to get 20% or 10% for a test that you've actually worked for is quite demoralising I think as a learner. So I think the feedback is important but the time is just as I say, then you end up doing it in the afternoons or whenever you can do a one-on-one with them, rather than do it as a class. It's the only way to deal with girls that are upset. You can't deal with them in a classroom.

- feedback
- learner characteristics
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

PG61-L Yes, in Maths I also have a lot of the girls in tears, whatever, and you just have to console them, try and boost them again, get the confidence levels up, and the best thing is actually to have a one-on-one in the afternoon with them. That is the only way to sort of try and figure out where their problems lie. You

- feedback
- learner characteristics
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

can't actually do it in the classroom situation, there is no time. So it has to be done after hours.

PG62-C In English again it becomes emotional because the kids will sometimes say to you, if they've got 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 that 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, they'll say to you, I put so much effort into this and I'm so disappointed with my mark. (Unclear interjection) By this time you're thinking, oh my goodness, I can't even remember what she wrote! Laughter

- feedback
- learner characteristics
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

PG63-I I find exactly the same thing. I can't remember what people write, so the only way to say is, bring me your piece of paper, let's go through it again together, so that I can remember. So do you give written feedback on the thing and is your feedback: good, bad, try harder? Or is your feedback, hey you didn't understand this? What kind of written feedback do you give? Or don't you because of what you said earlier about, it's like too much and too exhausting and you just want to get it over with?

PG64-T I don't give written feedback. I just don't have the time to write on every paper. Every now and then like for the matric projects and things like that I will write on them because obviously they've put in a lot of effort. Because there's also nothing worse I think than getting something back from a teacher and there's actually nothing there. Especially if you don't have time to go through the stuff. But I think verbal feedback for me is much more...and this is the irritation for me on the portfolios...often our portfolio moderation comes back and one of the questions is, is there evidence of feedback? That's one of their things on their tick list. Now for the grade 8 & 9, I think especially, very few people will spend time writing comments on a grade 9 test. But when you hand the tests back in many cases you might have general feedback. Lots of you did this so be careful that we don't do this. So you all have verbal feedback. I don't know of a teacher that doesn't actually have some verbal feedback. So the feedback is then, as far as I'm concerned, that's much more valuable. A one-on-one, or an extra lesson with the child or something like that, rather than just writing 'well done' or something on a paper. But the department don't see that. They want everything in writing, which I suppose leads back to when I was saying some of their expectations are unrealistic, because you've got a class of 37 or 40 grade 9s, you cannot give written feedback on every paper. And you teach 3 grade 9 classes or whatever. So it's just virtually

- assertion-anger
- department
- feedback
- learner characteristics
- SEE - department
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened
- working conditions

impossible to give a lot of written feedback.

PG65-L Hardly any feedback. It all depends on time constraints. So if I've got a bit of extra time I might give some feedback, but generally no, definitely not.

PG66-C In written work I do try but the kids now realise if I put a double tick over something I like that sentence or the word that they've used or something, and then I do try to write something at the bottom about something that I like, but that's because it's English and so you're trying to encourage them to use that again. But I do find that with some tasks, never on tests. I don't write anything on a test ever. It's just really on the essays and the poems and things like that. And I think that sometimes you're in a hurry and you tend to then hone in on the negative rather than on the positive, and that's just because..., you did this wrong again or don't do this, and that's not actually encouraging.

- enabling learner achievement
- feedback
- learner characteristics
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

PG67-I November and report writing time and accountability. What reporting responsibilities do you have and how you feel about those?

- reporting demands

PG68-C We write least in November. We write each term.

- reporting demands

PG69-T Basically what we write...I suppose this links up to feedback actually because at the end of every term we have to write a comment for every child we teach, so it's a huge thing actually because most teachers teach 3 or 4 junior classes and 1 or 2 senior classes and that's a lot of children to actually give a written comment. And our reports are designed so that every single child gets a comment for every single subject that they do. So I think that's quite onerous on the teachers but I think it's quite valuable for the children and the parents if you do it properly. So that is one of the things that we have to do, so that's quite stressful, it does take a long time. And obviously in addition to that it's just calculating the marks.

- aversion-fear
- feedback
- parents
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

PG70-C I agree, I think it is quite a time consuming exercise, but I think that if you - and I think a lot of us do - take the time to write properly it does help the parents understand what's going on. I think the problem comes, like when T says, I have some classes that I take for LO or something and I only see them a few times. I do not know all the children and then it's incredibly difficult to write a comment because actually I don't know who I'm writing about. Bottom line.

- assertion-anger
- feedback
- parents
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

PG71-I Now there's some of the teachers that I teach, from township schools, who complain bitterly about all the information they have to fill in if they want to fail a child. Do you have that problem?

- reporting demands

PG72-L Yes. It's horrific. I teach a Maths class, and it depends how lucky you are as to what level class you get. I've got a very average class. So for my grade 9s, in my class I've got 9 Maths failures. Now that form needs to be completed for every single one of them every term. And you actually have to write as to what input have you put in to help them. Have you given any feedback to the parents? Has there been an improvement on the learner's part? What have you suggested for the learner? And it is a fair amount of reporting that you have to do. And it is quite horrific. And you know, at the end of the day we've got to all be accountable for all of this and then sometimes I just don't feel the department is accountable. They don't meet us half way. Because at the end of the year - I was also a grade head - 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! 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. And the department just want, want, take, take, and they give nothing. And that is the biggest problem.

- assertion-anger
- aversion-fear
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

PG73-C I think I've also been in the position with L and it's so frustrating when you've done all the paper work and you've gone through everything and clearly the child has not improved, which is what they say. If they can see any improvement - it can be a half a percent improvement - if there's half a percent improvement they will not fail the learner. But even if you have the evidence and the child hasn't improved, they're not willing to keep them back. And 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 they need extra time. They're not willing to do it.

- assertion-anger
- department
- learner characteristics
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

PG74-T Yes, I also wanted to talk about accountability. As L said, on these forms you've got to fill in how many times you've contacted the parents, how many times you've done...now if you've got girls in grade 9 who are failing because they never bring their books to school or they never do their homework, as far as I'm concerned they should be accountable for that and I cannot sit and phone every parent of a grade 9 that I teach who doesn't bother to bring their books to school every day. Then the department will be saying, but she's failing, why haven't you phoned her parents? It's like, well, it's another one of those unrealistic expectations. We cannot be expected to phone every single parent of a child (interjection: and carry on teaching) who doesn't bother to bring their books to school. So it's taking the accountability away from the children and it's placing it on the teachers. And I think if you do no work in grade 9 you must fail grade 9! Finished. That's the end of the story. And I think when children learn that then maybe things will get better. Because they know, actually, if I don't bring

- assertion-anger
- attribution- learners
- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- department
- learner characteristics
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

my books to school I'm going to fail and I will be in grade 9 next year. Now there's so few failures that it's like, I'm not going to bother to bring...I don't care, I don't like this subject, so...they're going to push me through at the end of the year anyway. And children know that. And that's the way they're thinking, so it takes the accountability away from them completely.

PG75-I Okay, um, last area. Managing your emotions. You've all used the word frustration several times. What do you do to keep yourselves sufficiently happy to carry on teaching?

- SV-access threatened

PG76-L Rescue remedy, rescue remedy and more rescue remedy. You ask any teacher, they all have rescue in their drawer, and I'm not lying to you.

- about emotions
- working conditions

PG77-T I don't have any.

PG78-L But maybe you drink. Laughter It is very, very difficult. I cannot tell you how stressful the job is. And I think, as I said earlier, the problem is that it's not just teaching anymore. We really are social workers. You can ask any teacher. They are having to deal with all sorts of issues involved with the learner. And we're not trained psychologists! And it's extremely difficult. And life today is stressful for other people anyway, so you have your own stresses in life and you're having to deal with the stress of all this marking and then the learners' problems. And I find it extremely difficult. I just feel...it's almost like every 5 years a teacher actually needs a break. That sabbatical would make a huge difference because we are emotionally and physically drained.

- learner characteristics
- SEE - working conditions
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions
- striking metaphor

PG79-C I resigned in the middle of last term and the thing I said to Mrs C was, I am eroded away. I have nothing more to give. I want more balance in my life. I'm nearly 50 and I actually want to enjoy my life. And if I'm not getting the balance then I'm not going to teach.

- SEE - working conditions
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

PG80-I So did she make changes?

PG81-C No. I'm going.

PG82-T I think what they both said is very true. It is very, very difficult but I think on the other hand as well there are a lot of positive things in teaching. And I think...I don't want to say when you lose sight of those things, but you need to keep those things in the back of your mind. Unfortunately a lot of those positive things are like, if you teach matrics, you have the advantage I suppose of matrics getting their results at the end and when the matrics get good results that is very satisfying. But it's quite sad actually that you've got to look at your teaching career based on the matric results. Because there's a lot of teachers actually that don't teach

- about emotions
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

matrics. So although they've had a lot of input along the way they don't get that positive thing at the end. So I think that is one problem. And also a lot of learners that come back and say thank you. There are a lot of girls who still do that, or write you a thank you note, whatever. And I think those sorts of things you've got to hang on to because if you've helped 1 or 2 girls in the space of a year, at the end of the year I think you can almost feel satisfied by that, because I think that's the reason why we went into teaching to begin with. Is to help or 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 and I think 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. Because there are a lot of things that make you want to say this not worth it anymore.

PG83-L I might have sounded really negative. There are days that I think, why on earth am I doing this? laughs But I do love my job. I really, really do. It's a very rare day that I get up in the morning and think, oh my lord to go to school! I do look forward to each day. And I love the interaction with the learners, it is extremely rewarding. And when you can help them to overcome emotional problems it is even more rewarding. So there's a lot more pros than cons to the job but it is becoming a very fine balance. But I still love it, I really do.

- learner characteristics
- SEE - working conditions
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods
- working conditions

PG84-I You're really leaving?

PG85-C Yes, I had a panic attack in the holidays because I have nothing else. I'm not going to anything else at this point. At this point I'm just leaving. And I hear what they say. And I also, I love the interaction with the girls, I love being in the classroom. The other side has outweighed that now though, for me.

- learner characteristics
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

PG86-I Just tell me what the other side is. What the other side consists of.

PG87-C The other side consists of everything we've spoken about. The excessive marking, the long time, the half day job impression but it isn't, it is 12 hours. That you are at work longer and longer. I am very sporty, I ditched my sport because I wasn't fitting in the marking time to match my spice's social activities as well. And it's one of my passions. And so now one of the passions I've not had, which is ridiculous. Because it was one of the things that I really enjoyed about teaching was the sport part. So you end up giving up stuff that you really like doing, just to cope.

- SEE - working conditions
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

PG88-T It's like C is maybe in the position ... I'm speaking for you now... L did speak about it as well, L has been there 16 years, I've been there 13 years, and I think what L mentioned about...in

- department
- disappointment-sadness
- SEE - department

the old days you used to have long leaves. My mom's also a teacher and I know in her 40 years or whatever that she was in teaching, she had long leave at least 3 times. Where you actually just get a term off. And I think then you can reassess and you can freshen up and in those 3 terms maybe you can do some reading or come up with new ideas because you don't have time to do any of that stuff. There's no such thing as reading journals. I don't even read the newspaper, I don't have time. So you don't, you can't actually grow yourself. You're just coping. And I think that long leave that they took away was probably the biggest mistake that the department ever made. Because I think that term off will just make you think, ok, after 3 months you probably get bored sitting at home and you think ok, actually I'm now ready to go back to my job and you can be fresh and start again. And I think more and more people are going to start leaving because you're actually just absolutely drained.

- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

PG89-I Because you need long leave.

PG90-C Yes. It's true though. You need something to refresh.

- working conditions

PG91-I So don't get yourself a new job in January. Wait until May. laughter

PG92-C We won't survive. I won't have a car then. We won't have food on the table.

PG93-I Is there anything else you want to say?

PG94-C One of the questions you asked was about would we recommend anyone to go into teaching? And I wouldn't. I actually wouldn't. And my kids have seen me over the years and they just say, why would anyone teach? For the amount of money that you get, for the work that you do, why? You're a slave. You're actually a slave. And I honestly, as much as I'd like to be able to recommend teaching to people, when they say it, I have to bite my tongue and say, why are you wanting to do that? Don't be ridiculous. And it's sad because then you're not going to get the calibre of people who really want to. From grade 1 I wanted to teach. I knew in grade 1 I wanted to teach.

- image of profession
- SEE - image of profession
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

PG95-L I wouldn't deter a learner from becoming a teacher. I think it's a great job and I think they would enjoy it. But I think you've got to go into it knowing you're not going to be a millionaire. Don't expect money. It's very difficult sometimes to come to terms with that. That you really are going to earn a pittance. We certainly earn measly salaries for what we do. And sometimes it gets to you but you've got to put that aside and look at the greater rewards of what you're doing. So I wouldn't deter someone from it, but if you can accept all those things, then I think

- image of profession
- SEE - image of profession
- SV-access to internal goods

it's a great career for you.

PG96-T I think I said on my form that I wouldn't stop somebody from going into teaching but I think I agree with L, I think you do need to go into it with your eyes open. So you would need to explain to them. I was never going to be a teacher. My mother was a teacher and I said, I will never be a teacher. Laughter Here I sit. But I think the biggest thing as well, and again it goes back to the department, until the government or whatever starts placing some value on the profession...they advertise at the end of the year, anybody who hasn't got into any other courses at university, come and do teaching. And it's like, well what is that saying about us? Who are sitting here with degrees and all sorts of things, whatever. It's like, ok, so now anybody who's failed matric and doesn't have anything else to do, can actually go and study teaching because they're so desperate for teachers. But in actual fact you need people who are experts in their subjects. And until the department or the government starts to realise that, and maybe pay people for the qualifications that they have, if they did that then I think it would be easy to say to people, go into teaching, because it's a valued career. But they don't place any value on it as a career so it's really difficult.

- image of profession
- SEE - image of profession
- SV-access threatened
- working conditions

PG97-C T said when she was younger that she wouldn't become a teacher because she saw her mother being a teacher and she's landed up, what put her off when her mother was a teacher?

PG98-T I think probably the exact same things that we've said here. And that was in the old days. But she would come home from school and it was, as I say, before the integrated schools and all of that, this child did this and this teacher got suspended because this child did X, and there's no accountability for the children. It was a stressful career. It's always been a stressful career. And I think probably more than that was the money. It's like, well, I'm not going to be a teacher, I'm going to be rich. Laughs

- SEE - image of profession
- working conditions

PG99-C One of the things that I've been aware of over the time is that impact that being a teacher has on family life and marriages. If you are not married to a teacher, in the year that I got divorced, 7 of us, we were all teachers, got divorced. And the stress on your family is huge. People think because you're teaching you have more time with your family. It's not true. The kids and I used to l sit at the table and we all used to work. And as a teacher you think, oh well, I'll be able to go and watch my kids play sport. If you're not at the same school, forget it! You're not going to be allowed to go off and watch them at their swimming gala and those family things that I certainly valued. I was not able to do.

- SEE - working conditions
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

PG100-L There's two things. Just talking about going to watch

- image of profession

sport. The biggest problem is a lot of the young teachers coming into the profession believe it's a half day job. And quite often they're not prepared to put those extra hours in in the afternoon. And a lot of the pressure is falling on the older teachers, old school teachers that are having to take the weight of all this extra pressure. Because they're not prepared to put in an ounce more than the hours that are required for the money. And this is a huge problem and that's why a lot of older teachers are leaving the profession because we're dealing with even more pressure because the younger teachers are not fulfilling their duties. The other thing I'd like - and I don't think this is necessarily only in SA, I think it's worldwide - I would like people to put a huge amount of money into a marketing policy that portrays teachers in a better light. I want society to see that teachers are actually educated professionals. There's nothing worse than when you sit with a group of people and everyone says, what do you do? I'm almost embarrassed to say I'm a teacher. And that is an awful thing to be. Because as soon as you say it they look at you as if to say, oh, is that all you could do? And that is the worst thing ever and I hate it. I think that we need to be portrayed as professionals. And that teachers are recognised. And that society sees the job you do. And that its not a half day, measly job.

- SEE - image of profession
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened
- working conditions

PG101-T Just to pick up what L said as well, as a teacher most of us have an in-depth knowledge of lots of subjects. To use an accountant, for example, he can go to a dinner party and talk about accounting and that's all he knows. We can actually go to a party and actually partake in any conversation that's going on because we talk in the staff room, and there's a Geography teacher who sits here so you have a lot of knowledge about what's going on there, and there's a History teacher who sits there, and you talk to them. So we actually have a knowledge of lots of different things. Which means that actually you can have a conversation to anybody about anything virtually, because of the people that you're interacting with, which I think is another thing that makes the career quite rewarding actually, is that you're interacting with lots of different interesting people. It's not one track all the time, or one thing. I said I was never going to go into teaching and I ended up getting a bursary, which is the only reason why I went into teaching because I was going to do engineering. And I was a girl and I couldn't get a bursary so I did teaching.

- image of profession
- self image

PG102-I Today you would get a bursary.

PG103-T Yes, I know, it's a bit sad. But anyway. So I ended up going into teaching and I stayed. I did love my job. But one of the reasons why I agreed to go into it in the end was because I also play a lot of sports and I'm head of sports at this school and it's really difficult to keep the extra murals going, I suppose, as C said. But one of the reasons was so that I could have time or continue

- self image
- SV-access threatened
- working conditions

playing my own sport, because you kind of finished early in the day and you still had time. Laughs. But now, and I refuse to give up my own sport because that's actually the only thing that I do for myself, it's a huge stress to actually play my own sport as well as get the job done at school.

PG104-I Is there anything you want to ask me?

PG105-C I think it's interesting that you're approaching from emotions because we can tell you we don't like the marking but 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. And we're not linking the emotions that bubble under for such a long time, and they've got to come out somewhere, which is why you have sport, or you've got gym, or whatever that you go to. That allows you. But as L said, part of my frustration is that I will leave here, I will sit in my car for an hour and a half because there's traffic, and then I'm too tired to even go to gym. And so I'm not looking after my own balance, which is the frustrating part.

about emotions
self image

PG106-L I'd like to know this research you're doing, where will it ultimately land up? Will it ever get to someone that might listen?

PG107-I I'm hoping. On one level it's going to be a PhD and as I've been told by my superiors, the point of a PhD is to finish it, and I go huh? I thought the point of a PhD was to learn something. So on one level it will just be a PhD. But on another level I want to write. I've already started writing articles based on the literature that I've found. And I have 2 dreams. One is to get lots of people investigating emotions, because I think that emotions tell us something about our state of reality that if we ignore we end up defeated, which is what you're saying here. And if we don't start paying attention to the things that make us happy and do more of those, and pay attention to the things that make us unhappy and try and figure out what about it is making us unhappy so that we can change the thing, I think we're just going to run ourselves into the ground. And that's why I was trying to say to you, if you could fix assessment what would you do to make you feel better? Not, what's your theory? Or, what do you think...is formative assessment better than summative assessment? In fact it's interesting to me, the big move in assessment is formative assessment and every single one of you have said, I don't have the energy for feedback. Ok, I'm slightly simplifying now, but you said...so I didn't even ask about formative feedback! You don't want to do it because you're so stressed. Meanwhile I actually think that formative assessment has got the potential for all the real learning that you guys want. Because if you don't mark too much and if you then have time for marking, and if you have the quality of tasks that show real learning and engagement, that

my research purposes

you're not marking dead things, you're marking live stories or poems or something that you can engage with, that's a fantastic step in the learning. But what all of you have said is there's no energy for that.

PG108-C But I think the problem with that also comes back to the whole structure, because ideally if we were to survive more easily, there should be no-one teaching more than 4 classes. Because that would give you time in your day to mark and to do things that you need to be doing in the day, things that you're paid to do. (Interjection: and to prepare.) But we are actually then taking private time just to cope because we have more classes, because the classes are so big. And so the structure doesn't support and then the government doesn't pay enough teachers, and so the stress then just gets worse and worse instead of less. We should be able to finish our job in our day and we can't.

- self image
- SV-access threatened
- working conditions

PG109-T On the structure point as well, I think the problem as well is that because they're trying to standardise all the schools in the country somebody has to...if we talk about moderation, which is a useless thing anyway...but in theory that's what's happening. All the schools are sending in their stuff so that the department can say, ok, that's great, all the schools are on the same level. Unfortunately that doesn't allow you to give that kind of assessment. If you have an assessment task in your class which is in the form of, let's say, a debate. Ok, now a debate for me, if you debate 2 sides of a topic, they can learn an incredible amount from that. And it's public speaking and it's all the things that go with a debate, but where's the record of that? How's somebody in the department going to know that actually you did a debate and the kids learned something from it? So what do you do? You create some stupid worksheet or something just because you've got to have something in your portfolio. So you spend a lesson doing the debate but then you have to spend another lesson for them to fill out a worksheet or something so that you've got something in writing. So I think until that whole standardised structure changes, which I don't think it ever will, that's always going to be a problem.

- assertion-anger
- department
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

PG110-I You're amazing. All three of you. You've been really amazing. Is there anything that I can offer you that might be supportive?

PG111-C I really don't think so because...the 3 of us all sit in the same corner at break time and we were like just trying to get out of this because...not because we don't want to do it, because we're thinking, oh my goodness, when am I going to fit in the time? So things that actually grow you as T said, you actually try to avoid because you just want to survive the day. And I don't know how you get around that. You get around that by reducing the number

- image of profession
- SEE - working conditions
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened
- working conditions

of classes you teach. You get around that by reducing the number of kids per class. You get around that by paying teachers more so that the profession...it's not going to happen. And that's really scary.

PG112-T We talk about the time and stuff but I'm sure all of us will agree, but I quite enjoy doing these focus group things, I must say, because I think it does help to...for want of a better expression...bitch and moan in the staff room all the time but it's quite nice to know that other people are in the same boat. It is quite nice to know that you're not the only one who's drowning without your water wings. Laughs So this kind of discussion is actually good anyway, because I think it does allow you to vent your frustrations in a positive manner, I suppose, rather than just falling apart and bursting into tears or whatever. And it is quite nice to know that everybody else is in the same boat. So I think it does help to talk about it.

- about emotions
- SEE - image of profession
- strongly expressed emotions
- striking metaphor

END OF INTERVIEW (75:17)

D Group 20/03/10

DG1-D And V's got some interesting comparisons to make about how she feels about assessment between the two different types of schools. And C is at a Jewish school as well, and so…

DG2-I Oh, you're not all at S School?

DG3-D Not all at S School, no.

DG4-I Ok, so when you introduce yourselves now for the tape won't you just say that.

DG5-D V was at S School…

DG6-I Alright, so you're friends but you're not at the same school.

DG7-D Yes. Is that alright?

DG8-I That's perfect. You see, the being friends part is important because then at least I'm the only outsider. You sort of know and trust each other, so it's easier to talk. The other groups have all been in the same school and that's sometimes useful for me because then I get a sense of the culture of the school. But it doesn't matter, it's not a research requirement. And what's happened here is that it's two people that were in the same school (D&V) and then also two people that have got alternative experience (V&C). So that's totally fine.

DG9-D I'm still stuck on (a question on the form): Would you recommend that your children become teachers? (General laughter).

SEE - working conditions
strongly expressed emotions
working conditions

DG10-V No. I got stuck on (the question): do you enjoy teaching? That was a hard one. (General laughter).

DG11-I Well, just say, I'm stuck on it, and why are you stuck.

DG12-D See, I think I would recommend that they become teachers, in a way, but, with all the stuff that goes on with teachers now…

DG13-C I still think that even given all that, look it's still really worthwhile, it's still a good profession, but, because that's been my experience, you've got to think very carefully about the salary. Very carefully. Because, you know, out there, you're not competitive with other salaries. You kind of work as a professional, but I don't think we're paid professional salaries.

DG14-D No.

DG15-C If you're a single person, having to support a family, you don't stand a chance. A single parent.

colleagues
principal

DG16-V How would you describe the principal's way of leading

the school? (Another question). Authoritarian, strict?

strongly expressed emotions

DG16-D It's authoritarian in the guise of collaborative (laughs). He's our new principal. And now up till now we've had a very…

DG16-V Easygoing.

DG17-D Our relationship is easygoing kind of style, and that's one of the things that's distinguished our school is that the staff are always very happy there, because it's a very nice…has been…a very nice environment to work in. But this new guy who's come in, has in four weeks…in fact in two weeks already…he had already created all sorts of camps and everybody is sort of gunning for each other and…and he comes across as this whole thing, he's always going on about how transparency is important and everyone needs to be consulted, but actually…he's going through the motions but the real things are being decided in a very authoritarian manner.

DG18-V Oh, is that it? (The end of the form)

DG19-I That's it. It's not oppressive. (General giggles)

working conditions

DG20-V How many children did you say we had in our classes? (Checking her form)

DG21-D I said about 25.

DG22-V Mine was small. We had very small classes. 20 to…my biggest class was 35, and most of my classes were 23, 25.

DG23-D So 25 to 35 is really an average.

DG24-V It depends on where…I think the juniors have more, but I was teaching seniors so…

DG25-I And was it senior's particular subjects?

DG26-V Maths.

DG27-I Seniors maths.

DG28-V So it could be that the maths department had smaller classes because we had an extra teacher for…ya, but even when we didn't have the extra teacher…

DG29-D Look there were times when my English classes, it's my matric English classes, were also quite small. 20/25…but this year…well, that's not small by your (C) standards. But this year I've probably got about 30 in each class.

DG30-I 30 is still fine.

DG31-D By government school standards it's not. But I'm fine with 30, that's not…but so I'm agreeing with her, sometimes they were smaller…

DG32-C There were like 20 in a class.

DG33-D Well KD School doesn't have much less than we have.

DG34-V Well, K is in a class of 27.

DG35-C Well, BP School, when I was there, there were 37 per class.

DG36-I Thank you very much for coming and giving up your Saturday morning. I'm really grateful. Can you start by introducing yourselves and then I'll ask the questions that are on the list.

DG37-V I'm V. I've just resigned from S High School where I taught for five years. And previously I was at BJ School, which is a small Jewish school…for thirteen years, I was there.

DG38-C I'm C. I teach at YM School. It's a Jewish community school. I've been there for about eight years. Previously I was at other Jewish day schools. I did spend some time at BP school.

DG39-D I'm D. I'm at S High School where I've been for 27 years (laughs). And…ya, that's it.

DG40-I I'm doing this PhD on teachers' emotions in relation to assessment. And my real question is: if we take the emotion seriously what can we learn about teachers, what can we learn about assessment? And my initial findings, I'm finding very interesting already, but I don't want to tell you that now (laughs). So maybe afterwards, if you're interested. So, my first question is around: what do you think is the value of assessment? Why do you think it's important? What is the value of it for you as a teacher? Why do you think we do assessment? I mean, there were times when I was so pissed off with assessment that I thought we should just be able to teach. But then…ya, so what do you think?

DG41-V I think it's important to know if the learners are picking up what you're teaching. It's your way of knowing if you're actually doing your job and if they're absorbing what they're meant to. If they're learning.

- dealing with failure
- purpose and value
- self image

DG42-C Ya. It is kind of…you get to know where they're holding. How else would you actually assess it if it wasn't…

- dealing with failure
- purpose and value

DG43-D Because sometimes in classes it seems like they're grasping things but until you assess them you don't realise where they're not understanding or not…

DG44-V And you get some kids too who are very quiet in class and don't offer…you know, they don't contribute. The only way you're going to hear if they know what's going on is if you assess them.

DG45-I Ok. And sometimes we think things and we feel things

- assessment tasks

and they're not necessarily the same thing. So now I'm going to repeat the question but I'm going to say: what do you **feel** about assessment? (*Long pause*) I mean is there any aspect of assessment that makes you particularly upset? Is there any aspect of assessment that makes you particularly happy?

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

DG46-D Look, I think…well, in English certainly, there are ways of assessing that are a lot of fun and very creative, and those I enjoy. So when you get to do things like, we sometimes set things like, do a CD cover, to do with a set work, or a storyboard, or something like…which is actually fun and it's quite fun to mark as well, and children tend to really show their ability in those things, then I feel quite happy. But when I'm faced with a pile of essays, I'm not so happy. Or exams and so on.

DG47-C It's interesting. Essays are one thing I find the kids get their backs up about and it's difficult because they feel they can't write. But just general assessment, even tests, I actually…I hate the setting of it, I enjoy the marking of it and they actually…they get pains of course at first, but they enjoy doing it. And they want to know what their mark is. They kind of get quite excited. Heaven forbid you should come the next day and it isn't all marked. They want to know. I kind of get quite excited about it, in truth, because I want to know where they're holding too. So let alone the creative stuff, even just the straight testing, I think actually…you know…it's the setting of it that's another…that's tiring.

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

DG48-D For me, I find essay marking, I do find it very stressful, and the thought of it really puts me off…I don't mind it so much once I'm doing it because you get the odd good essay. But it really is the odd one when you've got large numbers. You've got fewer children, so you maybe get a few more...Because there's such an element of sort of subjectivity in essay marking and that I find difficult. Marking a test I don't mind so much because it's more…it's right or wrong, even in English, there's more of an element of objectivity to it. But the really subjective stuff like essays, I…because, you weigh up and you…it takes a long time to decide if you really are, you know…if you're being unfair or if you're being too harsh or…

- assessment tasks
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

DG49-C But I find essay writing the hardest to actually assess, because what happens is that they'll do something and they think it's really fantastic and it's such a subjective thing and I dread it. And then you read it and they say, you know, this is the best thing I've ever written. And then you kind of hand it back and it was totally useless. You have to say to them…you marked them…

- feedback
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

DG50-V And you don't want to hurt them.

DG51-C Ya, that's difficult. In terms of assessment that's the only real problem area.

assessment tasks
marking
SEE - learner achievement
SEE - marking
strongly expressed emotions

DG52-D Now you see, in maths, I don't think you have that, for example.

DG53-C What? The subjectivity?

DG54-V That subjectivity, no. Maths marking, I don't mind. Because it is objective pretty much, most of the time. The aspects that I don't enjoy are the volume. The never ending…just keeps on coming at you. Like you don't get a break from it. You spend every single night marking. Maybe it's just at, …at smaller schools it's a bit easier, but at S School you've got five classes…I had four different sets of prep, so…you know, different grades and that, and it's just…you've got to test your classes like every two weeks, and it can take you two weeks to get through the first batch and then it's the next lot. But short tests that I've set were…I'm ok with marking. I don't particularly enjoy marking other people's tests that they have set because you've got to…I don't always agree with the way they've tested. Even though we were a department it wasn't always collaborative and people didn't always agree. So I find marking other people's tests that they've set a lot harder. And I also don't enjoy marking take home assignments because then you land up marking one person's work forty times, because one person does it and then everybody else copies. There was no sense of, at S School…actually even at…but less so at BJ School…no sense of: let me just do this myself and see how I do. It's just, let me just get it done because the teacher wants it done and it doesn't matter how I get it done, even if I copy it off somebody else. And that used to infuriate me, where I would mark an assignment and then pick up the next one and it was exactly the same. And you can tell that it's copied. It wasn't like somebody explained it to them in the same way. You can see when work is actually copied, and that would drive me up the wall.

assessment tasks
marking
SEE - learner achievement
SEE - marking

DG55-D And then of course there's the Internet copying.

DG56-V Oh no, this year I never gave Internet work.

DG57-D Like projects with us, then there's Internet.

DG58-V How would you even know? Just by their language?

DG59-D Well, you do. Because also you get the same thing coming up again and again and you can see by the language that it's not their language.

DG60-V Ya, you see, now to me that is an absolute waste of time.

DG61-D And American spelling and all sorts of things. It's just, there's no way they've written it.

DG62-V So I don't mind marking if I feel that either they're learning something from the assignment or if I can gauge how

they're doing. Even if they do badly. But when they've just copied off someone else they get nothing from it and you get nothing from it, so it's an absolute waste of time.

DG63-D I also like doing little tests and things…

DG64-V …Even group work I don't mind. Little short tests, easy to mark and…

DG65-C 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 and hands it in. I get that. That's enough to drive me…

DG66-I So what do you do?

DG67-C Oh, I've just had one now where I know the child. And the essay comes in and it's not her work. The vocab, the style, it's just not her work, not in a million years. Now, I know, it's either a parent or sibling, I took my bet on it being a sibling. The first essay she handed in, I actually showed her teacher from last year, and the teacher said, funny enough, it's the same essay she handed to her. The exact same essay as last year. So I went to the child and I said, look, you know, it was a good essay and I showed it to your teacher from last year and she said it was the same essay. I want new work. And she had to redo it. So the second essay comes along, not her work, 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 there was no way. And then decided it would break her. I couldn't do it in front of the whole class. I would have done it with her on her own. But I figured out no. What, funny enough, the principal suggested, was that what I should do is go in there and say, ok, I'm giving you an essay, you're going to write an essay now, like a test almost. Ok, here are the topics, sit down, do it, and once she's handed in her work, then say, ok, we really need to talk because look at the differences.

DG68-D I was going to say, that's the way to get around it is to make them write in class.

DG69-V But then it always comes back to, in-class-testing, even with all this other stuff that the government has wanted us to introduce. The only true way of assessing them is in class under test conditions.

DG70-D Controlled assessment.

DG71-C Absolutely. The thing is about essay writing, I kind of think that it's horrid to make them do it in class. You don't actually…if they take it home you get a much better product.

DG72-D But you know what we do often, is we give them a chance to prepare. So we set them things in advance, they get a

- assessment tasks
- marking
- SEE - feedback
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods
- assessment tasks
- enabling learner achievement
- policy

chance to prepare, they have space on a page to write their preparation, they're not allowed to write out a whole essay, and then they write it out under controlled conditions.

DG73-C That's an excellent idea.

DG74-V Ya. So they've done their prep, they should know what they want to say. Then actually putting it together is their own work. That's better.

DG75-I Ya, we do that at Wits as well.

DG76-V In maths what we do sometimes, is what I've done, which is ok, is let them do open book assignments, but they can't talk and they can't take it home, so at least then I know it's their own…they can look up and see how to do something in maths, but then they do the actual exercise in class without talking or asking questions. Then you know it's their work.

DG77-I What are your memories of being assessed as a learner? And are there any…I mean…alright, think about incidents in your life where you were being assessed that caused intense emotion…either intense happiness or intense negative emotions, and can you tell the story and how did you deal with the emotions at the time and has it in any way shaped your present?

- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions

DG78-C For me, I remember actually 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, and humiliated, that's how I felt then, and was determined that that would not ever happen. I won't allow…I hand back work without the discussion at all.

DG79-D Ya, and I never call out marks and things in class, no.

DG80-C No marks are called out and I actually 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.

DG81-D I agree with you.

DG82-I When you say you comment on the paper, you comment generally?

DG83-C Ya.

DG84-V The pupils won't allow you to call the marks out.

- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions

DG85-D There are some that do.

DG86-C My thing, I've got, oh, you don't understand. And if someone does well they immediately want to ask someone else

what they got.

DG87-V I have told who got the top mark. But that's about it. But I don't always. But they don't allow you. You've got to hand it face down to them, in case anybody sees the mark as you…

DG88-D I don't do that.

DG89-V Don't they make you do that?

DG90-D No. I call them out, they take their thing and they…

DG91-V Geez, my classes, they always … But I usually say…I mean, if they discuss it it's their issue, but I usually say, you don't have to tell anybody your mark and you don't have to let anybody…and you mustn't ask anybody your mark. It's a very sensitive issue.

DG92-D But there are teachers who hand things back in mark order and that kind of thing, which I think is terrible.

DG93-V There are.

DG94-D I don't really have terrible memories of tests and marks coming back…

- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

DG95-V Oh No, I don't have happy memories. I only have bad memories of being tested, of sitting in exams. Exam time was always a traumatic, horrible time for me. My best memories of assessment were getting back marks, not even good marks. My best, best, best mark ever, that I can remember to this day, was passing Maths 3 at 'varsity, with a fifty percent on the dot (laughter). I got an A, I got like in the eighties for Zulu 3, which didn't mean anything, but getting that fifty percent for Maths 3 was like …, aagh, I will remember that feeling for ever.

DG96-C I must say nothing much sticks in my mind…

DG97-V …the exam was stressful but geez…

DG98-D But maths at 'varsity is…I started off doing maths as well as English and I gave up. I'm not nearly as persevering as V and yet I loved maths at school. And one of my nicest memories…in fact it's about the only thing I remember of getting tests back was when I had Mr M as a teacher, he was a brilliant maths teacher, and one exam I got a hundred percent for, and there was a bonus question, and so I got like a hundred and two percent. And that's just a wonderful feeling. I mean, it happens once in a lifetime but…and it was because he was a brilliant, brilliant teacher. He really was.

- personal history
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

DG99-V There's something to be said for…I remember Mr W reading out a poem that I'd…not a poem, an analysis of a poem, which I'd written. And English was not my strong point. And he wrote…he read out…he didn't even say it was mine…but he read

- personal history
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

out a few things and I was actually quite proud that mine was read out. I even remember the poem; it was called the Chrysalis or something like that. I remember that. And I also remember doing really badly on an Accountancy test once, because I'd mixed up debit and credit, and if I hadn't mixed that up I would have got like a hundred percent, it was so sad.

DG100-D It's a fairly serious mix up.

DG101-V I do have…ya, but I'd mixed it up all the way. I actually knew what I was doing, so it was seriously disappointing…

DG102-D You'd put it on the wrong side. (Laughs)

DG103-V Ya, a very disappointing test. But ya, so I do remember one or two odds and ends.

DG104-D But I can't say I have particularly good or bad memories of that.

DG105-V I remember learning Afrikaans essays off by heart. And then in the prelims I managed to rattle off one of those essays by adapting the topic to one of those that I'd learned.

DG106-D That's what they always tell you not to do.

DG107-V Afrikaans, it's the only way. And Mr VR came to me in one of the other exams and said, your Afrikaans essay was so brilliant! It wasn't even my work, but I mean, I still felt proud. (Laughter)

DG108-D And you'd managed to learn it and remember it.

DG109-V Ya.

DG110-I So do you think that any of those learnings have affected how you treat children now?

- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

DG111-D Well, clearly yours (C) has, ya.

DG112-C Ya, mine did, ya.

DG113-V I don't know, I don't think so…

DG114-D I think it does because I still…I mean, I do remember people being humiliated if their marks were low and were read out and so on. And I remember feeling…that is one thing I remember feeling, is like nervous when you got something back, and trepidation. I mean, the last thing you would have wanted was, if it were a bad mark, to have it read out, and to be ... So I think, I mean, I don't humiliate children on that kind of thing and I am sensitive to their feelings. And I also think there's huge unfairness because I think some children struggle and really work hard, but they're not really capable. And I think that's a huge unfairness in life, which I've always felt all the way through school. Whereas

other people do things quite easily and get quite good marks for it quite easily, and I've always felt sorry for people who really struggled and yet still couldn't quite crack it.

DG115-V Ya. I agree with that. In fact, in all the years where I've given like prizes at the end of the term, it's always been for pupils who…not the top pupils but those who've improved their marks from…not just worked hard, they had to improve their mark from the previous term. So even if they got thirty percent in term one, if they got thirty-five in term two then they would get a prize because they went up by five percent. So, I mean, if somebody got ninety one term and then came down to eighty, they wouldn't get a prize, you know, even though…so you'd still get people of thirty-five getting a prize and somebody with eighty not getting a prize. It's just a matter of bettering yourself. Which I think is quite important, not just recognizing the top twenty or whatever it is.

SEE - learner achievement
strongly expressed emotions

DG116-D No, I agree with you. Encouraging the bottom end. In fact when Vivian left, one of her pupils said to me, 'she was such a good teacher and she said my mark improved just in like a month of her teaching so much'. So I said, oh, what were you getting and what are you getting now? And she was a bit embarrassed and then she said, well it wasn't great, you know, I was getting like thirty, and it's gone up twenty percent. And I thought, that's amazing, twenty percent increase in a mark, from a fail to a pass. But you could see she was a bit embarrassed about her original mark, but I think to encourage the bottom end is very important.

DG117-I I agree. And that's the loss, hey, because there are not that many good maths teachers.

DG118-D It was a huge loss.

DG119-V Ya, and I'm probably…the jobs that I'm looking at are not necessarily in teaching, so I might actually leave teaching, so…He's an idiot, what can I say.

DG120-D And that's purely because of the principal and gunning for people and so on. He was gunning for her. There's no doubt about that. So…and people kept saying that when this was all going on, they said, how could he do this to…a good maths teacher! He's prepared to lose her for his own private agenda.

principal
SEE - working conditions
strongly expressed emotions

DG121-I Ok. Alright. I'd like to talk about the National Curriculum Statements and the Assessment Policy. A lot of teachers are confused or some love it, or they love parts of it. I mean, it's quite a mixed response. So I'm interested…how do you respond emotionally to the National Curriculum Statement and the Assessment Policy? How do you work with it? But it's really the Assessment Policy primarily, but it comes…I mean, it's part of the whole package.

DG122-D What particularly in that should we be responding to? Because one gets a bit confused about what exactly…

DG123-I It's really what stands out for you. You don't have to analyse the policy, it's like, what stands out for you emotionally that has affected you?

DG124-D Right, well let Vivian start.

DG125-V I don't have a problem with it. I don't have a problem with the fact that they want us to do different forms of assessment. I think it's a good idea because we were always stuck on the 'in class testing', and even though I've just criticised the assignments and the group work and all that, I still think it's not bad to have a balanced way of assessing. What drives me mad is having to write little numbers down saying this is now LO1…

- assertion-anger
- department
- policy
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG126-C Oh, no, no, no.

DG127-D That is ridiculous.

DG128-V …11.1.2.3 and AC Assessment…I don't know, whatever those numbers are that we're supposed to put, that to me is an absolute waste of time. And part of the stuff that makes you mad as a teacher.

DG129-D I agree with that, and especially in English.

- assertion-anger
- department
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG130-C But can I tell you…but you know what happens, I mean, I actually think, even now at this point, thirty years down the line of teaching, and you've got to actually now still do your year planners or whatever the case is, and now they want it with your LOs and your ASs and whatever. You do whatever you have to do and after thirty years you don't feel like doing that either, and then you just simply write a whole lot of letters down, you don't even know what they are, and I've seen teachers and that's what we do. You've got to now have…there's an assessment, it's got to have your ASs and your LOs, you kind of sort of sit there and write LO1 AS3 and hand it in.

DG131-I So they're not actually related to…(*noise*)

DG132-C To anything! (Laughter)

DG133-I So it's just no relation to the reality? You just write the numbers?

DG134-C No! They couldn't care.

DG135-V Exactly.

- assertion-anger
- department
- policy
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands

DG136-C At the end of it all…ok, and I can only speak for me because it's me and not a first year teacher, thirty years down the line of teaching, I kind of know…

DG137-V You know what you're doing! Ya

DG138-C …I know what's expected, I know what I'm doing, I know the different kinds of testing, just leave me alone. Basically I kind of figure out that I'm…let's take over all the years, thirty years and probably of that about twenty years I've been teaching matrics, the results speak for themselves. Just don't irritate me, leave me alone and let me do what I have to do. And I *know* what I have to do. And of course I can sit there and I can do this properly, I can work out all the ASs and the LOs and stick to the policy and make sure. All it does is just waste time and that makes me incredibly resentful. The load is immense. The load is immense. There's a lot of work to get through and I know what I'm doing, you know. Leave me alone. And that happens … let alone, from the very small Jewish schools where I've been teaching, I also had, as I said, BP School where there were 37 kids in the class. And it was the same thing, leave me alone, I know what I'm doing.

- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG139-D I also think, exactly what C is saying, that it's pretty pointless because all those things correspond to areas that we've always taught, say in English. So you've got oral and then they divide it into numbers, and you've got comprehension and they divide it into numbers. Now, how do you quantify exactly what you've taught when you've done a comprehension, there are a whole lot of other things that come into that. To start dividing it into these numbers is the most pointless activity.

- assertion-anger
- department
- policy
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG140-I You mean, to dividing it into the…?

DG141-D …you know, the LOs and the ASs, ya. Because actually you've already got the outcome; the outcome is that you're doing something with oral or with comprehension, but into that go a whole lot of other skills that come in as a kind of side thing, and…

DG142-C That you're covering anyway!

DG143-D That you cover anyway. What really is the point in going through a list, and I agree with C, people just fake it. It encourages people … to just be deceitful. Because they…you're not going to those things first and saying, well let's see, we'll do LO this and that and 1.3. You set the thing, knowing what you're kind of doing, and then if you have to write in all those ASs and the LOs, you do it afterwards. So where is the point except that it's…? I dunno.

DG144-C Even doing it afterwards is a waste of time.

DG145-D That's what I'm saying! I'm saying, where is the point?

DG146C It's irritating. The issues, can you imagine, I've got…I teach English and History, ok. So History I've got 10, 11, 12. And

- assertion-anger
- department
- reporting demands

9. Grades 9, 10, 11, 12. In English I've got 10, 11, 12. Can you actually imagine if I had to do this…

SEE - reporting demands
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened

DG147-V …Every time you write, they do a test or whatever.

DG148-C …Every single time, at all these different levels. I wouldn't be able to actually achieve anything whatsoever.

DG149-V … It's just time wasting.

DG150-C I'm balancing all this and its my years of experience have enabled me to do this. I haven't got the time to actually waste on all of this.

DG151-V But even new teachers…

DG152-D It doesn't help you. This doesn't help.

DG152-V And it doesn't help the learners. Why do they have to see this on their test, that this is 11.1.3 and 11.1.4 and…

DG154-D And heaven help them if they learn something else.

assertion-anger
department
reporting demands
SEE - reporting demands
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened

DG155-C Oh, absolutely. But yet, you know what, even now they want us to have this file and the file you've got to put in your tests and your memos and whatever. If they walk into any of my classrooms, they will find pupil's files, and in those files there's all the work, and it actually covers all the assessment standards and outcomes. It's all there. Don't make me have to go and then start analysing it…

DG156-V And writing…

DG157-C And I'm resentful in terms of that. And so are the kids actually.

DG158-D The paperwork, the paperwork is killing us. That is what's destroying the job.

assertion-anger
department
reporting demands
SEE - department
SEE - reporting demands
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened

DG159-V And also, as D said before, it breeds dishonesty. You know, when we had to do the portfolio, hand in portfolios, and I had all these requirements, like one of them was, the kids had to sign…have their signature on the top of their exams. Now they'd written their name and the whole thing is in their handwriting, I mean, I'm sure in a court of law that would stand up as their work. But they didn't have their signature. And now…

DG160-D They would send them back if they didn't have their signature.

DG161-V Ya, and by the time we were putting the portfolios together the kids weren't even at school, they were on study leave and that, we used to forge their signatures, because else they would have sent the portfolios back.

DG162-D Well they did send things back.

DG163-V You know, little things like…ya, they would.

DG164-I For reasons like that?

DG165-V For reasons like the kids didn't sign their paper…

DG166-D We had things sent back, because we had included the question papers in our portfolios, and we already had them in our educators' portfolios, so we didn't need them in the children's portfolios.

DG167-V So they sent them back, so they said, you've got to take them back and take them all out.

DG168-D So they send you back a whole pile so you can take out the question papers.

DG169-C It's petty beyond belief.

DG170-D And it's that kind of thing that arouses such intense negative feelings, and it's that kind of thing that I know has people getting out of teaching.

DG171-C Well you see, what that does, is it undermines you as a professional, it undermines you as an adult, it undermines you in any position of any kind of, you know, authority.

DG172-V Because also the people doing it, the people assessing and sending things back like that, are complete…they're not professionals.

DG173-C No, they're not. That's the whole thing.

DG174-D A lot of the time they're like clerks, you know, and…

DG175-V 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, and it's just because they don't know what they're doing that they need it all spelt out for them.

DG176-D Ya, they've got a check list and they go strictly…But, later on what really irritated me about this question paper thing, is I had a friend who was moderating, and she said, a lot of the schools have left the question papers in. And at the time when this happened, I said, it's better to have the question paper there, you don't have to go to another file, find the question paper, see what test this is, whatever it happens to be. And she said exactly the same thing. She said they preferred it when everything was in the child's portfolio. Because it's a schlep to go and find it somewhere else. But these little bureaucrats…and it becomes a power thing as well. It's a kind of like: we'll show these teachers, you know, they think whatever. So it doesn't become about what you're doing and how successful you are as a teacher, how well the children are doing, it's all about their ticks on sheets and their little power thing.

- assertion-anger
- department
- image of profession
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- SEE - reporting demands
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG177-V Like for nonsense. Like they've sent maths portfolios back because one of them was out of the order that they had laid down. So like tests came before assignments, as opposed to assignments came before tests in the file. Even though everything was divided and you could see clearly. So they send it back so that you can reorganise the file according to their checklist. It's…I don't know…

- assertion-anger
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

DG178-D It's those things that are driving people crazy.

DG179-V Ya. Although they've done away with the portfolios now but by the sounds of things, the files that you've got to keep are just as cumbersome and…

DG180-C Ya, same thing! Well up to this month, I haven't put one together. I'm not bothered.

DG181-D Well you should see what we've just received this week about moderation. So now they've done away with the portfolios but then they give you things in moderation like, when they come to check up on us…because now the department is going to check up on us every term…when they come to check up, we need to have a whole sample of papers ranged in mark order and moderated and all of that. Now, where? We give the things back to the children, yes, they're keeping them somewhere, and even though the portfolios have been done away with, that's actually a portfolio that they're having to keep anyway because…

- assertion-anger
- department
- policy
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG182-V Ya, but they keep them at home.

DG183-D But now where do we get this from all of a sudden? How do they think we're going to have all these things to show them if we've handed them back to children and gone through them and used them…and the whole moderation process that they are now wanting us to do is so unwieldy.

DG184-V It's terrible. That's another thing that drives you mad.

DG185-D …And it just drives you mad. And it's not just about moderation, it's about…and you should see the forms we have to fill in for everything we moderate. It's a two-page form that you have to fill in for everything you moderate. Now surely they can see if people are moderating and doing a proper job. We used to have a fairly sort of small form, which was fine. This is…you cannot believe it!

- assertion-anger
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG186-V But just the moderating. Surely if you've qualified as a teacher, you've got your qualification. Surely you accept that I know how to mark. I don't need another colleague re-marking my work to check that I've marked within two percent of what he gets. You know! And this goes on every single time you do a test or an assignment or an investigation, somebody else has to mark at least three of your papers and you've got to mark at least three of

theirs, to check each other's marking! Maybe do it once a year, where you check each other in the department and see who's not marking according to our standard, and then show them how we…

DG187-D Well you do it here and there and especially for younger teachers and newer teachers and so on, but for the rest…

DG188-V But this is…

DG189-D You know the point is … that you love teaching, that's why you're doing it, and the people who love it usually are good at it and we…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…

- assertion-anger
- department
- image of profession
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG190-V …It does, because you're spending so much time marking.

DG191-D …give as much to teaching as you should be because you're spending so much time on nonsense. And I think that's what drives us mad.

DG192-V And my HoD was very strict on…was very strict with moderating. Every time we did a test we used to have take three papers from another person and remark it. And we used to cheat as well. I used to just sign my name at the top, say moderated, because I can't be bothered to mark another teacher's work again after they've marked it.

- assertion-anger
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG193-C Absolutely, it's undermining.

DG194-V It is completely undermining.

DG195-D And also it depends, if they're new, young teachers and so on, then obviously you mentor them and that's part of it. But as a head of department you would do that, but…ya, look I'm quite a relaxed head of department on that kind of thing. Like your HoD would make you do that. I wouldn't.

DG196-V But surely there comes a time where you don't have to remark H and all that stuff.

DG197-D No, I don't, that's my point. You get to know people are reliable, and…

DG198-V Ok, the first year or two that they're in the school.

DG199-D But that's the point I'm making. When you get a new teacher in, obviously you mentor them more, but at some point you've got to start trusting that the people are doing a good job and leave them to it.

(Voices rose dramatically in above discussion.)

DG200-I Ya, and then have discussions about issues that everybody can learn from.

DG201-V Yes, absolutely.

DG202-I But they're not checking up, supervisory kind of discussions, they are collegial discussions.

DG203-D That's exactly it.

DG204-I So, if you could change assessment policy, what would you change?

DG205-D I would take away they having to fill in all of those LOs and ASs and forms and…

DG206-V And moderating. I don't even know if the moderating is in the Assessment Policy.

DG207-D I don't know.

DG208-C I would literally go back to how it used to be, where you didn't know anything about the department until the end of the year when you had to fill in your marks in triplicate. So it's left to the principal and the teachers. And you're employed, and you're professional, and you're left alone.

DG209-D Ya.

DG210-C And you do your assessment and you've got a principal, you've got a head of department within the school, and as for the actual department just to go away.

DG211-D I think the schools that perform well should be left alone.

DG212-V D's right. Because then, I think the problem is that there's plenty non-functional schools, and that's where all the nonsense comes from and we suffer because…

DG213-D Because they're trying to get them to work better.

DG214-C But even that…but can I tell you something, I think even in that situation that this is not working for those schools either. And that's the issue. This is all a complete waste of time.

DG215-D But that's what they're trying to do.

DG216-V But then they must know which schools are functioning…

DG217-D They know which schools are functioning. And 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 or whatever, got our school and they just look so good. And two seconds later they're making your life a misery and giving you an inspection and checking up on all sorts of ridiculous things.

DG218-V Like all the exams…D's done the prelims and the

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- department
- image of profession
- policy
- SEE - image of profession
- assertion-anger
- department
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- assertion-anger

final exam, she's the chief examiner, and all the nonsense that they expect from that.

DG219-D You can't believe what goes on. But, a principal who was a principal for many years, before the new departments and posts and whatever, he said that the old TED used to be impossible, they were difficult, but, when they saw that you were doing the job and your school was running effectively, they left you alone. He said they really did give you a lot of autonomy. Whereas this lot don't leave you alone, regardless. So whether you perform well or not well or whatever, they…in fact often, they make the schools that are performing better, they make their lives more of a hell, because it's easier to go to schools that are performing well …

DG220-V And throw your weight around.

DG221-D and make all sorts of ridiculous demands because they will run around trying to satisfy those demands. Whereas they go to schools, which are non-performers and they're out of there like a shot, because actually those schools don't care, first of all, and secondly there's too much for them to do when they go into those schools. So it's much too hard. And I've heard that from people in the department. Who've said that is for sure the way they operate. But in the meantime that's what's killing teaching, unfortunately. People are leaving because of that.

DG222-C There's an element out there of…it's about wielding power at the top, and I think it's not only in terms of the government education department. I think that the IEB are the same…it's exactly the same, they're stick wielding and they're watching the teachers, and it's all about what you have to hand in and what you have to do and it's…the whole teaching has changed.

DG223-V Well, you had that thing, what was it about?

DG224-C Oh, the portfolios for the IEB, I mean, aagh…

DG225-I What?

DG226-C It was…there were two parts to the story. The one was that…

DG227-I And this is an IEB story now?

DG228-C This is an IEB story. The portfolio just wasn't window dressed enough. And then I found it, so they sort of sent it back and all these comments on it. Yet my cluster leader did the same thing and nobody looked at hers. So it happened to be just…you know, whoever…the person who's actually moderating my stuff. Then it went to…that was regional moderation. Then you get national moderation. It went off to national moderation…I think I told you this story…and it came back and she said, well

- department
- disappointment-sadness
- image of profession
- SEE - department
- SEE - image of profession
- strongly expressed emotions

- department
- disappointment-sadness
- judgement - being judged
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- s

you…first of all she said you have to use…for prelims you can't use past papers. But it was the first time they'd done this syllabus, so it didn't come from past papers. I spent the whole, I don't know how long, actually working out the questions for myself.

DG229-I (laughs) So she obviously thought your questions were so good that they must have been from a previous paper.

DG230-C Then the next part of it went, oh you know, you can only use…globalisation can only be used…it can't be used as a source of material in an extended essay. And that very question, I'd actually phoned the facilitator and said, look, you've sent us an exemplar, do we have to stick exactly to how each theme is on the exemplar or can we like, you know, paper one, anything can be asked for any question? She said, of course. Now I was told, you can't do that. Whereas I had actually phoned and had been told the opposite. So it was that kind of thing, you know. And I just…I just remember in the early years of teaching, there seemed to be nobody around, you just taught.

- assertion-anger
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

DG231-D Ya.

DG231-C And you kind of raised your eyes to the heavens every time the end of the year came and you had to fill out your in-triplicates. Those big blue sheets in triplicates. And that was the sum total of the department or any kind of authority. I think that parents, the principal, they pick up pretty quickly if you're not doing your job. Certainly in the schools that I was where there's quite an emphasis on marks and, you know…

DG233-V I think if I had to change it, ya, I would take away all the nitpicking and just get back to real issues, which are about quality of teaching and all of that, and just take away all this nonsense.

- assertion-anger
- department
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

DG234-I Thank you. What you've (D) said earlier, I've been thinking, and I haven't heard anyone else say it, but just from the interviews I've been thinking that's what's going on. So it's wonderful to have you say it (laughs).

DG235-D Good, I'm glad I said it.

DG236-I That thing about leaving…harassing good schools and going to the weaker schools. Because that's been my sense in terms of the interviews.

DG237-D I'm sure…you've probably…interesting to hear that you've found that sort of across obviously a lot of different schools.

DG238_V But even when they were doing the exams, and I mean, they could see that you were running the exams properly…

- assertion-anger
- department
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

DG239-D I know. They loved my school.

DG240-V …they would be there every single day to check on the exams.

DG241-D They kept saying, how brilliant, you know, it was all being run so well and so effective and everything was fine. So what are you doing there?

DG242-V And they got ideas from D, where D used to make them put their cell phones in a zip lock bag and collect them and keep them in the front of the hall and they thought this was brilliant. And all the other little ideas, and yet they were there every single day checking on her…

DG243-D Filling in forms and ...

DG244-I But that is because it's easier and then they're doing their work.

DG245-D Exactly. They come in, they tick, tick, tick, tick. And over and above that there were one or two of them who would still try to do the nitpicking thing. And you're sort of thinking, come on guys. But as you say, it's easy.

DG246-I And they're doing their work.

DG247-V It's that combination.

DG248-D They can get patted on the back because they've done a good job and they've been at our school. Twice a day sometimes.

DG249-I Ok. Can I go to the next question about the learners? How do you feel about your learners in relation to assessment? I mean, if your learners failed or you expected them to do well but they didn't, or think back on learners that passed well, how did feel then? So think of like particular situations and talk about those.

- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

DG250-V I get very upset, like this last year was a case in point where we had particularly bad maths and science results…

DG251-D This is in matric.

DG252-V Ya, the end of matric. We had twelve failures, twelve matric failures, and most of them came because they failed maths and science. So if you fail two subjects you fail. Very upset. If…ya…look, some of the kids I don't get upset about because they've done absolutely no work, in fact most of them didn't really work in those subjects. But upset, because it was obviously a bad subject choice, upset because it was maths that caused them to fail…like Likita who, a very clever girl in all her other subjects but failed matric - she got Bs and things - but failed matric because she failed maths and science. And even though she was weak at maths, she kind of tried…

DG253-D But you had advised her to give up maths.

DG254-V Ya, we had advised her to take maths literacy.

DG255-D And her parents wouldn't let her.

DG256-V Ya, but still, still feel responsible.

DG257-D Ya, one does take it sort of personal.

DG258-V I was upset about those failures. And kids that do particularly well, ya…I seem to get quite sort of involved in their emotion. You know, like those who do well, unexpectedly well, you feel good.

DG259-D Even children who don't do as well as you'd like them to, or get seventy-nine, and the department won't condone that anymore, because SADTU objected. So you feel upset for them, if they deserved it. You know, there are children you know are really top, top students, and sometimes you get a sense that they're not doing as well because they've manipulated the marks. There are times when they try to pass more people but then they bring down the top because they want to get their graph, or whatever. And you do, you feel…you take it personally, you know, and you feel it's not fair and these children don't deserve it and they deserved better marks and…I think one does get quite involved emotionally.

- assertion-anger
- department
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

DG260-C You get heartbroken. Ya, I actually find a few instances where I'm absolutely heartbroken. I had a guy doing matric, not last year, the year before, and he was just historically minded, and he was just so interested and passionate, and at the end of it all I think he got a high C. And I was absolutely…I can't tell you, heartbroken. I've been unable to actually look him in the eye ever since, almost taking responsibility. He had a writing problem but I cannot tell you the love and the passion, and for the life of me I cannot understand it. Of course there was no access to the paper afterwards and so we never knew, we let it go.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

DG261-V Why was there no access?

DG262-C We couldn't see it.

DG263-V But couldn't you get a remark.

DG264-C You know, by that stage he gave up. He was so disappointed. He wasn't a clever guy, somebody who really worked, but we'd gone along this journey together for four years, for four years, and he was just so amazing. He was just so passionate and just loved it. And then last year I had a girl who ended up doing history because there was nothing else for her to do. Couldn't put the concepts together, didn't understand a thing. So I taught her the skills in terms of how the sources are laid out, how to actually answer. She hated it. I'd said to her mother, this

was the wrong choice. Her mother said, well what choice did we have? Absolutely hated it. I'm sure by the end she didn't even know any of the concepts, she couldn't put anything together at all in her mind. And I knew that, I could see it. Eighty-eight percent for history. (Laughs) I was devastated. Of course I didn't say that, I mean, I said, how amazing and fantastic but it was so deeply disappointing in terms of the other person. Deeply disappointing.

DG265-V Did he ever follow up that?

DG266-C No, he didn't. He let it go and I let it go, but I think…

DG267-V …No, but I mean in terms of a career, did he…?

DG268-C No. But it was heartbreaking. You do, I think that you become really involved, you know, you share…especially in a situation like this, when they do well and they've worked for it.

DG269-D And when you know children have got problems, you know, learning problems or things, you also…you sort of want them to overcome it and you worry about them and you do, you take it all quite hard when they don't do well.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

DH270-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.

- assertion-anger
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- image of profession
- SEE - department
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

DG273V Ya.

DG274-D Ya, they don't give us professional acknowledgment.

DG275-C No, no professional status, not at all.

DG276-I Ya, you get lumped together with the children.

DG277-C Absolutely.

DG278-V And with the bad teachers. There are bad teachers out there.

DG279-D And there are teachers who don't care and don't do their jobs and aren't qualified and it shouldn't be like that. Those teachers need to be dealt with. And teachers who are professional and are doing good jobs need to be treated differently.

- department
- image of profession
- SEE - image of profession
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

DG280-I So what you're saying is that there needs to be a

distinction made between teachers that are professional and teachers that are not, and they should be treated differently.

DG281-C Ya.

DG282-I They shouldn't all be treated the same.

DG283-D I mean, I phoned NAPTOSA a while ago and took them to task, because there was a talk show on TV, which I happened to have the misfortune of tuning into because it just made me angry, and they made a comment…the head of NAPTOSA made a comment, to say that there are no good teacher role models. This was his comment. And I phoned them and I said you represent so many different types of teachers, and you make a comment like that on national TV, what are you saying? Of course there are good teacher role models. How can you say, no good. But that's how we're treated. Like teachers don't work hard enough. Teachers don't go to class. Teachers are drunk at school. But not all teachers are. And there are a large number of teachers who don't do any of that and are doing sterling work, but you get lumped together. And that really is demoralising.

DG284-C I think the rewards in this job are truly about what happens in the classroom between you and the kid. That's it. And each individual learner. And that's where the rewards come from. That's our payback because there isn't any other, at all. And that's why you go back each day because reaching a kid or making a difference, it's between you and the kid; it doesn't go beyond that in this profession at all. No one acknowledges, nobody sees. Really it's about just that. It's that connection and that's it.

- image of profession
- SEE - image of profession
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

DG285-I Thank you, those were two amazing insights. Thank you. Ok. Can we move on to marking? (Giggles) How do you feel about marking? I mean, again, think about a particular moment or incident. What kind of assessment was it? How did you mark it? How did you feel before marking, during marking? Any scripts that were frustrating or exciting? How do you feel afterwards, after you've marked?

DG286-D I think the sheer volume, a lot of the time, where you contemplate huge piles of marking, is depressing. And 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. But, then, when you're marking, there are those moments which 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, but a lot of the time it's volume more than anything else that puts you off. Now I know when you've got a smaller group that is different.

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

DG287-C I've got much smaller groups. Other than the essays, which always bring me down, the thought of marking, in truth, because of that (small classes), I actually really enjoy it because it's exciting. I'm anticipating, I want to see, I want to see what happens. So I actually enjoy it. But I know I would feel completely differently if I had their volume.

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

DG288-I So what's 'small classes' for you?

DG289-C Oh heavens, I can go through … my smallest is three.

DG290-I And your largest?

DG291-C Fourteen. I've taught in situations where I had thirty-seven in a class. But this is…oh, you can't compare, I mean, we actually really can't compare. I think on every level. When I think of…

DG292-D In maths. But we were discussing earlier that where the difference comes in, our marking loads are bigger. But her setting marks are much bigger.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- marking
- SEE - marking
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

DG293-V Setting exams.

DG294-D Ya, setting exams. Because we…I mean, I've got a department, so we share out the setting of exams load, where she has to do it all. So her setting load is huge but the marking load is much lighter. Whereas with us, it's the other way around.

DG295-V Ya, C will have like twelve exams to set in June and in November, whereas…

DG296-D And Vivian has done both, so she can compare.

DG297-V Ya, I was at a small Jewish school also where at times I had like twelve exams, but the marking is less, and at S School the marking was huge but the setting was less. But in terms of marking maths as opposed to English, it's very few times, like when D and C feel, you know, get excited when there's been a spark of inspiration, we get very little of that in maths. It's much more a feeling of despair when you're marking because so many kids just do not know maths, and it's just…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. Or it's clear that they've been doing no work.

DG298-D But we also get that, I was going to say…

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

DG299-V So very few…sparky. And also at S School they put the top maths class as a separate class, so there's the top class and then there's the rest. So one teacher will teach the top class and then for the rest of the grade you've just got this mixed group of mainly weak kids. So you don't…it can get a bit demoralising

because there's often no kids in your class who have got any maths ability. So it's not like you've got one or two that show some sort of (laughs) promise. You know, it can happen. But still, even so, when a weak kid does something, it's an achievement.

DG300-D And that's when you have your moment. But we also have that. Because there's skills that you know, you've been teaching and teaching and they've done it for previous years and so on, and they're still making the same errors and it does, it frustrates you and it irritates you, because you think they just are not putting in any effort. But at least we do have the highs. (Laughs)

DG301-I What do you do with the feelings of marking?

marking
SEE - marking
strongly expressed emotions

DG302-D I don't know, one just deals with it really. I force myself to sit down and take all the piles, and it's a great feeling when you've completed that (laughs).

DG303-V Ya, but it's short-lived, because the next one is right there waiting to be…

marking
SEE - marking
strongly expressed emotions

DG304-D Little rewards, you give yourself little rewards.

DG305-V I don't know, how do we deal with any feelings? I don't know…

DG306-C That's it, I need a bottle of Bluefin (perfume?). (Laughter).

DG307-V Ya, I have a glass of wine every night.

DG308-C A bottle of whiskey, or a glass of wine.

DG309-D Or a box of Smarties… (General laughter). Every ten papers a little visit to the kitchen (more laughter).

DG310-C No, I still prefer: that was so traumatic I'm going to buy perfume? (Laughs). I don't know, I suppose that's how…

DG311-D Because you don't have an option, you've got to get on with it, so … one gets on with it.

DG312-V You can't really indulge your feelings of desperation.

DG313-I Ok, I eat when I mark.

DG314-D Ya, me too.

DG315-I Like half an hour before I start marking, I start eating.

DG316-D Me too. And I eat all the way through. And it doesn't matter how sick I feel at any point, it doesn't deter me. Exactly

DG317-V I watch TV while I mark. I cannot just sit and…but for maths you can do that.

DG318-D Ya, English you can't.

DG319-V No, you can't, you've got to follow through. It takes me a bit longer but it's gotten to the stage where I actually can't mark unless I've got a movie or something to watch at the same time, and then I…

DG320-C But that's where I find you must be amazing, because I find, even with those few pupils, I actually cannot sit with papers in front of me and just sit for like a whole day and mark. I do two and then I go and do something else, and then I come back and then I have to read the last one again because I wanted to check the standard…I actually can't sit…I don't know how you get…you're amazing like that.

DG321-D I don't know.

DG322-V Ya, no, I can't.

DG323-C But to sit like that ...

DG324-V But then, now you see with maths, once you've learnt the memo, after the first few it's just a matter of…

DG325-D Even then, you've got to sit and do it.

DG326-V Sometimes you get a kid that's written something in a different way and you've got to actually read what they say. But then…you don't get the whole movie but…

DG327-D It's the sit-ability though, that is necessary.

DG328-C Marking takes ages. It just does, it takes absolute ages.

DG329-D And you actually get pain, after a while it's uncomfortable and it's…

DG330-V Although we felt in the maths department, we've learnt from the English department, that it's so much easier to split the exams into sections, so we just have a smaller section of the exam to mark and everybody shares it out and it's just so much quicker.

DG331-D Across the board marking is much easier.

DG332-I You mean you take the large batch and you do question one?

DG333-V Ya. And then somebody else does question two.

DG334-D Because then you learn one memo and it zooms.

DG335-I Except if you end up with the essay question.

DG336-V Ya. Well with maths we don't normally.

DG337-D What we do with English is then we would…a

- assessment tasks
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

question like that we would divide between more people than one. So that it still lightens the load a little bit.

DG338-I Thank you. Ok, report writing and…oh wait, there's another question about marking. Do you feel responsible for students' results?

DG339-V A lot of the time I do.

DG340-C Ya, absolutely.

DG341-D Look, in some cases you know that there's some children 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.

DG342-V I know in my head that what I do has very little reflection on the marks. That it's actually…ninety percent is from the learner's efforts. That the teacher probably has ten percent…

DG343-D But you still feel responsible.

DG344-V But you still feel responsible. Definitely.

DG345-C For me I feel slightly differently, I think because the classes are so small that I honestly do believe…of course there's a certain amount that's theirs and their responsibility, and you know, so what they're actually capable of and what not, but because the classes are small I take it quite seriously.

DG346-D No, look, I do think we have a lot of influence, …I mean, if you were doing nothing in class they would…

DG347-C For sure, for sure.

DG348-D …they would certainly not achieve, so I think we have more than ten percent input. But for those children who are shutting it all out and aren't interested, and aren't putting in any effort.

DG349-C Ya, you can't forget about them.

DG350-D At some point there's nothing you can really…

DG351-C But if you've got thirty in a class and I've got three…

DG352-D Ya, it's easier for you to take a more…

DG353-C I need to take a lot more responsibility for those three. And even if it's a case that they're not going to get As but they're getting Es and I should get them to Cs. It should be that, there's no doubt in my mind.

DG354-I Thank you. Ok, report writing and accountability. In my experience, but that might be a 'varsity experience, there's like

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

this general sense of panic in October, November, about all the marking and the report backs, and then it's like a prize giving that people start getting happy again. So I just want to know, does that like fit with your experience? Is it different? How do you feel about the report writing and being accountable?

DG355-C I don't know, I mean, once the marking and stuff is done…

DG356-V You know the writing comments on the reports for each pupil I find very difficult and time consuming, and even though I think it's very important for parents to see comments, I get irritated by having to do it. Ya…and I don't think I…

DG357-D …It is very demanding and again it's because of the volume. I think if you had ten comments to write, and reports to do and so on, that's not so bad. But when you have got 200, piles of them, it is a bit stressful. But I must say that that's the point at which one's starting to sort of relax a little bit in a way, once one's got the marking done and the marks in, I think that's the more stressful part.

DG358-V But usually it's such a fine…you're so panicked about getting your marking done and then there's still the comments that have to be done and the marks that have to be in and on the computer, and it's never like…

DG359-D …It always, ya, it is all part of the same experience.

DG360-V You only finish marking after the due date of having the stuff where it has to be on the computer, it's always such a rush.

DG361-D It is.

DG362-V It's hard.

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

DG364-V And then there's also the thing where they try and ease your load by letting you mark through the holidays and only have reports out sort of at the beginning of the next term. Which takes the pressure off you but then it destroys your holiday, so…

DG365-D …You don't have a holiday.

DG366-V …you don't really win, either way.

DG367-I And for you, in a small school?

DG368-C Ya, no, it isn't…

DG369-V It's not an issue. It's easy to get the marks in.

- assertion-anger
- aversion-fear
- marking
- reporting demands
- SEE - marking
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

- aversion-fear
- marking
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

- working conditions

DG370-C Ya, it's easy to get the marks in. As they finish writing, I like to mark it all quickly. Because again, it's a whole thing of wanting to see. And writing up isn't an issue.

DG371-I So it's interesting how a lot of the things are issues because of size.

DG372-C Absolutely.

DG373-D And you see it very much in our clusters because in our clusters there are schools like ours which have got big classes, there are schools that have got even bigger classes, and there are schools like theirs who have got small classes, and you can see the different sort of pressure levels in terms of getting in oral marks, getting in…you know, because the volume is just so much less for them, that it's less stressful.

DG374-C Well, when I think if I was Minister of Education and fixing up this story, I would of course make the salaries far more attractive and actually bring in a whole lot more teachers and split classes, smaller classes. I mean, I understand the issues but that's…and I see with me, I mean, it's quite an ideal situation. I mean, this is very small, this is very small, but a little bigger. The school I was at before I was at for a very long time and there were, I would say, averaging about fifteen kids a class. It works. Because you get the right amount of feedback and the class is dynamic and they all pass their opinions, so there's an interaction. Which sometimes I miss. But I saw when I had thirty-seven kids at BP School, no.

DG375-D Look, I don't like very small classes either, I mean, I know you've got them, but like I've taught also at middle Jewish schools and things, where I had only a few kids in the class, and for me I miss the group interaction that you get with bigger classes and the feedback and that kind of thing. It seems like it's a lot more work on your part in a way, and a lot less feedback and then interacting between the pupils and so on. So I'm not mad about the extremely small class but I do agree that slightly smaller would make our load a lot less.

DG376-C Especially a subject like history, the more work better, it becomes dynamic.

DG377-I No, no, the more the better up to a limit.

DG378-C Ya! No, no, no, but I'm just saying, not three, but you know, fifteen in a history class up to twenty is fantastic.

DG379-V Because three can be a bit sort of…it's like drawing teeth.

DG380-C Terrible! I think that I actually work a lot harder at this school than I did when I had fifteen or so, twenty, in the class. I work a lot harder. I mean, I sometimes work literally from half

past eight until four o'clock and I've been talking solidly. I'm exhausted. The exhaustion levels are enormous.

DG381-D Which you tend not to have with bigger classes.

DG382-V You're much more the focus of attention.

DG383-C Ya, everybody else does their thing. Absolutely. It's got its pros and cons both sides.

DG384-I Ok. I want to ask, just last thing about this sort of accountability and report writing, are there issues in the school or with the education department - and you've talked about some of those - that affect how you feel about being accountable for results? (Pause) Is that a funny…it's like…alright, maybe I'll ask it differently. How does…who do you feel accountable to and how does it make you feel?

- assertion-anger
- attribution-problem
- department
- SEE - department
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

DG385-D I think I feel accountable to the children.

DG386-C The kids, firstly.

DG387-D I don't really care what the department thinks. But…I think there's a sense of frustration in terms of matric results, because we don't know what they do with the results after the children write, and we do know that they do mess with the results. They do take things up and they do take things down, and that's very frustrating. Because if a child does extremely well they should get the benefit of that. It shouldn't be up to some bureaucrat trying to get a graph right.

DG388-V I do think that at S School you're going to find yourself in a position where you feel accountable to the principal. Because now he's created this thing where if you get good results you will get a bonus, but if you don't get good results you won't get the bonus. So now teachers are so badly paid, but everybody wants the bonus, and how do you judge a good result? They were speaking about getting As, but like in the maths department the As are all with one teacher. So where's the fairness there? Then they spoke about…

- attribution-problem
- judgement - being judged
- principal
- reporting demands
- SEE - working conditions
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened
- working conditions

DG389-D …That's not fair. What about the teachers who get children to pass who weren't passing? Surely that's…

DG390-C Ya, absolutely.

DG391-V And also how you judge it, when you might have got a kid from grade eleven who you haven't taught before, now they're in your matric class, you've got such bad grounding from all the other terrible teachers that there's no ways that they're going to do well, and then you are held responsible for their bad results.

DG392-D And then what about say, for example, in English, we hardly ever have a failure, when in fact for years and years, I think

last year there was one failure…we never have a failure. I mean, surely that deserves some recognition…where we have really weak children.

DG393-V And then also the maths department you have lots of failures because of the subject. Maths you have lots of failures because of the topic. I don't know how…so there's going to be problems with that.

DG394-I Well, that's a perfect way of dividing your staff.

DG395-V Ya.

DG396-I Like you said, he came in and created blocks. You do it like that.

DG397-D He did. That's one of the things.

DG398-V That's what he's doing.

DG399-D He's got a divide and rule policy, basically.

DG400-C And that's terrible.

DG401-V And I know already, without even him, there was…like B, she wasn't given grade 11s or 12s because her results from last year weren't good. So…some teachers might only feel accountable to the children but there's definite pressure from heads of departments…

- aversion-fear
- colleagues
- judgement - being judged
- parents
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

DG401-D From above, ya.

DG403-C Listen, even in a school my size, there's still…

DG404-V Your school it's even worse.

DG405-C Absolutely, oh yes.

DG406-V No, in the private schools, the pressure's from the parents as well.

DG407-C Oh, absolutely.

DG408-V Ya, very much so.

DG409-D You're judged all the time.

DG410-C I mean, completely. It's all about your results. And even though, I mean, my boss comes in and he says stuff like, you know, we're not interested in the marks, we're interested in the kids, were they decent human beings, are they whatever…

DG411-D When it comes to the crunch they want marks.

DG412-C When it comes to the crunch for sure. And I've got kids, I mean, who basically…parents' evening was this week, I have parents who came in and said, well how is he doing? I said, really well. What was the mark? I said, seventy-five. Ok, so what

are you going to do about it? Straight, what are you going to do about it?

DG413-I What's wrong with seventy-five?

DG414-C No, no, no, no, you don't understand,

DG415-V It's not an A. They definitely…. And your reputation hangs on the good results.

DG416-C Absolutely, absolutely. And I know that I've been head hunted from other schools, it's only because of the results, and it's ridiculous. Sometimes you get a year where like my four kids are all … not good.

DG417-V And the truth is…well, I don't know about other subjects, but maths, a lot of the time you get good results is because the kids have gone for extra lessons. So, even in their small private schools where they do really well, the teacher will get the good reputation from these amazing results, but actually, they've all gone for extra lessons.

- attribution- learners
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

DG418-I So, I've got a question about managing emotions. It's like there's no one way of dealing with emotions. Sometimes we feel them, we ignore them, we shift them onto others, we express them…so, I want to know sort of a little bit about how you deal with your emotions. What do you do when you have strong, pleasurable emotions? What do you do when you have strong, upsetting emotions? What do you do when you think you're supposed to feel something but you're feeling something different?

- about emotions
- colleagues

DG419-D Well I think I vent. And I think it helps to have a sort of support group around you, friends, whoever it is, colleagues. That's why it's nice to work with colleagues who are friends and you get along and…because then when there are horrible things, then you share them, and it does make it better somehow. Because you're kind of all in it together and you vent and you so on. And when there are nice emotions it's also nice to share them.

DG420-C Nice to share. Well I remember about your whole thing, I was completely incensed, I was so angry. And I mean it's…so angry…

DG421-D And we all were as well. And then we'd have this constant like sort of getting it out, which really does help, because when you're on your own and going over it all and you're so upset, it gets worse, it's actually worse. So I think that's quite important.

DG422-C Some kind of support system, ya.

DG423-V Vent, take Virol, I've discovered Virol recently.

- about emotions

DG424-D When all this was going on with her at school…

DG425-I What's that?

DG426-V It's like a natural…

DG427-D Tranquilliser.

DG428-V Like a calming medication.

DG429-D Like a rescue remedy but a bit stronger.

DG430-V Ya, but stronger than rescue remedy.

DG431-D But when all this was going on with her at school, and there were some terrible things, literally in the mornings you had people passing around rescue remedy and Virol. I said, there is something seriously wrong in this situation where your morning routine is to take your tranquilliser…(laughs) to swap tranquillisers.

DG432-I Even if they're homeopathic.

DG433-D Ya, which they all were. (Laughter)

DG434-D So I think that's quite an important thing, and to have things that help you to de-stress, and to debrief and whatever.

about emotions

DG435-C Crying works.

DG436-D Ya. But also getting together and having meals and so on and…

DG437-V Although, that's in a crisis. For general stress, you know, pressure, work pressure, you just suck it up, basically.

DG438-C Ya. You absorb it. And you know what else? I watch things that are mindless on TV. But things I would never normally choose to watch.

DG439-D Me too.

DG440-C I cannot even watch anything that's not mindless.

DG441-D And reading as well. You read mindless things as well.

DG442-C Ya.

DG443-D When you have a brief moment of relaxation. I think it's good to give yourself time out. To be mindless. Some people don't sort of allow themselves until they're…I think you actually need to take a break here and there and to just be a bit mindless. And…ya…

about emotions
working conditions

DG444-V Although when you've got so much marking and stuff hanging over your head, you can't even enjoy those…

DG445-D No, you don't.

DG446-V …times out because you just think, aagh, I've got all that work.

DG447-D I should be doing something else.

DG448-I Ok. Is there anything else that you would like to say about assessment or your understanding and the feelings that it generates? Anything that I haven't asked about that is still on your mind?

DG449-D I can't think of anything. What were you saying earlier about how you felt things were better now when you went into S School from when you were previously at a…

attribution- learners
attribution- self
dealing with failure
working conditions

DG450-V But that wasn't to do with assessments. That was just more to do with…my control, my discipline, seemed to be better at S School. Maybe it was…I mean, there've been times in my life where I've actually wanted to give up teaching and have been desperate to get out. But not so in the last five years at S School, I was very happy there. But that was just…also, you know, it helps when you're at a school where there's…where there's help with discipline, with, you know, there's grade controllers, and subject heads and vice heads and that. In those small schools you're pretty much on your own.

DG451-C Completely on your own.

DG452-V You know, with everything you're on your own. Even in terms of assessment, you know, you're on your own. You've got to set everything yourself, you've got to do everything yourself, if it doesn't work you've just got to deal with it on yourself. When you're in a school where there's a department and vice heads and grade controllers, it's actually easier, I found it much easier, I found my job easier. With discipline, if a kid was getting to me…you know what also, is that I found, at S School if a child was doing badly, it was never my fault. It was always the child was the problem first and foremost. Whereas at your school…

DG453-C Welcome to my world. (Laughs)

DG454-V …if a child does badly, it's like, what are you doing wrong? It's you. And that I didn't like. And that's one of the reasons I think why I enjoyed S School so much.

DG455-D What are you going to do about seventy-five percent? I mean, that's ridiculous.

DG456-I Seventy-five percent is like a good mark.

DG457-V They kind of accepted that I was a good teacher at S School and…well, I mean, I suppose they got to know me and my

style and the way I dealt with things and accepted that I was good enough. And therefore if there was a problem it wasn't me. Whereas at the small private schools, or even big private schools, it's always the teacher who is at fault. It's like never the little brat.

DG458-C Oh, ya, in private schools we get fired, moved around, whatever…just…

DG459-V Ya, I had a situation…one of the reasons why I left this private school that I was at…is one child did badly at the end of the year…this was like right at the end of the year, November the 27th, and the headmaster called me in and said, there's a problem with your teaching. And I hadn't heard a thing the entire year, and the parents hadn't come in and…at the end, after I'd left, the girl actually wrote me a letter andapologised for causing such a problem with me, and acknowledged that she had been in a play, where she had been taken out of class to do play practice for a good three months of the year. Her mother had been in intensive care, and she was running the household for another three months of the year. So her whole world was in turmoil in that year and she was doing badly in maths, and nobody ever looked at that and said, well maybe that's why she's doing badly. It was my fault, finished! And I had to lose that class; I couldn't take them up into grade eleven - she was in grade ten at the time - because I was doing a bad job. I mean, it's just unbelievable. Whereas at S School it was a different story. Like I had plenty kids that did badly, in fact I couldn't get over the change of…at these private schools.

DG460-I So last question, is there anything you want to ask me?

DG461-D Well I want to know what you said earlier, when you started, that certain things were emerging…

DG462-I My initial findings.

DG463-D Ya, and I'd like to know what those are. And if we've been in line with them or not…

DG464-I You have been.

DG465-D …I mean, it's quite interesting.

DG466-I You've actually strengthened some of it. Which is really nice. What happened…the first chapter in my data that I want to write about is strongly expressed emotions. So what are the topics around assessment that teachers express strongly expressed emotions about? What are actually their main concerns? So I mapped them all out and the thing that came up most often was learner achievement. And I don't think it's just because of the structure of my questions, it just came up under every single kind of question; they were concerned that their learners did well. And then I took all the quotes on learner achievement and I analysed

attribution- self
my research purposes
SEE - learner achievement
self image
strongly expressed emotions

those, and the thing that came up the strongest was, I called it self-image. It's like the teachers saying…taking direct responsibility for their learners' results, and if learners do well, I feel good about doing my job, if learners don't do well…

DG467-D Then you question who you are.

DG468-I Then you question yourself.

DG469-C Do you realise we're crazy!

DG470-D We are crazy. (Laughter)

DG471-I Well, you know, I thought about that, but actually it makes sense, it's just that nobody ever talks about it. Because what are you a teacher for, except for other people to learn. That's the purpose of teaching. So in fact structurally…

DG472-D It does make sense.

DG473-C&V It makes sense.

DG474-D It would be like a doctor not feeling bad if all his patients died.

DG475-V Ya. (laughs)

DG476-D I mean, you can't control that all the time but it would be a bit odd if they all died all the time in all circumstances …you know what I mean. He'd have to take some responsibility at some point.

DG477-I And so…ok, I've only interviewed teachers at either functional schools or teachers that have come to study and are therefore taking their professional development seriously. But every single one of them said, when my kids don't do well, I look at myself. And you're all saying exactly the same thing. And the thing that you expressed totally clearly was that the way the department treats teachers undermines that. And so, that's what I'm going to try and show very clearly, that the way that the department is treating teachers undermines the essence of being a teacher.

- attribution- system
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- image of profession
- my research purposes
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

DG478-D Mm. That's exactly it.

DG479-C Yes, absolutely.

DG480-I And that that's problematic.

DG481-D And I'm glad someone is…

DG482-C Ya, someone is seeing that.

DG483-D We actually had a meeting with someone from the newspaper at one point, a whole lot of us, from all different schools, to basically…if you had to sum up what we really wanted her to write in an article, which she still has never written, that

was it, really. That they keep going on about how we are losing teachers, we don't have enough teachers, and people aren't going into teaching, but they do not focus on the rewarding and keeping the teachers who are doing a good job and are dedicated. And so you're losing a whole amazing resource that they've got, they're losing half of us.

DG484-V You know, they did come up with this master teacher and senior teacher thing to try and keep good teachers who didn't want to go into HOD positions.

- department
- disappointment-sadness
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

DG485-D Into management positions, ya.

DG486-V Which would have suited me perfectly. But they make it so hard to actually be a master teacher. I've been teaching for twenty-five years…I do a reasonable job, and I mean, a subject that they need, but because I haven't been working for them, for ten continuous years, I can't be a master teacher. So…you know, they don't recognise any experience that you've had before 2004 or something…I worked for them…

DG487-D Before 2004?

DG488-V No, before 2000…they don't recognise that. I've been at a private school for thirteen years, they don't recognise that. You have to have been with them in the last ten years to be a senior teacher. So they're not exactly trying to hold on to teachers. *(recording turned off)*

DG489-V I just said that the department are there to harass you but they're not there to help you when you're in need, like our school has been going through this whole turmoil at the moment. He keeps referring to…go and speak to the IDSO and go and, you know…because we know that they'll be supporting him. They won't care about what the general teacher has to say or…in fact they haven't been there, they know. All letters of grievances, my resignation letter, my lawyer's letter, everything has gone to the department. I haven't heard a word from them. Not once. They know they've lost a maths teacher.

DG490-D Not even acknowledging your letter.

DG491-V Not even acknowledging my letter. Not one word from the department.

DG492-C You know where the biggest problem with this is, the bottom line stops with the teacher. The whole…everything, it all depends on the teacher. And nobody…we're seen as the bottom end of it all. And we should actually be at the top…in terms of being…you know…we should be really important and we're not. But the buck stops with us really at the end of it all. It's all about us.

- attribution- self
- image of profession
- SEE - image of profession
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

DG492-D Tell Carola what happened that time when those

- aversion-fear

people…they were coming to…

DG494-C But I can't do it on tape. Because otherwise they would know which school. Somehow they forgot to tell us about grade nine moderation…

- department
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

R Group Interviewed by Carola 5
June 2009

CRG1-I My name is Carola Steinberg and I'm doing this as part of a study...as part of a PhD study. And I started being interested in teachers' emotions when I realised, I was doing a lot of in-service teacher education and I realised that teachers weren't like able to learn new stuff if they were all tight in their emotions, if they were anxious and worried and then they weren't open for new ideas. And so that's when I started investigating emotions. Also at a personal level, I made like a commitment to listen to my emotions because I think that emotions are a very useful sign to us about our relationship to the world. And so we learn a lot if we actually listen to our own emotions and start investigating them. So that was how I came to the study of emotions and then I linked it to assessment because I thought assessment is the one...well, I experienced, that assessment is the one area in teaching that evokes really intense emotions, so I thought that that would be worth investigating. So that's what I'm doing. Ok? So, who are you?

my research purposes

CRG2-P J, you can start. (laughter)

CRG3-J Thanks. I'm J H. I've been only teaching for five months. What else would you like to know?

CRG4-C What are you teaching?

CRG5-J I'm teaching Technology and Computer Literacy at the moment. It's my first year of teaching, obviously. I'm at the moment not teaching my subject that I have studied, so obviously it's a little bit difficult but I'm learning a lot more.

CRG6-P And what grades?

CRG7-J I'm teaching only grade 8s and 9s at the moment.

CRG8-I That sounds fine. Great.

CRG9-P I'm P and I teach Business Studies and Economics, and I was so excited about today that I did my hair. (laughter). And C knows that.

CRG10-C I am proof to that. (laughter)

CRG11-P No, I'm just kidding. And I'm teaching for 11 years so I've become a bit cynical over the years (laughs). But maybe I started off that way, and ya...I still love it, but...you know,

about emotions

sometimes the cynicism does creep in. So that's me.

CRG12-C More often than not.

CDG13-P More often than not (laughs). C is like the victim of my cynicism (laughter), along with the children.

CRG14-C Ya, but it's...anything else?

CRG15-P No, nothing else. Your turn.

CRG16-C Ok. I'm C and I've been teaching for about 12-13 years. I've had lots of broken service, but this is the longest stint I've had at this school. I teach Life Science. I've been teaching Natural Science as well for the juniors, from grade 8 all the way up to grade 12. And I enjoy my subject very, very much. So that's that.

- SEE - working conditions
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG17-I Great. Thank you very much. Ok, so I'm going to ask you about...I'm going to follow these questions roughly and you've all had a look at them. I'm going to ask you about the value of assessment. What do you think...why do we need assessment in schools? I mean, I got to a point where I thought scrap assessment and schooling will be much better...but...there is value there. So I'm asking what do you think is the value of assessment?

CRG18-C Ok, I think assessment is important for the learners because it allows them to see what their weak points are, and whether they understand a particular section that has been taught and...also I think it 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. And for the teacher I think it's valuable because it tells us many things. It tells us firstly how we are teaching, whether we have conveyed a message the right way or is it a misconception. It also tells us how these particular learners are doing compared to other years and whether they're following a certain norm and that sort of thing. And I think...ya, I think that's basically why assessment is important, and I don't think a school can, or any studying for that matter, can function without assessment, because it's...actually it's the measurement that comes at the end of a piece of work or even while a piece of work is being taught. It's a good indication of whether the teacher is heading in the right direction and whether the learners are heading in the right direction. So that's basically what I think.

- dealing with failure
- purpose and value

CRG19-J I also think, adding onto that, you said, as a measure, it's also for learner motivation, because if a learner does well it is motivating them to carry on doing this, that they are doing the right things. If they don't do well, it's also a sense of motivation

- dealing with failure
- purpose and value

that instead of doing badly again I want to do better, so it's a sense of self-motivation for the children to...so that they know that they're going towards something and they're not just sitting in the class...staring at the walls.

CRG20-P Ya, and very often their...ya, they sit back thinking that, you know, they know it all and we can't teach them anything, until the day the assessment arrives and, you know, whether it's informal or formal, and suddenly they start to realise: guess what, this teacher does have something to offer. So it also shows the learner that there's something to be learnt, you know. Because very often learning can only take place if the learner feels he doesn't know anything, you know. And I feel assessment shows them how much they know and how much they don't know. But for me I think also something that's important is over the years we've seen how children have changed and assessment was one of the ways that we saw the changes, you know, in children's emotions and in the value of what's happening in the school, you know. That children, we always say they're not the same but one of the ways we can see they're not the same is through the way we assess them. That we might be still using those old ways of assessing but the kids are not responding to it anymore, so it also tells us that we need to start to keep our things in check, you know, to start to think with the times rather than being in the Fifties when these kids are in the year 2000, you know. So we need to change the way we teach as well, the way we approach these learners and how do we know that? Just because we've assessed them and seen how they responded to that. And that's what I've learnt over time as well and that's why I feel assessment is important. And I don't like the marking, but it has to be done (laughs).

- learner characteristics
- marking
- purpose and value
- teaching

CRG21-I It's interesting...what have you learnt from assessment around how the kids are changing? I mean, talk a bit more about that.

CRG22-P Ya, I find that kids are nowadays confined to, you know, sitting at a table and studying for example, many of them sit in front of a TV and study or they hide from their parents and study and you learn that...I mean, you think: oh, my goodness, this kid did so badly, you know, and then the parent comes in and says, listen, my child sits in the room and studies from the time they get home until, you know, they get to bed...

CRG23-C With the door closed.

CRG24-P With the door closed. And then suddenly you decide, guess what, that's the remedy now, that this kid should not be behind closed doors, where we were supervised by our parents, you know, and nowadays parents are...so that has changed, the parental involvement has changed. Ya, the way kids learn, their

- attribution- learners
- dealing with failure
- learner characteristics
- parents

motivation for learning has changed, you know. Also something that I noticed, that, when we were in school we had this positive competition going on as to who's, you know, doing the best, and if we all can strive to that level. But now I find a lot of kids are striving to the bottom end of it, you know. And that has changed...

CRG25-C It's almost...

CRG26-P ...ya, like a negative motivation.

CRG27-C Ya, it's almost like...

CRG28-P You're in an in-crowd or...

CRG29-C Yes! it's like if the kid's feeling they do well, then they're going to be ostracised by their peers.

CRG30-J Then they become the nerds of the group.

CRG31-C Ya, and then they're not very popular. But the bad ones who are always, you know, the delinquents of the class, they are the popular ones and they're the cool ones. But I think that's...that has changed as well, because, as you said, when we were in school it wasn't like that.

- dealing with failure
- learner characteristics

CRG32-P And also like for us to realise that, like before we were not allowed to have different learning styles, you know. And you know, this was the way it was done and that was it. But nowadays we have to now react to that, that if a kid is not doing well in let's say formal testing, we must find different ways of finding out whether this kid has the knowledge, you know, because of their rights and things, so we have to change the way that we assess these learners. It now becomes more of our responsibility than it was before...as educators. That we have to become more imaginative, more creative, more innovative in the way we assess our learners. And we can't simply say, well, they're lazier, they don't study. That's just not good enough anymore. We've not met the mark in a way, you know, if we are saying that. So there are more teachers out there getting more creative, I think, as well. Or I'd like to hope. (laughter). Ya, so...ya, that's what I think.

- assessment tasks
- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- learner characteristics
- self image

CRG33-I That's very interesting. I mean, I haven't had anyone see it so clearly before in my interviews. (laughter)

CRG34-P That's why I teach. (laughter) A delinquent with an opinion.
Ya…ya…so, I mean, that's what I've seen. It's part of our frustration no doubt, because I would love to do the top down approach and say: you will learn like this and you will learn these

- image of profession
- learner characteristics
- self image

ten pages of notes. It just doesn't work though, it doesn't work anymore. And I think if we are carrying on like that, we're doing our kids an injustice. Because they are getting a world view much earlier now than we did. I must have been about 25 when I got a world view, these kids are 10 and they have a world view, you know! So we really need to start finding new ways.

CRG35-I Ok, so how do you feel about assessment? Sometimes we think things, but our feelings go in other directions. So how do you feel about it and are there any things that make you particularly upset about assessment? Are there other things that make you happy? What are your feelings around it?

CRG36-J Sorry, around the actual assessment or...the outcomes of the assessment?

CRG37-I Either.

CRG38-C The overall need for it? Like the overall...

CRG39-J The need for the actual assessment.

CRG40-I Mm. Or when you do it, how you feel when you do it?

CRG41-J I think most of the assessments, especially when it's a very...when the kids get involved, I think it shows...I don't know, you feel happier because you see...especially when they are...when they're enthusiastic about it...I'm talking about the one side compared to the other side, we do have the ones that aren't. But I think you do. If you spend a lot of time as you said, becoming creative and that, you work 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...

- assessment tasks
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

CRG42-C Disappointed.

CRG43-J 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're 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 the more assessment tasks and things that like that because you're seeing...you're seeing results from what you've done. You're seeing results that, because you've worked hard they are willing to work hard and they are willing to be enthusiastic and, you know, work really hard for it. So I think that's...that's where the emotion comes in, its not while you're doing the assessment but when you see the reaction of the kids to the actual assessment.

CRG44-P That motivates you.

CRG45-C Ya. Ok, I feel when...when I think about assessment, if it's an exam that's coming up or a test, then I think my emotions would be a little bit of apprehension because am I going to test the right things? Am I going to set a paper that these kids will be able to answer? In terms of whether I taught it to them correctly. Because, that's what I'm a bit apprehensive about. And then as J said also, I also like to set interesting questions and hopefully the learners will benefit from that, but then as J 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. But 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.

- assessment tasks
- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- purpose and value
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

CRG46-P And it's like that ah ha moment...

CRG47-C Ya (laughter).

CRG48-P ...that you just, wow, I've go a life, I've got a reason to live.

CRG49-C Even if you've done it for that one child, it's worth it. That's how I feel about it when I...

CRG50-J Ya. Definitely.

CRG51-C I remember when I was marking Ninu's papers last year it was like that.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG52-J She's an absolute star.

CRG53-P Phenomenal.

CRG54-C Every other child in the class will totally misunderstand the question...

CRG55-J And waste the question (laughs).

CRG56-C Ya. But she will hit it on the...like, hitting the nail on the head immediately. And she like reads into your mind, she knows exactly what you wanted, and that just makes you feel so good as an assessor, as a teacher, because you know, you feel, I've taught this child something of, you know, the way it should be done, the way this section should be understood, and she got it. And that for me is very uplifting.

CRG57-P Obviously I have an opinion. My emotions .....

(laughs)

CRG58-C We're all waiting to hear this.

CRG59-P Ya. I think for me, you know, definitely the aha moments are treasured, you know, and I think we get that with almost every assessment that we do, it's just for us to look for it. And very often it's more that self-discovery as well, you know, when you see these kids and then they build this confidence in you where they realise that, again, you have something to offer them, and it's through this assessment. And that's why I really treasure assessment because it then builds that rapport between the kid and me, you know. And especially the good kids that they...they're still like unsure of you until they're being assessed and then they realise, guess what, we're all on the right track here. And so that's why I enjoy it because it's a tool for discipline as well, you know, and a more positive way of disciplining learners. So I like that because discipline is very important to me. And...ya, also to say that...the difficult part is that being disciplined, as important as it is, I spend so much of my time doing discipline and separating it from assessment, so sometimes these two worlds don't meet the way I want them to, you know? so that's...so there's a conflict of emotions then between the two - my discipline and my assessment.

- learner characteristics
- purpose and value
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- teaching

CRG60-I Just describe that.

CRG61-P To say that, I'm so busy reprimanding the kids and telling them rules all the time and, you know, trying to push content at the same time, and then like saying, ok, now I have to do this assessment because it's required, you know. So I'm then doing it out of pressure rather than saying, well, you know, in that time I was busy telling them your hairstyle is all wrong or something, I could have been assessing them, you know, doing like spot testing or whatever in that time. But it's wasted on other things that these kids are missing from their homes. And that for me is very frustrating, so I have that like conflict of emotions between having to discipline them when I could well be assessing them and relating to them with my subject, rather than disciplining them.

CRG62-I Or you could be teaching them.

CRG63-P Teaching, ya.

CRG64-? Yes, ya.

CRG65-P Teaching and assessing. Well, teaching, you know, we know that we must push that above anything. But then the assessment does take second place too. So it's teaching, discipline

and then assessment, for me probably, you know, if I had to put it that way, but somehow we're just battling it through kind of thing. That's my emotions for that.

CRG66-I Ok. Alright, memories. I'm asking about memories of you being assessed, both as a learner in your youth and as a teacher maybe in terms of performance appraisals, but maybe we can talk about them a bit separately. But what experiences of you having been assessed were like very...are very strong in your memory, both positive experiences and negative experiences, and then how do you think those have affected you in terms of how you are now assessing kids?

CRG67-J I'm probably the closest to remembering. (laughter). I mean, not that I can't think of a positive one, but a negative one that stuck into my head, and it probably will forever: we had, I think it was right at the end of the year, our Afrikaans teacher, I was in standard...grade 11, I even remember who the teacher was...

- feedback
- personal history
- purpose and value
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG68-C And she might still be in this school? (laughter)

CRG69-J No, she's not, she's not at the school anymore, she isn't. She sat down and obviously back then, I didn't realise, but, she had obviously finished the syllabus, we had finished all our assessment tasks, and now she needed to obviously waste a little bit of time, so she made us make Christmas cards, in grade 11! Seems a bit silly. But I got extremely involved, and I started with everything, the paper and the everything, and I remember spending so much time on this thing, during class time, taking it home, working on it extremely hard, and she picked...on the day that it was due and it was a due date, it was almost a formal assessment, I mean, obviously back then it was a little bit different to now, but she took them in and said, this one's pretty and she gave it to another child in the class, that one's nice, and she gave it to another child in the class, and I had not only spent so much time but my effort and all my...my whole week had just gone into this card, and it was Afrikaans so we had to do an Afrikaans little poem inside, and I'd really, I'd spent so much and effort on this and it was almost like, well, thank you, but that's enough. There was no marks being done on it, no sort of praise, you know, not even...even a verbal reward, well you know, J spent a lot of time on this, congratulations...even that would have been enough. But it was, she took them all in and then she gave them out to other students in the class. And I just felt, you know, if you're going to do something, an activity, whatever it is, you give some sort of reward, whether it's in the form of marks or something like that, you give a reward for that, and I remember I was extremely hurt. And I wanted my card back!

CRG70 Ya!

CRG71-J I thought, no, I'm going to give it to one of my family members if it's just going to be shuffled - around the class. I don't know, I even made an envelope, and I spent so much time on it, and that is one thing that the minute I read it, I knew, that was my negative experience. Because there was nothing...there was no sort of marking or anything done on it.

CRG72-C There was no acknowledgment.

CRG73-J No acknowledgment, and then, I think don't do it if you're not going to acknowledge the work that's been done. Yes, it was a silly Christmas card but to me it wasn't a little, silly Christmas card, it was an extremely...you know, I was so enthusiastic, all my effort and my time and all my emotions went into this little card, nothing was done about it. So that's definitely a negative one...

CRG74-P And you end up being silly as well, that you did all that, and that's the last thing you want as well.

CRG75-J Exactly, you feel very silly. You know, rather give an extra Afrikaans poem or do something else and not waste time...the learner's time.

CRG76-C Maybe it would also be that the teacher should have been more explicit.

CRG77-J Yes.

CRG78-P Honest.

CRG79-C Honesty, ya.

CRG80-J Yes! If she had said to me, well this is just a bit of fun time, etc, etc, but she made it sound...and I understand why she did it now, because if she said it's a little bit of fun, we probably wouldn't have....we probably would have sat in class and folded a piece of white paper and write in pencil...

CRG81-C Please tell me her name?

CRG82-J Mrs du Toit.

CRG83-P&C No, we don't know her. (laughter)

CRG84-J So I just think...you know, I understand now why she wasn't more honest because me as a teacher now, even if...not that I'm doing anything that's worthless, but if I'm doing something that doesn't count so much, I'm not going to go and tell the children

because then they land up...they think, oh, it's not important, I'll just do anything.

CRG85-C Then they don't do it.

CRG86-J So I understand now why she didn't but at that stage I did not understand at all.

CRG87-P Ya, and being a learning experience now not to do that to the kids.

CRG88-J Yes, exactly, it does.

CRG89-P I'll never do that again. (laughter) I'm joking, I don't. Ya, but it's hard to, I suppose, assess every single thing you give, but then you have to be up-front about it as well, isn't it? Ya...the negative thing that I used to not like was, like if you do a project and then, you know, the teacher would just put a random mark at the top. And then you look through, and then you like, ok, did you even look at this project, you know, there's no comments, there's no marks. And then you get it back but there's no feedback, whether it's positive or negative, so, like...you know. Raki on that side got like 80% and I got 55% and like, hey, my project looks better than that, you know. So that was...and the teacher would never be up-front, and I remember it was our Geography teacher, and he would, you know, always...it was for me, favouritism. For all I knew, yes, my work might not have been better, but he did not...(you want some water?)

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - feedback
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG90-I But you wanted to know why?

CRG91-P Yes, definitely. Definitely, that, you know, again the honesty factor, that even if I have a low mark, why did I get that low mark? So the next time I know that when I do...and so that's why nowadays when we do these rubrics, it's so brilliant because, you know, you can clearly tell the child at any point in this rubric, this is where you fell short, even if they don't understand, you can clearly show that this is what happened, this is where you fell short. But in those days it was like, just, you know, just a mark, and there was no feedback, no comments, no comparison, nothing and that was very devastating.

CRG92-C So now as a teacher you give your feedback?

CRG93-P Yes, hundred percent, and highly opinionated in class as well, it's like, this is what you did not do and I would tell them explicitly, you know, so that's like my focal area kind of thing. Definitely. So that's my negative.

CRG94-C Ok, for me primary school assessment is a bit of a

- feedback

blur because I didn't enjoy primary school at all. I was a miserable primary school student. (laughter)

judgement - being judged
personal history
purpose and value
SEE - learner achievement
strongly expressed emotions

CRG095-P Me too. I still need therapy for that.

CRG96-C But the one...first of all I dreaded maths assessments in primary school because maths was my weakest subject and I dreaded the bonds and tables every morning, because we were rattled about it. And in those days if we didn't know an answer we used to get a cut on our knuckles, on our palm, and I used to invariably get a few (laughter) every morning.

CRG97-I That's enough to put you off school.

SV-access to internal goods

CRG98-C I didn't know my bonds and tables at all. So that assessment is negative for me. That was the junior primary. And the one assessment that did stand out clearly for me in grade 7, was the one…I think it was the June exam that we had written, it was a Science paper. And for some reason I didn't turn the paper…there were ten pages and I didn't turn over the last page. My teacher was very kind, because she called me in the one day after, during the break and she said you didn't answer this side of your paper, so do it now quickly. And I did, and I thought that was so amazing of her because she allowed me to do that without the other kids knowing about it, and if I hadn't done that page I probably would have failed that exam. But now I think if, as a teacher, would I do something like that? I probably would, with certain learners, but not with all, because, I don't know, maybe I'm a bit unfair with the learners because I just feel, you know what, they should turn the page over (laughs). Even though I didn't do it, but…so now, how I try to get around that is on the instruction sheet, I tell the kids that there are so many pages, please check that your question paper is complete (laughs). So then it becomes their responsibility after that. So that's how I cover myself.

In high school I enjoyed assessment because my dad told me, you know what, now that you are in high school, this is your true test. Never mind about primary school, there's a lot of favouritism, the teachers were like this and like that, but high school is your true test. So that for me put me on the right track to assessment and I used to prepare well for it and I worked very, very hard in maths in high school, and I eventually did quite well in matric, which was an accomplishment for me. So in terms of assessment, I think, that for me is my proud moment in matric, because coming from a student who was almost failing maths, in grade 8 I almost failed maths, I had 50%, I think, in the final exam (laughs), and in matric I worked so hard and I went the extra mile, I got another teacher to help me and I had also a very good maths teacher, and all of that helped me to really do well in maths in matric. So for me that was

a positive for assessment. And that made me feel that I can accomplish things if I put my mind to it. So for me that was…ya…that was my memory there in high school. So…ya…

CRG99-I So is there anything that you say to kids now to motivate them?

- enabling learner achievement
- personal history
- SV-access to internal goods

CRG100-C Ya...I always tell...ok, first of all I tell my Life Science students that, you know, this is a method you can use to study, which I've used. And I also tell them, even though I'm not a maths teacher but I know maths is a problem with a lot of these learners nowadays, and I tell them, you know what, this is a technique that works, and you know, try it and maybe it will help you as well. But I've got very few of them actually do that. And I remember this technique that I had practised when I was in school. It was a technique that was told to me by an ex student who was placed in the top ten. And he came to our school one day to give us a motivational talk and he gave us these tips. And I followed them stringently. He told us how to study Biology, and I did, exactly that. He told us how to go through Maths, and I did exactly that. And it worked! And I mean if he could do it and worked and if I could do it and it worked, then there must be something good out of it. So I try to tell my learners that as well, because I don't like telling them, you know what, focus on this particular section. That's not advisable at all. So I tell them, you've got to learn everything, but this is how you're going to keep control of how you...you know, whether the work is too much. It is a lot, I tell them that. But the only way you're going to be on top of things is if you do this. Follow these methods and it will work. I'm telling you it will work. So for me, that's what I do with my learners, ya.

CRG101-I Thank you. And any memories of being assessed as a teacher that have affected you, or that stand out for you?

- Methodology
- personal history

CRG102-C Ok, I'll start then since these two .... (laughter)

CRG103-J are currently being assessed. So let's just pass this.

CRG104-C For me, I think as a teacher I've always tried to be well prepared, and when this IQMS story came about then, you know, everyone was in a tizz about being assessed and evaluated by your peers and all of that. And I think always whenever I'm being assessed about for anything, I really like to put in my 100%. And I like to get my classroom cleaned and everything, you know, looking neat and presentable, and my files in order, my lesson must be top notch, you know, that's the preparation I will do beforehand. And then the actual assessment, yes, I'm a bit nervous, because I think we all are for any assessment. I'm nervous and I'm worried about how the kids are going to respond and am I going to

- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- purpose and value
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

act, you know, naturally now for it, or am I going to look like I'm putting on an act? (laughs) But...I think at the end of it all I try to be as natural as possible, and I try to be as normal as possible, and not, you know, change my style for the learners. But having that person sitting at the back of the room, you know, evaluating you, it is very intimidating, ya. And even the kids respond differently. But nicely enough, I think, is that the kids actually...they're better. They behave better...

CRG105-J Two teachers in a class, that's it...that's all they need (laughter).

CRG106-C And especially if they know that you are being assessed. They're actually on your side. And sometimes even the naughtiest ones will actually turn … I tell you, ya, that's…that's how it is with the kids, they surprise you when you least expect it. But it is intimidating, I think, being assessed. No matter how well prepared I am I always have that little bit of butterflies, you know, that make me feel worried, am I going to do the right thing? Am I following the rules of this lesson? You know, that sort of thing. So it is a bit…

CRG107-I Do you think those assessments have helped you to improve as a teacher?

CRG108-C I don't think so. I don't think the IQMS has helped me. Because first of all...ok, if you look at the IQMS evaluation system, it's very, very subjective. And most of the time, because I've got the assessment instrument in front of me, I know exactly what they're going to look for. So I will prepare for that. And...so therefore I don't know how I'm going to improve thereafter because I've met all of the criteria requirements that are on that...on those forms. Maybe what I can improve on are a few short-comings that they ask about. And to do that you've really got to reflect a lot, you've got to look into yourself and see, where am I falling short? And then when I do identify those points, like the first time it was done my weak point was extra curricular activities. So now...cricket, (laughs) I'm way on top of that, ya (laughs). So I've improved in that sense, but as a teacher...I don't think so. No.

CRG109-J I mean, I've been...I've had my IQMS assessment and I mean, that's the only sort of assessment I've had in the last five months. And I mean, coming from me, I mean, you've been teaching for a long time, but from me, getting that assessment, getting the feedback from my HOD from that, I have improved since then. And I can feel it really. Because it was a new thing for me and I did not have the assessment guidelines before my HOD came into my class, so once I gave the class and sat down with

- about emotions
- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- purpose and value
- SV-access to internal goods

him afterwards, and he told me where I went wrong, and then showed me the rubric, then I was, of course, then I realised, you know, actually that could have been better and now since then...it was two and half months ago, since then, I have, I've been feeling, well, last time I did that and, you know, he commented that that was wrong, that I'm not giving enough feedback, not giving enough time to ask questions, whatever the case may be, you think about it back to what his...you know, what he suggested ... his comments, and you can grow from there. I think it might be a bit different when you've been teaching for a very long time and you know your style, compared to me who, I haven't sort of...I'm sort of catching my flow, not even catching my flow yet, so I need all the constructive criticism that I can get at the moment and advice.

CRG110-C Of course.

CRG111-J So assessments for me, at the moment, starting out, are extremely important to my growth as a teacher.

CRG112-C I think that's a very valid point, ya. And it's good that you're actually taking it as positive criticism, you know, as constructive criticism because you're learning from it. Because anybody else may not. They might be offended by it.

CRG113-J Well of course when I first saw it, I thought, I did that wrong! And then I thought, you know, I actually...I came back downstairs and I thought, you know what, he is my senior, he knows exactly what's going on, he knows what I've been doing right and wrong and he's got the experience to be able to guide me in the right direction. So rather listen to him than to just get all flustered, upset and ignore what he said.

CRG114-C Ya. Ok. There you go, you've got your priorities right. (laughter)

CRG115-P But I think that even for, you know, whether you're in it for six months or six years or twelve years, you know, I've learnt consistently every single time that, you know, you always feel like you are trapped in this profession. It's like the teachers are attacking each other, the kids are attacking you, your principal's down your throat, your HOD's down your throat...

- colleagues
- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG116-C The SGB...

CRG117-P Parents evening, the parents are down your throat, so you're always on the defensive, and that's why the assessment is so difficult for teachers, I feel, you know, because we feel we must always justify whatever we're doing. But in the assessment learning has to take place, as I said, and I've learned consistently from people, you know, commenting even at times, so they didn't

have to come into my class to assess me, but just like in my behaviour or in something, you know, assessment does take place I feel. And if we learn to listen as teachers to teach other we have a lot to offer to each other. You know, so assessment doesn't have to be that Mrs van Zyl walks into my class and sits there and sees a lesson. And for me that's the most dreadful thing, that someone walks into my classroom and observes my lesson. It's terrible because I remember when we were in college we had something called Ed Lab, an education laboratory (laughs), and so you'd have that two way mirror thing, you know? And I always fantasised that one day I'm going to go to a school like that, so I can carry on in my class and I wouldn't even know if someone's there, you know, and they can see how brilliant I am as this teacher, but when they come into my class physically, it's too intimidating, I can't handle that, and I'm never natural, I'm...it never goes the way I want it to, the kids never behave, you know, naturally either.

CRG118-C Oh no.

CRG119-P So just because of my nervousness I think they pick up, and I've never learned to deal with that. Although it's gone reasonably well, it's never gone as well as if I'm alone in my class. And so I've never been able to show everyone how brilliantly I teach (laughter).

CRG120-J Still going to be discovered.

CRG121-P Ya, about to be.

CRG122-C I think we need to put a two-way mirror in your class.

CRG123-P Two-way mirror all the way, I don't mind. And I remember even in my first school it was something like a two way mirror because, this principal he used to be able to see into our classrooms, you know, so he used to be spying on us. (laughter) And that was perfectly fine with me because I knew I was up to, you know, good stuff.

CRG124-I You knew you were doing what you were supposed to be doing.

CRG125-P Ya, even though sometimes, you know, whatever…but overall I knew that it was fine, better than him coming and sitting in my class. So those were my, sort of, apprehensions.

But also my other assessment that I remember was my lecturer, and he always thought, you know, he would always like set this benchmark that I could never reach. He'd be like you can do this

and you can be that, and up to now that haunts me, so that's also something that helps me to grow, his words have haunted me to this very day. So I try and remember those things as well, you know. Use the chalkboard, use the chalk…every year I remind myself that I need to use the chalkboard more, you know, because he loved that. So…

CRG126-C But now you have a whiteboard.

CRG127-P Now I have a whiteboard so I've really arrived in the world (laughter).

CRG128-I Now you're going to change the wording of his in your head.

CRG129-P Ya, use the whiteboard. But it's all good, ya. Buy a whiteboard marker for starters. But ya, so there's some criticisms I feel, if we become more open and realise that it's not criticism, it's actually assessment that will help us to grow, then we can be phenomenal teachers as well, you know? As much as initially you feel like you're being attacked (laughs). But in time ya, you realise, guess what, they had something to teach me. Ya.

CRG130-C Ya, I mean, I think...I forgot about that point when I was a junior teacher. colleagues

CRG131-P So now you're a senior teacher. (laughter)

CRG132-C Yes!

CRG133-P No longer a junior teacher ...?

CRG134-C Aren't I old enough to be a senior teacher? (laughter)

CRG135-P I don't think anyone's a senior teacher, I think we need to also get, you know, rid of that mentality, I mean, as much as we jest about it, we're always learning, you know? Because the kids are changing all the time as well.

CRG136-J Ya, exactly.

CRG137-P So we learn from them as well, you know.

CRG138-C But I think in terms of procedure, you know, in terms of experience...

CRG139-P Definitely, definitely.

CRG140-C Ya, in that sense ya. When I was starting out as a colleagues feedback

teacher, I also, exactly how J felt, I'm just remembering that, you know, I felt that way too.

personal history
SV-access to internal goods

CRG141-P Ya.

CRG142-C I actually looked for my HOD's opinion and waited for that kind of feedback and guidance. My first exam paper that I set, he took me through it step by step and I think that helped so much in putting me on the right track, you know, in how to set a paper, what it should look like, the format, the layout, that's so important. And as a first year teacher you often don't...it doesn't even occur to you that you need to do all of these things. And that helped me a lot, having that HOD.

CRG143-P But I think, I also learnt on the sly, you know, just by observing good teachers, I learned so much. And I was very fortunate and that's why it's...also I put a lot of pressure on myself because I know I'm being watched by other teachers, you know? That if I can do these things right, just by them watching me they can learn something, you know. Whether it's my paper that I've set or the way I handle my class, or whatever it is, that's how I learned a lot of my stuff, from actually watching on the sly... you know, just acting like my principal, ya, who used to spy on us, I used to spy on teachers. Whether it was, you know, just critically looking at a paper and thinking, oh is this how it's done, you know? Because in that first year...you can't learn everything in 'varsity or college, you know. In that first year that's when you learn everything. The good things and the bad things.

colleagues
personal history

CRG144-C Ya. And the first year's usually the hardest year. But that after that you become much more...you know...

CRG145-P Confident and ya...

CRG146-C Ya. And then you'll be able to do things a lot more easily because you're getting ... ya.

CRG147-P It's like second nature. And even another assessment tool, I find is moderation that, I mean, whether it's doing matric marking or whether your HODs or your senior teachers are moderating your paper and they pick up such simple things, you know. Like I mean, probably in my first year I wonder whether I used to add the first page of marks, you know, and then just put it. Something so simple, you know, just tallying marks and stuff, that you pick up and you learn from other people that these are the things they do to make their lives easier. And I feel that's also assessment, that you're assessing what someone else does and you learn to do it as well. And that's very important. It makes our lives easier.

colleagues
personal history

CRG148-I It does. Ok. So now I'm going to ask you about your current assessment practice. And my first question is about the policy. So the question is: how do you work with the National Curriculum Statements and the Assessment Policy Documents, and then how do you feel about them? (Long pause) Do you work with the documents?

- aversion-fear
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG149-P Ya, we do. Very stringently.

CRG150-C But do you want us to talk about the juniors, the 8s and 9s specifically?

CRG151-I Ya. But if you want to talk about the higher classes that's fine, just say that you're talking about the higher classes.

CRG152-P Ok, for me I think it's become...like assessment is much more relevant now in my subject. I teach Business Studies, and previously there was a lot of knowledge and I can remember when I was teaching J, I taught J by the way...

- assessment tasks
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- policy
- satisfaction-happiness
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

CRG153-C Really! I never knew that!

CRG154-P Ya, I taught her Business Studies in grade 12. (laughter) I loved her class. And ya, there was huge amounts of content and to relate it to these kids' lives was so difficult. But nowadays, with FET I find that it's much more relevant to the learners' lives, you know. And even if not now, in time to come. So we do a lot of case studies for assessment and I love that. I get to show them methods that they don't have to swot because I personally didn't like swotting when I was in school or in college. And now they don't have to swot, they have to have, you know, again, like a world view and an opinion, or factually based opinion, and that's what my assessment is based on. The facts that they've learned in class and then being able to apply it in the case studies or whatever. So for me that's been a phenomenal change over the last three years. And the kids are still adjusting to it, but I get to tell them methods of, you know, being more...how do you say it...like enquiring, have a more enquiring mind now than having to swot and never learn anything.

CRG155-C And just accept everything.

CRG156-P Ya, ya, so now they get to question me as well, so I become three dimensional in the process. Hopefully. (laughter) Ya, so that's what I think.

CRG157-I That's fantastic.

CRG158-C Ya. I think this new Statement has done that for many of our learning areas. Even for Life Science it's like that.

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- enabling learner achievement

policy
SV-access to internal goods

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 them to relate to real life experiences if they don't have the knowledge to go with it. And that's what I try to tell my learners as well, that as much as we also do case studies as Prajna mentioned in her subject, in Biology we also do that, in Life Science. Lots of case studies based on climate change, based on your health and a lot of the issues about your health, the kids enjoy very much because it deals with their body. And they're always interested in knowing about what happens if I do this, or if I eat that food will I really not get rickets or that sort of thing. They're always curious about their body. And 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. You know, 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.

policy
SV-access to internal goods
teaching

CRG159-P I never liked your subject and I hope that it they will do away with it forever. (laughter).

CRG160-C Huh! I never liked your subject.

CRG161-P We can take this outside if you like (laughter).

CRG162-C I cannot adapt or relate to any commerce thing. (laughter)

CRG163-P I don't even know where my ear buds are, you know, I mean, I don't want to learn that, seriously. Why did I have to learn that?

CRG164-C So that you know if you have a pain in that part of your body it's a pimple in your ear. (laughter)

CRG165-P I currently have a pimple in my ear. Ok, now it's relevant for me, all that knowledge I learned.

CRG166-J But that's true, I mean, at school you often hear...and I like to listen to the kids' conversations.

CRG167-P Talking, ya.

CRG168-J Especially when they think you're not listening, because they speak about it, and when they're very frustrated they say: aah, I'm never going to use this again! And that is the point to

learners...

CRG169-P Why do I need to learn this?

CRG170-J Ya...I'm never ever going to use this again. And a lot of them feel like that about many of the subjects. And to show them relevance to real life is extremely important because then they lose that attitude, as, well, if I'm never going to use it again, what's the use of knowing it or understanding it. And they do, they feel like that, and I mean, especially something like maths. Yes, the basic sums we use every day, we go shopping and we add up, but something like, you know, trigonometry, they sort of think, well, actually, I'm never going to use this again, why would I...you know. And to relate it to, if you are going to be an architect, then you need to do this, this and this. You know, you'll use it in your job one day, then of course they're going to be more interested and more motivated to learn it, but I agree with you, there's certain things that you cannot just understand. There're certain things that you need to know the facts before you understand it. So I do think that they need to...there needs to be a balance of between, knowing the facts, knowing the facts in order to understand and use it in daily life, and things like that.

CRG171-C I think with maths, you know, a lot of children also talk about that relevance of algebra. When am I going to learn about x plus y = c, or whatever, you know.

CRG172-I Or Shakespeare or whatever.

CRG173-C But I think a lot of it, and a lot of people don't understand that from how I feel about it (laughs), that's why she calls me a nerd all the time, but anyway (laughter)....

- aversion-fear
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods
- teaching

CRG174-P You are. (laughter) And so is J. But I'm not.

CRG175-C I think with maths the kids need to understand that, you know what, we're teaching them all of these different methods of solving problems because that's how you have to deal with problems in real life. It's logical, it's systematic, you've got to follow this rule in order to get, you know, this grouping rule or whatever. And it just teaches you to think in a certain way.

CRG176-P So building blocks of your mind.

CRG177-C Ya. And that's how I think maths should be applied. It's not just knowing why is m plus x = c, or whatever. It's not that, you know. That rule is unimportant, but it's how your mind is able to solve the problem based on that algebraic expression, that's what's important. And also with Shakespeare for instance, it helps you to learn about how people related to each other in those days,

how did...and Shakespeare's got a lot of emotion. I mean, his characters are so rich with, you know, with their understanding, their feelings...

CRG178-P And it's a study of people's behaviour.

CRG179-C Ya, their character development and all of that, it helps you to see people better. I mean, when I did Shakespeare in school that's what we were looking at. And you know, it dawned on me...

CRG180-P So we have to approach subjects more holistically, like to relate it to the now and the here, and kids want that, where we didn't question it. Again, that's what's changed, you know. They question it.

CRG181-C Precisely. Because it teaches you to think about people's motives. Like why are they doing that particular action? How is it going to impact them? Are they doing it for their benefit? Or are they doing it for somebody else's good? You know, and Shakespeare, I think, taught me that. Looking at how people treat each other, just to satisfy their own intents and whatever...

CRG182-J ...And gain.

CRG183-C But I think if kids know it from that point of view. And I think with this NCS a lot of it has been done to actually try and get the kids to think holistically, but maybe we're not doing it the right way. Because we're not doing cross-curricular enough. And maybe there's a lot more opportunity for it but it doesn't...

CRG184-P There again it's that fear of the unknown, you know.

CRG185-C Ya, and also how do you...

CRG186-P It's not wanting to go into each other's space and saying, what are you doing in your class, you know? We feel scared as well.

CRG187-C Yes. But I think it must go...it must be more than that. Because this...the other question here is how would you ...? If you change assessment policy, what would you suggest? It would be to make it less rigid. Because how do you schedule cross-curricular activities in a 9 period day? You know, how do you schedule notional time, because the department specifies that you've got to have so many hours for maths and so on, so how would you do cross-curricular activities if the times are so rigidly allocated to you? Or prescribed to you? And that's what I would do differently. But then of course the problem with that is, there would not be any...maybe, there wouldn't be any measurement that

assessment tasks
policy
SV-access threatened

would come in, you know, specifically for that subject.

CRG188-I You mean, for the cross-curricular subject?

CRG189-C Ya. So how would you assess maths for instance? I don't know. I just feel that, you know, that's a bit of a double-edged sword.

striking metaphor

CRG190-P I think again it comes to the challenges, actually the ball is in our court, you know. That it doesn't have to be now physically cross curricular, but we have to now start looking as a world view, and that's how we have to change, and that's what I was saying initially, you know, that we must start thinking: I wonder what's happening in the maths class that I'm doing here as well. And sometimes the kids bring it to your attention and they say, you know, this is what we were learning in Accounting, companies, and there I'm teaching companies in Business Studies. And it's a pretty obvious one, you know, but we never thought that two minds should meet and discuss this, and maybe we don't have to, but we should be thinking about it: Remember in Accounting you did this? And see here in Business you need it? So again, we are getting world views. And I also feel that this policy is so brilliant that we're not going to see the fruits of it just yet. But when these kids, and especially the ones that have, you know, lived through it from very early on, not only FET but the entire thing, you know, like let's say, OBE NCS, everything, those kids that really started from the beginning, I think we are going to see the fruits in their adulthood, that they are going to have world views that we didn't have, as I said. When I was 25 years old, I don't think I knew the things that these kids have been exposed to, you know? And so again, it's a positive for me about this policy. And that's why I enjoy, you know, implementing it, rather than always being on the attack and saying what is this government up to by doing this and blah blah blah. Ya, I think we are going to see the fruits, I think that...ya, we need to really play our part in it as well.

attribution- self
learner characteristics
policy
satisfaction-happiness
SEE - policy
self image
strongly expressed emotions
teaching

CRG191-C Ya. But at the same time...

CRG192-P It's experience.

CRG193-C ...I agree with what you're saying about it being good in that way and that we are going to see the results at some point. But I also think that, you know, they should not have thrown out the essentials from the old curriculum.

comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
policy
SV-access threatened

CRG194-J Have a balance.

CRG195-C Ya.

CRG196-P But again we have control over that as well, don't we?

CRG197-C No, I don't know. Maybe we do.

CRG198-P I feel like we do. There is flexibility...

CRG199-C But I think in terms of like literacy and numeracy, which is basic, I don't think that's done enough.

CRG200-P That's our fault. I think a lot of shortfalls here come back to the educator. The policy is in place, the learners are there to be taught, you know, it just comes back to us, I feel. Like even literacy, our literacy levels, we've decided that, we don't want to perhaps teach them as much as we used to, or whatever. Like there seems to be huge gaps in the primary school assessments, and, you know...so there are shortfalls and they are coming back to us.

CRG201-C But that is why, we are trying, as our school, is trying to get a link going between the primary schools in the area. And we're trying to see what is the problem there, because we are now faced with their mistakes.

CRG202-P Their mishaps.

CRG203-J Totally, yes.

CRG204-P We are living with their mishaps, ya.

CRG205-J You can see it straight away.

CRG206-C Yes.

CRG207-J Especially in the English. And you just...I mean, to try and mark a paper that a child has written and their sentence structure doesn't make any sense, you feel: how have they gotten this far? So there is, we definitely need to link up to their...

CRG208-C Ya, but I think with them as well, they've got a lot of problems with the way they have to implement policy. It's not that they didn't have...it's not that they had a choice. Because they were given instructions, I think, when OBE started. That they were supposed to not include numeracy anymore on the time-table, or literacy. Like when we were in school we did reading, we did writing, there was a period for writing.

CRG209-J Yes.

CRG210-C Where we were taught how to form our letters, how to do cursive writing. They don't do that anymore in primary

- attribution- self
- attribution- system
- colleagues
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- dealing with failure
- disappointment-sadness
- image of profession
- policy
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- teaching

school. That is why the kids that come to us now in high school, they can't form their letters properly.

CRG211-P But again if you like, because this policy is so flexible, we become too academic. You know, I'm sure, they could have made means of saying, I know this is important, I mean, any person would know that this is...I have to teach these kids to read at least by the time they finish grade 7, you know? So again I feel the flexibility is there, it needs to come back to us. And they need to take responsibility, you know? Again, it comes to listening to criticism and accepting that we've fallen short in the long run. Ya...

CRG212-C But the thing is the problem is that it's everywhere. Most government schools have that problem.

CRG213-P It is.

CRG214-C It's only some private schools that have kept the good elements from the old curriculum and they've brought in the new elements from this one, from the new one. But 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. They don't do bonds and tables anymore. So these kids' mental abilities for maths especially, is almost non-existent, ya. So how can so many government schools have been wrong? Just some private schools I know that have done it.

CRG215-P But I feel we've chosen to take the easy route out and say, well, let's blame it on the policy and still do injustice to these kids, as government schools, you know?

CRG216-C But maybe it wasn't as deliberate as that.

CRG217-P Ya, not as deliberate, but it was there. So they thought that silent sort of protest would...you know, change the policy or something.

CRG218-C Ya...I think that would have to change in the, ...if we could change the policy, it would be to introduce that element.

CRG219-P Not only in literacy. Also for math and English.

CRG220-C Ya, definitely.

CRG221-I Ok. I mean, it's hard...I just want to say it's hard for teachers to go against what is perceived to be policy.

CRG222-P Mm. Ya, perception.

- aversion-fear
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- dealing with failure
- image of profession

policy
SEE - learner achievement
strongly expressed emotions

CRG223-I And I've analysed the Curriculum 2005, that was ... you see, the high schools were protected in some way because they continued with the old syllabus until three years ago...

CRG224-P Very recently, ya.

CRG225-I And the primary schools were being asked to change much earlier. And the original Curriculum 2005 Policy was incredibly vague. And it was about...reading happens automatically, writing happens automatically...

CRG226-P So they took it for granted, basically.

CRG227-I Mm. But they said, no more text-books, you know, no more rote learning. There was a very distinct policy pressure on teachers. So...I don't know, don't blame the victim...

CRG228-P It's not totally their fault, ya, ok. But it's a huge gap that we're facing. I mean, as you said, when the kids arrive here in grade 8 and we do base-line assessments, it's shocking, it's scary actually, you know. And kids that have been in the system for 7 years and nothing's been done, you know.

CRG229-C Ya, they haven't learned the basics.

CRG230-P And yet we literally work miracles here. I've seen kids from grade 8 to grade 12, you know, just becoming different people altogether just by being more literate...literally they are more literate, you know, by the time they're in grade 10...I mean, I never thought I'd see someone not literate in high school. But you see that change and it's phenomenal.

attribution- system
aversion-fear
dealing with failure
learner characteristics
policy
SEE - policy
strongly expressed emotions

CRG231-C But what's scary for me is that these are the kids who are going to be adults in the real world.

CRG232-J That's right. They're our future.

CRG233-C And what kind of adults are they going to be if they can't even write a sentence properly. Because they still can't. I mean even in matric...

CRG234-P The next years' groups that are going out are going to be...going to be like misfits, or whatever, you know, they're not going to...

CRG235-I Sorry, who's going to be misfits?

CRG236-P The current groups that are going out, you know, the victims as you said, like let's say these kids that were the initial

guinea pigs of this policy, are going to be falling short of what's normal and acceptable in the real corporate world. You know, they might not be able to write letters properly, they can't spell properly, they can't read documents and comprehend properly, so there's these huge gaps.

CRG237-J Yes, it's not their fault in the end...

CRG238-P ...And it's not even their fault.

CRG239-J ...it's nothing that they've done wrong. It's...

CRG240-P And they haven't built the capacity either because a lot of that is built...your mental capacity is built in those first 7 years, so we've lost it completely and then whatever we could say from grade 8 to grade 12, for example, we tried and, you know, only did that much, kind of thing. So there are going to be some casualties, definitely. But...we'll see.

CRG241-I Ok. So learners...oh, maybe can I just ask something about Assessment Policy. Do you work with those assessment guidelines?

- aversion-fear
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG242-C We do. We have to.

CRG243-P Very, very strictly, ya. Not, I mean, strictly to say, but we keep in touch with it, like, you know, it's part of our planning, it's part of our assessment, so even when we're assessing you must write there what we're assessing from the document. Like learning outcome whatever, assessment standard whatever. So it's so nicely done for us and then we just use it.

CRG244-C I think that's for the FET. But for the GET I don't think it's that clearly specified.

- assertion-anger
- attribution- system
- comparison with pre-OBE assessm
- policy
- portfolios
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

CRG245-J No, it's not that clearly specified.

CRG246-C I think there's a lot of flaws with the GET policy at the moment, because there's no guidance enough for teachers, not enough guidance at all. They have no clarity in terms of what subject material to teach. The depth of subject content is not explicit at all. And yet...

CRG247-P There's chopping and changing in the course of the year.

CRG248-C Ya. There's no order in which the topic should be taught. So that now at the moment you are aware that we're having SATs being done with the grade 9s, and that's causing a lot of problems. I know with Arts and Culture for instance, because

there's no clear guidance as to what topic should be taught in the first term, etc, the SATs are based on we don't know what! Because now the SATs that have come for Arts and Culture are not in keeping with what was taught in term one. So now the teachers have to teach this whole new section because the SAT is based on that...

CRG249-J ...Is on that section.

CRG250-C So now what it's doing is it's cramping the teacher because they have to push this content in, this period of 26 days or whatever, just to answer the SAT, and not because they're teaching it for...as part of the syllabus.

striking metaphor

CRG251-J And I think that...that almost...that cramming of teaching goes in this ear and out that ear. You know, they'll know it for a certain amount of time to be able to write the SAT but it's not a comprehensive...they're not going to learn it and be able to comprehend to it later on, because of the cram style, and that doesn't make any sense.

CRG252-C Mm. Because they're being crammed, ya.

CRG253-J It's exactly the same with Technology, I mean, most of the stuff is on par but you see and you go to the cluster meetings and you get there, and they're talking about a totally different set of work that they're doing, and when you ask questions, you know, there's a couple of people who are using a certain text-book, and the cluster leader is talking only about that section, you think, well, we're using a different module and we're not all based on that section and that's not the order in our module.

policy

CRG254-C So it's too wide.

CRG255-J Ya, it's too wide, but then when it comes down to the SATs then they try and focus down and then you're losing this...the rest of the stuff that's...you know, in between.

CRG256-C But that's exactly it because now they're also talking about having common exams for grade 9s and the question I ask is: how can there be a common exam if there's no common text-book to start off with?

CRG257-J Exactly.

CRG258-C So what are teachers supposed to really use? What framework, what...what's going to point them in the right direction? There's nothing!

CRG259-J Yes, exactly.

CRG260-C But they want to introduce a common exam. So for me that's a huge discrepancy there. How can they ever put those two together? So I think for grade 9s that's a huge problem.

CRG261-J Ya, especially grade 9. For the grade 8s you're still ok, because you do all the assessments and the tests and exams...

CRG262-C And the basic things

CRG263-J ...but once you get into grade 9 you've got to make sure that you are on par with the rest of the schools because it's a common SAT.

CRG264-C Yes, and it's an exit level year for the grade 9s, so it's...

CRG265-P Although we haven't reached that...as much as they said, GET is then over and they can go into a trade or something.

CRG266-C FET college

CRG267-P Ya, but that hasn't happened properly either, has it? I mean, our kids haven't exposed to that properly, so...

CRG268-C We only expose them to it if they've failed grade 9, and we try to...

CRG269-P So it's still got that negative...

CRG270-C Ya.

CRG271-P It's like, if you've failed, then we just...

CRG272-C Then you can't come back to school, you must go to a college or something.

CRG273-P Shove you off to this FET college.

CRG274-I Thanks. Ok, learners. Research studies show how teachers in fact identify with their learners' results, and you started talking about that at the beginning as well. So my question is, can we elaborate a bit more about how you feel about learners? Think back on learners that have failed, how did you feel about that? Think back about learners that have passed, how did you feel about that?

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

CRG275-J Well, I...I mean, I've had a...obviously everything of mine is recent, but...and I'll speak about a specific child in grade 8. He came in and he was a very slow learner, he needs a lot of time,

he gets distracted very easily, and we did the first project, he failed. The first test, he failed. But 32% sort of, not, you know...

CRG276-C Drastically.

CRG277-J Ya, not a drastic failure but...you know. Working extremely hard. Then the next assessment, the next test that we wrote, it was harder than the first one, and I can see it from the marks, and you know, you can feel it when you're setting it, you feel that it's...not harder but it's just the one level up, and he improved from 32% from his first test to 76% in the second test.

CRG278-I Wow!

CRG279-J And I became...speaking about emotional, I'm a very emotional person so I get quite like...when I was marking it, the first page I thought, shoo, this is good, marked the next page and I thought...and I started getting excited! I wanted to turn the page and see if he was carrying on, if he was getting marks like this. When I came back to class the next day...he's...I don't know if you know Jane...she's the top...

CRG280-C Ndlovu?

CRG281-J Yes, she's the top grade 8 student and she's extremely bright, she's clever, she's hardworking, she's enthusiastic, she's a very good child, and it's almost, she's the one to beat, you know, she's always been like that since primary school. And they're in the same class, this Keketso and her. And when I handed out the tests I didn't hand all of them out first, I kept some, and I said: we've got a star of the class. And everyone said: oh Jane. And I said: no. I said: Keketso. He did not get the top mark, but the improvement was, I mean, absolutely amazing. And it did, it made me feel, and you speak about emotions, I almost had to hold myself back almost because I just felt so emotional that this boy had done so well. And the smile was from here to here. He was just so impressed and I just felt that it was not on me but for himself, you know, that he had worked hard. Not that I had pushed him in the direction, but that he had done it for himself. And that was, I mean, extremely emotional and I think it just...and it's not just him. He's just the most extreme example, but there's a lot of kids that you...and again, the other way, where you've got a child who, when they first come into grade 8 you don't know them, they behave in class, they study, they do everything, but then when it comes down to the actual assessments they're battling. And that also, you feel...I feel very...

CRG282-C Inadequate.

CRG283-J ... sympathetic towards them, and then inadequate in

myself, that you feel like, you know, am I doing enough? Is there something I'm doing wrong? Can I help them if they're doing something wrong? And you do, you feel...that's where I...I've had to tell myself many times this year that I've got to stop being so sensitive in my emotions towards the kids. Especially the ones that have...not appealed to me, but have...I've identified with and that I've formed a certain connection with, obviously, and that's natural to happen. But I...especially those children. And it's not that I've got favourites but my emotions towards them when I'm marking something like a test, is a lot different. But I do, I get very emotional when I...especially with kids that have improved and something like that, I do.

about emotions

CRG284-P I'm still thinking about my opinion.

CRG285-C Oh, ok.

CRG286-P For a change.

about emotions

CRG287-C I just think that, you know, last year we had two students that 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. But as teachers, I think, we felt...we felt like, you know, the wind was knocked out of our sails, because the whole year we had problems with these learners. They never worked, they never handed in their work. Their CASS mark was a failing mark. So, you know, it was very de-motivating for us to tell them the whole year that, you know what, you're like heading for failure, and this and that, and then at the end of the year in the final exam, they all pass!

assertion-anger
attribution- system
dealing with failure
department
disappointment-sadness
learner characteristics
purpose and value
SEE - department
self image
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened

CRG288-J They walk out as though, well, you told me this and it doesn't actually matter.

CRG289-C Ya, but look I can, you know, prove you were wrong and that sort of thing. And for me that was very...I think undermining, as a teacher. Because it...

CRG290-P Because we told them and what really happened was two different things.

CRG291-C Ya, and we could see as teachers that they didn't deserve to pass. But they did. So for us, for me, I think the system was at fault. And the problem is it has a ripple effect, because now this year's grade 12s are much worse than last year's ones. And they know...

CRG292-P Are bad and last year's ones were good.

CRG293-C Ya, ok. (laughter) You liked the last year's ones.

CRG294-P They were my stars.

CRG295-C They are really a very weak lot, this year.

CRG296-P This lot, ya.

CRG297-C And if they know now, that you know what, those two weak students from last year passed, and look at how they behaved...

CRG298-J ...Well, I can.

CRG299-C We can as well and we don't even have to try. We'll pass anyway. So 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 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?

CRG300-P Ya, I think that with those kind of discrepancies again, we don't know whether...we start to question ourselves as well, that as much as we know what we did was right, you know, and those kids genuinely should do matric again, so they can learn something because they now have a piece of paper that...

CRG301-J Means nothing.

CRG302-P Ya, and it also discredits the work of anybody else's piece of paper, just those two pieces of paper, you know?

CRG303-C Ya.

CRG304-P And it also then makes me question that, is the department sending a signal out here that we need to, you know...

CRG305-C Loosen up.

CRG306-P Ya...and you know, like...I don't know, be more lenient with the kids.

CRG307-I I don't think so. I think it was one year.

CRG308-P One year, ya, before the elections and all those things.

CRG309-I I don't think they'll do it again.

- assertion-anger
- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- image of profession
- purpose and value
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

CRG310-C Because last year was a travesty.

CRG311-P I hope this year does set a new precedent, but I also think that with learners, like as J's saying, we do get emotionally involved like, you know, when it comes to it, and sometimes it can even be on a negative scale where a kid thinks they did brilliantly well without studying, and how do you then convince that kid, you know? They come fighting, guns blazing to you and say: well, if Mr Ndlovu marked my paper, then I would have got an A. That's what Karl Leonard told me.

- about emotions
- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- SEE - judgement
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

CRG312-J Ha, that's nice!

CRG313-P Ya, I mean, Karl Leonard he's repeating, and Mr Ndlovu taught him last year (laughs). But you know, again also the discrepancies between different teachers, between the GDE and us, and then the learners' emotions and the parents thinking, well, I helped my child with that project and, you know, does that mean I got a double F as well, kind of thing? (laughter) Yes, you did and you'll be sharing your genes kind of thing, you know. Genetically your kid is challenged as well, and that proves it. But you know, there's so many of those emotions and then, you know, like sometimes we use it as a weapon almost, you know, to strong-arm these kids into behaving and...

CRG314-C Doing their work.

CRG315-P Ya, like agh, if you make a noise then you're going to subtract ten marks and stuff like that. So there's a lot of emotions involved in the assessment process. I mean, ya...especially when you become cynical. It becomes a huge weapon. Ya, and I think again emotions as well, that you have to earn these children's confidence, you know, like Karl Leonard saying that then makes all the other kids think, hey, does she like look at my name and mark this paper? You know, so I think it's also up to us to draw the kids in and say: listen, you are emotional about this right now, well and fine, but we need to then say well, I've marked fairly, here's my memo, so we must be transparent as well, to then be able to remove the emotional part of it. And then we have to be the adult in the whole thing to say that guess what, I've done this above board, anyone who checks will be able to tell. You know, even if a parent had...like we do remarks for matric, I mean, if we do remarks of those two kids (laughs) they're going to be in trouble, you know? But say a kid that's got a B and he should have had an A. So I can say that any kid who comes and challenges me, I can say well, guess what, 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. So we win the confidence of these learners as well. Because they can become very convincing and their argument is that they

did study and they did know their work. So it's very emotional.

CRG316-I Well, that's why you need the rubrics. And the criteria.

CRG317-P Ya, the criteria must be clear and in advance, that whether you're being IQMS'd or whether you're assessing the learners, that they should know the criteria in advance as you're saying. Definitely.

CRG318-C I think that's one of the policies of this NCS anyway. That the learners have to know beforehand, they've got to know...

CRG319-P Otherwise it's just shooting in the dark. We used to shoot in the dark, literally. And half the time miss the end completely, you know, so that was very unfair. So now we're...

CRG320-C So now we're giving the learners everything...

CRG321-P ...giving them that, ya.

CRG322-C They know everything beforehand.

CRG323-P Transparent, ya. Totally transparent.

CRG324-I Doesn't mean they always understand.

CRG325-J Ya, I was just about to say that. It doesn't mean that it helps some of them. Some of them take the piece of paper you give them and they go at the bottom of their bag and it rains and that's it (laughter). That's about as much action as that piece of paper sees, or if they read it and don't understand it, it also doesn't help, but you sort of think, well, I've done my part, they should know, I've discussed it with them, they should know. I mean, what they do from there...it's out of your hands. That's their responsibility after that.

CRG326-C Mm. Ya, because it also defeats the point of just giving it to them. You've got to explain it to them as well.

CRG327-J Yes, ya, ya of course.

CRG328-C Ya, and then if they don't then...because a lot of times you're explaining it to them, and most of the grade 8s, they just sit! And I know in that class that you mentioned earlier, it's only Jane who writes down notes, you see! She's amazing.

CRG329-J Notes, yes.

CRG330-P Those kids don't have the culture of doing it?

- comparison with pre-OBE assessm
- enabling learner achievement
- policy
- SV-access to internal goods
- striking metaphor
- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- enabling learner achievement
- learner characteristics
- attribution- learners
- learner characteristics

CRG331-C You're explaining in the front and she writes down everything you say!

CRG332-J Every word, ya.

CRG333-C And she's getting it...

CRG334-P Can I have her in my grade 11 class as well (laughs).

CRG335-C Ya, she's amazing.

CRG336-J She's brilliant. I just...you know, especially with the grade 8s, because I can see obviously a difference between the grade 8s and the grade 9s. The grade 8s love the walls, that's why I mentioned looking at the walls, because they won't. You'll stand there and explain and you're walking around, you're giving examples, and your hands are going up and the chalk's going and the children are staring at the wall behind you.

CRG337-C Ya! Completely uninterested.

CRG338-J And you think: is something more interesting there, or because they are...you explain and they look straight through you.

CRG339-P ...they're looking through you.

CRG340-C So then two minutes later when...they'll ask you exactly the same question that you've just explained. Because they haven't written anything down, their memories are like a goldfish, it's like three seconds. (laughter)

CRG341-J Ya, go around, and then they can't remember that they've gone around.

CRG342-P Have I just been here? (laughs)

CRG343-C Ya...but I think a lot of them they need to know exactly what the rubrics are all about, and then they must take it from there. But ya...that transparency is very important for learners.

- enabling learner achievement

CRG344-I Ok. And marking? How do you feel when you do the marking? (laughter)

CRG345-J Well, I'll start because I do love marking. I've got a thing about marking, I always have.

CRG346-C Really?

- judgement - making it
- marking
- purpose and value
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

CRG347-J Yes, I...shame, a friend of mine from a different school used to get me to mark last year while I was at university. I love it, I do...

CRG348-C Are you serious, you love it!?

CRG349-J I do, I'm not being sarcastic at all! That's why I'm saying, I do enjoy it. Speak to me in six years and I probably won't. But at the moment I am enjoying it, especially when it's something that I've set myself. Because then I feel...because I've just set my first exam now. So I set it and I got extremely involved in it. Did research, again, we spoke about making questions interesting and, you know, making it something that flows. So I've 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 it's also, again we've spoken about this but, 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...it's not sinking in.

CRG350-C Registering on them, ya.

CRG351-J But I do, I enjoy marking and I usually do my marking straight away and altogether. I find that I...especially in something when it's an open...not an open question, but something that you could sort of think, ...

CRG352-C Like an opinion based thing.

CRG353-J ...Opinion, then I like to do them all at the same time because...and I know it sounds funny but you're in a...

CRG354-P Trend or

CRG355-J Yes, and you're in the same mood. And it does, your mood does affect obviously the way you're marking. When it's true or false, 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've got this...I'm in the same mood, 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. I do enjoy marking.

CRG356-C That's very interesting, I must say, I'm amazed. (laughter)

attribution- self
marking
purpose and value

CRG357-P I'm disgusted. (laughter)

CRG358-C You're an anomaly.

CRG359-P You're a phenomenon.

CRG360-J That's what everyone keeps saying. Even I said to Mrs G now, I'll mark her grade 8 Technology papers, give them to me.

CRG361-C Good grief!

CRG362-J I do, I enjoy it.

CRG363-C Wow, I think you're a treasure then.

CRG364-J Ya, wait, like I said...maybe don't...let's not even give me six years. Let's give me one full year here and then we'll see if I still enjoy marking. It might not be the same.

CRG365-C But I think 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.

CRG366-P Curiosity, definitely.

CRG367-J Ya, it is, exactly, that's the word, curiosity.

CRG368-C Maybe because we are teaching for so long that we've become jaded, but I think as a first year teacher, yes, you would really like to see whether as a teacher, you have...it's still the right knowledge to them and have they understood your questions? Are you worthy as a teacher because you've set the question paper exam...

CRG369-J The actual exam, yes.

CRG370-C Yes, it's a very good indication of how you are doing as a teacher, so that should be all our reasons, I think, because we are, as you said earlier, P, that we are learning all the time.

CRG371-J Ya, exactly, ya.

CRG372-P I mean, in my first two years I also felt that way about marking and it was the most exciting part of my day, you know. Mark 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, you know, to approach it. Ya, but when you do eventually get those aha

- SEE - marking
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

- attribution- self
- marking
- purpose and value
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

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 reaffirming of what you've done.

CRG373-I And the amount of marking?

marking
SEE - marking

CRG374-P For me I'm very fortunate, I mean, it's a well-kept secret that Business Studies has minimal marking (laughs). No-one wants to teach the subject but, I mean, I'm very happy because there's not that much marking, you know. So, I'm quite ok. I would imagine with English, Afrikaans, Maths, there's huge loads of marking. I mean, my compulsories are, let's say, two assessments per term, whereas Afrikaans is like nine assessments per term, or something like that, you know? So I can't compare. And then they write three papers in June: Paper 1, 2, and 3, and with my kids they write one 2-hour paper and that's all I mark for June, you know. So there's no comparing it, so I'm quite ok. So different subjects I think.

CRG375-J Ya, I've got...we've got quite a lot of marking for Technology. For Computer Literacy it's, at the moment, a little bit of a blur. So...but for Technology we've got quite a lot of marking because we do quite a lot of practical subjects...practical tasks, and with that there's a practical component but as well as a written theory component, so then you've got to actually mark the practical part as well as the theory part. So that obviously becomes a little bit more...

marking

CRG376-P Double the marking

CRG377-J ...but we do, we've got a few tasks to mark, but I think, manageable. Not like we sit there marking...

CRG378-C And plus you enjoy it.

CRG379-J And I enjoy it, so I think that also...I think if I didn't enjoy it, it may look a little bit more, but...

CRG380-I How many kids in your class? Because that also makes a difference.

CRG381-J Per class? Between 35 and 39. 39 is the biggest class, ya. So that's in each Technology class. Between 35 and 39.

CRG382-C I feel with marking...it says there the...most recently when you had a big pile of marking. Ok, I do the matric marking at the end of the year and for me that's a big pile of marking. And...the question I had to mark was the essay question. And that was a very long question. Normally I zip through a batch in a very short amount of time. Normally it takes me like...it used to take

marking

me 15 minutes to get through 50 scripts of short questions.

CRG383-I One five minutes?!

CRG384-C Ya.

CRG385-I To get through five o scripts?!

CRG386-C Yes, for the matric exam, I'm talking about.

CRG387-I That's astonishing.

CRG388-J That is, wow.

CRG389-C Ya, because you mark quite fast then. But this past exam when we had to mark, because I was marking the essay question, it was taking me an hour and a half to get through 50 scripts. And that's how different, how long it took.

CRG390-P And it was very stressful because there's that pressure on you. Even if you're marking your own batch of scripts, I mean, even though...like as you said, if it's a huge pile, and now FET is more difficult marking because it's factually based opinions. So everyone's opinion counts.

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG391-C So you've got to sift through the ...

CRG392-P ...and you have to sift whether it marries to the facts. That's a huge challenge. I forgot about that.

CRG393-C So for me that was a...very...it was very tedious, it was exhausting, and I really felt that it was just becoming too dreary, because I wasn't getting the satisfaction of finishing fast enough. And for me that was...that was the worst...

CRG394-P You needed that momentum going, that, you know, you're getting it done.

CRG395-C Ya. So I felt very frustrated for that session. But it still went ok, but we were the slowest question. Because it was the essay question.

CRG396-P And then everyone's pouncing on you...

CRG397-C Ya, but then anyway we got through it at the end of it. And...scripts that frustrate me are scripts that have bad handwriting. That frustrates me a lot because I can't understand the learner's writing...

- judgement - making it
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

CRG398-P Does that marry up to poor performance as well?

Because I'm not sure about that sometimes. That sometimes I've been compelled to read through, even if I can't understand the writing, I think, just in case this kid knew his work but I still haven't figured whether there is a correlation.

CRG399-C I find sometimes when the handwriting is really bad that...

CRG400-P The kid doesn't know their work.

CRG401-C Ya, they don't know their work and you're trying to make sense of what they're saying but you can't. And you spend too long sometimes trying to analyse what they're saying, and they're not saying anything that makes sense. So I think there's a link between poor handwriting and...

CRG402-P Poor performance.

CRG403-C Poor performance. But not always. I think there are kids, although I haven't come across many, who write...handwriting is really bad but they do well. And I can't even remember any at the top of my head now.

CRG404-P Zuza? You taught Zuza last year.

CRG405-C No.

CRG406-P Ok. They are my .....

CRG407-C She's got her favourites from last year, right (laughter).

- learner characteristics

CRG408-P They were the best. They were my...they were the first lot who ever did FET in this school. So I taught them from grade 10 to grade 12. And that really helps you. I mean, you go up with your learners as well. You learn how they...they learn about you and how you assess and how you...you know, give instructions, and so it just gels so well, once you've got that relationship. There's no breaking it, you know.

CRG409-J What I just thought of now...sorry, with regards to the marking...we've got, for Technology, I mean, I'm setting all the grade 8 tests, etc, etc, but we have got certain portfolio assignments that have been set by the lady who wrote the module. And I feel...(sighs) sigh, to have to mark somebody else's...something else that somebody has set, if I haven't set it myself. So I feel a lot stronger about marking my own stuff than marking something that somebody else has set. Because that that's...you know, they put the work into it and it's nice, I do, I enjoy marking it, but I don't feel so...

- colleagues
- enabling learner achievement
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG410-P It's less personal.

CRG411-J Less personal, exactly. A lot less personal to mark something else...something that somebody else has set.

CRG412-C But do you feel it's set differently?

CRG413-J Yes.

CRG414-C To the way you would have set it?

CRG415-J Ya, very differently.

CRG416-C And it's harder to mark because it's not asking exactly what...

CRG417-J ...exactly what I would have asked. Ya, exactly. Exactly that.

CRG418-I So what's the difference? That would be interesting. How do you analyse what this other teacher, her style of setting, compared to what you think is important to set?

CRG419-J I think...with hers, she's...especially with the grade 8s, we've got to be quite specific about things, and she...I think...yes, it is a she, I was just about to say, I don't even know if it's a she or he. It is. She's very vague and then she...she'll...it's all printed out from her book. So after every chapter there's the portfolio assignment with the rubric and everything on it. And for a grade 8 you cannot give them the minimal amount of information. For them, unfortunately...we are trying to guide them, they're growing, they are still growing so let's not put so much pressure on them now. She's saying...she's only giving a few sentences for a huge project that they've got to do the technological process where they've got to investigate it, design it, give the theory on it, and then make it, and she's giving one or two sentences. Now I feel for somebody to go and get involved in a project like that, they need a little bit more information on what they need to be doing, in order to do the proper research on it, to successfully get into the project, instead of just saying, well, ok, let's build a bridge, ach, let's do research on a bridge. You know, rather say, it must be this type of bridge for a themed park, or you know...that's how I feel...

CRG420-C Make it exciting for them.

CRG421-J ...it needs to be exciting and give a lot of information, whether it's direct information for the assignment or for the actual thing that they are making, you know, and she's just

sort of...it's almost...

CRG422-P Could you tell her that?

CRG423-J Not quite yet, let's just build my confidence up...you know...

CRG424-C No, but you must. Because I think she's open...

CRG425-P She might just take it, ya. She's not a teacher here.

CRG426-C It's Yolanda.

CRG427-J Yes, yes. I don't even know her. But I do feel that, I mean, the way I would set it is a little bit different to the way she would. I mean, I'm not saying it's wrong, I'm just saying that...

CRG428-I But in fact, the way you're talking, because you're providing more detail, you will get better projects.

CRG429-J Yes.

CRG430-I And then the better projects are more pleasurable to mark.

CRG431-J To mark, yes, exactly. That's exactly what I'm saying. And also, it's also, to see other people's tests and to mark other people's work, it's also a learning curve again, I mean, P was saying now, we learn from everything, so I can see what I wouldn't do in an assessment because I'm marking it and now I'm thinking, but this poor child has got to really clutch at loose straws because not enough information is given. So this child is struggling instead of enjoying it and getting themselves involved in it.

CRG432-C That's valid.

CRG433-I Good. Ok, there's a specific question here: what happens when there are scripts that frustrate you or that surprise you? What do you feel and what do you do with that?

CRG434-P I always get angry.

CRG435-I That's ok.

CRG436-P Always. I used to get so angry, 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) in some ways, because it's probably like, you know, sometimes if you think about where this poor kid's coming from,

- about emotions
- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- learner characteristics
- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - marking
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

you know, I mean, literally, he probably took a taxi here that was like not licensed and falling apart and then they were like totally dishevelled and disorientated 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...ya. And I do punish...punitive as I said, that I might subtract marks and, you know, say...and I don't think that's very effective, quite frankly, but I still do it.

CRG437-C But teaching is very personal. So...

CRG438-P Ya, it becomes that, ya.

CRG439-C I mean, you tend to take things personally if they do. Especially if you've made the instructions as clear as possible and they still don't follow it. So then...ya, you should take it personally (laughter).

CRG440-P Ya.

CRG441-C Because it means that they can't read, and they didn't listen to anything you said during class time, so...what were they doing, basically? So you would feel...

CRG442-P What were they doing? Ya.

CRG443-J You know...I've...we used some of the questions from the CTAs of grade 9s last year for the grade 9 test this term. And those...every single one were almost, extremely frustrating, and I'm not an angry person, I don't get angry...not that I don't get angry, I obviously do, but I don't...

- about emotions
- assertion-anger
- attribution- learners
- attribution- system
- department
- enabling learner achievement
- learner characteristics
- marking
- portfolios
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG444-C Not as often as I.

CRG445-J ...I don't vocalise it and it's not often. I get more...I'd rather cry than shout at somebody, if you know what I mean, that's how I work. But with these ones I just...I almost...I had to laugh. I landed up laughing, and I know it sounds really horrible but I just...the frustration of the silly things that people said and when I'm talking about silly I'm talking about: why do kayaks not have a great impact on the environment? And the answer is because there's no whales on land. I mean that's...ya, that's one answer

CRG446-P That's hilarious.

CRG447-C Why in the department?

CRG448-J That's one of the few examples that I'm talking about. These children had absolutely no idea and my frustration built up

and I started feeling a bit angry and eventually I just laughed, I just thought, there's nothing else I can do but laugh, because if I get angry, you know, it's not actually worth it for me...

CRG449-C ...What's that going to achieve.

CRG450-J ...It's not, it's not and I just...I had to have a little bit of a giggle and I shared it with a couple of teachers in the staff room and we had a nice laugh about it, and I mean...just...you feel like, what can you do about something like that?

CRG451-C You feel helpless...

CRG452-J You do feel very helpless.

CRG453-C Because that's coming from the GDE and you expect it to be of a very high standard...

CRG454-J ...high standard, exactly.

CRG455-C But it isn't. And that's not...I don't think that's only...

CRG456-I Sorry, the answer was the mark memo or the answer was a kid?

CRG457-J The child. Sorry, I'm talking about the...

CRG458-C Oh! I thought it was... (laughs) sorry!

CRG459-J No, no, no, sorry. Again the questions in the CTA and the SAT that I'm looking at now...the children are not equipped to answer it. That's what I'm trying to get at. They're not...they haven't been given enough information. Again, I'm talking about this information given in an assessment. No information given...

CRG460-P To be able to answer the question.

CRG461-J Yes, do you understand, ya. So that's why then these silly mistakes come and there's no whales on the land, which is obvious.

CRG462-C So they're asking questions but the information and the background knowledge is not enough.

CRG463-J Is not enough, ya. So it's just...it is extremely frustrating but...I've started giggling about it, I think that's my way of dealing with it.

CRG464-C Ya, I know, when the kids give you answers like that

you would laugh, and share it with everybody.

CRG465-J ...Ya, you do, and share it with everyone.

CRG466-C But I'm not surprised, because, you know, also, I mean, I assumed it was the GDE who said it.

CRG467-J Oh, no, no, no, shame, no. Poor people.

CRG468-C It's not far-fetched because they have been known to make mistakes like that and typos as well, so...

CRG469-J I don't know, sorry. It's not...

CRG470-C That's why I thought it was them. (laughter)

CRG471-J Oh shame, no, no.

CRG472-I Ok. Report writing and accountability. Do you find that you need to write a lot of reports? Does it put pressure on you or is it within bounds? Do you find the report writing useful?

reporting demands

CRG473-C This is report writing for the children? Their results?

CRG474-I All sorts of reports.

CRG475-C Even the reports we have to do as teachers for admin work and that sort of thing?

CRG476-I Ya. So it's reports for the kids and their parents, but also reports for the school, reports for the GDE, your sense of accountability to the GDE.

CRG477-C I think in terms...in our school we're very fortunate because we've got a computer system that does the reports for us, so teachers don't need to physically make out reports for their classes, which used to be the case in the past. So in our school we're very fortunate in that case, in that sense. There is a bit of...there is a lot of accountability because the marks still have to come from the teachers, so each subject teacher is still responsible for their marks and those marks have to be correct before they submit it to the computer system. And if there are errors and queries it does slow down the process a lot, and then it means the reports have to be re-done, and that's...that's basically where they should be more accountable. But I think a lot of the teachers are not and they don't take those precautions before submitting the marks finally.

colleagues
reporting demands

CRG478-P That's lack of diligence from educators. I think also in coming to reports the obvious one is, you know, giving a kid a

assertion-anger
department

term report or whatever, and that's all very nice because it sets sort of...

purpose and value
reporting demands
SEE - department
SEE - purpose and value
SV-access threatened

CRG479-C A benchmark for them.

CRG480-P Ya, it does set a benchmark and it also gives them...like they know four times a year that the parents will get feedback, so it gives them a sense of that, you know, this is what's going on in the school, I don't know how to say that...ya, like...and also like a routine. You know, it puts everyone into a routine, so we all know that in the beginning of term one these are the assessments that I need to do, so I know in advance that by the end of term one I'm going to have to report back on whatever's happened, you know, the assessment, and that's really great. The thing is that, I think what doesn't happen, what's missing for me is...or the stress comes in when, I don't find value in it, you know? So I've talked myself into saying, well, beginning of term one, these are the assessments I'm doing and the kids will get a report, so I know the value of that report. So I know the value of drawing up the marks, calculating the marks, going to do a spreadsheet, I know the value of that, you know, so I don't mind doing it. But then there's other things like the accountability part that sometimes it's just shoved on us in the last minute, and that's what I don't like, that I don't see value in it, so I don't want to do it, so I don't do it as well. And so I'm not accountable. But if we are properly work-shopped through certain, you know, accountability things like: do a report on your term one results, this is what you assessed in Business Studies, you know, what did the children learn? Where did they fall short? And all those things. So I can be accountable but tell me why you want, you know...like so...so give me reasons as to why I need to do those things. So very often the GDE then just, you know, has a top down approach of in the last minute they need to do some stats and then we need to do...suddenly we become, you know...

assertion-anger
aversion-fear
department
reporting demands
SEE - department
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened

CRG481-I Just talk a bit more about that.

CRG482-P Umm, C. About?

CRG483-C Stats. About the stats.

CRG484-I And the last minute and...

CRG485-P Ya, it seems to, as I said, be very much a top down approach, that's been my opinion and my observation over the years. And it happens, you know...like I feel like when you see it...just like with the kids, if you give them the rubric and say, you are transparent, the GDE needs to give us a rubric and be transparent and say, these are the expectations of our teachers for 2009 and we want accountability, you know? So don't tell us in

December when all's been said and done, tell us in January so that over this time we will set standards, we will maintain those standards, we will assess, we will do whatever we need to do, you know. But I find that we're always like sort of panic accountable, panic accountable, you know, that's what it becomes. So it's like, I feel accountable to the GDE but they're doing me a disservice by not doing it properly, you know, and I have a huge problem with that. And then again also, I'm always falling short, so as much as I'm accountable to them and they're assessing these great things about me, but I'm falling short because they didn't tell me in the beginning that I should have done these things. They're telling me in 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, and I feel like a lot of...especially like with new teachers if they haven't been through it, it's like really bombarding them in that last minute, and that is grossly unfair on the teachers because they're feeling inadequate all the time and falling short of what should be done, you know. So again, as I said, panic accountability. So that's me.

striking metaphor

CRG486-I Thank you.

CRG487-C I think also this issue about the education department making us be accountable for assessment results is a bit...I don't know, I think sometimes they paint all teachers with the same brush. Because how can all teachers be accountable for learners who don't do their work, or who have no interest whatsoever in the subject, and then they just...they don't put in the amount of work, they don't study properly and then they fail your paper, then are you still accountable for that? Compared to a teacher who does nothing, who doesn't come to school regularly, who doesn't give them the work that they should be doing, and then those kids fail, and then that teacher is not brought to task, not brought to book at all about, you know, their lack of professionalism and that sort of thing. So I feel sometimes that as a teacher and as a school, we are not classed as an under-performing school, but we are not given any kind of recognition for doing our work, for being professional, for following the policy statements, and policy documents, for handing in things on time, we're not given any recognition for that. But as P said, the moment there's something to be due or something that's done, it's due yesterday, you know, and we've got to like bend over backwards to get it done and then when it is done and handed in, so what, you know?

attribution-problem
aversion-fear
department
disappointment-sadness
SEE - department
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened

striking metaphor

CRG488-P And to some extent we are being enslaved, you know, in that panic accountability, we still feel the pressure and we still do it just because we know that it's...

assertion-anger
aversion-fear
department
disappointment-sadness
image of profession

CRG489-C It has to be done.

principal
SEE - department
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened
working conditions

CRG490-P It's oh god, GDE, you know, and it has to be done. And then also like, you know, they seem to be pulling it out of a hat half the time. And it seems to be that they use the stronger schools for them to be accountable to some higher authority. So they are using our sort of good things, our systems, never recognising us, making us do it in the last minute, and using it for their own sort of whatever that they're doing...whatever they do we don't even know what they do.

CRG491-C Ya, because for instance, as P said, if they tell us at the beginning of the year what we need to hand in at the end of every term, then it wouldn't be a problem.

CRG492-J You prepare yourself.

CRG493-C But if, like for instance, in many cases our principal is placed in a very difficult position because she is told at the last minute, and then she has to come and tell us...

CRG494-J 'Kill the messenger'.

CRG495-C So like certain statistics and things like that, I mean, the GDE tells us like two days before the deadline that these statistics are due.

CRG496-J Must go in.

CRG497-C And then all the HODs are in a tizz because we've got to pull these marks from wherever, you know...

CRG498-P And even formats and things, it's like, you know, like suddenly this spreadsheet arrives from nowhere, you know, and it's like, now suddenly we must change everything we've already done and then redo it the way they want us to, you know. So their poor communication, lack of transparency...

CRG499-C Lack of communication as well.

CRG500-P Ya, almost on the verge of being dishonest, I feel, so ya, they are adding to our frustrations.

CRG501-C And then on top of all of that they are not accountable.

CRG502-P Yes, to us.

CRG503-C The GDE is not accountable to us in any way. You know, for many issues, in terms of human resource issues, in terms of support, if we need to sort out particular students for

discipline issues and that sort of thing, we get no support from them, no accountability, but they want all of that from us. And for me I feel that's not very fair, because we need to get that kind of support from them and we don't get it. They're full of bureaucracy, they...they're unaccountable...

CRG504-P They're not doing their job.

CRG505-C They don't, well, that's the bottom line. And they're unreachable. If you need to ask them anything.

CRG506-P And that frustrates our assessment.

CRG507-C They lose our documents most of the time, we've got to resubmit the same statistics because they lose things, they're moving offices and they don't have an idea where they've put our files, you know, that sort of thing.

CRG508-P And the difficulty in it is that they've lost our confidence completely. So even if they do dare try to do something great for us, we're never going to realise it, you know (laughs), because it hasn't happened as yet. A total lack of support.

CRG509-C But it's like they're expecting professional behaviour from us...

CRG545-P But they don't demonstrate...

CRG510-C ...but they're not professional themselves, so what standards are they using to even judge our behaviour?

CRG511-P Exactly

CRG512-C That's what I'd like to know about them. And they just infuriate me generally. (laughter)

CRG513-I Thank you. Now that's the reality principle here.

CRG514-C This is in confidence, right? (laughter)

CRG515-P It's been recorded and we're selling it to the GDE, remember.

CRG516-C It should be sold to the GDE. (laughs)

CRG517- Another teacher opens the door and puts her head in the room.
Hello. What kind of party is this?

CRG518-P

To Interviewer: There's another one with an opinion if you'd like to know.
To other teacher: You're too late.

CRG519-I To other teacher: This is an interview.

CRG520- Oh, sorry.

CRG521-I (laughter) Alright, just in terms of GDE can I ask you about two more things? One is cluster meetings, how do cluster meetings work for you? I

CRG522-C For me they work very well. For Life Science, I think, we've got quite an organised department and we had a very, very effective facilitator, she got promoted last year to Umalusi, so she's not with us anymore, but because she did such a fine job we're still able to function without her for this period of six months. We're organised, our policy documents are in order, our school based assessment is 100% because we know exactly what we're going to do each term, pace-setters are sorted out. At the cluster meetings themselves we do cluster moderation of each other's portfolio files and I think it's very fairly done. There's a rubric for us, we have it beforehand, so we know what our files should look like, and it's assessed according to that. So I'm very impressed with our cluster.

CRG523-J Well, I've been to both the cluster meetings for the Technology. Both times the cluster leader hasn't been there and then they put somebody else in to facilitated it, and obviously that's...

CRG524-I The cluster leader is a GDE person?

CRG525-J Yes.

CRG526-C No, it's usually a teacher. The facilitator

CRG527-J The facilitator is GDE, the cluster leader hasn't been there.

CRG528-I So that's a team member responsible teacher?

CRG529-J Yes...

CRG530-I And you've never seen a facilitator?

CRG531-J So I've got...it's always been a...I mean, most of the time the person who they send in their place, is usually up to date, but, I just find that, you know, after two meetings you'd expect to have seen at least, you know, one of them. But, I mean, we're

- assertion-anger
- aversion-fear
- cluster meetings
- colleagues
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

organised in a minimalistic way, you know? It's organised to the least amount of organisation that we can have to function, that's what we're functioning on at the moment. The cluster meetings have been nice because you can speak to...it's more about the interaction between other teachers than it has been, you know, of the organisations from top down. It's been more of a discussion between us. Again, I've only been to two cluster meetings so I can only speak from two examples. But I would love to, myself, meet the facilitator and the cluster leader; that would be really great.

CRG532-C But you learn a lot from cluster meetings.

CRG533-J Of course you do, and I'd say that's why I mentioned talking to the other teachers because you do. You open up and see what they're doing and their type of assessment, etc, etc. But, you know, if you're talking about a leader and a facilitator, you'd expect to...

CRG534-I Them to be there.

CRG535-J Them to be there, exactly.

CRG536-P For me, I think, with cluster meetings, the concept is brilliant but again it hasn't been work-shopped properly, you know. I feel like my understanding of a cluster meeting is firstly to liaise with each other as teachers, you know, sharing the same problems and the same whatever, and then also to set standards and then to see that...to meet at the cluster meeting and say that these standards have been met in the classroom, you know, of assessment and whatever. But I feel that that's so idealistic and it's not happening at that level, and why, because 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, from what I can see, their communication with us is minimal to panic again. Panic accountability where if they suddenly need to hold a cluster meeting, whether it's for whatever purpose, then it's, you know...although most of the time, it is set in advance, especially over the last two years it's been set like at the beginning of the year, the dates are set, isn't it? But previously it wasn't happening like that. But even we know the dates in advance so we'll move heaven and earth and be there, but our facilitators never meet us and I think that they need to be there, they need to communicate with us, they need to tell us about developments, you know. Sometimes even, like this year, the SBA document was drawn up for the first time. You know, the guidelines were a very clear: 10, 11, and 12, that this is how assessment must be done; even the tasks were set, like assignments. But I find that I can't use some of those assignments and who do I ask, you know? My final authority is my facilitator, but I don't know if my facilitator exists, I've never met a facilitator

striking metaphor

over the last three years, you know. So those things are not happening. The communication with all these different parties is just missing completely. Again, it's just us teachers who are totally stressed out in the classroom, that are pitching up at these meetings, complaining and then going home, kind of thing. And that's been my personal experience. So if there isn't one good person, the facilitator there at the top like with Camy's group, with the Life Sciences, there was one person and then she took charge and said, let's do this. But in my area it hasn't happened, you know, so there's this huge gap and us teachers are just groping in the dark again. And so it's really a very frustrating exercise. And then, you know, we just go there because we have to, not because we're learning something. It's great that we get to meet other teachers, I've learned a lot from other teachers and, you know, just to build that confidence that we are, you know, all part of the same sinking ship (laughs) but we're trying to keep it going, like you know...so that's been great for me. And knowing that...ya, there's some absolutely brilliant people out there as well, that are doing such a fine job. And yet, the facilitator is hiding somewhere, you know. It's tragic actually. Ya, it would be great to meet the facilitators.

striking metaphor

striking metaphor

CRG537-J And I'm complaining about two meetings. You're complaining about three years. (laughter) shoo

CRG538-P Ya, exactly, three years. Maybe more.

CRG539-J That's a serious problem.

CRG540-P And I feel it's, again very bureaucratic. You know, it's like, a lot of these people are there in namesake and, you know, they get promoted, that's what I found with my previous facilitator. So he was pushing his own agenda all the time and we were doing things just because he wanted recognition, and then as soon as he was gone, there was no systems that he kept in place, you know, he never...like...it's so frustrating. It's endless.

CRG541-I And those forms, 435 or something that you have to fill in, if you want...

CRG542-P 450.

CRG543-I 450, ya, that if kids...if you don't want to promote kids to the next class?

CRG544-C That's specifically for the grade 9s. And what we're supposed to be doing is having a 450 form for each child. Each grade 9 child. And it should be in operation from the beginning of the year. Every teacher who teaches that child is supposed to put in, onto that form, any extra work they've given them, any

attribution- self
attribution- system
aversion-fear
dealing with failure
department
judgement - making it
learner characteristics
reporting demands
SEE - reporting demands
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened

additional lessons, expanded opportunities, any discipline problems, any transgression from the learner's side is supposed to be recorded on those forms. So that at the end of grade 9 when we take the schedules to the department, we take those forms as well, and then they check against those, because that's their evidence. If a child has failed grade 9, they ask: what have you done as a teacher to help this child? And those 450 is our evidence. They are a huge inconvenience because teachers don't keep it in operation for the whole year. They only tend to do it when it's needed. And then it becomes a real pressure...stressful time of the year, because all the grade 9 teachers are running around trying to fill in these forms, and trying to remember what have they done for this child from the beginning of the year.

CRG545-P And I think, sorry just to come in, that's a perfect example of when that was first introduced, it came in probably a day or two before we had to take the failure schedules or something... Am I right?

CRG546-C Retention schedules

CRG547-P The first time those 450A forms, however many years ago. And so 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.
And so again 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. So again…sorry, to disturb you there.

striking metaphor

CRG548-C No, it's fine. But that's exactly it, and so now what we're trying to do is trying to encourage the teachers to keep it going from the beginning of the year.

CRG549-P From the beginning, ya.

CRG550-J We had that grade 9 meeting right at the beginning of the year where, I mean, I'd never heard of the forms, obviously, before, and they spoke about it and I also have had to have extra lessons for the grade 9s, and for me it's just about recording and doing admin on your own part because if you say: I am giving extra lessons, you sms, you know, A, B, and Cs parents, you put that down in your...your own admin...

CRG551-P Your own records, your personal records.

CRG552-J ...your records, your personal records to say, I've

done this but they haven't arrived. So that when the 450 forms come in, that I mean, that we have to have them in a weeks' time and at least, instead of scrambling around thinking, mm, do I, don't I, I haven't filled the form out yet, but I know that in my personal file...

CRG553-C You've got a record, yes you did.

CRG554-J ...I've got a record that these children should have been coming to extra lessons and they didn't, or this child really came to extra lessons all the time, tried their heart out so now...

CRG555-P So now it's really a good tool, to keep us accoun...it's an accountability tool, isn't it? To say, we're not just failing this kid because we don't like him or because he...he's whatever, you know.

CRG556-C But we've tried .....

CRG557-P It's genuinely that we've tried so hard and the kid has not made the mark.

CRG558-J It's to protect ourselves because there's always fingers pointed, it's your fault that my child failed, or it's your fault that there's so many grade 9s fail.

CRG559-P ...and genuinely it has happened in the past where, you know, a teacher didn't like a kid's face, so he decided to fail him, you know. Probably there's a lot of kids out there...I mean, adults out there who think that, but now there's more accountability for us.

CRG560-J But it doesn't happen like that anymore, ya.

CRG561-C I think those 450As should be working like that, but I don't think they are.

CRG562-P Doesn't really, ya.

CRG563-C Ya, and in our school as much as we drive or, you know, push the teachers to keep them going, I don't think they are, actually. I mean, we are...

CRG564-P ...It's difficult, ya. I think also we haven't built that culture, it's a fairly new thing, I mean, how long? Three years, four years?

CRG565-C About three years, I think.

CRG566-P And ya, we haven't built that culture of being

accountable to that level so it's also for us to get used to it and to learn to use it properly and, you know, workshop it in our own minds, make it a part of our teaching, because before it was just teaching and testing, teaching and testing, and now there's so many more things that are happening that we can try and do.

CRG567-I Ok. So have you had experiences where you said kids must fail and then the department passed them?

CRG568-C Yes. There have been cases like that. (laughter) Because...you see when we take the schedules to the department, the department is just looking at names and numbers. And 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...they just see the summative assessment at the end of the year. And based on that alone then they want to pass that child. So if we don't have the evidence then they will be passed. The child will be passed. They just give them the marks that they need to pass, and they're condoned. So that's how...we...and I think also there's a certain percentage of children that can fail in each grade. I think it's 5%. So...when we are doing the schedules as well, before we take it to the department, we've got to ensure that we don't pass that 5% mark.

CRG569-P So we must be very, very instrumental in what we're doing. We must say: well, this kid really has not...

CRG570-C But we can't exceed that mark. We cannot exceed 5%. So if there's like borderline children ...

CRG571-P ...For those children included in that 5% must be very serious cases.

CRG572-C Must be definite failures. But the ones that are on the border line and if they're exceeding the 5% then we've got to give...we've got to find marks, we've got to like go to J, can you give this child 3 marks...that's what happens at the end of the year! And you pass...

CRG573-P I remember before we used to sit together and...all the teachers and say...say a name and then you'd...I mean, if the parent was there, they'd be crying, you know.

- aversion-fear
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- dealing with failure
- department
- judgement - making it
- policy
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

CRG574-J But again, what you said about the matrics, you're saying to them, if you don't study you're going to fail, if you don't do this you're going to fail. Listen in my class, do your homework and you won't fail at the end of the year. They don't do it, they get pushed through because they're not in the 5%...

- assertion-anger
- dealing with failure
- department
- learner characteristics
- policy
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

CRG575-C ...ya, and the department is responsible for that.

CRG576-J Exactly, and now you as a teacher, what you're saying to them means nothing. And that effect, it will have a rippling effect. It will go down to the next year, agh don't worry, I was supposed to fail grade 9 but I was just pushed through.

CRG577-P And there's so many cases like that where kids have said...I mean, some kids have even figured the system out, they've said, well, 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. Ya, because I'm already 16 and they say it blatantly and proudly...

CRG578-C And they know they're not allowed to repeat a grade more than once...

CRG579-P A phase.

CRG580-I Once in a phase.

CRG581-C So they know that and they...

CRG582-J So they don't care. So the second year that they're in the...they just ?

CRG583-C There was even a case...two cases in our school last year where learners failed. The department failed them at the schedule meeting last year. But they went back to the department and they contested it and the department passed them. We've got two learners in our school this year who have been in that situation. So we've had to readmit them as if they had passed.

SV-access threatened

CRG584-I Ok. Last area of questioning. How do you manage your emotions? How do you work with them, how do you...?

CRG585-J (laughs) I don't know if I can manage my emotions at this stage...no. I just think it's extremely difficult, especially...I'm obviously young, I'm new in this situation, and it's extremely difficult to come into a new situation like this and it's not like I'm working with colleagues alone. You know, there's kids involved and kids can be ??? and, you know, a lot of emotions rush through you and I think you...I don't know, I don't know how to explain how you manage that. I think you've just got to... Mm. I just think you've got to look at the whole picture, so that when something happens, whether it's…you know, you're happy about something, extremely happy or extremely sad about something, or angry when a child does something, you know…or, you know, frustrated when they write something silly in their script…in their answers or something like that, I think you've just got to look at the holistic view and try not to take it, like you said,

about emotions
SEE - about emotions
self image
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access to internal goods

personally. And we do. Or as Camy said, that we…teaching is personal. You're never going to not take it personally but you've got to sort of take a step back and think, well, you know, this child out of how many, yes, is doing this wrong, or is answering this question wrong, but stand back and think, well, ok, let's go onto the next one. You've got to sort of stand back and take a holistic view of everything and not just focus: oh my gosh, this child has written this and it reflects badly on me, etc, etc, you've got to try and take a step back from the situation and sort of calm your emotions before you react badly. I think that's the worst situation you can get yourself into is to react badly.

CRG586-C I feel that you, as teachers, because we are professional, we've got to...we've got to keep a check on our emotions; that's critical. And it does take a lot of getting used to because as teachers we've got to develop very thick skins. Because of the abuse that we are subjected to in the classroom by many...by many children. But I think if we don't take it personally then it helps, but it's very difficult to do that. And it does help a lot if you know, you know what, this child is probably also having a bad day, so let's not get into an argument and make it worse, you know, we can sort this problem out maybe outside the classroom or something. But if we don't get involved then that's one of the ways in which we can keep our emotions under control. I think it's important not to get involved in the argument and...and just focus on the teaching and learning and not on the personal issues that the child is trying to bring up.

- about emotions
- learner characteristics
- self image

CRG587-J And I also think, I mean, between any people, I think it's a...sort of a natural...it's natural that certain people will not get on. It is natural...

CRG588-P Ya, definitely.

CRG589-J ...I mean, I'm not going to love everyone, yes, and that's why I connect with obviously certain children in the class, and again there's certain children that...it's not a one way thing that we just...

CRG589-C Don't gel.

CRG590-J ...you can't see eye to eye and we don't gel and I also think that is a crucial stage where you say, concentrate on the learning and the teaching and step back personally and totally. Especially from a child like that, where your negative relationship with them can have an impact on their learning. Because if they...I mean, if you're sitting in a class...if you don't really like somebody you don't really want to listen to what they're saying, so to be able to step...you know, you, yourself as a teacher, take a step back and, you know, break away all the personal...

- about emotions
- learner characteristics
- self image

CRG591-C Barriers, ya.

CRG592-J And then try and encourage them...not encourage them because they probably won't listen to you, but, you know, if you do it they would maybe go by example and do the same thing. So instead of getting emotions involved and affecting your teaching and their learning, you've got to take a step back and make sure that your...especially the negative relationships. I think the positive relationships are slightly easier to control, but the negative relationships are the ones that are quite hard, especially with a disruptive child or something like that.

CRG593-P Mm. Ya, I think, you know, I've...as you said, a personality clash is something totally different with a kid, where it's just two worlds that are meeting, that just can't get along, you know. And I've probably had that once that I can remember. And another colleague helped me with that, you know. And so, it's also sometimes that we don't see some things because we are emotionally involved as well, you know. But we can support each other in that way, I feel, very much, because it...like if we're saying, how can we not be emotional when it's convenient and then be emotional when it's convenient, because it's actually such an emotional job. It's like, I love teaching, that's emotional, I love the kids, that's emotional, I get angry with the kids, that's emotional, you know, so it's such this huge balancing act that we are constantly doing, and the kids on the other hand are constantly manipulating the situation in their favour, whether it's to the parents or to other teachers or to whatever it is. So they have, over the years, I've found, that kids have become more manipulative, in my personal experience, you know. That they've learned how to pass the blame and, you know, stuff like that. So that's difficult as well. Ya, and I feel like...ya, it's a tough one, hey, the emotional part of it, but managing it, ya, I think over the years you also learn how to, you know, through trial and error, as much as you get into certain fixes and situations, you learn how to find that balance, you know.
And…I mean, I remember in my first two and half years, I think, it was like, ooh! And all these kids were taller than me and I was teaching 11s in my first year and 11s and 12s in my second year. And it was like, I was this softy, you know, and then I realised that I was being viewed in this certain way by my colleagues as this person who was being taken advantage of by the kids. And once I realised that in my second and a half year kind of thing, I realised, guess what, there's no turning back, I'm going to sort these kids out now (laughter) and I'm going to sort my emotions out and I'm going to sort…you know, they're not going to take advantage of me and my colleagues are going to think I'm the most like, you know, strictest teacher…

- about emotions
- colleagues
- learner characteristics
- personal history
- SEE - about emotions
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

CRG594-C Now who would have thought that about P? (laughter)

CRG595-J Having being taught by her I've got a very different view than anyone else ...(laughter)

CRG596-P I can promise you and it used to be...I remember, once this fight broke out in my class and it was my first year. And it was a bunch of grade 11 Economics boys, and it was mostly boys, probably about three or four girls, you know. And the two boys started fighting and then other boys started joining in and I get in there and I'm trying to get rid of them, so then I decide ok, let me ask my neighbour, and he just walked...the man walked past the window and the fight stopped. I was not impressed with these boys (laughter). I was so angry that day and I felt so hurt by the whole thing, you know, that they didn't listen to me, and those were sort of the building blocks towards what I am now (laughter), the terror that I am, ya.

CRG597-C But I thought you always were like this.

CRG598-P Never! I was so soft, it was...I was hideously soft.

CRG599-J Maybe I need to come for training. (laughter) I also, they rush out of my class, ach we've got to get to Mrs V class. I say: why don't you rush to my class!

CRG600-P Ya, and that's what I started asking myself, you know, in those first two years, how come they react to that teacher like that, and yet with me they can't be bothered, you know? I used to feel like, no matter how nice I was to them...

CRG601-? They ???

CRG602-P Ya, like, and I was nice to them, you know, that was what was wrong with the whole situation. And so, thinking that, you know, you can't earn respect like that. You can still be nice to them and earn respect but I just couldn't find the balance there, you know, so I went to the other extreme and…and it's, you know…I mean, if you have the kids long enough, and I find that I can build a relationship with them and it's quite good. But always trial and error, always trial and error.

CRG603-C Because every child is different.

CRG604-P Ya, definitely.

CRG605-C And every class is made up of different

about emotions
learner characteristics

personalities, so you can't always apply the same rules to every class and that's why, you know, when you talk about emotions I think that's why it's always important to be objective, and focus on the teaching and learning. That for me is how I keep my emotions in check. If there's ever an altercation with a child, then I simply deal with it, or try to deal with it afterwards.

self image

CRG606-P Afterwards. Definitely.

CRG607-C And because, I always try to remember, you know what, it's this one child that is having a problem. What about the 29 other children in the class who need that period of education? And I'm not going to spend ten minutes arguing with this one child at the expense of the others.

CRG608-P And I found that, like a kid arguing with a teacher, that's just...you've lost the battle immediately, you know. The best thing is just to be quiet and just let it happen so the kid can basically, you know, verbalise their emotions because they don't have a hold on their emotions...

CRG609-J No they don't.

CRG610-P ...because they...and they also like, it's all that adrenalin and the hormones and, you know, so their emotions are actually...they're feeling it much more strongly than we are, and we are in control.

CRG611-C But also as an adult...sorry...as an adult in the room, we've got to be the better one, you know.

CRG612-J Yes, we do.

CRG613-C We can't give in to our emotions the way these kids sometimes do. And they sometimes test you, they drive you to that point, they want to see how you would react if you're behaving that way. But I must say at the same time, strong pleasurable emotions like, if you're happy about something or you're excited about something, the kids actually respond to that very positively.

about emotions
image of profession
learner characteristics

CRG614-J And they feel it, they do.

CRG615-C And they like to see the teacher excited.

CRG616-P And those are the moments when you gel with them more.

CRG617-C Ya! And they actually...they want to see that you know what, oh, Mrs R can actually smile (laughter). Or that she can laugh with us, you know. And that makes them, a little bit,

they feel that connection with you, as you said. And I think that's a good...

CRG618-P ...and that's sort of a trust thing as well, that you are able to display happy emotions with them, means that you're building trust with them.

CRG619-C Mm. And you can relate to them as well.

CRG620-J Ya, without sort of...you're saying, giving them happy...you know, share your happy emotions with them without appearing soft.

CRG621-P Ya. Exactly

CRG622-J So when you've gone through the stages of making sure that, no, they respect you, they know what the rules are in the classroom and passed that, then you can almost say, well, you know, I can laugh a little bit and do this and that, but before that respect is earned, you do something like that and your whole classroom structures will fall apart.

CRG623-C It's got to be established before that, ya. Your structure, your system, and I think as our principal always tells the new teachers: you must always start off being a strict disciplinarian.

CRG624-J A monster, she called us. (laughs) She told me.

CRG625-C A monster, ya. And then, you know, after they've learned you are...that you know what, you're not taking any nonsense from them, then you can start showing them this lighter side of you...

CRG626-P ...Then you can loosen up.

CRG627-J What did she say to me? She said: go on monster training during the December holidays and you can smile in June. (laughter) That's what she said. She said, because by June you've set your standards, that the learners have started respecting you and then you can smile. And then you scare them. (laughs)

CRG628-C Because it's no point, you know, trying to be...behave like their best friend from day one.

CRG629-J Oh, no, it doesn't...

CRG630-C I mean, that wins you no favours at all.

CRG631-P You've seen a lot of, you know, colleagues over the

years, just failing hopelessly with that, ya.

CRG632-C Because they want to win the kids over, by being nice to them ...

CRG633-P But I think a lot of that...

CRG634-C ...and it doesn't work. Because the kids then treat you as a doormat...

CRG635-J And they treat you as their friend. And if you've seen the way they treat their friends, you can't be a friend. Not to these kids. (laughs) I think they just...

CRG636-C ...then there's no barriers between you and the learners. And I don't think that's an acceptable situation at all. There has to be a barrier for me.

CRG637-P Ya, a line has to be drawn in...

CRG638-C ...A line, ya. There has to be that line.

CRG639-P But I find again it comes back to that life-long learning situation, you know, that...some of us might think we have the formula, and then tomorrow a kid springs up with a new trick up their sleeve, and so again, we know we can be humbled on a daily basis, you know, learning from these kids. And so, emotions that we might not even have known we had, we end up having...

CRG640-C And showing.

CRG641-P ...and showing and then also that other teachers that are, you know, new, or that are, you know, just personality wise may be a little less strict or whatever, we all can learn from each other again there as well. That how do we deal with certain situations. Again, I remember in my second year or something, a kid came to me and said, I don't know what was the question, like you know, like...like what is this or something, you know, and they said, it's a box, and...or they said it's a square and the answer was a box or something. So they showed me the notes in the book and they're like, this is right because it was in the notebook. So then I'm like, ok, maybe it is right, and then I realised, guess what, it was the question related to the answer, and like, you know, sometimes they catch you off guard, these kids catch you off guard, so in seeing other people dealing with these situations that these kids catch you with, you can easily learn, you know, more on your feet, rather than waiting for...waiting to learn it when the kids are bombarding you with it. Don't know if I was clear about that? Ya...

about emotions
learner characteristics

CRG642-I Ok, and when you're angry and frustrated, how do you manage that?

CRG643-C That's a good question (laughs).

CRG644-J Anger, again, I'm going to...I mean, it's the only answer I've got. I'm not an angry person, so I can say that the five months I've been here I haven't been...angry.

CRG645-I ...alright, sad?

CRG646-J Ok, when I'm sad, there we go, that's a more appropriate question for me (laughs). I just...I don't know, I just...I think, getting into the right frame of mind when I am sad to reverse my steps to get to a point where I was happy, you know...if you're talking about happy sad here. Where I wasn't sad, I think I've just got to, in my mind to say, you know, this is what I've got to do to get back to myself. Because also, again we talk about, you know, angry and sad, and to show anger in front of kids is not good, but to start crying in front of kids is not good either. I mean, I haven't done it, but I've...and that's also in my head the whole time, you've got to realise that you can't show them...like you say, you're showing them emotion, you can, but up to a certain point, and...

CRG647-P Balancing.

CRG648-J Balancing that and to make sure that in my head I realise that it's not time to break down or to express myself in a classroom to learners. I can sort of get myself back to a happy state instead of...

CRG649-I And then when you get home?

CRG650-J Then my boyfriend gets it (laughter). No, shame. I do, I let go. I'll obviously tell the story to either my parents or...you know, I let it out and then say what I have to say and then it's over...you know, but I must admit I have to then...

CRG651-C Release it.

CRG652-J Release it, ya. Let go of the steam, and but once I've done that I can almost feel I can come back and I'm fine.

CRG653-C Calm.

CRG654-J Ya, then I've gone through the steps, I've gotten angry, I've come back down, I'll really gotten angry to express it, to let it go, and then I can come back and I'm ready to face the next

challenge, instead of holding on to everything.

CRG655-P Ya, I think for a bigger part of the time I would take my frustrations home, you know. Fortunately I don't have children (laughter).

about emotions
learner characteristics
self image
SV-access to internal goods

CRG656-C Yet.

CRG657-P Yet. Ya, but I think over time you do learn...it's very difficult to separate your home life from your school life, but you do learn how to again balance it. But for me it used to be very much, you know, like...like these kids don't almost appreciate what you're doing for them, you know, until much later. So, you know, that was what I used to really struggle with, that...I'm trying so hard here and this kid just doesn't see it and he's the only one that stands to lose from it, you know. So as much as I take it home and then the next day come and reason with that kid and then all is well after that, you know. But very often it's a process with the relationship with that kid, and with taking it home, you know, and having to deal with it and stuff like that. Ya...and also what I find difficult in dealing with my emotions is the way that a lot of these children's parents deal with them. You know, like giving in all the time, so it becomes a battle of wills at home where the parent is giving in, so sometimes it can be a battle of wills at school, you know, that the kids know that this is what's happening at home so they're doing the same thing at school. And so that for me can become a highly emotional thing as well, and difficult to deal with. Ya...that's what I think.

CRG658-I Ok.

CRG659-C For me in terms of the anger and frustration it's...I think I'm able to compartmentalise a lot. In the classroom if I get frustrated and angry with a child, then I have to make a concerted effort to control myself. And I've learnt over the years not to show that I'm frustrated. I try to be extra patient and explain something again and again until they get it. And in terms of anger...

about emotions
learner characteristics

CRG660-P Like with Sizwe. Like with Sizwe and Sobantu.

CRG661-C Like with Sizwe and Sobantu (laughs). And with the anger part of it, if I'm angry with one child or the class - maybe they were misbehaving or whatever, and I give them a good talking to, then I have to tell myself, right, I'm finished with the talk now, I'm going to start with work. So then, that's how I'm able to leave that anger part, because I've spoken to them about it and I expect them now to toe the line, and then I start with the work that I'm supposed to have done with them.

CRG662-I Ok, thank you. So is there anything that you want to

my research purposes

ask me? Or anything...wait, maybe I should first say is there anything else you want to say that I haven't asked about and that you haven't talked about in the last two and a half hours that you still want to say (laughs).

CRG663-P I'm scared to look at the clock. (laughter) I'm too scared to look, I know it's five o'clock.

CRG664-C But it's been interesting, I think it's...you know, we are colleagues, we teach together, we're friends together, but we've never interacted on this level.

CRG665-P On this level, ya.

CRG666-C And 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.

CRG667-J Definitely.

CRG668-P Absolutely.

CRG669-C And I really wish we could have done it with more people.

CRG670-P But I just want to ask because our principal is very liberal, you know, and she's always into life-long learning as well, and, you know, we do run sessions with the teachers, so I think we all stand to benefit. I don't know if you'd be able to...you know...

about emotions
my research purposes

CRG671-I Come and do a workshop?

CRG672-P ...give this, ya, to us. As a staff.

CRG673-J That would be brilliant.

CRG674-C As a staff because a lot of the time...there's a lot of teachers who would benefit as well.

CRG675-P Ya, and 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.

CRG676-J Emotional.

CRG677-P We are not supposed to be that.

CRG678-C But we are emotional. We are.

CRG679-P But we are. So if we sit in a forum like this and discuss it, it becomes so not taboo anymore, you know, it makes me feel better that I am an emotional being and that's why I probably am in this profession...

CRG680-C ...Ya, and that we all...

CRG681-P ...that it's not a science.

CRG682-C ...we're all sharing those emotions but because we've been...we're meant to repress it, we don't talk about it.

CRG683-P And it's like, ya, we've divided ourselves from each other and separated and, you know, been conquered like that.

CRG684-C So you might now consider that.

CRG685-P So I think that would be so brilliant for us.

CRG686-J I think, like you say, a lot of the other teachers would benefit from it.

CRG687-P Definitely.

CRG688-I I'll do that with pleasure.

CRG689-P Thank you. We must set up a date and through Camy we'll do something, because...ya, it will be very nice. Even if 20 of our teachers do it, there's something to be done, you know.

CRG690-C Absolutely, because it's something different. I mean, we're always going for workshops about discipline, which is out there, but it's not connected to what we're feeling.

about emotions
my research purposes

CRG691-J It's per...ya, exactly, it's personal. This is much more personal.

CRG692-C Ya, or assertive discipline and management and all of that, but it's not something that, you know, we can relate to.

CRG693-I But let's be honest, all I've done is ask questions.

my research purposes

CRG694-J Yes. But...

CRG695-I And you've done the workshop.

CRG696-P We're so highly opinionated. (laughter) But all we need is someone like you to ask the right questions.

CRG697-J If the three of us sat here with nothing in front of us,

I think, we would have started talking about shopping and...you know, we would never have gotten to the right...

CRG698-C But these questions directed us.

CRG699-J ...ya, gotten to speak about what we spoke about today.

CRG700-P Ya. And we could do slides, we've got a slide projector.

CRG701-I And we can do it in small groups. Because it is difficult to discuss this kind of thing in a group of 20.

CRG702-J Yes, I agree.

CRG703-I But I could structure it like that.

CRG704-P Yes, simultaneously, we all break into small groups.

CRG705-C Ya, we can get into little focus groups.

CRG706-P We can have the questions.

CRG707-J Thank you so much.

my research purposes

CRG708-I So I brought you some articles if you want some bedtime reading. The first one talks about emotions and teacher reflectiveness. And teachers working with positive emotions, working with negative emotions, and strategies for dealing with emotions. The second one is written by a teacher who found that she was getting a bit ineffectual. She was getting overwhelmed actually. She was getting completely overwhelmed and she said, well, what am I supposed to do here? And she started thinking about herself and now to build herself. And the third one is called the function of teachers' emotions, the Good, the Bad and the Ugly. And it's about a lecturer who went for his sabbatical, went back into a primary school and started teaching, and was writing his journal for the year because he wanted to research his teaching methods, and at the end of the year when he wanted to write the article about it, he discovered that half his journal was all about his emotions.

CRG709-? Wow.

CRG710-I And so he started investigating teacher emotions and started reading about that. and he says that - there are functional ways of working with our emotions and there are dysfunctional ways. And a functional way of working with our emotion is to recognise it, especially, I mean, it's fine, happy emotions are fine.

It's the dark, the difficult, the negative emotions, the ones that we think we're not supposed to be having, but of course we do have.

CRG711-P We do have them, ya.

CRG712-I Ya. And he says, a functional way is to acknowledge them, to notice I'm feeling sad, I'm feeling depressed, and then to, in a way, write down or become conscious of what this...what you're feeling sad or angry or depressed about. And then analyse that, and then find a plan to deal with it, to change that situation. And he found that he was able to do that really well with stuff that was happening in the classroom. But with stuff that was happening with parents, and the administration of the school, and the department, he was just blaming and venting. He didn't actually act on anything.

CRG713-P That's what we do. (laughter)

CRG714-I And he says that's...in the end that's a dysfunctional use, because then the emotions keep on coming back because you're not changing anything in the situation.

CRG715-C Ya, absolutely.

CRG716-P And we also distance ourselves from reality in that case.

CRG717-I Mm. So I brought you these articles if you have time to read and...

CRG718-C And it will help you, Jacqui, because you're studying

CRG719-J I'm studying at the same time, so I think it will definitely help me.

CRG720-P It will help me because one day I will study again as well.

CRG721-C I will not even say anything.

CRG722-J Next year.

CRG723-P No.

CRG724-C One day she will study.

CRG725-I But they might be enjoyable to read even if you're not studying.

CRG726-C Thank you Carola, this was very enlightening. So

Methodology

we will get to see your thesis and everything, right?

CRG727-I You definitely will. I haven't told you, when this interview has been transcribed, I will

CRG728-P Give us the CD.....

CRG729-I Do you want a CD? I was thinking of giving you a paper versions, but if you'd rather have a CD version .....

CRG730-C Maybe make us ... Paper version is fine. I

CRG731-I When I've done, which will probably take me about a year, done a first draft of the evidence from all the focus group interviews, I will give that to you as well. And in both cases, please feel free to say, I want to change this, or I don't want you to say this, or, actually, reading this I now have another thing to say. So use them as something that you want to add to or subtract from.

CRG732-C Ok, that will be good. We will do that.

CRG733- Conversation about my typing being too slow to do the transcription myself. I

CRG734-I I mean, just listening to you was so exciting for me.-

about emotions
SEE - about emotions
strongly expressed emotions

CRG735-P No-one else wants to listen to us. (laughter). So we're so thrilled that you were here. -

CRG736-C To listen to our emotions!

CRG737-P Of all things. No-one in my 11 years has asked me that question. (laughter)

CRG738-J Ya, when was the last time somebody said to you, how do you feel about that?

CRG739-P Everyone in my immediate circle is too scared to ask me that question anymore, because I'm going to dump on them. This is what happened today, and this, and I'm never going …

CRG740-C And I've got so many scripts to mark.

CRG741-P To mark, ya. We're always moaning about something.

CRG742-C We're always griping and groaning about these things.

CRG743-I But you see if you could have a space to express it,

about emotions

then you get through the griping and you do something about it.

CRG744-P Do something about it, ya.

CRG745-J Solve it instead of going back ten steps by complaining every day.

CRG746-C Ya, exactly.

CRG747-I So, thank you very, very much.

CRG748- You are welcome. Thank you

1

S Group Interviewed by Carola
November 2008

SG1-I Hello, and thank you very, very much for coming. And, I think I want to start maybe with you (K) talking about what you said just now about the causes of stress for you and where assessment fits into that. And then I will start working through the questions here.

SG2-K I'm Kathleen, and I'm teaching...at the moment I'm teaching NS (Natural Science) and Technology for grade 9s, so 8 and grade...grade 8 and grade 9s. Assessments are sort of in place now so it doesn't cause that much emotional stress that it did before, because everything is in place. But...I think most of the socio-economic problems of the children and the language difficulties and the discipline of the children is causing more stress and emotions by the teachers now.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- system
- language
- learner characteristics

SG3-I Thank you, that's really useful to place. Ok, um...my first question is: what do you think is the value of assessment? Why do we do it? Why is it valuable? Do you think schools could do without it? What do you think the value is?

SG4-S What do you mean by assessment? The assessment we do with the kids? Ok...the assessments we do with the children.

SG5-I Yes.

SG6-K Well, I think we have to do it. We have to see where a child is in a certain subject, where his development is, whether he has mastered the subject. Um...that is why we do it. So that is the value of it...to see whether a child has mastered, whether he's ready to move on to the next level.

- dealing with failure
- purpose and value

SG7-I Ok, that's fine.

SG8-K And assessment nowadays is um...helping each individual with coping on his own level. So it's not just like answering and question and answers, it's sort of about the whole skills, the values, everything. So we sort of do it with the whole child not just certain aspects with the children.

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- purpose and value

SG9-Sus Yes, and I feel assessment these days is actually more diverse because you've got self-assessment, you've got peer group assessment and then you've got facilitator's assessment. And I think when they do the self-assessment it's kind of they see whether they are coping with the work, and when it's peer group, the peer group kind of, you know, look at them. Um...and then it's

- assessment tasks
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- judgement - making it
- policy
- purpose and value
- SV-access threatened

facilitator, we, we as teachers look at how they are coping in the class, but um...I still don't know whether that's sometimes successful, l ... whether they as peers, I don't think they can be very much objective. So they try to give their, you know, their friends a little bit higher marks laughs than usual. So...I don't know whether it's that objective. I think it's very subjective.

SG10-I I'm interested to explore more what you meant when you said, we now assess the whole child and it's more skill based and more varied than before. Can you elaborate on that?

comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
policy

SG11-K Well, we're teaching at a special school, it's an LSEN school that has children with learning difficulties. And if you just take the reading and the writing they're on different levels. So with the assessment you can sort of get to their level and still assess what they know...and not just what is given by writing and reading.

SG12-S And it's not only knowledge, in our...when we grew up, when we went to school it was knowledge. You studied the book off by heart and you just regurgitated it in the exam. It's more about skills as well now. To apply skills. To be able to analyse a table. To analyse a source...a history source for in case, it's not only knowledge questions, it's more skills based as well.

SG13-K Ok, with the new technology I don't think the children or the students they have to know everything by heart. Like, they can use technology. They don't need to have the whole thing in front of them, they can just take it from the internet or from wherever, read the article, they don't need to remember it because it is there for them to use.

SG14-Sus My name is Sustelle Smuts and I teach Afrikaans, second language Afrikaans, also at a remedial school. Yes, and then about assessments, um...I also feel now in Afrikaans it's much more diverse than it was previously. They are giving (given) the chance to really stand up and have a bit of a debate sometimes, to have...it's not just language -learning their trappe van vergelyking, or learning, you know, those kind of skills or writing an essay, which can be very boring for them. But I think it's diverse in that sense that they can have a little bit more interaction with um...and role play. Much more talking and speaking and it's much more alive as what it was before.

SG15-I Ok. Alright so now what I want to ask is...I mean, for all of you it's clear that assessment has a value. So my next question is: how does assessment make you feel? When you do it...you know, what are your feelings around assessment?

SG16-S I can't say that I actually have specific feelings. It's

about emotions

something that you have to do. Because we have quite a lot of freedom I um...I could adapt it to what I found interesting, what I like. So I can't actually say that I have specific emotions. It's something you have to do and you do it. So um...what I'd felt about when I was at school, I was negative because exams was the only assessment that we had. So whether you did well during the year and you're not a good exam writer or something happens - your dog died the morning - that was your mark. So what I feel with the assessment there's more opportunity to have a better mark of your overall performance, but um...there's no emotions involved for me.

- personal history
- purpose and value

SG17-K Um, I do think that sometimes when I mark my emotions is sort of part of it. Because then you sort of look...um...at your rubric and then think of what you've got in front of you and then...maybe you think more about what's going on around the assessment than just sort of the paper work that you normally did.

- about emotions
- marking
- purpose and value
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

SG18-Sus Yes, I think when you're doing assessment in the class or with an activity...um...that they're busy doing a mondeling, an oral or whatever, then it's alive and it's...you know, you interact with the child. But if they write these long papers in Afrikaans for instance - it's my first year now that I'm teaching Afrikaans again, I find it very boring um...sometimes and very hard, and um...I've just got hours and hours and hours at the moment that I'm marking for...and I mean, we don't even have that many children, so...I don't know what they do in other schools where they have so many...much more to mark, but I find it very...extremely hard. A lot of work and a lot of small little marks. Especially in languages. It's a little mark for that and it all adds up. So it's columns and columns and columns of little marks.

- marking
- purpose and value
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

SG19-I Ok. So, before I ask about your assessment practices, what you do now and how you feel about it, I want to ask about memories. Is there...because I think that often what we do now in assessment is also shaped by our memories. You were saying that just now S, about what you didn't like about assessment when you were a school child. So I'm asking now, is there any particular incident that you remember from when you were a school child that...that imprinted itself on you, that you carried emotions around, and that has in some way affected maybe how you assess now?

SG20-S Um...what I can remember is um...I had accountancy at school and I did very well in accountancy, I won the awards every year. Half way through matric our teacher left and we got an OLD lady that obviously hadn't taught the subject for years. I ended up getting a D in matric. Now I mean today it doesn't matter, but still it was one of my best subjects, nothing was ever brought through,

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

today I have a D for accountancy. And...that is a very...I mean, it's how many years ago? Laughs I still remember that, so...that's the only negative thing...

SG21-I Can you put a name to that feeling?

SG22-S Um...I would say it's disappointment. That all the work that I put in is not reflected in the end. I just have the D now. Laughs I mean, it doesn't matter 23 years down the line, I don't need it, but I was...I was good at it! And I got a D! So yes, that is what I remember. That nothing that I've done through all the years was ever reflected in my matric certificate. That's why I like the continuous assessment more, that if you make a mistake once, you have time to rectify it. Which we never did. It doesn't matter, I never used it. But still...the D is sitting there. Laughs

SG23-K Um, I think that the feedback is much better now with the assessment because you have sort of a rubric that is more positive. In the old days, (from what?) I know, you just got about 2 out of 10, or 3 out of 10 but no explanation, just these wrong marks the whole time, and that can reflect. Like me, I'm not good with spelling and it still reflects on me because I get very upset if I have to spell, because I always sort of remember getting about 3 out of 10 for my spelling. And there was no way that I sort of could correct it in any other way.

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - feedback
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

SG24-Sus Yes, I remember always when I was a child or a student or a learner, you got your essays back and whether it was Afrikaans or English or German or what it was, it was just full of red marks. And on the side you just have your sp for spelling and what they said what it was for. Now, when you mark an essay you actually mark for a few things. You look at content and you look at, you know...and maybe you will not in that case, mark spelling. So it's much more choice orientated, the marking, where you don't have all these mistakes and you just see red and you...it's also very disappointing, I think.

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

SG25-I Yeah, I mean I agree with all of you. I also think that the new emphasis on formative assessment rather than only summative assessment is a real improvement. Ok. And is there anything as a teacher, once you were a teacher that you remember, that actually made a shift and a change in your understanding of assessment? And that has influenced you? Any particular memory?

SG26-K Um...one day I was marking projects, and you know normally you look at the project and then you just sort of give them a mark out of a hundred or something....and then just after that I sort of marked with a rubric the same thing, and then I saw, hang, I have to look at this girl's thing and actually read what she

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- judgement - making it
- marking
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

was saying. And then it really changed my whole perspective of that project. Because it wasn't so nice looking as the others for the eye, but it really had content in that.

SG27-I Thank you. Ok. Um...alright. Now I'm going to ask some questions about general assessment practice. And I want to start with the policy. What's your feeling about the new assessment policy that's come with the National Curriculum Statements?

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- disappointment-sadness
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions

SG28-S Um...let me first tell you what happened, I was teaching Social Science for grade 8 and 9, and half way through the year I started teaching Visual Art for grade 10-12. Now the Social Science we had excellent training when they changed the curriculum, so I knew exactly what to do. But with the Visual Art I relied on the policies that was there from the department. And actually only reading the policies, you don't have a clue what to do. So that is what I found difficult. I actually had to drive to other schools, speak to visual art teachers, steal portfolios from children, from my daughter's friends, look through them, because what it said in the policy I didn't understand. So I think that was the only thing. But I like the system and I like the freedom that the teachers have and that the children have more than one opportunity.

SG29-K And I do think that the policies for up to grade 9 now is in place with all the things that they have sorted out. Grade 10, 11, and 12 is still...they're still battling with that, so that is where all the confusion and the emotions is also there. Because nothing is in place yet.

- assertion-anger
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions

SG30-S What is also a frustration is that the department with the grade 10s and the 12s still changed. Like for in case our visual art portfolio was A3, and about a month before the end of the year, they decided, no, it must be A2. So that kind of frustration to go and rip apart old portfolios just to stick it on A2 pages, doesn't make sense. Luckily everybody felt the same and the power of the school could actually convince the department that the change will only be from next year. But you know, they don't have...and we have only a few kids, I could still do it if I have to. But I don't know what mainstream schools do with 30,40 children taking art and you have to redo all the portfolios because someone decided he wants it a different size. So it didn't actually change the mark, they just wanted it physically in a different size, which is ridiculous for all the effort that we had to put in.

- assertion-anger
- department
- portfolios
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

SG31-I Ok. Um...learners. There's a lot of research that shows that teachers identify quite strongly with their learners. And they get very happy when the learners do well and they feel very disappointed or frustrated or guilty when the learners don't do so well. So I'm asking you, how do you feel towards your learners in an assessment situation? And maybe, how does that compare to a

teaching situation? How do the feelings change from teaching situations to assessment situations in response to your learners?

SG32-S I don't...yes, it is quite frustrating if you have taught something and you're very interested and you tried your best and you get...um...the results from the learners and it's absolutely atrocious, it doesn't even look like you were in the class. Um...I find it very frustrating because sometimes it really sounds like you did not teach them at all. So it can be very frustrating. I also find that you can't always be objective to...that's the problem with me...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...um...either or question, 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. But it is very frustrating if you mark things and there's just nothing. Laughs

- about emotions
- judgement - making it
- marking
- SEE - judgement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

SG33-K Yes, well, especially with the assessment these days, sometimes it's group assessment, peer assessment and all those things, and then while you're busy with the one group, because you don't have any assistants, then while you're busy with the other group, the others are playing. So that also...it frustrates you, so by the time maybe you get to the last group you just feel 'I had enough' and then maybe the marks is the same.

SG34-I What do you mean 'the marks is the same'?

SG35-K I mean the mark is the same as what I feel. I mean, by that time I'm really fed up and I just say, ok, no, I don't really sort of think ok this group exactly the same thing it's just the frustration is building up, and then maybe I'm not very objective, I don't know.

- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

SG36-Sus Yes, I think in Afrikaans especially it's some of their third languages, you know, and...many of them are not even interested in talking Afrikaans and learning Afrikaans, so I think it's motivational. I think it's hard to motivate them really to why they should be taking Afrikaans. But um...some of them I think, if you see how eager some of them are and how nice they try and how nice they learn then of course, you feel, you know, it encourages you as a teacher. And of course you want to...give them good marks if they put their hearts into it. But then again, you know, if they...if they don't, then yes, it's hard. It's hard to give your co-operation if they don't.

- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

SG37-K Luckily nowadays there is continuous assessment so maybe tomorrow you'll feel better...to mark. Laughs

SG38-Sus Yeah. Laughs

- about emotions
- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- marking

SG39-I So you're saying two things. One you're saying...what you were saying is that you reward effort. If the kids are making an effort you (Sus) want to give a higher mark. And the two of you were saying...your current...well you (K) were saying your emotional state in response to what you're marking makes a difference, and you (S) were saying your response to that particular kid makes a difference. Now it's...

SG40-S Yes, if it's not an extremely objective...you know, if it's an exam paper the answer is the answer. But I think with something like a poster or a project you will be more lenient towards a 'nicer child', in inverted commas.

SG41-I Now, do you think that allowing emotions into the process of assessment, given that we're talking about open ended assessments, ok, not correct answers or not, I mean, those are objective and there's no issue there. But the more open ended ones. Do you think it's a problem to bring emotions into the nature of that judgment?

SG42-K Um, I don't think it's a real problem because I think that is life. Life is full of emotion and even in your...the whole issue with education and stuff, emotion is there. So to make it part of the assessment, I don't think it's wrong.

SG43-Sus Yes, I think if you still can stay objective, um, as much as possible...um...even though you feel more negative towards one child than another, it's always good and healthy I think to look at a situation objectively as much as possible but I agree, your emotions will always be there and you can't take it all away.

SG44-I Ok. Um...alright, let's look at marking. I mean, you've talked a little bit about marking already but I want to talk a bit more. I mean, my experience of marking is that it's the shadow side of teaching. Laughs

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

SG45-K I thought it was only me.

SG46-I You thought it was only you? No. And it's interesting that you all went down to...with your heads to the table...um...in agreement. I mean, it's like when I'm teaching it's got potential, it's got growth, it's got excitement. Me and my students are learning and growing. And when I'm marking I'm faced with the inevitability of imperfection. So I want a bit more from you...talk about that, how it is for you and what you feel?

SG47-S I feel marking is like gym. It's the worst is to get started. Every time I postpone it postpone it, and once I get started I think, ach, it's not that bad. It's actually not that bad. It's initially to get

- marking
- SEE - marking
- self image

started. To be faced with this pack of papers and...yes, the marks only need to be in 4 weeks time, so we'll mark it and 3 and a half weeks time. But once you get started it's actually not that bad. The worst is getting started, getting yourself motivated.

SG48-I And why do you think that is?

SG49-S Ach, it's just effort, and it's so senseless, you know you're not...if you're teaching you're communicating with the kids and here you are sitting with all this work and it looks like you weren't even in the class and...um...I can't actually say why I hate it so much. As I said, while I'm doing it, it's actually not that bad...it's just laughs yeah...

- strongly expressed emotions

SG50-K And I must say by using the new assessment it's much more interesting for me because when I do assess I look at the whole project and then it's sort of not just the answers, sometimes it's the answers, sometimes it's what they felt, sometimes it's what they make, sometimes it's...it's really just not that boring as it was before. There is emotion.

SG51-I Just, what kind of emotion?

SG52-K Sometimes I sort of do feel happy because I can see something. I can see the project that they have done. I can see what I was teaching them they really did make the thing. They do understand. It maybe took a little bit more effort from me, and from them, for sort of go to the research part and then to look at the thing and then also getting excited about the things that they did learn.

- about emotions
- assessment tasks
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

SG53-Sus I think it's very demotivational...what's the word? Demotivational to teach Afrikaans as a second language and I think every time I mark I just feel I've taught my heart out and what do I get? Zilch. That's how I feel.

SG54-I So how does that make you feel?

SG55-Sus 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, you know what, I'm a failure as a teacher!

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

SG56-I Yes, what can I say?... laughs

SG57-I Maybe I can ask one more question about this: when you have these feelings of failure, or you have the feeling of a little bit of happiness, because it's interesting, and you have that feeling

of...now I've forgotten...

SG58-S I would also say a feeling of failure sometimes but...

SG59-S Yes, well I feel both because some...as you say, there's a variety of things. The papers, maybe the exams and the tests, very demotivating. Projects, posters, that kind of thing, so there's a variety of things. But I can't actually put one emotion to it. You feel like a failure sometimes but luckily I've been teaching at this school for a long time so I don't take it personally anymore. Because there are a few kids that I can actually show that I did do something.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

SG60-I Ok, that leads me into my next question: what do you do with these feelings? Ok, how do you get to the place of not taking it personally anymore? What do you do with your feeling of failure? How do you extend your feeling of happiness? So I'm asking, how do you manage and work with and do things with these feelings? Or do you ignore them?

- about emotions
- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- learner characteristics

SG61-S Yes, I think I've just...I've learned at Delta Park not to expect too much, so that when a child does succeed tremendously then you feel very happy about it. I think...I think we, I give up sometimes. That's how I deal with it. You just don't expect too much...so then you can't actually be disappointed. I see when we have new teachers they are still very enthusiastic, very accommodating towards kids and you think, well, now I've actually given up on some of the kids. But they learn quickly. You see them change laughs quickly. So yeah...I just don't expect anything.

- SV-access threatened

SG62-K Um, 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 that sort of...it's coming out. But I think it's the wrong way. So at this stage I don't really know how to deal with the emotions.

SG63-Sus Yeah, I can say both. I think sometimes you think you can deal with them because of...I've also been teaching long in a remedial school and you can accept, ok this...you have to expect less. Um...so it's ok, you can...it's alright. You feel the sense of failure, but you know it's not your failure, you know it's actually the child's failure and you can accept that. But sometimes you don't know what to do with your frustration. Whether to go to the gym, maybe there's not enough time laughs or whether to listen to some classical music. I put on classical music, and you go and have a drink with a friend or whatever, or two drinks, or more. laughs You know, that also helps. And I think we as a staff we talk a lot...and what I feel is wonderful that we share a lot in the staffroom sometimes about the child and I can ask K or S, do you find this child being like that? And I feel especially in the high

school, I...enjoy that kind of share...that you can share. In the lower classes you have this class only and only you dealt with that child. Now we share the same child and that really helps to share the burden.

SG64-I Good, thank you. Ok, report writing and, sort of, accountability demands. I mean, at the university, November time is marking time and there's like this general air of depression. (Yeah) And it changes a bit with graduation when it's all over. So I'm asking, how do you feel during report writing time? What are the things that stand out for you most emotionally?

SG65-S Well, I think they work with marks more, so we don't actually write reports. Yes, it can be very depressing. It's also been the other way around that you've had 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. But I can't say...um, it's very much a mechanical thing the reports. You just add up the marks, you've been through the thing and you type it in to the computer. So I can't really say that there's a lot of emotion. I'm responsible for the reports, so for me it's just crunch time getting the marks in. So there's not really time to think about the report.

- SV-access threatened
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- reporting demands

SG66-I And do you need to report to parents?

SG67-S Yes, we do, we have parents calling in...um...which is often a problem because children don't hand in their work, and then the parents would come and demand from you. But all of us keep good evidence, so um...if a parent comes I can show them exactly we did this and this and this, and the child did not hand it in or he did not do it. And then they usually accept it. And the record keeping is important but I think we all do it.

- parents
- reporting demands

SG68-K Although we're on the new system our sort of year mark report is the same as always. They get a mark for it and we give it in, so actually it's the marking of the papers that's still there that is a little bit depression, but not having the children or the learners around you makes that effort a little bit more easier to do. And the feedback is just the report that they get from the teachers.

SG69-I And the report just has marks or also comments?

SG70-K No, the report most of...just have marks and a little comment you passed or didn't. We're not even allowed to say they're not...didn't fail, they just...what is it?

SG71-S Did not meet the requirements.

- dealing with failure
- learner characteristics
- marking
- reporting demands
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

SG72-Sus I was working for quite a while in the lower classes and the intermediate phase as well and sometimes in the...you had to write essays and essays and essays about this child. I find in the high school it's much easier in that sense, you actually more just have a mark and then comments and luckily we can send it to people like S where they just put in the computer and it's much easier. So the paper...marking the paper is much more stressful but then giving in the mark and putting it on the computer is these days less stress and less effort.

- marking
- reporting demands

SG73-I And do you have any problems or any issues around if you want to fail a child? And the paper work associated with that? What's it, the 403 forms or something, the forms that you have to fill in for the department?

SG74-S 450As and 450Bs. I think that has been phased out quite a bit this year. We did not fill them in this year. Um, the frustration is sometimes that we have children that totally fails, that the department just puts 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 that are put through and put through and put through. And then at end of grade 10 they can't cope anymore. So that is a big problem. But the admin around the failures was much less this year. We didn't do all those 450s. As long as you have your evidence, your...well we have the computer system, so all feedback with parents, everything goes on the system, so it was easy for them just to print exactly when you spoke to the parents. So this year I found it less. I don't know if it's because I moved away from the younger grades, lower grades, but it wasn't that bad as it was before. Then for no effort the department just decides no, the child goes through. Because we have one like that now that has failed every single year in the high school and he's now going to grade 10! And he has never ever passed. So um...by himself now...so yes, that is a frustration. And then another child that will fail twice. So we don't always understand their reasoning.

- assertion-anger
- dealing with failure
- department
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

SG75-K It is more easier with the portfolios these days to prove that a child is worth failing or worth to pass. And because if there is discrepancy from the department you can just show them their portfolios because some of the children don't hand in anything. And if there's nothing, that is the mark that you give them. It's not sort of just one time thing, you can sort of show them with the continuous assessment that there isn't progress, so I think it is easier for them and the paper work is definitely less.

- assertion-anger
- dealing with failure
- department
- portfolios
- reporting demands
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

SG76-Sus A few years ago when we started this new assessment, I just remember there was quite a few incidents where we felt the child was not...it was not going to benefit the child to go to the next level or the next standard. And the department just

refused. Um, 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 in helping this child actually to cope the next year. Um, but it seems like that they understand more and more, it is important to let a child repeat the year if the child can't cope.

SG77-I Ok. Um...yeah, I do want to ask once more about just managing your emotions in general. Um...it's like we've got lots of ways of dealing with emotions. Sometimes we ignore them, sometimes we deny them, like you said at the beginning you don't have any emotions, and then it changed. laughs

SG78-S I don't speak about them.

- about emotions

SG79-I Exactly! So that's what I want to know.

SG80-S Yeah, where I feel the stress at the end of the year, I'm not someone that talks a lot. Especially not about my emotions. But I get sick, physically sick with my stomach. And I mean, I had to leave the other day when we had a meeting because I looked nine months pregnant. And now, like now today again, my stomach is sore, so it comes out that way with me. And this time of the year I'm back on Nexium and everything because my stomach is sore. Laughs So I think that, but you know, I also try not to...I have a daughter, luckily, that's super fit, so we do go to the gym often. We swim, we do that kind of thing, which is a big release. And I won't do that by myself. I'm not a born athlete but luckily I have this daughter that is, so she forces me, and it does actually make a difference. Because I've been to the gym a few times with my stomach swollen up like that, half an hour in the gym and it's gone. So it does actually work, it's just not...you don't feel like it, especially this time of year. You don't have the energy to go. But if she makes me...um...it helps.

- about emotions
- personal history

SG81-I Ok, so what is it about this time of year that makes life more stressful?

SG82-S I think everybody's emotions is high at the school. Everybody is irritated. We fight...I had such a huge fight about playground duty with our HOD...I mean swearing, screaming, something ridiculous. I think the emotions are just high. We are irritated with each other, with the children, with the principal. I think it's just everybody's emotions is high.

SG83-I Ok, now, why do you think that's happening?

SG84-S I don't know, I think you've finished off with the children, you've finished off with the year, it needs to end so that you can start again next year. Especially with me and changing

- about emotions
- colleagues
- dealing with failure
- learner characteristics
- personal history
- SEE - about emotions
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

subjects, it's taking over from someone was very difficult this year so I can't wait for next year where I can start the kids my way. Because I took over from someone else and um...it was not my way. So to change the children and to get them to get used to a new teacher was very difficult. Especially the grade 12s. I had to realise that I had to give up. I can't save them. But I think it's just this time of year, it's always this time of year.

SG85-I Now do you think assessment could have anything to do with it being this time of year?

SG86-S No, I think we can't wait for the exams, so that you don't actually have to teach children anymore. I think it's just the fact that as soon as we stop teaching and it's just the exam, then it's much better.

SG87-K I think that it's not the assessment that's caused these problems at the end of the year but definitely the behaviour of the children. Because we have lots of things to work with the children and lots of different ways, it's not sort of just sit and I'll put the work on the thing and they have to just do it. They have to actually take part. And that takes a lot of effort from your side, so I think at the end of the year you're really tired and you feel like you had enough of these children, and I think they also think that they had enough and then they slow down and you have to have this...um...specially with the CTA that they brought in...that they have to complete it in sort of from 8 o'clock till 2 o'clock, and they are busy, busy, busy the whole time, that they're not used to as well. That caused a lot of frustration and emotion with both the students and with the teachers.

- about emotions
- colleagues
- learner characteristics
- portfolios
- SEE - about emotions
- strongly expressed emotions

SG88-I Just talk a bit more about the CTAs.

SG89-K Ok, and the CTAs, we sort of do a lot of work through the day...uh... through the year, that they sort of give you a syllabus that you have to work through. And then all of a sudden at the end of the year they give you a CTA that they have set up. They're not in a class situation, they didn't really look through what was done, and then everybody sort of didn't do the same thing. And then all of a sudden you have to get the learners on the level that they have to be. And then they must produce. And sometimes you didn't do the thing and then you get upset about that. You first have to sort of...what you actually had to do during the year, you have to do it in a very short time now. And then explain it to the learners and...then let them do the task. Where if you did the whole thing during the year it wouldn't have that stress at the end of the year, because now we're writing a CTA b as well, that we don't even know what they're going to ask. Whether it's just about the CTA a we don't know, or whether it's about the whole year's work, that you also don't know.

- attribution- system
- aversion-fear
- department
- learner characteristics
- portfolios
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened
- teaching

SG90-S The thing is that there's more of a syllabus now but there's no standardised book for in case from the department, so we use Oxford. But if you look at some of the other books the emphasis on things are...so everything is covered, but the emphasis in different books are completely different. So at the end of the year you get a CTA and for in case, last year, what I did in globalisation and what they asked was not at all the same, so I actually like had to redo everything. So there's no...like when we went to school there was one book and it was used by all the schools. Um, it's...I don't know how you do it with matrics that you just...I don't know, you can do anything and just hope they get it in matric. You know, there's not enough structure with regards to that. Exactly what they have to know, because the learning outcomes are very wide. No, it's very vague.

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- policy
- portfolios
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

SG91-Sus I think you were asking more about the emotions earlier on, hey?

SG92-I Why was it this time of year that was so stressful?

SG93-Sus I think it was S that said she sometimes doesn't feel emotions or...you know...I on the contrary, she's a more I think, phlegmatic person. I'm much more volatile, you know, so... laughs Yeah, so you know, um...and I wish sometimes I was just much more phlegmatic but um...that's not me, so I give more expression to my emotions. I get sometimes I...it's hard for me not to show my...you know, my frustration. So um...and in my body as well, I mean, I've been in a few car accidents with my back and so I think that where you (S) said it goes to your stomach, it goes to my back. And at this time of the year I just have to go to the physiotherapist and I'm in a lot of pain. Probably because of the stress as well, and...then I have to start doing exercises. So that also, I have to be forced at this stage of my life to do exercises. The minute I do them then it's fine and then I can cope better with the stress as well. So yeah, that's mine...

- about emotions
- personal history
- SEE - about emotions
- strongly expressed emotions

SG94-I So, just talk a bit more. What are the stress factors? What is it that sets off the pain in your back?

SG95-Sus Um, I think the end of the year...um...with the children and to deal with the children as such, that it is just hard to deal with them. They are just...I think they're tired. Everyone's tired, it's like each one of us said, we're irritated and they are irritated and...I know one year then still they were asking us to do a whole lot of...it was all the colour papers, it was a pink paper and a white paper and a blue paper and I don't know, an orange paper...and we still had to do at the end of the year, they said we had to do admin! You know, and do the files!

- assertion-anger
- learner characteristics
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

SG96-S And that it is admin that is actually unimportant.

SG97-Sus Yeah

SG98-S We had to do admin in files that no-one... The admin that they want us to do at the end of the year is I find useless because 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 next year they come, now they've got a green form that they want you to fill in and another colour, purple... laughter

SG99-I A purple one too!

SG100-S That's what they really do. And I mean in all the years that I've taught in the high school I've never actually gone to that child's file to open it.

SG101-K It's ridiculous.

SG102-S Yeah, it is ridiculous and I've actually also threw a few tantrums with regards to those files. And so we're waiting. I don't know what colour form they're going to think of this year. But every year. And it's this time that they come. And even with in-service training. All of a sudden we have 2/3 afternoons a week that we have to stay until five because we have an in-service training for this and an in-service training on leave, and we had the whole year when we did nothing. And now when everybody's tired and there's papers to set and papers to mark, now we have to sit every afternoon for in-service training, so 7...the habits of highly effective teachers laughter we don't need it now. We're not benefiting now. We'll benefit more in January if they do it. Because no-one wants to be there. We're all aggressive, we fight. But I think, I don't know if it's a general thing, or if it's just our school. That's actually our principal sitting over there, so we must ask her why she does all these things laughter this time of the year.

- assertion-anger
- department
- principal
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

SG103-K No, it's not just our school, it is a general thing because I don't know whether they think they must keep us busy at the end of the year, but we are so busy already, that they think they can sort of build a team for next year. But you can't. You first have to start next year before you can build a team for next year. This is the end of the year and you feel like you want to sort of END the year. Not start a year. So, maybe all those things must be done in the beginning of the year.

- working conditions

SG104-Sus Um, yeah, did you ask what actually built up to the frustration, or the emotion? I just feel um...I...you give your life...I've given my life now, up to now, since 1985, I was teaching. And you come to the end of it and you see, you know,

- image of profession
- principal
- SEE - image of profession
- self image

you almost feel so disappointed and say, but for what? Because you don't get recognition. You don't get a little bit of extra um...I think you've put in so much and someone can say to you, ok, I feel you've put in this so much, so I'll be lenient towards you, you know. I'm talking about the principal as well. I think she can be much more lenient towards us, whether it's leave or whether it's sometimes be um...just say, ok, I give you early to take off Friday, you've worked so hard and I'm not going to expect of you to do this admin the end of the year. I'm not going to expect of you to have all these hours of in-service training the end of the year. It builds up to a frustration where you can actually...don't know what to do with your frustration.

- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened
- working conditions

SG105-S And we had a problem with a lot of teachers that do get away with murder, so you feel frustrated because whether you do your work or whether you do not do your work, you are all treated the same. There's no leniency. And we have teachers there that actually gets away with murder! And we're all treated the same. There's not even, you know, as you said, you can leave at 12 on Friday. That is...and when you come back in January you feel fresh again then you can cope with it better, I think. Laughs

- colleagues
- principal
- SEE - image of profession
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions
- S

SG106-I And my last question is: do you think...I mean, I didn't realise that you were all working in a special school. Do you think that your um, attitudes and feelings around assessment are shaped in any way by being in a special school, that it might be different to a normal school or do you think it's pretty much the same?

SG107-S I think...I never taught in a mainstream school like K have done. I can only compare with my child that is in a normal school. And I think it has shaped...I do a lot of spoon feeding, because the kids...firstly they don't have access to...it's difficult for them to do research some of them. They don't have the access to the internet, they don't have access to libraries, the school doesn't have access to the internet for them. So I found, especially when I was teaching Social Sciences that I did the research and gave it to them and say now you make a project. If I compare it to my child in a mainstream school that just gets their stuff, it must just be done, I think it has changed my perception of assessment. We do a lot more than the mainstream school teachers, because we just...our children are very despondent. We get very little back. And to give a research project, you're lucky if you get 3 or 4 back out of a group of 50. So it has shaped in the fact that I do a lot of the research and they just reproduce it.

- attribution- learners
- enabling learner achievement
- SV-access to internal goods

SG108-S Because our children are very negative towards school. A lot of failures in their lives, so they just don't see the point. A lot of emotional problems as well, so a lot of the children the last thing on earth that they're concerned about is school. Because they don't even have a place to sleep because the parents have kicked

- attribution- learners
- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- learner characteristics

them out, or parents are drug addicts. So I think...not that I don't think a mainstream school like my daughter's school has it, but just much less as we've got. All our children have got a life story. So it makes a difference. I think we're much more lenient as well with regards to the assessments.

SG109-I That's it. Alright, so then, is there anything else that you would like to say about assessment and your feelings, or what makes you happy, what makes you frustrated, what makes you sad? Anything else that wants to be said?

SG110-Sus What S just said about the type of children that we work with, I think emotionally we give a lot. And I think that's also part of the draining. I think after a day's teaching you feel totally...when I...well speaking for myself I feel totally out of it. I am just so tired and I think all of us. And it's because we give so much of ourselves to these children. Um...yes, that's all I wanted to say.

- about emotions
- SEE - about emotions
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

SG111-I Anything that you want to ask me?

SG112-K Yes, how do you think the emotional...with sort of what level or hook do you going to put this in? To your PhD? Where do you look at...? Where are you going with this?

SG113-I Some days I think I know, and other days I'm not so sure. Laughs Um...the one place where I want to take it is to show that assessment is an emotional thing. And that it's important...I think it's really valuable to make use of the emotions. And to not say, oh, I don't have them. But to say, actually when I'm marking, I feel very emotional. So...to do a development process of how can I deal with it? You know, how can I use my emotions to gain insight? So if I feel like a complete failure, but there's a part of me that knows I'm not because I taught my heart out, ok, how do I deal with it? Do I deal with it by going to the gym? Or do I deal with it by completely changing my teaching? How do I listen to that feeling of failure in order to make changes? In my teaching and in my life.

- my research purposes

SG114-S I think another way that also works with us when we start marking is sharing some of the answers. Because sometimes it is actually hilarious. And I think that's what we enjoy marking together, is the humour, because you sometimes have to laugh at the answers that you get. So I think humour in the end helps us as well. It's just that we haven't started marking yet so that's where the frustration...but yeah, the humour during that time, especially with our children, helps.

- colleagues
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

SG115-I And the collaboration.

- colleagues

SG116-S Yes.

SG117-I I mean, you said, when we mark together. Ok, I think that collaboration between teachers alleviates...and makes all of it much more fun and enjoyable and learning...

SG118-S Yes, from each other as well.

SG119-I So that's the one area. That's like emotional labour for teachers. It's like, how do you deal with it? And there is an article if you're interested that talks about a functional use of emotions versus dysfunctional use of emotions. Would you be interested?

my research purposes

SG120-K Yes.

SG121-Sus I would also.

SG122-S Yeah, I know I'm dysfunctional because I don't talk about it. I deny it ?

about emotions

SG123-I Just say that again.

SG124-S I know I'm dysfunctional with dealing with emotions because I don't talk.

SG125-I Yes, that's right. So then...so that will be a focus for me in my teacher education is to work with teachers so that they start dealing with their emotions. Another thing around assessment is I want to be able to say to policy look at what factors in the policy and in the implementation really frustrate teachers. And if you want to carry on losing teachers then carry on with these policies. If you want to make life better for teachers then .... don't ask them to fill in so many forms. You know, it was very interesting that you said, this year it's much better because we don't have to fill in so many forms. Ok. So...these are the points at which teachers really freak out, so how about thinking of changing those. I want to be able to make those kinds of statements. So in other words to make a claim that when you are making policy, or when you are making administrative decisions, that the emotions that are coming back from teachers should be heard...and lead into you making changes. So that's the other place where I want to take it.

my research purposes

SG126-S Are you doing a PhD in teaching...in education?

SG127-I Yes. And my students are teachers.

SG128-S Where at? Which university?

SG129-I At Wits. And then I think another place I want to take it is the debate between formative and summative assessment, and

my research purposes

particularly systemic assessments. I mean, you haven't talked about that, maybe I should ask. Do you at your school have to write standardised assessments? Like you were talking about the CTA now. And then suddenly you have to do a lot of teaching. Ok. Is it a problem for you, if you have to do standardised assessments, is it a problem for you that your kids have to write the same assessment task compared to all the other kids in other schools? And how does that make you feel? Actually let me ask that question, because that's another area of my interest.

SG130-K With regards to it as being a special school? I think that is a big problem because you can sort of lower down the work and then sort of assess them on that, but at the end of the year we still have to sort of produce like the mainstreams. And even though our kids also write the normal matric exam, so if we sort of at the grade 8 & 9, sort of lower down the subjects for them, they won't cope in grade 10, 11, and 12. So that is a big problem. And also they don't really understand the way the questions are asked. So you get a lot of...firstly they can't read it, and then they don't understand it. So that is a frustration. And sometimes, it's fine with the first class, but when it comes to the third or the fourth class that you have the same day it is a big frustration for the teacher because they come and over and over with the same questions, you just sort of explain to one kid about this thing and then another one comes, and then you have to do it all over and over again. So by the fourth class it's not...a joke anymore.

- dealing with failure
- learner characteristics
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened
- teaching

SG131-S Yes, I also feel that especially teaching grade 10, 11, and 12 now, previously we had standard grade and higher grade papers. Our kids can't do higher grade. Now the papers are actually higher grade. Now there's a small percentage that is now for the lower grades, so now a child that would previously had 60% on a standard grade paper, would now get 30%, which is still a pass, but I mean, emotionally for them to get 30%..... And the papers are much more abstract. I find, especially teaching art, it's very abstract and our kids can't do that. So there's definitely not a benefit in them not having higher grade and standard grade any more. I don't understand the motivation for that. I don't.

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- learner characteristics
- policy
- working conditions

SG132-K I think maybe they must sort of set the papers more visually or more auditory. So it's not just reading and writing because I think right...the whole spectrum of kids these days don't really read and don't write a lot anymore, because they use the computer where they have spelling checks and all those things. And they also don't sort of learn with the telephones or the sms to really write properly as well.

- enabling learner achievement
- learner characteristics

SG133-S That I found with my own daughter that is in a mainstream school that is above average student, she would write essays in sms language. And I would say to her, but there isn't a

- learner characteristics

word like sys, it is sy is, but that's the way they write. So yes, she spells atrociously but I mean, she does well, but she writes like she smses.

SG134-I I don't know how one...I mean, I don't know what it will do to the spelling of our...internationally, if everybody starts spelling like 'sms'. I don't know what. Laughs. It will be a new world. Laughs

SG135-K Maybe they can sort of record the whole thing on the telephones and then they can just listen and then answer.

SG136-S Previously we had tape aid as well. Where the paper was read on the tape and the children could listen to it, especially those that could write. But now we're not allowed to have the matric papers beforehand, so that fell away. So the only thing we have is amanuensis, where we read to a child and then you write his answers. But that, we can't give it to everybody so the fact that there's no tape aid anymore, so those what you said, maybe they could make tapes for the children that can't read so well? Because previously we always had it, but they've taken it away completely in matric.

SG137-K How does this help you with your study, with no emotions?

SG138-I But I mean, alright, if you say it has nothing to do with the emotions, then my question is: well how does it make you feel to have had a support and now the support has been taken away?

SG139-S You see the thing is, our children, like you would ask them a question: is this picture red or blue? And they would say, yes. So they don't understand what they are reading. They are just more auditory, so it must be...it's very frustrating, you know that the child actually knows the answer but he can't read it or he can't put it on paper. That I think is part of our frustration.

SG140-K And emotionally it will make me / them? (1:04:43) very happy to sort of know if they could have just answered the question that was really asked, because they do understand it.

- assertion-anger
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- department
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

SG141-I Ok, so this is my last question: how do you feel when all your kids get 30% in higher grade? What does it do to your morale as a teacher that your kids are compared in the exam with other school kids, other schools' kids, and you end up with a bunch of 30%s?

SG142-K This is definitely this year a big problem for our school because there's a lot of matrics so they can't all have the writing and the reading, so they have to sort of rely on themselves,

- about emotions
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- dealing with failure
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

and it's definitely going to make a difference on their marks and their performances at the end of the year. They've been used to helping and helping aids and now all of a sudden they don't have it. And it makes them sort of like...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. But now if you work so hard and put such a lot of effort in and there's no results, or no positive results, it's very demotivating.

SG143-S I was also embarrassed this year, taking over from someone else. We have very talented kids but there was no structure in the visual art. So now I've got to go to a cluster meeting with schools like Linden and Parktown and National School of Arts, the teachers pitch with these R500 canvases of paintings and I've got a few papers under my arm, because our children doesn't have the financial back-up to go and pay R500 for a canvas to do a painting. They've got to do it on a piece of paper that I've given them. So I must say I was quite embarrassed this year. I was like hiding away just talking to the teachers that I know, let the National School of Arts just not see, because they compare us with the mainstream kids and our children can't...I mean, we have talented kids and they can do excellent work, but I mean comparing to a child from National School of Arts...I was very embarrassed, I actually didn't even go to the last cluster meeting because I feel like an idiot. I do, and it's not my fault and it's not the kids' fault but...and that's why we as an LSEN...LSEN school is a Learner with Special Educational Needs...we came together with the department and they're going to mark us separate. So that was better. Because sending in your portfolio, us not even being able to be there, there's someone that doesn't know anything about our school, is going to go through those portfolios and judge me and the children. It's actually very scary because they don't understand. Not where they come from.

- attribution-problem
- cluster meetings
- dealing with failure
- judgement - being judged
- portfolios
- SEE - judgement
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

SG144-I Thank you. Anything you want to add? Is that it? Thank you very much.
Break. Written comments of some things said during break

SG145 - Sus There are 5-18 children in one of our classes. That makes a huge difference, compared to 57 in a class when I was in a mainstream school. Then you feel like you are never done. I had a friend, she used to pay university students to do the marking.

- working conditions

SG146-K I don't know how they do it.

SG147-S We don't have sports in the afternoon, we can go home in the afternoon.

SG148-K I will never go back to mainstream school, that's for sure.

SG149-S We don't have these high expectations of learners, so there are not such high expectations on us as teachers.

SG150-I What you guys say ..... Please put that on tape, it's useful.

SG151-Sus It was wonderful, thank you Carola, that we could actually come together and speak, and it was very enlightening to hear my colleagues also speak and um...that we actually go through the same things and yeah...thank you.

- about emotions
- colleagues
- self image

SG152-I Just say what you (K) said about it's scary and emotional and say why.

SG153-K This is also very scary and emotional because I'm not used to speaking on a tape and now all of a sudden I have to speak in front of 3 other people that is judging me now right at the moment. Laughs

SG154-S No, we don't judge each other. I just find these social gatherings, like we had on Friday afternoon is actually very good for one. And I don't think we do it enough. We should do it more, just go and have a coffee somewhere, because Friday as well we did that and it was actually so nice, because you get so involved in the school and in your family that we never actually do that, and I think teachers need to support each other more and not fight amongst, like we do, sometimes. Laughs But yeah, you need to do that.

SG155-I Why do you (K) think we judged you? And if you did, you were very brave, because you said lots of things.

- about emotions
- principal

SG156-S Just going to tell the principal everything she said. laughter

SG157-I So you're threatening to go and tell the principal. laughs

SG158-K That's why I didn't want to do it.

SG159-I Ok, so then this is a deal. This was a confidential conversation. When I write about it, I won't use your names and you don't go and tell other teachers. Because that does have to...otherwise the sense of trust just goes. And I mean, you've (S) made a big shift in this hour. You started off saying, I don't have emotions and you ended off saying, I hate this, it's scary, I'm embarrassed. You started using all sorts of emotion words, and giving expression to your feelings.

SG160-S I know, I don't do that. If I lose it, then I lose it. I swear and I throw things, like they saw me and everybody's like, can you do that? Yes, I can get so angry. Laughter And it was something really ridiculous like playground duty. It wasn't even something big. So yeah... laughter

- about emotions
- SEE - about emotions
- strongly expressed emotions

SG161-I So, you've also been really brave this hour.

SG162-S Yes, I suppose I have, but I've known them for a long time. I haven't known K as long as I've known Sus, but I mean, I trust K. I consider her one of my best friends at school. And Sus I've known for ever. Laughter We fought and we became friends again, and we fought and we became friends again...

- colleagues

SG163-Sus Did we fight?

SG164-S Yes, a few times.

SG165-Sus I can't remember. laughter

SG166-K Get rid of all of this emotion, you see, that's the whole thing.

- about emotions
- SEE - about emotions
- strongly expressed emotions

SG167-I Why do you think you should get rid of the emotion? laughter

SG168-S You take the emotions home. Because my daughter would always say, aagh you're in a bad mood again. I mean, you do. You get frustrated and irritated at school. You can't go to the principal and shout at her, so you go home and you shout at your kids...my husband passed away, but your husband or whoever. You do. And I go and sit in my room and I close the door and I don't speak to anyone, so you do take it home and I think you shouldn't.

SG169-Sus I think I'd like to say one thing in conclusion from your...what? In closing, hey? Is that I think I've been all over in this school. I started, you know, being in grade 3, grade 4, and then higher up again, and then also now grade 8 and grade 9, and worked with different deputies and everything and I can just say one thing that I find having a deputy that we have at the moment is just absolutely wonderful. It made the difference in my life that this lady is the deputy of the high school at the moment. And she's just been so helpful and accommodating and makes a very great difference and...if you compare with another person that's your deputy and it just wants to give you hell all the time laughs

- about emotions
- principal
- SEE - image of profession
- strongly expressed emotions

SG170-K Can I just add there. She's definitely showing us a lot of emotion and I think that makes a difference because when she

sort of show us her emotions we know that we can also do that, and then we get rid of the emotions.

SG171-I Key point. Yes, Ok. Perfect place to stop. Break

SG172-Sus I'm leaving teaching at the end of this year, and I've been asked whether I would teach again where I go, which is in New Zealand, but um...I just feel, I never want to teach again in my whole life. I feel like I've never been appreciated - we as a profession. Never mind the financial rewards, that's besides the point. But I think appreciated as a teacher and rewarded. Maybe not financially but rewarded in other ways. We haven't been rewarded enough.

- image of profession
- SEE - image of profession
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

K Group Interviewed by Carola 20th March 2009

my research purposes

KG 1-I I'm doing research into teachers' emotions in relation to assessment. I started this research because I was very interested in teachers' emotions, because I was watching my own ups and downs in my emotions when I was teaching. And I was starting to learn how I could use those emotions. But particularly assessment I found to be quite an emotional issue, not just for me but for other teachers. But in the literature people are not writing about it. They're writing about assessment like it's objective and, you know, everybody knows what you mean and this is how assessment works. So I wanted to explore how teachers feel about emotions...uh, how they feel about assessment. Assessment is like so much part of the school system that we seldom stop to actually think about it. We just accept it and we do it. And so, I think it can be useful every now and then just to stop and look at what is the value of assessment and why do we do it? So that's why I'm asking you: why do you think assessment is important? What do you think the value is for you as a teacher? What do you think the value is for learners?

purpose and value

KG 2-NZ As an educator I think assessment is important, we are able to determine whether that you have been delivering in the class, they have achieved it or they didn't. Whether the learners were competent or not. And you, at the same time you develop their skills. I put it that way. Their knowledge, skills and their values.

KG 3-I Ya, I mean, that's a very important...that's like the most important part of assessment, the purpose of assessment, I think.

attribution- learners
striking
attribution- self
dealing with failure
learner characteristics
purpose and value

KG 4-TH My answer is: the assessment is the crown after everything has been done. But the steps that leads to the end effect, it's very much difficult. Number 1: we work with learners who doesn't understand exactly what is assessment. Number 2: most of them, especially these days, they are very lazy. So at the end it works hard on me as a teacher, because I'm supposed to fight with them for you to get what you want, which is not easy. But at the end it's very much important and it's very nice the value that you get from them, the skill. So to me it's like the crown on top of the cake.

KG5-I That's a nice image.

dealing with failure
judgement - making it
purpose and value
SEE - purpose and value

KG 6-K For me I believe it's very important, because I think we always look for the way forward. When we assess it's like we stop for a moment and try to look back, whether we have achieved what we were working towards or not. Which means it's speaking both to the teacher as well as the learner. To the teacher is: have

you delivered, or have you reached your goal as you planned for it. Stop for a moment and think about that, looking at what the kids have given to you. So it's some form of looking back or a reflection of the actions that we've been involved in, whether we really achieved the set goals. So it's like, an assessment is an indicator like the robots work: red to say whatever that you were trying to do you did not achieve it. Or amber to say: now not bad, you are there, you did try but not enough. And then green to say: ok, you can move forward because you achieved quite well whatever that you have done. Even though it has different sections and different levels that you wanted to include in assessing the complete understanding of somebody's...I think...ya, somebody's entire...a certain direction with somebody, that's what I wish to say so far. And at the same time it can be an affirmation to affirm that what you have done it's alright, or sometimes it can work negatively as I've used, I think, the symbolism of the robots. That's how far I can look at it. On the delivery is there something that was learned or nothing? Something like that. Or is your teaching...was something wrong with your teaching as well as a teacher? So it wants you to reflect a little bit and look back. Not just to go on and on and on without stopping a little bit. Is it worthwhile whatever I'm doing, or not? That's how far I can go with the value of assessment. Ya.

striking metaphor

KG 7-I I like that idea of it tells you whether you can go forward or not. Ok, so sometimes our feelings aren't exactly the same as what we think. So I want to ask sort of the same kind of questions again, but like, how do you feel about assessment? You've talked about what you think is the value, so now my question is, well, how do you feel? Are there parts of assessment that make you unhappy? Are there parts of assessment that make you happy?

KG 8-K I've come with this...when I was looking at this question something came up, I came with a simile. Assessment to me is like a deep ocean. I fear drowning because storms start anytime in the ocean, so that's how I look at it. (laughs) Which means, especially when I look at assessment with regard to accountability. When there's pressure, especially from the Department of Education saying: we want this and now. So that really looks like a storm to me, it really rattles with my feelings. And in most cases you find that the understanding that the department has and the understanding that we in the schools have, there seems to be a huge gap. Our readiness as to what exactly they want sometimes differ, because we never sit down and talk in full about: what is the crux of what you're looking for, you as department officials? So that really gets into my emotions, you know, this is how I view it, you know, like a deep ocean, you know, I fear drowning immediately whenever I have to account. Because there are certain areas whereby you feel you're not strong enough to jump up and say: aha, this is great, I can do it, and that's it. That's how far I can

aversion-fear
department
SEE - department
self image
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened
s

striking metaphor

striking metaphor

go with this.

KG 9-TH I'm going to say, to me assessment is very much tiring. As Mr Ntuli has said, you find that you're swimming in a very deep ocean. Sometimes you're not even sure where to go. Especially when it comes to this side of the department. You find that you are struggling whereby the department doesn't care, that time you need help, nobody comes. When they come, nobody can give you a clear direction, that you say, you have these problems so you can try this way and this way. Everything is just left upon you as a teacher. There are learners, you find that maybe they had a problem last year, and then you felt that that learner cannot go on, supposed to say on the same grade, even this year. Still again, the very same child, you find that he or she cannot see anything. So you are still stuck on the same level with the same learner and nobody comes to help you. So what is expected of you as a teacher? A learner is not supposed to repeat a phase twice. So at the end of the year, you are going to take those learners to the high school. But when we look at all the LOs, all the assessment standards have never been achieved by the learner. So I'm not sure whether is that very same learner going to learn that at high school, meanwhile at primary the learner couldn't achieve those LOs. So it gives me a problem. Even our parents, they're not sure how to assist you as a teacher. There is that gap between you, the parent, the department, you are not sure who to talk to, but it frustrates a lot.

- assertion-anger
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG10-NZ To my opinion, when it comes to assessment, there must be two educators. The one who's doing the admin and then the one who's observing you while you are teaching.

KG11-I That's a very good idea. (laughter)

KG12-NZ Yes, the one is doing the admin and then the other one who is observing you on everything that you'll be doing in the classroom. Or even identifying those learners who are not gifted. Because you have to give them extra work, come up with the way a learner who will be able to find simpler ways of presenting a lesson to them. And then again, looking at those who are gifted, you must create some extra expanded opportunities for those so that as I said, maybe you had to have someone who's doing admin for you at the same time while you be teaching. Keeping records again, when it comes to that, because they say you must always do continuous assessment. Everything that you do, whether it is formal recording, but you must record it. You have to do recording, so it's a lot of work. Looking at the number of learners, you wish that you can do remedial work but sometimes you never have that opportunity. Our hands are full.

- reporting demands
- SV-access threatened
- teaching
- working conditions

KG13-I How do you record?

- assessment tasks

learner characteristics
reporting demands

KG14-NZ You choose the activities, the form of assessment that you are going to follow. Then out of that form of assessment you check the activities, the one that you wish to cover for that particular period. And then you decide, oh I'm gonna record this one. Then out of that sometimes you have already chosen that, I'm going to do this form of assessment, then you'll do creative writing. The following day when you collect your work only half of the class, some of them did write, some they didn't. Then you had to go back to those learners again. And at the same time you are falling behind. There's a due date for to submit the mark sheets, to do the reports.

feedback
marking
SEE - learner achievement
self image
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access to internal goods
teaching

KG15-K Ya, I think there's another part of your questions, that speaks about the aspect of assessment that makes one happy. I don't think we need to look at the gloomy part of that (laughs). We should also think about the other parts that really make us happy...or sometimes uncomfortable. The ones that make me happy when it comes to assessment it's: when I do the question, that aspect, the interaction with the learners, asking them questions and the responses I get, there are times whereby I would say to them, I don't need anyone to raise hands. Yes, I learned that sometimes like when I was doing my ACE, no-one to raise hands, we listen to the question and then I give you some time, and to think about it or even to speak to someone and then respond. In most cases what I've realised is that after giving them a chance of about 30 seconds or so, and then you allow them to think aloud, to speak to one another like that, the hands that will be raised afterwards, you know, the number increases, other than the ones that understand quickly and then raise their hands and so on. That's what I enjoy. This is something that I've been learning and slowly getting into it, practising it from time to time, it's really, let's say, doing wonders. But as well as 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 a low quality work from a learner, after having spent so much time speaking to them or having activities like that 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. Sometimes we bore them, we don't know. (laughter)

attribution- learners
attribution- self
enabling learner achievement
learner characteristics
SEE - judgement

KG16-TH I wanted to say it's easier to do assessment with the learners who know that what must be done. So our learners are divided into two: there are those who always will be trying, there are those who are willing all the time, there are those who don't do anything. They don't want to be bored, they don't want to be bored

by any work to do in the classroom. That's where the problem comes in. Because you find that those willing ones they will do whatever which is expected to be done in the classroom as per the instruction of the teacher and then hand that to you. And even when you mark the work of those learners it's very easy. There are those who won't do anything until you give them time, sort of a punishment, sort of, you sit down here until you finish that. Again in that category, there are those who will try to finish even if it's not that good quality. There are those who won't do anything. So now these remain a burden, because you find that you cannot go on with a lot of the class who have completed to do their work. Here it is, being a teacher we are stuck now, you must nurse the two groups. The minute you serve the others you give them more work, which at the end of the day it's going to be useless because you won't assess that work. Trying to give these, the slow ones, a chance for them to complete the work that they are given. But at the end of the day you find that the fruits are not there. That's a problem.

SEE - learner achievement
strongly expressed emotions
striking metaphor
striking metaphor

KG17-K It's frustrating.

KG18-TH I become happy to work with those who'll always try to do their best but it's also a burden. So to me assessment it's two ways, tiring, sometimes it makes me happy. I end up not knowing the mood exactly, where I'm supposed to be.

KG19-I It's really difficult to teach when you have such big differences in a group. And there's big debates about should you teach for the slow ones or should you teach for the faster ones, or how do you find the middle? Because if you teach for the slow ones, then you're depriving the ones that work hard...well, that work hard, that do their homework. You're depriving them of being able to move forward. So it's an intrinsic difficulty in teaching.

KG20-TH And the more you try to give those, to occupy those who are willing all the time, you find that you are in a big mess now. You have given them more work, which at the end of the day you're not going to assess.

enabling learner achievement

KG21-I Well, maybe you start making different assessments.

KG22-TH Don't you think that's where the problem used to come (laughter). You break the class into two groups, the gifted ones, meanwhile at the same time you're neglecting these ones, the balance of work is not really the same.

KG23-K What is the reality? But the reality is we have multi learners in our classrooms. So it means as a...we need to keep on maybe sharing such information, I think as it is coming out, we are

enabling learner achievement

gaining new ideas. We may have to share and see how we begin to string that one up. Otherwise you end up delaying those, and not really assessing them according to their abilities as well, you know. And you find that they get 100% and the test, or whatever the assessment task that you have given them, was not really challenging, because you are thinking so much about those who are not really, you know, making it up. So...

KG24-NZ I think it will be better if we put them according to their levels of attainment. Like we used to in our junior days - there are 7As for those who are brilliant, and 7Bs, and then you go to C, you had to work very hard.

KG25-K A big fight with the department, that's what you ....

KG26-NZ At least you know when I prepared a lesson for 7C I must go an extra mile. When I prepare for the As, yes, I still go an extra mile, I give them more challenging work, but then I go to the Cs, yes...

KG27-K The criticism becomes, we are labelling those kids. To say the Cs...interruption That's the criticism you get from the department and they really go grey with anger, you know, they say, this is absolutely unacceptable! Where the hell did you get this idea! It doesn't exist anymore, we don't want this!

KG28-TH And the problem is, there's supposed to be remedial teachers. And you find that in our schools, there's no-one. As a teacher you've got to cope with three groups in your classrooms. Again, not separating them. So they end up being under that umbrella, you know. Which still gives a problem. And like if we had somebody, that remedial teacher was going to take the learners in the afternoon, and we don't have.

KG29-K This is a deep ocean, for we are drowning in problems. (laughter)

KG30-I Ok...now, let's move on to your memories of being assessed. I mean, because often experiences that we had in the past that were strongly emotional for us, we carry those into the present, and when similar situations come we feel those feelings again. And we also learn from those emotions. We do things now or we don't do things now because of our experiences when we were younger. So I'm asking, was there...let's start with your memories of being assessed as a learner. What are your memories of receiving or being assessed when you were a learner?

KG31-NZ So in our days?

KG32-I Mmm.

- attribution- system
- aversion-fear
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened
- striking metaphor

KG33-K To me, let's say, before being assessed I would think: I want to get 100%. It was like a competition to me. We had that kind of spirit to say: I can do best in this class or in this grade. And then...ya, if ever you did not achieve whatever you aimed at, you'd really get worried. But it was really some kind of joy to me to go to that kind of a competition. It was really worth it. Then I would really get the honours, or sometimes I remember I would be given sweets for having maybe got maybe a total in your spelling or something or in your maths or something like that. So there would be little incentives that we'll also be looking forward to get, that was motivating us. And ya, (laughs) it's one of those...but there are times whereby it was, I remember, when I was doing standard 3, that was 1979, I was doing grade 5 in today's language, we were assessed in reading, and then we were all inside the classroom, then our teacher was standing in front there, then we would do reading one by one like that, she would call you at any time. It was a random just calling of names. So I was playing with my friends and then I did not pay attention at all, we were busy playing, we had our toy there, we were enjoying it, and then suddenly she called out my name. Aagh, I was shocked, I stood up, I was shaking and I took the bible to read, I didn't really know where to read (laughter) and then somebody whispered to me to say, read that part, then I read, and I read wrongly, there's a word that I read wrongly, and then the whole class laughed at me! Because I had two thoughts, the teacher is going to beat me up because I was not paying attention. And there was this assessment going on to assess us if we could really read the paragraph. Then I read wrongly and the whole class, you know, broke out with laughter and I felt embarrassed. Therefore was a terrible moment that I still don't forget! (laughter) And then I tried to be strong, I gave a condescending smile, you know, like that, I was trying to deal with those feelings, because in a real sense, deep down I was embarrassed that I was not really paying attention. Then I could sometimes realise, ok, some of the things that make us do these mistakes, sometimes we neglect what we ought to do, and pay attention to things that won't really help us achieve better in that activity. So, this has helped me also to warn other kids 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 better thoughts as we are all thinking, to a better level of really reasoning. So I usually warn, please don't laugh at anyone who's giving wrong answers. Sometimes when they give wrong answers as a teacher, I would say, I also don't know, trying to cover that up, not to embarrass the other child. That has really helped me because I know what it means to be laughed by the whole class. I don't forget that. It happened in 1979 (laughs) in my standard 3 class.

- enabling learner achievement
- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- learner characteristics
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

KG34-TH I was going to say, when it comes to memories that I had during my days, there are different emotions. Firstly, assessment was divided in different categories at that time. You remember…I'm not sure, because you were in white schools… but here in the location, when you get in, in the morning, we used to, if it's the first period in the morning when you come in, we used to say timetables, whereby everybody stood up and then you had to recite that until from one up to 12. So we used to enjoy that so much where the teacher would there in the classroom and ask you 2 x 3, everybody could be able to raise up his hand and then he'd be saying, very clever, say all those good words. Same thing applied when it comes to poetry. We used to recite a lot of poetries. And then individually the teacher would call on you, stand up there and then you said the poem, and then award to with a good marks or saying whatever. So those were the good days.

But again on that, you find that there were times when we were supposed to do a reading, especially English and Afrikaans, there are words that look more or less similar, for instance like when you said, 'seed', even 'still'. So in English there was a book that was written, instead of saying, my mind reminds me about 'seed', that I normally see in English. And on that day I didn't know that I was supposed to say 'sed'…. I don't know how I was supposed to pronounce the word. Even 'still', in Afrikaans has it has one l, in English it has two. I was beaten because I could mix the two languages. I was not sure. So on that day I got a good hiding given by my teacher. At the end of the day, it created problem that I was not even sure now about my way of speaking when it comes to Afrikaans because I knew that the teacher was going to beat me for that.

And the thing that I liked most during those days, when we get our reports, for position one up to ten, there will be assembly whereby everybody is assembling. And then those positions we'll get up and climb on the stage whereby the whole school is going to see you how excellent are you, or how brilliant are you. And then that will make you to say, every time I want to get this position and I want to aim high to get that because I'll be taken there, and then everybody sees you. Even at home, the issues of Chicken Licken, were not there in those days. So when you come up with your results they'll be saying to you, we're going to buy for you a chicken…

KG35-K A live chicken.

KG36-TH That was something big, you know, and that motivated one to say, I want to get more and do more. Unlike these days, there are lots of Chicken Licken around, and out children know that at that time they get that. So it's like they have everything that they want now. So there's nothing that encourages

them to say, I want to do this, so that I should get that, you know? Because it comes as incentive, it also motivates me intrinsically to say, if I do this, I'll get that. So it's like now everything remains the same, that is why even other learners, they don't try. Because at the end of the day he or she knows that whatever Zodwa has, definitely I'm going to have it. So there's no competition at all these days when it comes to assessment. Again I want to state a point to say, only children who are willing, who always try to do the best for them to get to in assessment.

KG37-NZ When it comes to me I remember when I was in standard 2…or it was in standard 3, our teacher didn't tell us about the difference between 'van' in Afrikaans and then 'van' in English. I remember I was always the first one when we had to recite a recitation. I would stand up and talk and talk and talk there in front of the class. On that day I had a hard luck. I didn't know the right thing. When I stand up I said the red 'van' and the teacher was mad about that. I will never forget that one.

And again when I was in standard 9, I was doing grade 11 during that time, I was always the highest in the class, the best achiever in the class. When we were writing a history test, the teacher told us, you are going to write a history test on this on this, and then I didn't read. You know, I got 3 out of 25 on that day, which means my street (?mark) was under…it was the lowest amongst those children that were in the class, and everybody was enjoying that. And from that day I then said, I'm going to show them what I'm made of. I started to reading, studying. Up to today, when a best learner isn't achieving well, I always worry, so I always think about myself that, oh, I used to, maybe he's doing the very same thing that I did when I was in standard 9. So I always look after them, I make sure that they achieve.

KG38-I Ya, it's important to look after the students and to make sure they achieve.

KG39-NZ I was now proud that I know, oh the teacher has taught me, that I already knew, but on that day I had a bad luck, I got 3 out of 25...

KG40-K You became complacent. You were self satisfied...

KG41-NZ I still remember that, 3 out of 25. (laughter)

KG42-I Now how do you think the poor kids feel that get 3 out of 25 every time?

KG43-TH It creates low self-esteem. And the learner...

KG44-K Gives up.

- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- learner characteristics
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

- judgement - being judged
- learner characteristics
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

KG45-TH Ya, gives up. And knows that everyone knows that 'I am a stupid'. So tends to be stubborn, sort of, that I don't care. And always comes to the classroom and just sits down there, because he knows that even if he tries, everybody will try to bring him or her down.

KG46-I Well, that's a problem for when they become adults. I mean, it's interesting your stories, because they are all stories of: generally I did very well, and here was this one time that I messed up. And you remember the one time that you messed up. (laughter)

- judgement - being judged

KG47-TH And it reminds me of this saying like: when you do good, nobody remembers. And the day that you have troubles (laughter) everybody always remembers what was done there, what was wrong.

KG48-K This also reminds me when I was doing my teacher training here at Soweto College. We were drawing lines on the chalkboard. There was this old lecturer, a Mr Klopper. Ya! A real Boer, you know (laughter). Ya, very strict, authoritative, and wouldn't really want nonsense. So it was myself and Eric September. So we were using T-squares to draw the lines, then he came closer, he looked at my lines and he said: do you call these lines? These are the waves of the ocean! (laughter) You'd better rub...wipe all this and start afresh! I looked at him, instead of really getting angry or frustrated I really laughed at him (laughs), because I wondered what went into his emotions. You know, to suddenly burst out like that. And he said: these are not lines, these are the waves of the ocean! And (laughs) I wondered what went wrong with the old man (laughs).

- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

KG49-I If he was having a bad day?

KG50-K Ya, possibly. (laughs) So really assessment, according to him he didn't see lines, he saw the waves of the ocean then (laughs). I wondered, are these waves of the ocean?

KG51-NZ What kind of a T-square were you using?

KG52-K Ya, there are good and bad stories about assessment, ya.

KG53-I So now, are there moments when you as a teacher had strong emotions about assessing your learners?

KG54-K Definitely, definitely. Several times, but I will quote, when I started teaching here, I started teaching here, I was still energetic and looking forward to have everything right as I was trained. That was '94, things were ok, '95 things were ok, I was

- colleagues
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image

strongly expressed emotions

teaching grade 7 English as well as Geography. Then came 1996 there were changes in grade 6, that was standard 4 by then. Then the group that we got had been taught now by another teacher. That was 1996. Now those were the grade 7s. (sighs) You know, the assessment...when I administered the first assessment to them...because we had the syllabi, that we knew what is that they were doing in grade 6. So now they're in grade 7, we started teaching them a bit of what they were doing in grade 6 the previous year, and then the first assessment task that I gave them, believe it or not, I think the highest would really get 33 out of 100. I went mad. I wondered if these learners really learned anything about that. In records, yes. We would be having in our scheme of work, blah blah, that this is what the learners have learned.

KG55-I Sorry, did you test before you taught them or after you taught them?

KG56-K After I taught them. Because we would start with that, we knew this is what they would do, now we'd like to give...to start with the foundation that they already have, and then...and then test them. It was depressing to see even the highest at 30, you know. Then I wondered what...I tried to speak to them, 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). You know, it was difficult even to speak to the teacher as to, did you really teach these kids? I tried this but what they gave back to me is not even what they have a foundation of. It's like something new to them. And then I even said, is there something I did wrong? I started to look back, maybe there's something that I did wrong.

KG57-I So did you change anything the next year?

attribution- self
colleagues
enabling learner achievement
judgement - making it
learner characteristics
SV-access to internal goods

KG58-K The next...you mean the next year? Well, what we did we would talk in our meetings to say, ok, as we have this we couldn't really accost them, the teachers like that, we would be getting problems like that. But amongst ourselves as a team in grade 7 we talked to say, so how do we tackle this problem? Then we'd come with strategies to say, ok, let's take as if they don't know nothing. We mustn't have this idea that they're getting this good foundation or whatever. Because we'll end up having difficult times maybe going back to the teachers, speaking to them about, did you do this, or whatever and so on. So we ended up speaking as a team to say, let us even have extra lessons for them in order for them to really come to the level where we want them as grade 7s. So we even have afternoon classes and then assist them. They will start learning in groups as well, they would form groups and so on, so that they would also learn amongst themselves or teach one another like that and so on.

KG59-I So you made drastic changes to your teaching.

KG60-K Yes, yes, yes.

KG61-I You've said two big changes, one is that you decided to teach without all the prior knowledge that you assumed you were going to teach it.

KG62-K Yes.

KG63-I And the other thing is you gave extra lessons.

KG64-K Extra lessons.

KG65-I That's a big change.

KG66-K It was, ya, it was really a big change, because it's difficult to go back to the person as if you are assessing them now through their learners. And then sometimes it can be unfair because there are holidays in between of about a month or so plus. You'll never know then what will really happen to the kids during that period, that gap and so on, then it would be really difficult to say, but this is what I expected from the kids, they couldn't really budge to the next level. So it would really be difficult.

KG67-I But that was a big thing.

And for you, was there any moment in your assessing that shifted things for you?

KG68-TH Carola, I wanted to say, every time, whenever the learners come to the new grade, there are problems. For instance last year, we had lots and lots of children who could not write at all.

KG69-I And they were coming into grade 7?

KG70-TH They were in grade 7. And when we looked, we started to assess ourselves, we wondered: where is the problem? When we looked, we tried to think the grade 6, and we thought that if the grade 6 teachers will be saying, we don't know, the problem was somewhere else. So we did not do making a follow up from them. We started to sit down as a grade, and then we thought that, what is it that we can do to help these learners? Must we take them back? Must we help them? I'm telling you every time those learners, we had to make sure, to punish them sort of, as I've said before, for them whether to sit right in front there before you, so that at the end of the day you make sure that they do write, or they do whatever. That is the reason. Last year we had so many learners who could not go to high school, because their work

- attribution- self
- attribution- system
- colleagues
- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- SV-access threatened

was just zero. And then you can be surprised, among that group, most of them were able to run away from us. We only have 20, we did get them this year. In other words, they cannot proceed to high school. They are with us. 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.

KG71-I They failed last year, this year they're in the same class but they still haven't learned to write?

KG72-TH Most of them. We're still talking that with Zodwa. And then they were not sure what to do now. We are waiting for the end of the year for them to go on. Maybe at high school something can be done, but for us it's like we have tried and then...there's difficulty somewhere, we don't know where is the problem.

- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- judgement - making it
- SV-access threatened

KG73-I So you need a remedial.

KG74-TH We need a remedial teacher.

KG75-I To diagnose those children and to create a learning program for them.

KG76-TH Yes. And we don't know because we find that even the SBST it's not established, so we cannot take the learner to the district, no-one will take them to the clinic and say to the parent, take the child to the clinic maybe they can help in assisting. They'll be sending a lot of, sort of a booklet letter, where you're supposed to fill in to say these are the problems and at the end of the day that child will be taken to the nurses...

KG77-K Psychologists.

KG78-TH Psychologists. But it's a long process. And the department will come back to us and say what have you done? You're supposed to follow the process, which is very hard. Even the parents, when we say, they should come, most of them they don't come. Others will be saying they're working. Others will be saying they don't have time. So you don't know what to do, what is the problem. There are those who have improved, for instance this year we were talking about one learner, which is Mpho, at least these are unfolding. But there are others, which we don't know what to do with them. So we're assessing, again, getting the same results, trying to put that in different languages because normally when we see that it's difficult, we use our own mother tongue to say, ok, this is supposed to be done in this way and we find that a learner, it's like, is not prepared to...

- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- enabling learner achievement
- parents
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG79-I Ya, it's very hard.

- attribution- system

working conditions

KG80-K Mind you, the class size is large.

KG81-I How large?

KG82-K We have 57 pupils. Unbelievable.

KG83-I That's a lot.

KG84-TH And last year we had 64.

KG85-K To 62 or 64...around.

attribution- system
colleagues
enabling learner achievement
judgement - making it
SEE - learner achievement
strongly expressed emotions

KG86-NZ I want to say, I usually do not rely on base line assessment because I know...I always start the lesson the way as it is, because when you go back to base line assessment you had to find out whether this learner has done this before, you end up blaming some of the educators. How dare do they come here to grade 7 whereas they couldn't even write a single sentence in Zulu? Which causes a conflict among us as the educators. They feel that we are like superior over those intermediate educators, as senior educators.
And again, another thing, this thing of collecting enough evidence. I don't know how much learners evidence is it, because…

attribution- system
dealing with failure
enabling learner achievement
parents
reporting demands

KG87-K The department is speaking of.., ya?

KG88-NZ Mm. They say you have to follow different routes, involve the parent. Yes, I agree you have to involve the parent. We do try to involve them but most of the parents they are quite passive. They are unable to come to school. They only time when they come to school is when there's freebees, if the principal says, oh, today we're going to give you this, yes it will be then that they come to school. Our parents never come to school. So it's difficult for us to collect that kind of an evidence or to find out about the background of the learner. (That's why we end up having those learners who are unable to write sentences but they are already in grade 7.

attribution- system
dealing with failure
disappointment-sadness
language
parents
SEE - reporting demands
strongly expressed emotions

KG89-TH Sometimes it's difficult because you cannot put the blame also to parents. Though it takes two to tango: the parents and you as a teacher. But the problems is one: most of our documents, even assessment, it's written in English. For instance at the end of the term, you issue reports to parents. So now maybe we're asking, and then here you tell him or her, you find that that parent doesn't understand at all. He or she is just happy that my child has got a report and then they said the child has passed. Or maybe you said, this child doesn't perform here well, so the child need to correct this. You find that the parent maybe sometimes

doesn't understand that. Or maybe they listen more to their children, more than to you as a teacher, you know. So you end up not knowing exactly where is the problem, you see. So those are the difficulties that we have, Carola. Unlike when they're saying, maybe we write everything in our own language, where maybe that parent can be able to read that in Zulu, when you say Uzosala, meaning that that child must be retained or can they help in this problem. But that document is written in English, meanwhile most of them they never went to school, some of them the education is nil, they don't know what is expected of them. So this gives also a big problem to us.

KG90-K I think it's the attitude in most cases.

KG91-I But the attitude comes from real circumstances.

KG92-K Mmm.

KG93-I And in the way the teachers are getting squeezed between the department and the children. And the parents.

KG94-TH For instance right now Carola, you find that we have pressure from the department. Last year before we closed there was a lot of paper work. That came before we closed. Before we closed the grade 6 and the grade 4s were supposed to write the test. All of a sudden. And it was towards the closing. The schedules were changed immediately, which were given to us. Meaning that somebody had pressure from somewhere and then gave that to us. We also have the pressure from the department. In the end, the sufferers are those learners on the ground. Nobody cares about them because even the parents they don't come to us. So we end up in the middle not knowing whom to talk to, not knowing to say what to whoever. Unlike if someone was prepared to listen to you as a teacher, maybe then something was going to be done and make it easier for all of us.

- attribution-problem
- aversion-fear
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- parents
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG95-I What would make it easier?

KG96-TH I don't know, Carola, but I think...I'm not sure, but I think maybe if our documents, especially the ones that we're supposed to take them to parents, they're going to be retained in our own language, whereby we call our parents, we sit down, we show them and make them to read where they're supposed to bind themselves or where they're supposed to change something or whether if they are going to say something, it was going to be easier. So now everything it's new, terms are new, they don't even understand what is expected of them as parents. Sometimes they don't come, they normally send their children who are here at school at that time, who are not parents, just send someone and say, go take for me a report or whatever. So you find that that

- language
- parents
- reporting demands

person doesn't have any concern about that child. Is not even intending to do whatever. Is just there to fetch and go home only.

KG97-NZ And even some of the parents even if you explain to them they seem to understand, but when they're at home, they feel sorry for their learners especially when they have to repeat the grade. Like, Zulu's mother, she seemed to understand everything, then she accepted everything that you are telling her about her child, but later she wrote a letter saying, I think you must give him a second chance. Let him go to the high school. And that learner...but we didn't accept that..., but that learner is still doing the very same mistakes that he's been doing last year. Which means some of the parents, you can blame them as well. It's not the system only.

- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- judgement - making it
- parents

KG98-TH And our answer to that is, but you ma'am you are a Christian, you know that if somebody has not done well, they must be able to correct his or her mistake. So now if you put the learner into the next grade, still the same problems will be there. That was our answer because at that time we were in a tight corner, whereby this parent wanted his learner or his child to go and be into the next grade. It was not easy for us.

- judgement - making it
- parents
- SV-access threatened

KG99-I Ya, it's a difficult thing, hey. So now, let's talk about the policy. Some teachers are confused and frustrated by the policy, other teachers are very excited and happy about the policy, so how do you respond to the National Curriculum Statement and to the assessment guidelines? How do you feel about them?

KG100-TH The National Curriculum Statement, sometimes you see those things on TV. So now when they're sent to our schools you find that the principal took the document and puts it in his or her office, so nobody has an access, until maybe one day when the IDSO comes in to say that this was supposed to be done. So they come back to us once those problems are there. But if there are no problems he'll be keeping that in his cupboard for until, until. For instance, when you get to other schools, you find that there is that big blatter?poster which talks about Batho Pele principles. When you get around our school you don't know those things, it's not there. Where is it? You end up not knowing, was it given to the school, is it somewhere in the district (office)? You end up not knowing. So other things, it is better when they are given to us directly or maybe make a workshop to call all the teachers to say, this is the new principle whereby everybody must be involved, do this, do that, and how can you do that. So sometimes 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 in TV.

- aversion-fear
- department
- policy
- principal
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG101-K Yes, we're working with National Curriculum

- assertion-anger

- department
- judgement - making it
- policy
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

Statements, yes, we're doing them but, that is still frustrating us...me, let me speak on my behalf.

KG102-I Ok, so you're saying you haven't got the documents. You're saying you've got the documents but they're frustrating to work with.

KG103-K Yes, the truth is that they're frustrating to work with. Why am I saying that? It seems like in the National Curriculum Statement the most important thing is on assessment. And then there's too much emphasis, especially when you're talking of continuous assessment. I think there's a myriad of ideas that you get even from the officials that usually come to maybe run 30 minute workshops and run away, nothing quality that we learn from that time. You know, sometimes I feel I waste my time going to such workshops, or I don't know whether they're workshops or what, I don't know, because it seems like they come to tell you and then they go away. They may even spend about 10-15 minutes instead of an hour. So the most important thing that they will come for: assessment and then' which means what they are looking for, weighing the cow, keep on weighing the cow but you don't feed it. So that's my problem. That's what they're like. They don't even worry about the quality of the assessment task that we give to the learners. Because I think the most important thing even though that would be more especially about the internal accountability kind of assisting, whereby we make sure that the heads of department check, are we really giving quality assessment tasks to the learners? And then again, how regular we do that? That's what I feel should really be happening, so yes, the National Curriculum Statement is speaking to us but it's frustrating me because what it seems it wants us to do is to test small amounts of the work that is done, small, small, small, and put that together, and it doesn't really give you a clear picture about the abilities of the learners in, let's say in good tasks and the task that you need to spend time thinking about and so on. They want you to do a little bit of presentation, a little bit of research there and a little bit of whatever discussion you learn them, blah blah blah and so on. That's what they're interested in! When you want to sum up now the understanding of this 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. I think that's where it's lacking. I would really feel we need that kind of attitude as teachers to begin to say we must protect the quality. We want something that really can convince me this child is really good enough, has really worked, because the little bits and pieces of these assessments that we do, I don't think they really make sense to me. They don't.

KG104-I Ya, it's difficult to implement something that doesn't make sense to you.

KG105-K Ya. And it's also frustrating that I have to do, they must come and dance in arts and culture, and for dance: come and dance, and after dancing, then what? And then I assess this they are able to dance, so they have skills of dancing. But if I have a real quality task that looks at what units of actions they got involved in, in that dance, and then maybe we did talk about that, and then at the same time, and then I look at too, can they also talk about these things, their reflections, or can they create? You know, these are the things that I should be looking at other than just, come and dance and that's it. Yes, these kids are able to do anything, they are successful learners yes, dance, and then after dancing, this and so on. And also the understanding of tasks. I don't know maybe I still need to read more and understand what a task is. Because it seems like what they say a task is, a small activity and another small activity and another small activity, then is equal to one task, yes.

- assertion-anger
- assessment tasks
- department
- judgement - making it
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG106-I Oh!

KG107-K That's the understanding that they are bringing to us and I'm confused (laughs). This is what they are saying, we even have that, we were talking about it not so long ago, I think on Tuesday, we were holding a meeting about that. They were here, on the 2nd of this month. This is what they were talking about. Then I said, I don't even want to enter into a debate of this nature, I rather keep quiet, 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.

- assertion-anger
- department
- policy
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

KG108-NZ The scoring criteria that they are using they...it's like they always change, you don't know what to do exactly anymore. Because like in the intermediate, their scoring codes is 1-4, you know that when the learner got 1 she did not achieve, when they got 4 it was outstanding. Maybe you are doing a series of activities, maybe there are five, the learner got 3, 2, 1, 1. They said you must never add that in order to get the final mark, you must look at those reading codes. If there's more 2s, which means the learner get 2. If there's more 4s, which means the learner get 4. That one I don't understand it exactly. And they said you must never do the addition, you must never say 2 + 2 + 4 and then + that other one that you got and divide it by the number of those activities. They do not want something like that. So it's so difficult to score a child and know exactly what you're supposed to write, whether the learner is competent or not.

- assertion-anger
- department
- judgement - making it
- policy
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG109-TH I think the main aim of that one, it's because they are running away from the issues of marks. So they need you being a grade 7 educator to use level one up to seven. So when the learner got four 2s, three 3s and one 6 maybe, so you check, how many

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- department
- judgement - making it
- policy

times does 2 appear in that? And then when the 2s are four, then you give that as 2, the learner got 2 out of the whole thing. Don't count it, because when you count you'll be going to...

KG110-NZ Back to the percentage or whatever.

KG111-TH Back to the old education, whereby the learner was assessed through marks, which is not supposed to be done now

KG112-I But you're still giving a 2, you're still giving a mark.

KG113-NZ It is.

KG114-TH So now we assess in everything that learner has got, so you count those 2s, you put them, that means the learner is on the level 2.

- SV-access threatened

KG115-I Yes, but...then that learner does something really well and he gets a 6...is 6 up or is 1 up?

KG116-TH 6 is up.

KG117-I So the learner does something really well and he gets a 6, but then there's no reflection of the one thing that he did really well. He still gets a 2.

KG118-TH They normally cover that you cannot assess a learner on one thing only, that maybe today he was good and got 6 and then you find you are saying the learner is on that level 6. Normally you assess throughout as continuous and then you see how many 2s, how many 6, does the learner achieve then. And then you cannot assess him on that level, meanwhile he's got that once or twice.

- department
- judgement - making it
- policy

KG119-K But what I like is that they are bowing to the pressure that the teachers are giving them. Look, last year when were doing the final assessment, the summative one, they even wanted us to include percentage for the very first time. Can you see that it's going where we want it.

KG120-NZ We are going to add and divide.

KG121-K Ya. It's going where we want it.

KG122-NZ Because they said: you must never do that. Do not add, you are not supposed to add. Look at the sequence. If there's four 4s, write 4. If there's so much 3s, write 3. Look at the number of the writing codes, they will tell you whether that learner is supposed to get 3 or 2 or 1.

- assertion-anger
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- department
- policy
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

KG123-TH I think the main aim here, the department is afraid of saying: let us go back to what we have been doing all along. They always change things and say, it's a new way of doing things, meanwhile you come from that.

KG124-K They don't want to admit that they did not want to inherit the quality that the education...because anything that is associated with apartheid system shouldn't really be reflected, otherwise 'we don't want our minds to go back to that'. But why can't we inherit the good quality that that education system had? And bring it on board...now we're taking something foreign and then even those so-called officials come to us and they don't even really make sense of what they believe is something that should be done nationally! It's terrible, it's terrible, it's terrible. But anyway you can realise that they are bowing to the pressures because they're confusing a lot of us. Where do you get the level when you...let's say you had ten marks or twenty marks whatever, how do you get that level 2?

- assertion-anger
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- department
- policy
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG125-NZ You convert it into percentage.

KG126-K You see! (laughter) Percentage, yes!

KG127-TH So they're saying that it's a new strategy now. And whereby everyone must understand and say, yes, this is a new thing. (laughter)

KG128-K But the percentage had always been there, they will say level one is 0-29 for the grade 7s to grade 9. And then for the intermediate phase 0-34 is level one. 0% to 34% is...so it's a complete contradiction! (laughs)

KG129-I If you could change assessment policy what would you change?

KG130-TH Ok, may I first correct what I said before, I said you normally hear those things from TV, but luckily Mr Ntuli said, we now have the policy that we're following. I must admit to you that the policy that we're following, we have done this year for all of us, that we should be able to do the right thing. All along and all the years we've been doing it the way that it suit me as an educator. It was only towards end of last year whereby we had to minimise the task following the protocol of the department. But before it was not like that. So your question was?

- department
- policy

KG131-I If you could change the policy what would you suggest? The assessment policy?

KG132-TH The issue of assessing small tasks as Mr Ntuli has said. Some other tasks you find that they don't have value. He

- assertion-anger
- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- judgement - making it
- policy

talked about Arts and Culture. In LO this year, the task that we're given, it was that all the phases should do collage. Can you imagine a grade 7 learner doing a collage, then that's it. And you assess that, you give 7 to a learner. So to me it did not say anything. In such a way I decided that, instead of making a collage, they're going to divide this into different questions whereby you find that number one: a learner is going to put a collage, thereafter describe himself in that collage where he or she is, and then later discuss about the family, you know, the culture and the background. But when you say to a grade 7 do a collage, what does that say? So to me other tasks they don't say anything. If it was supposed to be my way, I was going to design everything the way I wanted to: to check the level where the learners are. Because our learners are seniors, very soon they are going to high school, whereby they must be able to express themselves. Whereby a learner must be able to write whatever is needed, it can be creative writing, it can be an exam. For instance, maybe prepare for them that even at grade (?7)12 they should be able to write for work which is more or less an hour, whereby learners express themselves, paragraphing his or her work. When you look at the format, where you can actually say, indeed this is a grade 7 learner. So now you find that they write little sentences there, you know, something which you don't think that can be given to grade 7, that worries me a lot. We don't train them enough for them to be able to stand on their own.

- SEE - judgement
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG133-K I couldn't say more, because my worry has always been their understanding of the continuous assessment, that it would mean many different things from all of us. Some say every day I must make sure that learners are assessed and then I record or something, or every week or something, or every month or something like that. So, I think...we still need summative assessment is important, that's what I believe. And then again we should not be compelled as teachers to say, we cannot allow learners...ok, we cannot as a school have exams, they are still important, I believe they are still important, because what seems to happen is that they don't want anything that has to do with the exams, especially those who come to tell us, to say, no exams, 100% CASS, in particular in the primary school. That even spills over to the grade 7s as well. And then which also kills the quality of...ya, I think of the cognitive development of those learners that we really need to keep on drilling and hammering and getting them right in many skills that are there. So I think we need to be given that time and not be...because I think we are the ones who really work with those learners. The people who write these policies are somewhere there. There should be flexibility in the policy to say, yes, even exams should be there. Even in primary schools. Because it seems like we are locked out. I feel that...I think they undermined the quality of what exams can produce in learners. Because now it's terrible when they have to move to the

- aversion-fear
- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- judgement - making it
- policy
- SEE - judgement
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

high school and when they reach grade 10, many of them fail in high school, because when they begin to sit for exams it's something that is not in their culture and then they fail in large numbers and the high schools are beginning now to sift so that they shouldn't appear as a school that is not really working quite well by producing low matric, or poor matric results. So they begin to make sure that they sift quite well then. So if we aren't training these kids from the primary school what are we hoping for at the end? As they grow, not used to sit just for an hour to write maybe a question paper. What does it mean? But in grade 12 they're expected to...

KG134-I To write three hour papers.

KG135-K To write three hour papers. And when they go to university it's going to be even worse. So we are brewing disaster right now for these learners that are going to universities as time goes on.

KG136-I Universities that going to have entry exams. That's how the universities will cope. (laughter)

KG137-TH Because already now there's that outcry that learners are dropping at tertiary level, and especially when you look at our black learners coming from the environment that we have, they are not trained enough. Because they're supposed to have started early, at that age at primary school. There is this saying in my language whereby you take a tree, when the tree is young, normally when it bends you're supposed to pull that up, whether in tape, wood or whatever, 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 you find that due to the policy that the government is giving to us, the department, at the end of the time they move from primary to high school without that much work, whereby a grade 7 learner, being a senior learner, must be able to do 1 2 3. By that time that learner finishes at the school, he or she go to the tertiary level, won't cope. That is why maybe Naledi Pandor herself can't see that, that the topping of that rate from the tertiary is being caused by the results that were produced to the primary to the high school.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- system
- aversion-fear
- dealing with failure
- department
- learner characteristics
- policy
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

KG138-I Well, I think she can see it, that's why she's got that new program for the foundation phase, where she says every day, two hours reading, two hours writing. I mean, it's a very strict program.

KG139-K Ya, even though it's I think these are frantic measures, after a long time this...they've seen it coming but they were hard to admit that we are failing in this system. And the things that we

- aversion-fear
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- department

policy
SEE - department
strongly expressed emotions

are...because what they are doing is that they impose things and they don't want you to really interrogate that and get to the core of it and understand it, maybe adapt and do better. They want us to do things as they see them, not as we see. That's where the problem lies. So these are frantic measures, whatever that they're trying to do, because it is over and above the curriculum delivery that we are already engaged in. So you are saying, have extra hours, have this and...

department
policy

KG140-I No, I thought it was instead of, for foundation phase.

KG141-K Because there is this Foundations for Learning. Which means try to fit it in, in your program as well, which means they're trying to bring that quality of learning and teaching back by introducing this kind of a campaign and saying, do this. It might be over and above. That's what I suspect. Because I think they also have separate, I think, booklets that really speak about...I remember last year when we went to Lakeview Primary, they introduced that booklet which contains the means of how you can go about administering that in the intermediate phase as well as the senior phase.

KG142-I Well, we must check it out because I thought it was a program for foundation phase instead of. I thought it was program to say, this is how you do foundation phase now.

KG43-K Ok. As well as I think it's mathematics and languages.

KG44-I That's the big emphasis.

KG145-K Yes. They call it Foundations for Learning, something like that.

department
policy

KG146-TH You know there's also a problem that I had, especially last year. I think it was 2006 or '07 where Naledi Pandor said something about reading, it's just that I cannot remember. That it's a must, it should be done in our schools. But according to my experience what I've seen, I was at a competition at the district, you know, whereby learners are given new books. I'm not sure whether our learners can read or maybe they get used to a certain book. Or is it maybe because they see that all the time in the classroom, you find that they are saying a learner could be able to read at school, but when it comes to that whereby he's given a new book, so that it should be a book at his or her level, so that he can be able to read it, you find that a learner cannot read. So I'm not sure whether they do cram certain books or not. (laughter)

KG147-I I think they do.

KG148-TH They do. So when you're given a new cover, you

can't read that.

KG149-I Because they never learned to read, they only learned to recite. They heard it so often that they remembered. Children remember much more easily than adults. And then they say it. If you read books to 2 or 3 year olds, and they always want the same book again and again, very soon they know that book off by heart. And then if you're tired, you've read it for the 50th time and you want to read it differently, the child will say, oh no, that's not right, here. (laughter) They're not reading.

KG150-TH So it was also a new problem, which did not bring any effective measures according to what I've seen.

KG151-I Ya, I mean, what you're saying is that the teachers will have to figure out a way of reading that doesn't mean rote learning, that doesn't mean learning off by heart. The kids need lots of books. Not just one book. They need like ten books, 20 books. We need class libraries, school libraries. Anyway, off the topic...So learners...how do you feel about...you've talked a bit already about how you feel about your learners, but let's just talk a bit more specifically. If your learners fail how do you feel?

- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

KG152-NZ You feel that maybe there was something wrong with your presentation. Maybe you didn't have...you didn't collect enough resources to...

KG153-I You didn't collect enough resources to teach it properly.

KG154-NZ To teach those learners in the class. And then you didn't meet your aims and objectives that you were aiming on that particular lesson.

KG155-I So you're saying, as a teacher I take responsibility and I feel bad because my students failed.

KG156-NZ Yes, I feel that way. If they don't do well I feel that way.

KG157-K I would also add by saying, what I do is like...it's still hurts yes, it hurts and then I blame myself, as if I didn't do enough or I didn't pay attention to...or I didn't have means to assist them to improve in that situation as she is saying it. 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 or something like that, so that this learner can really maybe get to better levels than where the learner is. Maybe...ya, I think, self pain number one, and then feeling that I didn't do enough.

- attribution- self
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods
- striking metaphor

KG158-TH I would also add Carola, and say it's very bad when the learners fail. It reflects back to you as an educator because you end up not sure whether did I do right? I am on the same page as those learners because our learners know many things these days. They live in days of technology. So now it brings back to me as a teacher whether I'm still living in the olden days whereby I can not communicate clearly with those learners, I cannot understand them, even their needs, I cannot put the idea or the lesson in the level whereby they can understand it. So it gives a problem. So you end up not sure where are you. You can end up saying, maybe it's because I am a failure, that is why I could not bring that closer or clearly to learners. At the same time we become confused, but really can all the learners fail? Where is the problem? What is it that I've not done right? So it's very bad, it's painful.

- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG159-I Ya. I don't know if it changes. I was sitting in my colleague's office earlier this week and she was crying because her students were not understanding. So...I think it is a real issue for teachers...

KG160-K Mmm, going on and on and on.

KG161-I ...if the learners don't understand. And they don't...ya, they can't do the things that you expect them to do. It's really difficult for teachers.

KG162-TH I imagine educators who are teaching grade 12 learners. When the results came back you find that all learners have failed. How do you feel as a person. It's painful to me whereby I'm supposed to teach the grade 7s, whereby they're not writing.

- dealing with failure
- image of profession
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

KG163-K You have control over those tests.

KG164-TH Yes. But when they fail it's painful. Just imagine on the national level whereby they fail. Maybe that is why other people they leave teaching. Because if you not teach well maybe, or you're not sure, or maybe live on a planet where the learners don't live, it's a problem.

KG165-I And when they do well, how does that make you feel?

- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

KG166-TH Oh excellent.

KG167-NZ .. out (laughter)

KG168-TH You remember the sweet that says, he talks about Abraham and the facts that when oil pour on his head, down to...you remember that?

KG169-I When Abraham...the oil?

KG170-TH Yes. And then it moves from the top of his head and down to...that was very nice. So when the learners passed you actually...you become motivated, like, I want to do this again, and more and more. So because they want to see them again in that...in different levels every time. So you become intrinsically motivated because they do well.

KG171-NZ Sometimes you're not exactly sure whether you want them all to do well, but you find that they do get outstanding, maybe the whole of the class. Again you say, maybe it was not challenging. (laughter). Maybe it wasn't challenging, it was too simple. So sometimes you never know exactly what we do want.

- judgement - making it
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

KG172-I So even when they do well, you're not sure.

KG173-NZ Yes, it was simple. (laughter) During our days when you find that you have passed the assessment that were given by the teacher, he'll be saying, I'm going to set a difficult one. (laughter)

KG174-K Ya, the sense of pride, the sense that I have delivered the curriculum, there was something that was really learnt, to almost the fullest. We own up in real sense, we own up as well. It means we become part of our children's lives. That that's the attachment that we seem to have with our learners. All of them, even the one who's not doing well, you know, this is why we were talking about that, that you still feel hurt when you look at him or her, you say, oh poor her. What could I have done? You know, you blame yourself, eish, but why, why did she fail or why did he fail? Maybe this time.... you keep on hoping, maybe this time's going to be better. But with those you shake hands, you know, you pamper them a bit and say, oh wonderful boys and girls, and like that, we own up. I think that's the most wonderful thing that ever happens to the teacher. And even when they are no longer with you, they've moved forward, you always 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)

- attribution- self
- image of profession
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

KG175-TH And I'm also thinking about this now. Even our department it's like it encourages that. There are times whereby they give awards to say excellent teachers and then we normally circulate that and then you find that people there on TV, they're being awarded by saying, he has produced so many As, so many what-what in Grade 12, and that person is being respected, in the end he's respected by the work that he has done to produce those learners. So it's like when they do well you always feel that you

- attribution- self
- image of profession
- learner characteristics
- self image

have done...

KG176-K The crown.

KG177-I So it's both intrinsic and extrinsic. All: Yes.

KG178-I And marking?

KG179-TH Marking is too much (laughter).

KH180-NZ Especially when it comes to language.

KG181-TH Marking is too much and it's hard. It's easier with these learners who at least have the vocabulary, who also at least knows the spelling. With others it's a lot of work. Because the spelling you find that it's wrong all the time, others they don't write. So you mark something which is not there. And they are not even ashamed of copying. You find that somebody has stolen somebody's work and then they wrote that, when you read at the end you have two works in front of you which 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 it 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. You mark something which is there, you mark something which is not there.

- judgement - making it
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

KG182-K 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).

KG183-I Ya, no marking, no assessment.

KG184-K Ya, marking becomes one of the, I think, most challenging aspects of assessment. Because you sit there and then you will...I will tend to go for if it's one...I think, one answer, I'll start with those to motivate myself. Start with one answer...

KG185-I You mean the one word answer.

KG186-K Yes, thanks for that, one word answers, then I mark those, I mark many of that question and so on. But the most difficult ones are the ones that involve paragraphs or sentences like that, where you really need to read. And it's demotivating, as I said before, it's demotivating to mark, you know, a script that has too many language mistakes. Especially spelling, punctuation, you know then, to such an extent that even though I want to focus on the sense that the person is making, the thinking, you end up seeing other things that really get you off track. You can't ignore wrong spelling, you end up underlining that, trying to make sense,

- feedback
- judgement - making it
- language
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

what is this child saying? I think that takes a long, long time. Even if you wanted to give them feedback in one week, forget it! Because you will struggle, you'll find that the scripts that you mark, especially on the section of the question where there were paragraphs or sentences, you find it red with ink. Maybe I think we need to sit down and share how best can we deal with marking. And maybe ignore things but as a language teacher you worried. And say, because 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? So...the language in particular I think as Naledi Pandor puts it as 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 or 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 demotivating. It's, 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 say, but what is it that you were trying to say here? They're nowhere (laughs). It's you and their minds.

striking metaphor

KG187-NZ I think with the maths educators they do really enjoy because it's numbers, they acquire there, they are clear and specific, but when it comes to language and social sciences where they have to write statements, even the spacing between the words, they just write one long thing, you cannot read it.

judgement - making it
language
learner characteristics
marking
reporting demands
SV-access threatened

KG188-K Bad punctuation, ya.

KG189-I That's what you mean by punctuation.

KG190-K Ya, punctuation.

KG191-NZ I must say I think it's only the maths teachers who do enjoy marking. Otherwise the rest of these other learning areas, educators we don't at all. At grade 7 you expect the learner 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. So I do not know exactly what you must do as educators, especially when they are already in grade 7. Because retaining them you had to go a very, very long way. Filling those forms...

KG192-I So when you read these things and you get depressed, do you give feedback? Or what do you do? What do you do after the marking?

KG193-K I generally give feedback. I speak to them, because even when you write back to them it seems like they don't read, at all. Because it seems like the major problem they have is reading, this is why they can't write well. Then, we speak. Even though I do

enabling learner achievement
feedback
judgement - making it
learner characteristics

SEE - feedback
strongly expressed emotions

write short statements like, for example: pay attention to punctuation, practise punctuation, question marks, blah blah blah, full stops, and so on. Or spelling. Your spelling skills lack. Will you please try to practise maybe with your class mates. Or if you have time, come and speak to me so that I can help you or give you something that you can do when it comes to reading and writing. They still don't come forth. That's the attitude they have. I don't know why they are having that kind of an attitude. So in most cases we'll speak to them, we'll even have spelling exercises for a particular, let's say, we have a story, then we usually...I usually introduce the story by writing maybe four most difficult words that are there in the story. And then we can even pronounce them, read them like that, and then try to understand the meaning, we can even act out and so on. But come the time to write now, even maybe the very same words are appearing now in the exercise that they have to write, they still get it wrong. Which means they...we still need patience to say, practice spelling, practice spelling, practice spelling. Read, read, read. It's like a cycle that should be a never-ending cycle, you know, of reminding them. This, let's do it again and again and again and again. Because new words are learned almost every day. Even though we don't have to take all of them that we learned to learn to write them, but maybe specific ones like the ones that we hope can also improve their writing. So even if you try there are those...yes, there are those who really improve. I've been having even boys from Mozambique who have never done English before, but you know they're getting there! But the ones that started doing English, I think, in grade 4 quite well, are the ones that even give us problems, then you wonder why? (laughs)

dealing with failure
judgement - making it
language

KG194-TH With me there's something that puzzles me a lot, you find that our learners, most of them it's easier to ?write? English compared to our languages. So I'm not sure whether they are exposed more to English more. Because you find that they look on the TV, they play games, whatever they are doing. But again in that group you find that there are many of them who cannot write. So I'm not sure whether is it because writing is a skill...there are those who cannot read, so if one cannot read, how can you expect one to be able to write?

KG195-K To write well.

KG196-I That's correct.

KG197-TH It's a problem. And again when you look you find that at this level, if they cannot write one word, it becomes a problem, where am I supposed to write creative writing? Handwriting it's a skill. You teach them that writing should be a lifelong skill. Whereby a learner should be able to write and read whatever is there. So the two gives me a problem. They cannot

write, it is because they cannot read. So what do you expect from that learner?

KG198-I You expect them to learn at foundation phase. (laughter)
So what do you do about all these feelings? Do you talk to other teachers about them? Do you talk to…what do you do with them?

KG199-K As it is the case, ya, we do speak amongst ourselves. I do speak to her, she does come sometimes…she comes to me smoking (laughter) and then I say to her, wait my sister, what has just happened to you? She says: 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! And I say: calm down. So we do share, because these are real intense feelings, because they can really annoy you. You may end up maybe…if speaking directly to the kids, you need to calm down before you even go to them and speak to them about this because when you are really angry you may even say things that you're not supposed to say. Ya…this is why it's important that: calm down, and then you can even write down what you want to say to them so that you are guided by that before you get, you know, off-hand and off-head or something like that. Write down, ok, I want to tell them about this and about that and that. That's enough. Maybe for the day. As time goes on maybe I'm going to try then maybe new strategies or I can even come to her: what am I supposed to do here? Then she may also maybe share with me: I also have the same problem, but I try this. It does help, we do speak, yes.

- about emotions
- colleagues
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

KG200-TH I wanted to say, all of us we have our own frustration. Since we are grade 7 when you go to a grade 6 educator, she or he also have frustrations that are caused by the grade 6. So you find that at the end of the day we are comforting one another. Meanwhile the problem is still there. We don't have strategies to solve that. At the end you cry, there's no help. But when you look the issue of writing and reading it's an outcry everywhere. So there's no strategy that is in place.

- about emotions
- colleagues
- dealing with failure
- learner characteristics
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

KG201-I That's a big statement. I hear it. (laughter) Ok...so...report writing and being accountable to the department for the marks, how does that affect you?

KG202-TH Normally, we are used that every term we must make a term assessment. And we are used to that and we become happy when the process is being done. But there are times, for instances our codes last year, you find that when you are on that process, already started, 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 and you have made sure that everything has been

- assertion-anger
- department
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

in place, but all of a sudden, you know, that means everyone to complain, but it could not help. We're supposed to sit down and do that. And from the look of things, since the new things, the many things changes last year. That's the main reason that most of us have closed late, and also we try to open a day before so that should be able that everything was in order for us to be able to start the year in a good note. But it was really frustrating.

KG203-K Ya, when one has to write the reports to our country's department, in most cases it causes panic, because we work against deadlines and all this stuff. You find that teaching stops immediately. Everyone doesn't want to be in the classroom, wants to work and finish that, and get rid of it and go back to the kids. We sometimes wish to lock ourselves somewhere because we want to meet those deadlines. But it's...you know, it's one of those...pressures that we need in life, I believe (laughs). Because if we don't have deadlines we might just relax and not really pace ourselves accordingly. So I think deadlines are important. It's a pity that we do not get...the district doesn't give us, especially towards the end, even ya...they don't give us a management plan for the whole year, to say, by this time, we'll need your submissions of this, and that by that time and so on, until the end of the year. We do not get that. Then, the circulars that will be put in pigeon holes for the school and then if the mail was not collected maybe within a week, we miss out. And then you find that it's too close to the deadline and then you're getting the information and that really causes panic. I mustn't really lie about that. But yes, these are some of the pressures that we need in life, but, where is the year plan for that? Because we could really say, oh, we knew in advance, we have a plan, therefore let's just prepare ourselves. In most cases when it is November we are told to submit the possible retention schedules, that there's time. And you find that you only having a day to do that. And we run around now, we try to get this teacher, that teacher and so on, and compiling the information and send it to the district the next day. So it's, sometimes we do things (sighs) not really ready to engage ourselves in that, because of lack of information given in time. That's a problem.

- aversion-fear
- department
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG204-NZ Sometimes I think report writing, it has to do with the SMT, the School Management Team. If they've planned very well and then whatever they have planned they use it effectively, or they make sure that they make it effective in the school, it becomes much easier. Unlike when they didn't tell you, then you find that during the last week of the term it is then that they decide, oh, you're supposed to do this, oh remember guys, you're supposed to submit these things and this. They make it, it becomes hectic. You have to work under the pressure.

KG205-K It frustrates, ya.

- assertion-anger
- principal
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

KG206-TH And I think the other problem that we have, as Mr Ntuli just indicated, that you find that sometimes it can be better for you to hide somewhere. Maybe treatment is not the same, because indeed you'll find that the men are hiding somewhere (laughter) and we as women we have got to stay looking at the learners. At that time, during that time of the year, our principal will be moving up and down, saying there should be discipline and he will be hammering at you whilst you are there, whilst the men are free somewhere. (laughter) So the treatment seems not to be equal, when it comes to that.

- colleagues
- reporting demands
- striking metaphor

KG207-K That's a domestic thing. (laughter) Domestic affairs

KG208-TH Also, the department is indicating that effective teaching and learning should take place.

KG209-I During the exams?

KG210-K Yes.

KG211-TH Because you're supposed to teach from the first day up to the end, to the last day. So now the time is not there. You have that pressure of reports and all, you have pressure of new circulars, of saying so many things. So many things must be wanted from you.

KG212-K Kids are ?not here as well.

KG213-TH You keep on teaching, going from, you are here and then there, you end up not knowing what to do.

- aversion-fear
- department
- reporting demands
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

KG214-K But high schools, talk about that. Free. High schools, the kids don't normally go to school. They go to write exams. If it's a three hour paper, they come for those three hours and they go home. But they don't do anything...

KG215-I The teaching stops.

KG216-K Ya, it stops in the high schools but in the primary schools they will even send circulars to say, teaching should continue, blah blah blah, and so on, until the last day kids must come to school, blah blah blah. And they don't want us to have exams. You can't have exams. These are some of the...

KG217-I Oh, but you still have to hand in all the reports and all the continuous marks.

KG218-K Schedules.

- assertion-anger
- department
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

KG219-I And do you do cluster meetings? Because other teachers I've interviewed when I asked about report writing and accountability they all started talking about cluster meetings. But they were high school teachers.

KG220-K Cluster meetings.

KG221-I So I'm asking if that's an issue for you as well? Where you go and you show your tasks and you show the portfolios that the kids are doing and you compare with the schools.

KG222-K This has just started last year for the very first time in our cluster. We do have cluster meetings. But what has been happening is that this has been the culture in the high schools. So even the moderation form or tool, is a grade 9 moderation tool that they've just given us this year. Tuesday. We've just seen it for...

KG223-I So it's just starting.

KG224-K It's just starting, yes. And so we hope there will be such developments and maybe for the better when we put our heads together for a common good.

cluster meetings

KG225-I Now, last question, and then you can...I mean, there isn't one way of dealing with emotions. Sometimes we ignore them or we shift them or we put them onto other people, or we express them to friends but we don't express them at school. So I'm asking, I mean, you've talked about strong emotions, both happy emotions and upsetting emotions, and you've talked a little bit about how you manage them by talking to each other. But I want to ask a bit more, how do you manage your emotions, how do you work with your emotions?

KG226-TH This one is a difficult one. 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's where my bread is buttered. So whether I want to do this or not, but because my work demands me to do it, simply I do it. That's my policy that I found. Because I do not question these other things. You know, I said, if the protocol says, you cannot argue and say you, and the district will be saying we are the officials, you must do that. Same thing applies here, they are saying, but we are the SMT here at school. So there's no way where you can go against that. At the end of the day we must do that because you know that's where your bread is buttered.

about emotions
aversion-fear
department
SEE - department
strongly expressed emotions
SV-access threatened
striking metaphor

KG227-NZ Sometimes you do try to hide them, even when you left at home needing the money you saw that some things are not right at home, but when you come to work you just pretend as if

about emotions

there is nothing. Because we don't believe...we feel like, if we always tell the people, we feel like we're going to be a burden. You don't have to work now because you've got this and this problem. For myself I do try to pretend as if everything's ok. And continue with my work.

about emotions

KG228-K Ya, when I'm truly happy and I'm a person who expresses his feelings when I'm happy. Even when I'm angry I do so as well. If we didn't have maybe a good conversation or something or...then I will voice it out, but I'm not happy about that...fair enough, because of these reasons and so on. So that at the end we must find a common ground and continue working together. And then when I'm happy, for example, and inside the classroom when kids are doing fine, for example, when they've given wonderful responses, they know I have...I scream a little bit, yeehah! That's wonderful. You know that's the way I show how wonderful they are doing to me. So sometimes whenever I'm not...let's say I'm busy, I'm not coming to class on time, they will run and look for me, because they need that kind of culture that they're beginning to get used to. Pleasurable kind of a situation. But when I'm really angry I seem to withdraw. I withdraw and then I have a guitar here at school and an office up there. I go there and then play my guitar, maybe play a sad song to try and deal with my emotions, play a sad song, play a sad song. Sometimes suddenly maybe a flash of a new idea comes, then I'm now escaping the hard feelings, difficult ones, then I can write something down and then play maybe some music. That really helps me. And that guitar if you look at it now, the strings are almost torn because (laughs) from time to time that's where I really express the sadness that is inside me, play soft, boring maybe jazzy song like that. And sometimes remember a good incident while I'm playing, then play a soulful song that is really going to calm me down and so on. And when I come out of that place, then I can...when you smile, there's someone I see, and greet them and so on, in most cases that's how I link with the people, and they can also tell when I really criticise something, when I'm not happy with it I will criticise it. I don't see this way, this is how things happen. So that whenever I go out there, I've really dealt with the anger that was, the anger, that was all the frustration or whatever. So that when I leave that place, I leave it there. Then at a later stage, if ever I hurt someone, they will come to me to say but that...and maybe it's the next day, I'm no longer in the same situation, at least I try to deal with the emotions by voicing out something that is not really settling well in my brain. I think that's what I remember I do.

KG229-I That's fantastic that you do that. So sometimes in the middle of a lesson do you go? Or do you go during break time?

KG230-K No, no, no, there are times whereby we have flexi periods, whereby you are not teaching and so you have to maybe

continue with your duties, marking and so it is. I do it in those times, ya.

KG231-I I think that's fantastic.

KG232-K Ya, other than speaking to learners I rather give them work, explain this is the work if I'm really down, this is the work that we're going to be doing and so on. Explain it and give them maybe leaflets or write it on the chalkboard, let them do it, then I walk around, while I'm still dealing with whatever. And then maybe I may see something exciting when the learner is writing then I may whisper: that's wonderful, carry on. And then its like that. That's how it happens with me. Thank you.

about emotions
learner characteristics

KG233-TH I think with us with everything is we share. When things are not ok I bring it to Zodwa, Zodwa will bring it to me. Today we were laughing, because one male yesterday was talking about cleaning (laughter) the school. He said the other class could not come because they were in a workshop so they were not there, and mine they're in the same block. So he wanted learners from me and Zodwa. I did not want to answer him because I was supposed to say to him: we all live in that same block, so if the duty roster says it's As, the As must sweep the school. Instead of arguing and saying whatever, I just close the door. And then even he could see that something was wrong. But Zodwa was laughing at that time whilst ? trying to assist. Until today we shared. (laughter)

about emotions
colleagues

KG234-I So is there anything else that you would like to say about how you understand assessment and your feelings? Anything that you haven't spoken that is still burning in you that you want to say?

KG235-TH How do you understand assessment now or the perception that we have now concerning the assessment?

KG236-I No, no, just really asking...you've done a lot of talking, is there anything that's still on your mind that you want to say that I didn't ask for? Is there anything extra you want to say? You can say no, and then that's done. (laughter)

KG237-K Maybe my worry will be, you have led us in the discussion on the power of the emotional brain, and then as to how we also try to suppress that sudden outburst of emotions...you know, individual with that, how we deal with that. And then now, looking at assessment there is the power of the emotional brain and the assessment. Then is the discussion trying to help us, possibly from time to time to look back as to how emotional we got when we're dealing with a particular assessment activity or task? If I may ask.

about emotions

KG238-I No, this discussion wasn't to help you, because it's me collecting information. Ok? But I did bring some articles that might help you. (laughter) I brought three articles for each of you. The first one is about talking about teachers' emotions and being effective in class. And they're in fact arguing that emotions are very complex but that if we acknowledge our emotions, if we work with our emotions, we can become more perceptive teachers. Rather than if we repress our emotions and we pretend they're not there. So that doesn't mean that if I'm sad today I must stop working because I'm sad, but it means like I must say: oh, I'm sad today, and then say well...or this thing makes me sad, and then the next question is, well, how can I change this thing so that I'm no longer sad? And this third article is completely fantastic about that. It was a university lecturer that had a sabbatical and he went back to a primary school to teach for a year. He had like a part-time primary school job and then he journaled. And he was like doing this for research purposes because he wanted to see what is the life of a primary school teacher like. And he wanted to write about methodology and things, but at the end of the year when he looked at his journal, he found that like half his journal was full of emotion. The children were making him angry, the parents were making him angry, the department was making him angry. And the teaching was making him happy. Ok, it was both, it was very strong both ways. And, so he wrote this whole article about the function of teacher emotions, calling it 'the good, the bad, and the ugly'. (laughter) And basically he's arguing that, ok, good emotions are fine, that's what keeps us in teaching, and that's what you were saying, you also said about the intrinsic motivation, that's what gives the intrinsic motivation, the happiness that happens in the interaction with the students. But he says, negative emotions, difficult emotions, we tend to not want to deal with them, and he says, there's a functional way of dealing with them and there's a dysfunctional way of dealing with them. And the functional way of dealing with them is to acknowledge that I'm angry, to say what is it that I'm angry about, what is it about this situation that makes me angry, and then to work to change it. So maybe I change my teaching. And he talks about making changes in his teaching. Maybe I change...I say something to my colleague, you know, I work with my colleague on something. And he says, but it's not functional if we just swallow and swallow and swallow and then start blaming other people. We blame the department, we blame the parents, we blame the students. He says that's not a good way to work. And it's just a really good article. And then there's another one written by a teacher who found that it was all getting too much. So then she talks about her strategies for coping.

my research purposes

KG239-K Didn't she give up?

KG240-I No, she didn't, she became a better teacher. (laughter)

KG241-K Thank you. (Paging through the papers.) You're arming us now, we have weapons to deal with emotions. (laughter)

KG242-I The thing about emotions is that they never go away. But the way I understand them, is that they are a tool for helping us to see what is right or wrong in something, for us. So then either we change our attitude to that thing or we work to change the thing. But bad emotions means you've got to make some changes. So that's my insight.

KG243-K I feel ....(laughter)

KG244-TH I wonder, we have talked so much. There's something inside we suppressed, so that you should not be seen as weak somewhere by our peers or our superiors, but what you have said today I've learned a lot. 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. That will help me also to assist those learners who have the same problems in my classroom. Maybe this time to better understand them and how to help.

about emotions

KG245-I
Thank you.

M Group 28.05.2010

MG01-I You were saying the advantage of being a teacher is that you don't get retrenched.

MG02-J 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)

MG03-M Because it won't get finished.

MG04-I And you can teach for as long as you live.

MG05-M As long as we live.

MG06-I And as long as you want to. When you get old then you don't want to anymore but you still teach the people you come into contact with.

MG07-M Yes.

MG08-I It's like once you're a teacher...

MG09-M Once you are a teacher you are always…

MG10-J A teacher, for a lifetime.

MG11-M Within the school premises and even outside the school premises you are still a teacher.

MG12-J Even in the streets you are a teacher.

MG13-M You always give guidance where necessary.

MG14-J Where you see that this one needs, then let me get in. Then you come in, you start teaching.

MG15-M And being a teacher, as a female like us, you are a teacher, you are a mother.

MG16-J You are a nurse.

MG17-M Sometimes you have to give the support and care as a teacher. Sometimes you are everything.

image of profession
SEE - image of profession
strongly expressed emotions

MG18-I I started investigating emotions and specifically teachers' emotions, when I realised that the teachers who were coming to me for the ACE program were able to learn better when they were happy. And so then I started getting interested in the

my research purposes

relationship between teaching and learning (and emotions). And then I did a lot of teaching and assessment and then I thought, no, I'm going to properly investigate how do teachers feel about assessment? How does assessment make teachers feel? And that's what all the questions are about. And you've read the questions so you know what I'm going to ask and we'll just go through them step by step. So the first question is about the value of assessment and the feelings around it. So I want to know from you, what for you is the value of assessment? Why do you think it's important? Why do we do it?

MG19-M To me, I think, assessment is very important. 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 until some of the learners are at the same par as the others. And another thing with the assessment is that most of the learners they see which level, when they are looking at the graph, you will see at their level, 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 you as the teacher, as you are assessing yourself, the same learner is doing the same, and says, now I must pull up my socks. And that is why I'm saying assessment is very important.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- purpose and value
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- striking metaphor

MG20-J Assessment is very important and to me I can say it's important because it's a tool that is used for...it can be used by the teacher to assess him or herself to see how much did he partake to the learners and how much did the learners grasp. And then that can only be done by assessment. 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. Maybe they didn't understand this method. It helps you to sort of use this method, you change this one, ok, these learners can understand this type of a level, this one I can't use it when it comes to this one. I think it assists a person when he comes there. That's why it's so important to keep on gauging yourself, see how far are you.

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- purpose and value
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

MG21-J I think this assessment when you say it is...it gives emotions to educators. I think teachers get emotional...because of the way it's done. Yes. I think there's nothing wrong with assessment per se, but the way it's done, and it is made in such a way that you go from one point to the other, as if we are rotating, doing, you know, a lot of paper work. Teachers are stressed and then if a person is stressed, he gets emotional. Because you are stressed because of a lot of paper work that has been given to them. And then you are told to come and assess. Then everybody

- aversion-fear
- department
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

who comes across you, you just lash on this person with emotion. It's not only assessment, it's almost everything. As an HOD, when it's time for controlling of files, that's the time when I start realising emotional, these things amongst the teachers. It is because of the workload that teachers have. It's not about assessment itself.

MG22-I I agree with you there. I suppose I'm asking what is it...when does this stress...when do the high emotions get particularly strong around assessment? And you've talked about paper work, but...can you be more specific? What is it about assessment that makes you upset? Or that stresses you?

MG23-M And it's not about assessment as such. The only time where there is this emotions is when the quarterly report. That's where we have to do all sorts of stuff. That's where the emotions come in. But the paperwork is in general; we are talking about the assessment, quarterly, there must be some issue of report. And in other words...(interruption). So assessment, there is nothing with assessment. As we are in primary, we are using the continuous assessment. On a daily basis when you come inside a class, sometimes we teach verbally, so doing with our hands. Then by doing that, its another assessment. You are going to have the recorded one when we are giving them classwork, homework, assignment...

- aversion-fear
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

MG24-H Formal.

MG25-M Formal assessment. It's then that, at the later stage, is when that you are going to do what: Recording for quarterly report. That's where emotions come in because we are going to combine all the learning areas, then we sit and work hard. But assessment, there is no stress in the assessment.

MG26-H Especially when it is compiled by a class teacher. That is where emotions come in. Because it seems as if the class teacher now has got a backing of compiling all the assessments coming from different learning areas. So she or he feels that he is a little bit lost. And put on an island. So it becomes difficult for her to compile all those kind of things. Where she sometimes thinks of saying, no, this class teaching, it's quite a lot of work, everything is dumped on me. That's where you see the emotions. But generally speaking when you do your normal recordings and sort of you see the levels of individual learners achievement and performance, it is easy because its recorded by the learning area teacher.

- aversion-fear
- colleagues
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

MG27-M Still on this point, where he said, there is more work on the class teacher person, because as you know that not all of us we are working at the same pace. You find that as a class teacher, you are supposed to have eight learning areas. Then there is

another two teachers that they are very slow in writing so that they'll give you on time, as the class teacher they are going to be emotional, waiting for those two teachers to bring their worksheet for you to compile the assessment.

MG28-I And is there anything about assessment that makes you happy?

MG29-M Yes. Especially when learners express themselves. After teaching everything then we 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). Where they assess themselves using the peer group. You are going to enjoy it. Everybody will participate and sometimes they will ask you for clarity and give them, you interact. That's where assessment is very wonderful.

MG30-J It's also wonderful when there's this part where you use this type of an assessment, a group or the peer assessment, and then there is this group that is performing, and then they will always come with the criteria for assessing. Let's say it's a group work or it's 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. Yes, we don't give them marks because of this and this and that. You know, the reasoning around the project, it's quite interesting.

MG31-I Talk some more. What do you mean you don't give marks?

MG32-J When you are assessing, you as a teacher, you're saying, you don't give marks. The marks are from the peers assessing this group, each other. It's not from a teacher. It's from the others. And in every...when they give the marks, they will always explain, if they don't qualify for four because of one, two, three. They qualify for three because of...or they qualify for one, because they didn't do one, two, three, four. So when it's time for peer assessment it's quite interesting. You can learn a lot of things from these learners. And even the development of rubric. You normally give them a project or whatever work, and then, 'guys can we come up with a rubric, how are we going to assess this?' They'll come with the criteria, then we write them down, write them down, write the criteria inside their books. And how much is this one? How much can this one be? The whole amount must be this. You just give them the whole amount it must be. So can you divide the weighting of these marks? They do it themselves.

MG33-I You don't guide them?

MG34-M&J We do.

- assessment tasks
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

MG35-M Always as a teacher we're always facilitating, giving support. As they're doing whatever that they were doing, we're always... you as their teacher, you are there giving them guidance. What about this? Did you check this? And the whole class in those groups they will say, yes, we didn't notice that. So let's come back and redo it and give some...every group they will give them some aspect, then you guide them, and then you dot the key notes on the chalkboard. Then later on you summarise as the whole class, then you agree. After agree, then you write it down. Then it's fine.

MG35-I And for you?

- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

MG36-H It's very nice to see your learners being creative in terms of assessing themselves. The level of the creativity and the understanding and enjoyment in there, it's very huge. Because the way you are seeing learners to assess themselves it's the time when you wanted to see their creativity, to see whether also they understood. And it is very good because they are assessing themselves and they give you the criteria, and then of assessing and therefore they'll do as it is requested for them to do. So it is progressively developmental, the stage of learning in itself.

MG37-I So, my next question is about your own memories of being assessed when you were children. Is there any event that jumps into your mind that you can remember? Because often we remember things that were emotionally important to us, so, do you have a memory of assessment that you want to share? A memory of being assessed. And then maybe also if that talk...when you finished describing, talk about how, does that affect your teaching now?

- enabling learner achievement
- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - feedback
- strongly expressed emotions

MG38-M There was this incident when I was in grade...now we are calling them grade six, but at that time we called it standard four. So we had this teacher who was teaching us maths. Every day you had to memorise, the mental maths. You had to memorise. He would give you some expressions, you have to go home and do the homework and memorise them. So early in the morning you'll come inside the class, at his period, he'll say, yesterday was the girls, now it's the boys. Then on that day it was for the girls and I didn't do my work well. He just said, M, come up front. And I went forward. I thought I'm going to do the mental maths that I know. Then at that point the teacher changed everything and said: anyone who has got any mental maths, just ask her. She will tell you everything. Then when they started with the one digit, one times one, is equal to one. Two times two is equal to this. Then, when we had one with two digits, that is where the problems started. I didn't shout, the tears were just falling, whoom. Then what I felt, I said, oh, it means I must do my work, even if the teacher did not teach me up to so far, I must always take the text book and read, so that when the teacher teaches I must make sure

that I upgrade what I already have. Because I crammed or had the knowledge of one digit. Two digits, that says, one times ten, that's something that is very simple. But when he said, seventeen times three, you see, that's where the problem lies. I have to study, say three times seven is twenty-one, three times one, then I add them together. That's where the problem lies. From that day, even now as a teacher, still working for me. I encourage learners to know the mental maths, I encourage learners to know the calculation using the calculator, and I encourage learners to use their hands. So that if any method is good with you, it's good. From that day.

MG39-J With me, what I remember when we were still at school, there was this Biology teacher. He liked using the rote...we call it memorising...rote learning, singing. You know, when it was time for...it was Form Three by then, it's grade ten (nine) these days. There was this picture of a...is it the teeth? One tooth. And then it has brackets there. And then with this diagram we used to sing a song and dance. It was rote learning, it was playing. So I think that method for me it worked, because I still remember those words till today. The first one was called enamel, and then it was dentine, and then it was gum. The last one was...enamel, dentine, and the gum. Then we'll be going around greeting each other, enamel, dentine, and the gum. Twisting our... I still remember those. It was nice. Not everything that was done in the olden days was bad. But there are those ones that we can still remember. Even when it comes to our language, SePedi, we used to memorise, sing these things, and then if it was time for exam you will start singing and writing. And that's how we managed to pass. And the other important things we still remember them even today (bangs hand on table for emphasis). We can still...even I can, we can still use them today. It was fun. Yes, there was that time of teachers beating us, but sometimes it was fine because we were singing and dancing about what we were doing in class.

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- enabling learner achievement
- personal history
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

MG40-I And in terms of assessment, of you being assessed?

MG41-J Being assessed it was quite scary, because sometimes when...the same thing that M is saying, the mental and the recitations to stand in front of the people saying it and it was sort of scary. You start shivering, shaking, and then the voice won't even come at the end of the day. 'No, you get a zero! You didn't say anything!' (Laughter). Because I was scared.

MG42-M But you knew the answers.

MG43-J But I knew the answers; it's just that sometimes it was scary. Especially when the assessment that was done, that one which was done, if you were to stand in front of people, ooh it was scary that one.

- judgement - being judged
- personal history
- SEE - judgement

MG44-I But that is scary. Even as an adult you get nervous when you have to stand up in front of people.

MG45-J But remember we were still kids. (Laughs)

MG46-H One of the memories that came in, thinking about assessment, my teacher who used to teach me mathematics and Afrikaans, you know, he will assess the books and thereafter and he will call you one by one and if the assessment is out of ten, then if you get nil, you will be beaten ten. If you get five you will be beaten five. So that was a crucial part...

MG47-I If you got nine?

MG48-H Then you were beaten one, less.

MG49-I But you still get beaten?

MG50-J Yes.

MG51-H So it started in standard three, which is now called the grade five. So that kind of punishment made me to work hard so that I mustn't get beaten even one day. Because if you get zero out of twenty, then obviously you are going to get twenty lashes on your buttocks. 'You are too lazy! You are too lazy Mr M, you must do this, you must do that, you must read, you must...' so it encourages, it motivated, but instead of feeling pain, I said, no, but that was my fault, because he taught me and you see how much I get at the end of the day. And instead of reporting this matter at home to my parents, I say, no, I have to work hard. It encourages us to start studying at the early age of, just imagine, a standard three learner, knocking off at five o'clock, studying. We didn't know how to study but we were trying to write the homework because we were given homework each and every day. So we were writing homework, homework, homework, homework, so freely because we know when we get out of this school we are supposed to go and fetch the cattle, can you see that? So we didn't have enough time to study at home. So the kind of the assessment that the teachers were using, in some instances it assisted us and motivated us to read, to work hard and to do the school work properly, so to avoid this kind of punishment. And it fortunately worked for us because ultimately we became educators. Because we came from there, we knew that if you would want to work hard, you need to be beaten a little bit so that you exercise the extra amount of working.
So even now, it's unfortunate, even now some of that kind of discipline, which is called corporal punishment, it demoralises the standard of learning to our kids. Because our kids now, they are no longer punished as the way we have been punished. They've

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- dealing with failure
- judgement - being judged
- learner characteristics
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

decided not to do their schoolwork because they know no one is going to discipline them and so it affects the results of the matric at the end of the time. Can you see that? So the kind of the assessment which we are doing now it is relevantly good for this time but not good for our children, because our children are too lazy. They need something a little bit extra to energise them, to make them work hard. Because I've seen myself, it worked for me, and definitely it will also work for other children.
You know, the way I'm assessing now in my classes, I sometimes try 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!'. So the kind of the assessment and the influence of it, it needs a little bit boost towards our today's learners. Really, it is good that the way we are assessing, but it does not work properly for us. That is the problem that we have.

MG52-J Still to add on that, I think the assessment itself, the method of assessing, I think if it can be changed a little bit, because in the olden days if you get a zero it's a zero. And then if you get one it's a one. And then there was this thing of getting fifty percent so that you pass. And then during our days you used to fight to get at least fifty percent. And then in those days they were saying, if you don't get fifty percent, there was this thing of supplementary or a total fail. If that thing of total fail, these learners of our can remain in a class for the second year, I think maybe it will sort of pull them up. Because right now, the assessment that we are doing is good, but our learners are lazy, they are totally lazy. If a learner, during our days if I can get a zero, I will cry for the whole day. But these ones, if they get a zero, maybe it's a class work, there's no problem, it's just one of those things. They don't care. It's a zero, it's a number also.

- attribution- learners
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- dealing with failure
- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

MG53-I For you also?

MG54-M Yes. Even the facial appearance. When we had an assessment out of twenty-five marks, the rest they got from fifteen until to twenty-five, then you'll find there's maybe ten of the learners, they got zeroes. Some they got one. Even their facial appearance says, 'it doesn't matter, it's just a number. We are still going to be promoted, because sometimes we are old.' It doesn't matter to them. There's nothing that we can do. As we were in our grade, grade threes, grade fours, grade seven, we used to have this intrinsic motivation. Then you say, if today H got ninety, it would be for the very, very last time. Next time I'm going to get ninety-eight. I don't want to beat you. But today...no, no, no.

MG55-J It was a sort of competition. You know, for us during our schooling time, if M can get a hundred, or M get fifty percent, I'm going to fight, the next assessment I must beat M. It must be me. So this time there's no competition, there's nothing, it's just

- attribution- learners
- comparison with pre-OBE assessm
- learner characteristics
- parents

carrying your school bag, going to school, carry it back, go take it home, carry their school bag home. Even their parents don't even check their kids' books, they don't assist them. If a child is getting a zero, the only time you will hear these parents coming to us, it's year ending, or the beginning of the year, if the child is supposed to proceed to the other class, then that's the time they will come. But during the course of the year? No.

- SEE - working conditions
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

MG56-M It doesn't matter.

MG57-J It doesn't matter, it's one of those things.

MG58-H You know, there is one thing that I liked in the past and I'm still using it now. This thing of self-assessment and peer assessment, it is not started in this OBE. We have done this in 1980s, during the time when I was doing standard three. I started in standard three, 1980. It was there. We used to mark our books, we used to mark our colleagues' books. And by then, you see, the method of our...the way we were assessing our books, we would be given instructions to say, you know what, this is the feedback (the answer?), it's written on the chalkboard, now you have to mark, to assess the book. Then we start assessing. If you do a mistake, putting right where is wrong, in your book. You! Then the teacher will discipline you! If sometimes you will be marking your colleague's book and because it's your friend you just give them right, right, right, right, because we used to sit in pairs, so exchange, exchange. Put it right, so my friend put it right there. Then the teacher still is going to discipline you because he is going to check the books, whether you have marked it correctly. And if there are some discrepancies there, I'm telling you, you will be given that discipline. And even now, I like this kind of assessment because I did it during my education time, my schooling time. I still use a self-assessment and peer assessment. As long as the instruction is straightforward and relevant, and learners won't go wrong. So the kind of the way we are assessing now and the old ways of the assessment, it is still the same, it is just, there is a little bit improvement in that, but really its the same.

- assessment tasks
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- personal history
- SV-access to internal goods

MG59-M And to add on what H says, even the teachers of those days, they were not different from the teachers of today. Because whatever that they were doing, they were doing it with passion. Even the way if they're saying, this is something the feedback, you are supposed to mark with a pencil, you'll never mark it with a red pen, you'll use a pencil. And they encourage us to make sure that in order for us to touch our books, we must wash our hands before. Our books was very neat, because we knew there will be some times where they will say, the specitere (in SePedi, meaning the district official, inspector) will be coming to our school. You know that if your book is very neat, doesn't have some swell or some sweets, they are going to take your book and give it to the

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- enabling learner achievement
- personal history

principal, even if you are always getting the four. They are going to take your book because it is very neat. And the inspector is going to give you a stamp (bang on table). I even went to that time when I was in tertiary school, my books of primary and secondary were still there because they have this stamp from the inspector. Even today, in my teaching, I make sure I encourage learners to make sure that their books is very neat. Because if it's neat for me, any other teacher, even if your parents may come in while I was still marking them, then I said, this is the book of your child. You will be very happy. You'll realise, ok, but my son is not good at this and that, but you'll find him very neat. And it shows me, oh, this one is having a problem with this, so that I can give help where necessary.

MG60-I So, you've sort of moved there anyway, can we talk about your current assessment practice? I want to first ask about the assessment policy. Some teachers are frustrated about the new policies, other teachers are excited about the new policies, so I want to know how do you respond emotionally to the new assessment policies and how do you use them?

- policy
- satisfaction-happiness
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions

MG61-M 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. The only thing that gives teachers maybe some difficulty in the assessment policy, is more work that comes with that. To say, now that you're having the assessment guidelines, the national one, then this is something that you have to fill them out. Because at that time, everything will be there, even the dates, what you are supposed to do in January, what you are supposed to do in February, and now and this and this and that. But now the assessment, everything is clear. But if I have to...if we are...we are working in a group of three teaching maths ... if I assess my learners today an assignment, though we are doing the same thing, but I, I have to write, today on the 28th of May, I did this. Whereas when you go to H, teaching the same thing, maybe H did them on the 25th, that's where the problem lies, because automatically as teachers we want to be on the same par and then we want to encourage, if teachers we can be working as a team, then the learners, as we are using the group work, they will be working as a team. But if we are working as a team, you'll find myself recording a task on the 28th while H recorded on the 25th, that's where the problem lies. Because when we are doing that forms, the new forms that the district has ordered us, everyone, you'll sit in groups and plan and plan and plan, but the day I'm going to record, it's me and the class. That's where the problem lies. But all in all everything is clear.

- SV-access threatened
- aversion-fear
- reporting demands
- SEE - reporting demands
- strongly expressed emotions

MG62-I Can I just ask why is that a problem? Why does it matter if one teacher is three days ahead and the other one is three

- aversion-fear
- department

days back?

MG63-M You know what, because sometimes we are saying like this, if today H has planned for this week, whatever that H have, I must have them. Then two weeks it must be planned by me because of some workload. Then I have to give it to H. So that if they go to H file they must see something that H has and I must have them. So if the days they differ, they say, but you said you and H you are working together. Why this? Because sometimes you find H cannot call me and say: let's record it now. Because at that time maybe first period or second period I must be in 5A. And then H already doesn't have a period for that day. So I did that. That's where I find...

MG64-I And the inspectors worry about the dates?

MG65-M Sometimes. Sometimes, because they check the policy. They need the work schedule, they will look at the work schedule: 'you said that you were going to do this on this'. Then you said, people that are teaching maths in grade 5 is M and H. Ok, then looking at the file of H and the file of M, everything is good but at the task, assessment, that's where the days differs. They say, no, you should sit and write the same thing. But because of workload we cannot do that.

MG66-H You see Carola, the policy of assessment is quite clear. The guideline also is quite clear. For instance, let's say, it's EMS, as I teach EMS, they say the assessment task should be, or must be, four at the end of the year. Right? Which means, each and every term I must have one recorded task. Now, because the policy in itself encourages us to work as team, collaboratively so, then you will find that my teammate is too lazy. Or maybe it is because we are not the same in terms of pace and time. So you may find that in terms of recorded assessment task, I've already recorded them and he's left it behind. Because if I can take out my file now, it says there is a date of completion. It's if that recorded task should be completed at maybe 28, so it means both of us should have to be...have that recorded marks by then. So that is where you'll find that when the department officials comes in, they find that, now, why M has got these recorded marks but you Mr M, you don't have. Then it's a confusion. Because they don't understand how you work. Because the pace of working it's not the same. Whilst also in the policy, it encourages that. Even 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 understand that even the teachers cannot use the same pace. So they put out a lot of pressure and we become emotionally out of control. To say, now what do you mean if we say, I must be here by now, whilst it is

- assertion-anger
- dealing with failure
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- enabling learner achievement
- policy
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

because of my class. If I've got learners who are too lazy, more than half of the class are too lazy, are too slow, then obviously I'm going to be slow. So they don't look at the internal problems that may hamper my progress and that in turn they lock it down to say, you know what, Mr M is too lazy and also it goes that extra mile into how many days have you absented yourself from school, and it goes so far. And so 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, but criticising us. So I'm just telling you this because even this week they were here. Instead of checking what they will need, no, informal assessment, they need informal assessment, they need formal assessment, they need us to be by this time being recorded. We said, no, how can we record them this now because we are still on this. Now I've got only one. Then I'm not finished with my assessment. Then what should I record then? But by this time you should have to be...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 so that I assess them. I cannot always assess, assess, or give them work and assess without teaching them. It is not teaching. It is not about learning. So it means they look into learners' achievement without understanding where does these achievements come from. Because my understanding in teaching is this, achievements come from learning and teaching. If I didn't teach and learners not learnt, then where should I get an assessment?

MG67-J Can I come in, Mr M. Carola, you said, do you work with assessment policy? Yes. We use the assessment policies that are designed for us, and they are not designed by teachers, they are designed for us. It's so difficult, yes, some of the things they are in the curriculum national and they call it National Curriculum Statement. This assessment, the problem with the teachers it's one. One, they are designed by somebody at the national level and maybe this person was never in a class. He doesn't know what is happening in a classroom situation. Because if you come around and say by the term you must be finished to two tasks, and then you must have this work schedule of ten weeks, you are supposed to finish this and assess, give two assessments...do two formal recorded tasks, only two, for ten weeks. This person is sitting there, he's not in the classroom facing the learners, and he's not facing these learners from various backgrounds. Like for example in our school. Our learners are from the shacks. Some of them are from single parents, whatever. The social economic this thing around us, it's very, very, very poor. And they've designed this for us. It was not designed for these learners of this school.

- assertion-anger
- assessment tasks
- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- disappointment-sadness
- learner characteristics
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

MG68-I Now I want to know exactly what wasn't. Is it the type of tasks that are not appropriate or is it the fact that you have to record twice in ten weeks? What is it that's not designed for you?

MG69-J What I'm trying to say, I'm trying to say that when these people were designing these assessment policies, it shows that the involvement of teachers were not there. And maybe if the teachers were there, it was the teachers from the so-called Model C schools, the well-developed schools. They didn't take into consideration learners getting underneath a tree...

MG70-H Overcrowding.

MG71-J Overcrowding. They will tell you assessment, 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 their punctuation marks there, is she using the punctuation marks. I'm going to go one, two, three, until fifty. It's the whole term going around with those learners and on the other side I'm expected to record two formal tasks. That's why I'm saying, to me, if this was designed by the Model C schools or the developed schools, they didn't take into consideration a school like this one of ours and the schools like the Limpopo area, schools like in KZN, where they have these resources. They didn't take that into consideration.

MG72-I So if you could change the national policy, what would you change?
MH73-J The national policy, with me, I could say we should go back to the assessment policies that we were using in the beginning. Where we were using numbers. If you get a zero it's a zero.

MG71-M I agree with you.

MG72-J If you get a zero and a fail must be called a fail. They must stop saying a fail is not competent, competent. They're just trying to come up with English here. A fail is a fail. It's nothing. And then if you fail, when I grew up I know, if you fail, I need to repeat. Pull up my socks a bit better and repeat, go on, carry on. So it must come back as it is. Stop polishing these things, trying to make it with this modernised English, make it Europeanised English, nice English. No. A fail is a fail.

MG73-I Well, I don't know if it's Europeanised English. I think it was just people who didn't want to say children fail.

MG74-J But we used to say a fail is a fail.

- assertion-anger
- attribution- system
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions

MG75-I I know. I still do.

MG76-H There is no difference between incompetent and fail. It's one and the same. If you say incompetent it means you have failed. Then the other thing that if I were one of the policy...

MG77-I It was trying to encourage learners.

MG78-J They didn't encourage them, they spoilt them.

MG79-M They didn't spoil them, they have killed them.

MG80-H They have killed them (general laughter). You know, there is one thing that I don't like in assessment policy, in terms of assessment and the reporting part of it. To me, as J and M also indicated, in terms of fail, let it be a fail. Whether I'm using a red pen, whether I'm using a black pen, a green, but if it's a fail, it's a fail. We cannot put flowers on something that is not good. And if we are fair enough to ensure that we love our kids, then we will go back to the old system of assessment. To say, this thing of '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. Because look, I can give a very good example: 2009 examination grade 12, it was a higher failure rate in South Africa. Why? Because these are the learners who started with the OBE, NCS, RNCS, where we were doing trial and error method, using our kids as if it is a ball. Then it gave us the results that mean South Africa is not performing at the end of the day. Because we were pushing and pushing and pushing and pushing the learners...we were polishing those learners...

- assertion-anger
- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- policy
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

MG81-I Pushing or polishing?

MG82-H We are pushing and polishing. Even though the learner is not doing well, you are pushing them through to Grade 10. It is 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. Let a child know if he's done wrong, let wrong be wrong and right be right.

MG83-M Yes.

MG84-H So if I were one of the policy makers, then I will take out, rub out, this thing of pushing and pulling. We push, push, push, push, push. I would say: if the child is incompetent, he's incompetent, let the child remain and redo it again..

MG85-J It doesn't matter how old the girl or the boy is.

MG86-H No matter age or no age. So that we cultivate the good culture of an educated society in future. Who will be the engineers, the doctors and so forth? Look, we are producing these things of learners going to one stream, which is the humanity stream. But we need to have doctors, engineers in future. Because of what? It's because of this kind of educational system in terms of assessment.

MG87-I Ok, I've heard that, that was very clear. (Laughter) And you agree.

MG88-M I agree. But for me, also in terms of the assessment policy, if it was me who is doing that, I would make sure that I hide that book, no one would ever find it. So that the same teachers that they are teachers today, all of them they have done a teaching practice, they know what is expected. The only thing that we need, we have got so many knowledge in us, that we need to impact on these learners, but according to the assessment policies that we are having, they know that we give learners a little knowledge, we focus on the reporting and writing, recording and writing...

- assertion-anger
- attribution- learners
- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- policy
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions

MG89-J&H Paper work.

MH90-M But what we're expected as the teachers is to teach. And the more we teach the learners they learn. And the more they learn they are going to use that knowledge. Then we are building what? A better nation.

MH91-J That's why we are here today. That is why we are teachers. Our teachers were standing there talking to us, and sometimes you write classwork and homework. We used to sit and listen, and then here we are today. But these days it's not like that.

- SV-access threatened

MG92-I And if you talk to the kids, do they listen?

MG93-M Not all of them. There's nothing that is pushing them. They know. Even if you teach, some they listen, even those that didn't listen they know that because of their age they're going to the next level. There's nothing that is motivating them. That is something that is lacking a lot.

MG94-H The other thing that is killing our part of assessment is, assessment and discipline are inseparable. But the way of the looks, it seems as if, yes, it's inseparable, they should go hand in glove. But the way of the looks in terms of the policy, it seems as if assessment is that side of the road and the discipline is that side of the road. Because if you want learners to achieve very quality assessment at the end of the day, it's through the discipline. But how teachers discipline their learners in the classrooms, there's no indication in the policies also to how are we supposed to discipline

- attribution- system
- disappointment-sadness
- parents
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

the learners who didn't do the work, who are playing, who are doing...so in other words, the corporal punishment that was part of the discipline in the older days of our education, it has not been replaced by anything else that will ensure that our learners are taking the right road. So they don't care whether you assess them positively or negatively. The parents also, they don't care because they don't understand how we used to assess, because they know the old system of assessment, they're even against this way of assessment that we are doing. And there's no other ways that we can do it as teachers, because, no, that is the policy. You see? So it means discipline, assessment, knowledge from the parents, it's lacking. So it needs a kind of a policy that will generate more or put more thought on the new system of assessment that will be workable for our entire learners.

MG95-J To come back again, the system of assessment, the other thing is, you know what, when these workshops for the assessment, you can't really take me to a workshop for two days and when I come back you expect me to come and implement. I would say, you know, when we went for this teacher's diploma, we went there for three years. Three full years. And then coming back from there, it's then that we can get into the systems start working. How about taking at least a year or six months, employ somebody there, we are taking teacher X to go and do assessments in each and every school. When that teacher comes back it's the one who can try and assist the others. But now we, 'oh teacher A&B go up to assessment workshop in Johannesburg', the following day, implementation. This we heard about this in the TV. The FFL, Foundation for Learning. And then we heard it when Angie Motshekga was saying 'halala, halala' on TV (laughter). Now when we were sitting here, people were coming here, we are here to deliver. What? The boxes. What is inside? Oh, FFL. Now we have to sit down, then it has also its own assessment inside. That's why teachers get emotional, teachers get stressed, teachers get confused. Because whilst you are holding this one, they say, no, change.

- assertion-anger
- department
- disappointment-sadness
- policy
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

MG96-M Change. Change! (in command tone of voice).

MG97-J Then you go to this one. Oh, this one is too hard, change.

MG98-M Change! This one is good now!

MG99-J It's not assessment. You know what makes teachers to be emotional; it's this thing of changing from point A to point B. Like the district officials. Last year...this one is employed this year. He comes up with this format of assessment. Comes and drops it into schools: this is the type of form for assessment you are going to use. Next year he's got a promotion. So B comes in,

- assertion-anger
- department
- policy
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions

comes with his own new system, and I'm still trying to adapt to A. Then B gets a promotion, goes on to whatever. Here comes C again. Another thing new. So I'm receiving new things almost every year.

MG100-M And it doesn't even work for a year. Now we are having the FFL, 2010, before 12
July. Maybe before it goes to November 30, we will be having LLL. (Laughter). 2011, another thing.

MG101-J So you cannot really blame the fact on the assessment. Yes, partly assessment. But the training. They must check the training of educators who are trained to assess. They must check the duration and who is taking those educators. They must be able to take them step by step, until they get the whole thing. It's then that they can come back and implement in their different schools. But the way they're doing it these days, you go to a workshop today, tomorrow you come back and implement. Next month it's another workshop, you come back and implement. You know, it's not only teachers who are confused. Even our learners. Even our learners are confused.

MG102-I You don't think the district officials are also confused?

MG103-H Yes, they are confused.

MG104-M They are more confused.

MG105-J Let me get into that one. When we asked them questions about this one, 'no, we'll come back to you, we are still going to a meeting, wara wara'. They are also confused. Because for this one (Foundations for Learning), they didn't go via the districts. It's from national direct to the schools. They were asking us, did you receive the files for what what what? We said, yes, we have received them. (Laughter)

MG106-H You know the way the South African education system wants us to assess the learners, really it's all the confusion, the frustrations that the teachers are in, you know, are carrying every day. Because it doesn't take time for a teacher to breathe. It keeps on changing, changing, changing, changing, changing, changing. And these types of changes daily, it also confuses the last step, which is the grade 12, in terms of part of assessment. That's why we find that at the ultimate end learners get dropped, get failed. Poor results. And whenever there's a poor result, the national government blame the teachers, whereas the National themselves confused the teachers, the officials, and so everybody in the education system, by not giving them the direct way of assessing. An important part to show that the country is developing in terms of education is about assessment. But if we

- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- department
- image of profession
- SEE - working conditions
- strongly expressed emotions
- working conditions

cannot grasp a clear instruction, a way of assessing our learners, they'll therefore say, 'oh, all the things are confusing'. Then teachers, at the ultimate end, in classes they get emotional. And I also, as the head say, you know what, let me check your file. Then they don't provide me with the files. 'Mr M, I'm still busy, you know this thing of assessment, I'm still busy with this and this'. And I can feel and I can see they are confused. They are frustrated. And even as an HoD I know, I'm an HoD, but I've got about four classes to six classes and in those classes fifty-three learners inside. So how long am I going to take to finish to assess the learners so I can know individual learners' weaknesses so that I can be able to assist? And in that, the department again do not employ more educators. Because, if it's a school like this one, it's got about one thousand four hundred and eighty-five learners in class, and in some classes, especially in these intermediate classes, you'll find learners are fifty-three, fifty-four. The highest number plus/minus fifty-four. So if I've got six classes...

MG107-J Still on the number, can you check the size of the classrooms?

MG108-M Three hundred for one person.

MG109-H Just imagine! How long would I finish assessing these learners and then knowing these learners' individual problems and trying to come up with some special needs, then remediate it? Then, when I'm still trying to think to the end of the term, it's already the change of season, then the end of the year, complete, then go to the next level - it becomes a problem, like this year, with the way we should assess learners in classes.

MG110-M Another thing, maybe for the whole revolution of education, it needs to sit down, the premiers, Angie Motshekga (Current Minister of Education) and the rest, they need to have a vision. What do they really need with the children of South Africa? What do they really need? Because globally, our learners cannot compete. They can only compete using the technologies stuff, but sitting and competing against other nations, no they cannot. Because the Department of Education, it doesn't have a vision.

MG111-I Can I sidetrack a little bit and ask about the Foundations for Learning? I mean, you've got the files and you told me how you got them, but I'm curious to know, do you use the lesson plans and what's your evaluation of the lesson plans?

- attribution- system
- dealing with failure
- policy
- SV-access threatened

MG112-J The lesson plans in this Foundations for Learning, they are planned by these people I don't know them. When I look at a lesson plan itself, it has divisions. It says the lesson plan must have...it must be for one and a half hours, which is then three

periods. And then when you check in these one and a half hours there is fifteen minutes for this, thirty minutes for this, twelve minutes for this, twenty minutes...so that the division of the lesson, to us, it's not practical. It's not practical, it's not working, because they are talking about fifteen minutes changing to this one, doing reading, changing to this, writing, in one period. And when you look at the length of a lesson plan, the length of a lesson plan it's too lengthy for us. These are designed for learners in schools like decent schools, those that have learners that can grasp quickly, ten minutes time it's done for oral questions and this one ten minutes is for this, fifteen minutes for writing. Because with us, writing it's thirty minutes to forty-five minutes, just transcribing with our learners. So it's designed for those learners, not for us. What we are doing with it, it's...at least it's a guidance to us. We look at it, at least I can pick up this, go at my pace, teaching these learners and then after I've seen that they've grasped this, it's then that I come up with a way of assessing them. It can be a group work or it can be an individual and then I assess them. I pick up something and I go step by step. But doing a lesson plan for a day? No, it's not practical for us.

MG113-M And the level it's done is very high. Using the FFL to teach the learners of us, you are killing them. You are killing them and burying them. You rather just have them as a guideline, to use them as a tool, then you understand the level of the learners. You go down. You understand, then you go down and prepare a lesson at the learners' level, so that you give them a foundation. Because that one is very high.

MG114-H You know, I'm not against the Foundation for Learning, specifically that it's meant for mathematics and the languages. Because initially they wanted to improve mathematics and language so that we have the engineers and they know everything 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, you use the high pace, not the pace that we normally know because 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. And looking at the maths and language, we have got another learning areas that needs to be taken into consideration. But to pick up only one fault, another fault, which is here, is that the periods that should be catered for in a day, or a week, is not good. It's too much. Like for languages: fourteen periods a week!

MG115-J There comes the assessment policy there.

MG116-H That is not real! That is not practical! Because the other learning areas like Social Sciences, like Natural Sciences, they are still continuing with their own periods, seven, eight, four, six a week. Then how are you going to fit in the fourteen periods starting from half past eight until two o'clock? So this Foundation for Learning, in itself, is not practical. So it hampers the assessment development of our learners, in this school, in South Africa as a whole.

MG117-M Even the learning span of the child. A learner cannot sit for more than three periods for one learning area. You'll see them asking, may I please go out, may I go out, may I please go out? And they are going to disturb the whole class.

MG118-J You know, it comes back to the assessment again. When I said to you, when these people are developing this, even the assessment policies, it seems as if teachers were not involved. Teachers were not involved. I mean, we all know that the concentration span of a child is for this much. So how can a child, a grade six learner...a grade four, because it starts in grade four, hope to concentrate for one and a half hours, looking at one person? Ultimately they fall asleep.

MG119-I No, surely they will do different things in one and a half hours?

MG120-J Different things, but by one educator. It's four, five, six and seven. Oh, these three grades, four, five, six.

MG121-I Oh, I would have thought that that's a good thing. I mean, if I'm a maths teacher, I would be happy to have one and a half hours, to have three periods, because then I can teach something and I can practise something and they can write. I can do lots of different activities, but I've got time to consolidate this thing that I want to teach.

MG122-J I'm saying they didn't...yes, as a teacher I won't get bored, I'll be able to consolidate everything. I'm talking about the concentration span of a learner. So with me, I don't have a problem, I can be able to do that. And again, the department has just posed this to us, they didn't come up with plan B. They said fourteen periods per week for this language. And then when we ask them, what about these other learning areas? It means the school must knock off at three now. They said to us, 'improvise'.

MG123-H How?

MG124-I Oh, well, if you improvise then you don't have to do fourteen hours, you can make the changes that suit you. That's what improvise means. (General laughter)

MG125-M If you do under fourteen periods, they are going to come and say:

MG126-J&H you didn't follow the policy.

MG127-I But they told you to improvise.

MG128-J Yes, they said to us, you can improvise. So, last week they were here. Then they said: according to your timetables, there's no FFL here. (knocking finger on table for emphasis). 'Yes, there is no FFL in the timetables. We are using our two periods.' 'But it must show that it's FFL.' That's why I'm saying, teachers are confused.

MG129-H I don't see a difference between FFL, English and home language, because when you ay FFL is Foundation for Learning, we know definitely it is meant for mathematics and it's for languages. Then if in my timetable it's written English, it's written home language, its written mathematics, that means these are the FFL!

MG130-I Yes, that's correct.

MG131-H It's just that I categorise them in such a way that I understand them.

MG132-J We are running over time.

MG133-I Ok, can we carry on? I want to know how you feel about your learners. Say, your learners did well, how do you feel? If your learners did badly how do you feel?

- dealing with failure
- enabling learner achievement
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

MG134-M If my learners did well, I feel happy. If my learners didn't do well, I don't feel happy. That is why I don't encourage them to copy as I'm teaching maths. I encourage them to get that zero if it's necessary, so that I will do one on one with them, because I encourage them to say, in everything that you do in maths there must be a reason why. Then if you can have that, if you don't understand, 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.

MG135-J You know what, Carola, I have to pick up my daughter at aftercare.

MG136-I Alright, then you have to say goodbye. (Discussion about time and goodbyes.)
I still want to ask you about marking.
Tell me how you feel about learners.

MG137-H 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 went 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 then.

- attribution- self
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions

MG138-I Alright. Marking, how do you feel about marking? How do you feel while you're doing the marking? Afterwards?

MG139-M Ok, I do it this way. Many times maths is a double period per day, there is no maths one period, its always double. So the first period, if today is my day to teach, that first period I will be teaching, then the second period they will doing a little bit of practice and I give them an activity to go and do it at home. The following day when I come in class, first period, we do corrections, then when I was doing corrections with them, then they give it to me, first row I mark, as I'm marking the other two and three rows they are doing corrections, the written one. And as they do the written one, I correct this one, I give it to them, I make like this, until I mark the whole class. That's the way I do it. It's very wonderful because everybody will be doing hands on. I will be doing the marking, they will be doing the writing of corrections, and then I will check if the corrections they have written they are right. If some they did miss maybe their signs, instead of saying addition, they write minus, I will call the one learner: 'you know, you were supposed to write minus here, so this is not right'. Then I write something there, the colour of the pen that is different from her or him, and that's the way I do it.

- enabling learner achievement
- marking
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

MG140-I You don't take marking home?

MG141-M No.

MG142-H You know, the marking part, yes, the marking is to me I do...so for my informal assessment, or informal task, I use learners to mark. Sometimes self assessment they assess themselves, sometimes I use this peer assessment, so that they can be able to see how best they can improve, how they've made some mistakes, they correct themselves, and they enjoy it almost every day.

MG143-M Yes.

MG144-H And for formal assessment is then that now I take them to my office, then I mark them on my own. Because that is the result that I'm going to get from this kind of assessment, I'm

going to record them. I don't allow my learners to mark.

MG145-M It's not good.

MG146-I Alright, and do you take marking home?

MG147-H I initially don't take them home, but I take them to my office. Even now in my office see, some of them they are there.

MG148-I Yes, I can see the piles.
MH149-H So, in my spare time I sit down and mark them. So I enjoy marking because I can see on my own how far our learners are. Then quickly I've got some solutions in mind to say how, ...when I'm going to give them feedback through writing in their books and verbal feedback, then I know what I'm going to talk about.

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

MG150-I And what subjects do you mark? I'm really asking are there any kinds of marking that are easier to deal with than other kinds of marking?

MG151-M No, there's nothing easier. The only thing that is clear to everybody, the area of specialisation. That's where the mark is very good. I'm teaching maths and technology. He's teaching EMS and SePedi and other things. I cannot teach whatever that he's teaching. Unless if it’s a formal assessment where he has written even the memo, then I can mark that. My speciality is maths. If it’s maths, then I know and everything is easy.

- assessment tasks
- judgement - making it
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

MG152-H Yes...in EMS and especially on language also, it's not easy to assess in terms of marking and whatsoever. Normally what makes it easier for me to assess quickly, is when I've got the rubric. That is the easiest way of assessing. But if then I don't use a rubric, then its a long way of assessing because normally I don't use a generalised mark, I use point per point and that means marking, marking, marking. So just imagine marking about forty-three books which have got question one, question two, question three. So it will take me a long time to mark, to finish marking. So I normally use the rubric, that would be the criteria for assessing this work, which normally I agree with my learners in the class to say, how are we going to assess this? Then they come up with the criteria. Normally I look at...if it's the spelling, look also at the spelling in languages. Look also at spelling in SePedi because you see, there are those kinds of words that (?are like cockroaches) I mark them wrong. So as long as they came up with the criteria I don't have panic when marking their work, because I mark wrong or right according to the way they wanted me to do. So it becomes easier and I enjoy it the most. For some of them, I just put zero, then I go on. Because that is what they want. And when you give them the feedback, they laugh, and sometimes it means the way

they laugh to each other, they encourage themselves or one another to show that by tomorrow, don't get this again. Because if you get this, we're going to laugh at you. So, to other learners they are emotionally touched, and to most of them, you know, it's the way of improving their pace and their standard of working. So I find it so helpful in assisting me in terms of my marking experiences in schools.

MG153-I The rubrics you find helpful?

MG154-H The rubrics, I find it's helpful to me.

MG155-I Good. Alright, report writing and accountability. How do you feel about those things? How do you feel when you're writing the reports? When you have to account to parents or to the department?

reporting demands

MG156-M Well, we normally don't find any problem because we are doing subject teaching. If I'm teaching maths and technology, I'm responsible for that grade for maths and technology. If any parents come in for any clarity or the district official, I will be responsible for technology. So if I'm saying this learner got ninety-eight, I must have evidence how I'm saying he got ninety-eight. That's where I'm accountable, because I have the evidence with me and then the handwriting of that very learner, and I've even recorded the same thing. Even if you can go straight to the learner, you didn't ask me, just go straight to the learner and say, can I have all the things of technology? They give you, then you'll come to me and say, can I have your record sheet? I give you my record sheet. And you'll check, and then you check. You check and you check. Only to find, oh, there is evidence. Because I mustn't go out. If I'm going to say, maybe they have written, in technology you are using the rubric as we assess, you are using the rubric and their project, so if you are doing that, it must be clear in my recording and say, the reason he got twenty-five for task two is because we were doing this as their project and they were doing this as a group. The work of that group, this is the work of the group, I place it next to it, then they are going to see it, everything is fine and clear.

MG157-I And it's not too much stress for you to do that all?

MG158-M No.

MG159-H You know, in terms of reporting, so long as we do have the record sheet and we have got evidence of the work of the learners, and yes...it becomes easier; it doesn't give you any stress. It becomes easier because you do have evidence, you do have the recorded marks. Then you know you have marked the books, you know you have got this record and whoever wants it, then you give

parents
reporting demands

it to them. And fortunately enough in our school, the time when we issue reports, is the time when we call the parents to come and view the reports. That is the time where we sit down with the parent of that learner and show her the learners' performance.

MG160-I You sit down with each parent?

MG161-M&H Yes! Each parent.

MG162-H We explain to say, look, why we are saying this learner has got this and what does that mean.

MG163-M And if he or she wants to write it, we allow that. They write and then they can even come again from the second term to say, but now I'm happy ma'am, or I'm happy sir, because in term one she got twenty-three, but now she's got thirty-five.

MG164-H And now there's a little bit of improvement.

MG165-M But even again if there is something that is wrong, even the term one she got twenty-three, then in term two she got eighteen, the parents can still say, 'ma'am now I agree with you, that boy of mine needs help. Where can I help?' And you say, 'what can you do'. Then they tell you, we agree. Give each other term three. I will do this, you do this, then we communicate.

MG166-I And the reports for the department?

about emotions
reporting demands

MG167-H For the reports towards the department we use the summary statistics, and we also use a schedule, the green sheet. In the summary statistics we summarise all the learning areas according to the schedule. So that's the schedule, that's the summary statistics. And the summary statistics, it gives you a clear picture as to which teacher is lazy and not committed. Because you know, it is not class teaching, it's subject teaching or learning area teaching. Then you can be able to see, oh, Mr M is teaching EMS in grade six A and B, and Ma'am Y is teaching EMS in grade six C, D and E. So when we look at these learners here, they perform badly as compared to these learners. So it means Mr M needs help. So we intervene, to say: how did it come, account, tell us. It then that he is now also able to tell us, to say: no, I've got the records, I've got evidence, I've got this, my learners didn't perform very well. Then we can be able to assist the teacher and say: no, it means you were using a wrong way of assessing learners and a wrong method of teaching. Then bring ... let's assist you.

MG168-I Do all the children in one grade, in one subject, write the same exam, or test at the end?

MG169-M&H Yes.

MG170-I So you can compare between teachers.

MG171-H And it's easy to compare them, you see. So sometimes you'll find teachers who'll tell: you know what, I had a problem, you know I've got this and this and this problems, (like the problem that I had), and explain to you to say, you know what, they have stolen my belongings and I'm not coping very well. So those kinds of things. When it comes out, 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. So that, when whatever comes up in the departmental area, then we know exactly where the problem lies.

MG172-I So then, my last question is around how do you manage your own emotions? When you feel strongly about something, how do you manage that?

about emotions
colleagues
strongly expressed emotions

MG173-M Towards learners or colleagues?

MG174-I Well, both. Wherever. You could talk about both, how you manage.

MG175-M As a teacher we are governed by so many policies. We are governed by SACE, they tell us what to do, what not to do. Sometimes if you find that you are out of this body, you cannot take it any longer, you cannot take stuff or what - 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, phew, deep breath, and you do it. Then everything is calm. If you've heard that this one is not doing good, because in a class of fifty-three there must be someone who is always challenging you, but as a professional somebody, you just keep on teaching and teaching, teaching, when the period is off you say, Carola, can you come and see me in my office? Then you do one on one. Always when you do this and this and that, I don't like it. Do you really like it? Then you communicate. And then you say, is there any problem? Then he will tell you or she will tell you. Then you say, how can we help? Then you agree. Tomorrow when you go to the same class, you'll never have another problem because they know, this is something that you do.
And then with colleagues, the only thing that we do, we are not the same. Some they are sure. Some they can do this. But as a person you know, ooh, this is what is expected from me. If it boils, you go out and go to a class that there is no teacher in it and then you sit until they learn, then when you see that all weather now is fine, then you say, H, you are still fine, about that thing of early in the morning, can we do that? He said, no I'm sorry, the time when we do that, it's because in my mind I was having this from home. So

even myself ooh, early in the morning the taxi driver did this, I said, ok, sorry, sorry, sorry, so that's it. If I see after having that, I skip that time, I went to the other class thinking that H will cool down and when I try to knock here I realise that he's still (puffed up mouth and shoulders - angry), I go out. Tomorrow will come and then I look at the face and, ah, my luck comes, to talk about yesterday's thing, then we finish it.

MG176-I So you talk to your colleagues.

MG177-H You know, Carola, 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 bound by that. And as M indicated to say, there are policies that govern us. And it is fortunate, because we are assisted by those policies. And if it were not for those policies, yerree, most of us would be in jail by now.

about emotions
strongly expressed emotions

MG178-M Mm mm. Yes.

MG179-H Because you are...you get caught by the teacher, you get caught by the learner, you get caught by the parents. So many things happen within a short period of time and you need to calm down, as M says. You sometimes you stand, you look...you go down, you go back, to say kanna, I'm a teacher, kanna, I'm a professional...

MG180-M Why am I here?

MG181-H And as a professional ... What am I doing here? Then you start to recall all those things. If you have taken this teaching profession as love, care, that you want your community to get somewhere, then obviously you will calm down and say, you know what, I wanted you to do this and to do that and to do that. Because as I indicated before ...

SV-access to internal goods

MG182-M We are (?1:38:56).

MG183-H And coming to learners, it is even worse to the learners because they will make noise sometimes, disrespecting you, you're thinking of beating them, you think of corporal punishment, you think of being fired from work. You think of your children, you think of so many things within a short period of time. So that is where we are helped by those governing laws that make us calm down and try to work as professionals as we always do. But those kind of things are different, because if now I'm just on the street walking and I tampered with a boy or any person, then my emotions goes high and I beat him, same time. So the professionalism will remain within the school premises and out of the school premises, it's then I can show them my true colours.

about emotions
strongly expressed emotions

Because of the rules and the regulations that bond us as educators. So we attempt it with parents, we try to talk calmly with them.

MG184-M Because sometimes, as I agree with what H has just said, sometimes there are lot of things that you immediately think about. If I do this, I'm going to lose my job, I'm going to walk up and down the street going to court. Number two: what do I really need? I am here to teach, and these people, all my hours of my day I spend with them, I need to have peace with them. Because the little time that I'm going to have is at home, so whether I like it, I just have to go down, even myself I'm not good in the geography things, the social sciences, but I know about the four seasons, that there is autumn, there is spring, there is winter, there is summer. If today maybe five teachers...because the more the teachers comes in, everybody wants to show you colours that I'm coming from Limpopo, you mustn't say something. I come from Natal; I'm what what, and what what. So you say, oh, alright, this week it's winter, ok, doesn't matter, autumn is coming.

about emotions
strongly expressed emotions

MG185-H Then if you feel that you cannot take the pressure...

MG186-M ...Sometimes you go to the person that you really, really, really trust and know that it will never come out. You go and debrief. You say, H, I made one, two, three, four, five. Then H without judging you, he will listen. At the end of your story telling whatever emotions that you are facing, and challenges, because you come to him, he must be honest and tell you, no, this side you were supposed to do this and you were supposed to say this. But because it's already prolonged, next time when you do one, two, three, remember, calm down, take a deep breath, then understand what you're going to say, you are going to be a good girl, if I'm a girl. If it's a man, I'll say, H, if you're going to keep on doing this, you see, this one, two, three, it leads you to this, so as your friend, retreat from this. Then even though after telling him, he might not act on the spot but he will go home and adjust it, oh, the girl says one, two, three, then tomorrow he will come back and say, you told me the truth, thank you, and as from today, I'll practise this. That's the way, it's a journey.

about emotions
strongly expressed emotions

MG187-H There are some pros and cons in a school situation, so procedures need to be followed, whether you are a principal or whatsoever, but you need to follow the procedures. Rules and regulations in a school bind us all. And normally, if you feel you can't take the heat, then what you do, you report it to an immediate senior and the immediate senior will call him or tell you together and try to sort it out. We do have the unions...the unions also will be able to assist in terms of the conflict between colleagues. You have got a school based support team you can also refer your problem to. Then there are so many avenues that you can go to. So even the learners, if they do have a problem...

about emotions
strongly expressed emotions

MG188-M Soul Buddies.

MG189-H There are the Soul Buddies in this school, before they even come to me as a class teacher. And there's a class teacher taking it further if I cannot solve it. So those procedures within the school system also assist us to control and manage our emotions in a school situation.

MG190-M And another thing, every day, something that is working for me, Mr M is my senior, and then to me is a friend, so if I'm having a luggage from my home, I make sure that the minute I arrive at the gate of the school I say, I'll find you after school, just remain there, I'll come and pick you up. And I make sure that when you come inside the school premises, you are sober. Whatever that happened yesterday, it is for yesterday, and it will never come. Today, the following day when you come to school, make sure that you are sober and make sure that that day it will be meaningful, it will not be like any other day. When you come back you say, mmm, by the way, at home there is no sugar. Outside the school premises that is good. But if I'm going to come here, saying there is no sugar at home, even if I'm saying H is my friend, after saying 'hi, M', I look that side. I have to make sure that whatever that I come from home with, if I'm not going to debrief to him, I must leave them at the gate.

about emotions
strongly expressed emotions

MG191-H Before you enter into the school premises, just put down there.

MG192-M Then I come and be in that room with him, knowing that I'm leaving something at the gate. Happy with the children, happy with anybody, the principal, and sometimes solve other people's problems, knowing that there is another one at the gate waiting for me, then as I'm helping others, I will have another thing, a solution. Oh, even that problem that you have left at the gate, the solution is this one. Don't worry now. Then when I go back I say, oh my friend, now I've got the solution with it, let's go home, next time you mustn't do this to me. (Laughter). That's it.

MG193-I That's fantastic. Where did you learn that?

MG194-M I don't know. (Laughter)

MG195-H You know that is the same as being a housewife or a ?? . Whatever the problems you encounter at home, don't bring them to a work situation. Make sure you carry them, when you enter in a work situation, leave them at the gates here, my friend I'm going to pick you up after I'm finished with my work. Then you enter into your work. There's no other way, Carola. During your working period, those days, then something will come up to

solve the problem that is there. And definitely when you go home, you'll be a happy person.

MG196-M And keep your head up with a smile. Hi! Hi! Hi! Hi! (Laughter) And the more you do that, you will cherish yourself. Even though it's hard but you say, hi, I miss you girls, I miss you boys. That's it.

about emotions
strongly expressed emotions

MG197-I Fake it until you make it.

MG198-M Yes. And then the more the learners they come to you and hug you...oh, if one person can hug you, yo! I'm coming with a smile. Then you just go.

MG199-H You know, sometimes we understand the attitude and the character of different teachers in the school. Like M. When M, there's something that is not ok with her, you will hear learners singing in the class. Then I will say, oh, there's something troubling M. Then I go out, M, what's going on? Aagh Mr M...she will be busy marking the books by then and learners singing, and enjoying marking. But there's something! Mr M, I had this problem and this problem, I'm: no man, don't worry, take it away. Just take it away.
And sometimes for me, now if I become emotionally furious, I've got a coffee, I drink coffee...

about emotions
strongly expressed emotions

MG200-M Strong coffee.

MG201-H Strong coffee, I sit here...when you see M coming, I say, M, I'm sure you are not coming to me. I'm busy; I don't need any person nearby. (Laughter)

MG202-M I know that today is winter, today's winter. But if I can find him busy marking without a cup of tea, oh, today is summer. And I come in and I know we are going to talk sense. But if he has a cup of coffee very strong, and is very quiet, ooh, I know, it's winter, then I mustn't be next to him.

MG203-H I keep myself marking, marking, and the minute I finish marking then I'm ok. I'm thinking and solving the problems whilst I'm marking and drinking my coffee. When I solved the problem, I just go back to the class, normal.

MG204-I That's interesting. I haven't heard any teachers say they're using marking as therapy. (Laughter)

MG205-M As they sing, the more they sing to you, they are giving you energy. At that time, fifty-three books within thirty minutes. You think fast, you are listening to the song, you are thinking about the problem, the challenges....

MG206-I That's fantastic. (Laughs) Is there anything you want to ask me? You don't have to, because I know you want to go...

MG207-H Tell me Carola, how did you find it working in terms of assessment? Is it either easier or difficult to work in this kind of teachers' emotional thing in terms of assessment?

MG208-I Ok, I'm not sure...are you asking me how do I find the emotions of my own assessment or how am I finding working on my PhD?

MG209-H Yes, working on your PhD degree in terms of teachers emotionally in assessing?

MG210-I Ok. Well...I've been analysing the interviews. I mean, I'm going to have this transcribed, and then I will send you a copy of the transcription. And then you can say if there's any changes that you want to make, or to add or subtract or if you think I've misrepresented it in some way or...or anything where you think, oh no, I don't want her to say that. Just read it and feedback to me.

MG211-H Normally we have to add.

MG212-I You don't have to but you can. And then I'm busy...I've done a few other interviews and I'm going to add your interview to that and I'm busy writing a chapter on teachers strongly expressed emotions. So what are teachers feeling strongly about in assessment? And the categories that I have so far I, teachers feel very strongly about learner achievement. They feel very strongly about marking and about feedback. And they feel very strongly about policy and the department. And I could hear the same kind of things coming with you. And what's interesting about learner achievement, and I can tell you now because we're finished, is that...and you also said the same thing, your first sentence was, I feel very happy when my learners do well and I feel very unhappy when my learners do badly. And you said, I check, did I do something wrong? All the teachers are saying that. It's like learner achievement is the one most important thing for them.

- my research purposes

MG213-M Yes.

MG214-H It's the yardstick of measuring how that, the learning, has been achieved to the learners. That is the measuring stick.

MG215-I Yes. And every teacher I've interviewed has said that. Different words obviously, but those...the yardstick words, I'm going to put them in, because nobody has said it like that before. And then it's like the teachers go on a roller coaster with the learner results. The learners do well, I'm happy, if they don't...so

- enabling learner achievement
- feedback
- learner characteristics
- purpose and value
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

I'm using the idea of a roller coaster...

MG216-H It is bad...when you look at the summary stats, then you say, no, man, this learner is performing very badly. Then you also check the term marks, you say, no man, during the last term the learner was ok, so now, where I went wrong? And you start to ask yourself questions.

MG217-M Because after, if you are having the informal and formal, it gives clue that what happens for the learner. Because if they are writing a test, during a test or whatever activity we are recording, the learner was so outstanding. Then this one, from this date, the learner, the work goes, the graph goes down. Then it's your responsibility as a teacher to say, oh, Carola, come here. Then you talk and say, Carola, are you alright? Then Carola will tell you, on that day my mom was critically ill. On that day, because I didn't eat when I go to bed. On this day, because my friends they were laughing at me. On this day, they were calling me names. Oh, alright! Then you give guidance. If next time this happens, this happens, know that it always happened to each one of us. But if it happens, just say: it happens, but I have to write the test so that I pass. Then next time if you're having this...you'll never see any problem, because you are saying to this learner, my gate and my heart is open, come to me and then he will trust you. Even if something happened on the way to school, whether bad or good he will run to you and say, do you remember early in the morning somebody was trying to do this to me and you said, no I didn't. Something like this happened to me because of so and so and so. Then as the teacher you investigate and help. Then you and the learner have a bond. It becomes strong. And then they even go and tell other learners, if you've got a problem go to Ma'am So and S, she'll help you. Don't allow them to tease you. And people there love you. That's the way you're going to help them.

MG218-I To say thank you before you run away. I've brought three articles for each person. One is a university lecturer who went back to school to teach during his sabbatical and he wanted to do research so he kept a journal. And at the end of the year he looked at the journal and he saw that half his journal was about emotions. So he's describing his own emotions. It's a very interesting article. Another, much shorter one, is an English teacher who talks about how she just got finished, and then what she did to get more energy again. And the last one is a literature review on how important it is for teachers to feel good. How important it is for them to have positive emotions.

about emotions
my research purposes

MG219-H Thanks so much. This will help a lot. This will energise our emotions. Thanks so much. We hope that you study well, your research, you complete your research and you become a happy person. We need our people to be happy so that in future if

we are stuck, because obviously that is a ladder, a step that is going up and up. We say, oh, I'm not alone in this struggle. You know, others they go on, they study, they study, they don't lose hope, but how can I lose hope. Just a motivational scenario where we will able to go up. So I believe...

MG220-I And I must... I've been doing this now for three years and I must say, I've become a much better teacher during that time. Because I'm learning, I'm able to teach better.

C Group Interviewed by Carola 2009

CG1-I Assessment is really part of the school system and we don't even think about it anymore, and we don't think about why we're doing it, but I want to ask you: why do you think assessment is valuable? Why do we need to do it? Why do we have it?

CG2-C I think it is important to go for assessment. Why? For reasons of checking whether there's progress or not, that is why assessment is so important. I mean, 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? So doing assessment is one of those main reasons, I should believe.

- attribution- self
- dealing with failure
- purpose and value

CG3-I Ok. Now sometimes we think things are a good thing but we feel differently. So we say assessment is valuable but we feel differently. So I want to ask, just generally, how do you feel about assessment?

CG4-C Uhn...I'm not sure how to answer that one. Really, assessment is something else...you feel...sometimes you feel like teaching on and on without doing assessment, I don't know why. Sometimes we feel this burden as educators of marking or of grading learners, giving a learner a test that she has failed, giving her a negative remark. Sometimes you feel you don't have to do it, you just have to teach a learner and then the learner proceeds to the next grade. But then, I don't know what to say. If I was the head of department or what, I was not going to put learners in a situation of being assessed. 'Cause really, that threatens them. Even if they know the answers or even if they are good at that particular subject. But when you talk of assessing them, the atmosphere changes. I think that's the problem. I feel we can just teach them and then proceed them to the next grade...promote them to the next grade without assessing them. As long as we have given them that knowledge at that level, but we must not put them in that kind of a position, to write exams, to sit for exams, those formal exams. They are threatening.

- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- purpose and value
- SEE - learner achievement
- SEE - purpose and value
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

CG5-I So is there anything about assessment that makes you particularly upset?

CG6-C Yes. The parts of giving them feedback. The part of giving them feedback that they have failed, that makes me sad. I wish I could not get to that...position, to tell a learner that you have failed, did not make it, or what. It makes them feel useless. It makes them feel small. Even if they want to try harder but then they are discouraged and demotivated. I wish if we do assessment,

- dealing with failure
- feedback
- judgement - making it
- SEE - judgement
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

all the results would come positive. All learners should pass.

CG7-I Ok. And is there anything about assessment that makes you happy?

- attribution- self
- learner characteristics
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

CG8-C Yes! Of course! When all my learners have passed or I have assessed them on, I feel great. I feel proud to see that I can at least do something on them, that they should be proud of at the end of the day. That makes me very happy when they all pass what I've assessed them on. I feel very excited.

CG9-I Ok. Now, your memories of being assessed. Often we have things that happen to us in our lives and they have a strong emotional...we were strongly emotional around them. Maybe very happy or maybe very sad, and we remember those things. So I'm asking, do you have any memories of being assessed as a child that are like in your mind?

- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- feedback
- judgement - being judged
- learner characteristics
- personal history
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

CG10-C I've got a lot of memories, because our assessment was never like the one that is happening currently. We were told to study the whole book or the whole chapter and be assessed. So we were not sure what to prepare for when we were being assessed, and that brought a lot of pressure and stress on us as learners. But at least now with this new kind of education, this system of NCS, you discuss assessment with learners, you prepare them, you tell them. Before, assessment was never discussed and even if you have performed bad, you'll not get feedback on what to improve on. You'll feel like you are stupid or you are a slow learner, or what. But now at least you can get feedback that where did you do go wrong, so that you can prepare better for the next test. But before that never happened. So it was not nice.

CG11-I And can you remember a particular moment, a particular memory?

- personal history
- purpose and value

CG12-C Of my assessment? I remember the one, while I was doing grade 7, that was in 1989. Ya, I was doing grade 7. I did pass very well, but my main worry was that I got high marks but I never understood what I learned. I was just doing it to pass the exams, to be number one in class. But if you can ask me to recall what I have learned, I was not in a position to explain to you exactly what I have learned. I never understood what I have learned. I just learned for the sake of going to grade 8 the following year, going to high school. So that was the problem. I was learning hard but only memorising, not understanding.

CG13-I Ok. And when you were...as a teacher, is there any assessment memory that you have? Being assessed as a teacher?

- feedback
- personal history

CG14-C Being assessed as a teacher now or assessing learners

as...?

CG15-I No, being assessed as a teacher?

CG16-C There is memory...good memory...there are good memories now because why do I say that? When I was in tertiary doing my diploma as an educator, when I've passed the assignment I will get a feedback from a lecturer or a tutor telling me that, well done, you have done it, you have done exceptionally well. And then even if I have not obtained good marks I will get the feedback that where did I go wrong. So that gives me a clue on what to improve on and what have I achieved up to so far. So there's a clear direction, where am I going, I am able to weigh myself, that's my understanding what I'm learning or I'm out of the track. I'll never ever guess it or what.

CG17-I Now, do you think that the memory from standard 5 has in some way influenced the way you teach and assess children now?

- personal history
- teaching

CG18-C It has. It has influenced the way I teach now, because I'm always striving to make sure that the learners understand what I taught them. I'm not prepared to see them memorising like I used to do, because memorising is hard work. It needs a lot of effort. And once you forget one word or one sentence in what you have memorised, you are out. So I always tell them not to memorise information but to understand what they are being taught. Ya.

CG19-I Ok, good. Now, in your current assessment practice, I want to ask about different aspects of it. The first one is assessment policy. How...a lot of teachers aren't sure...how do you work with the assessment policy and how do you find it?

- aversion-fear
- policy
- SEE - policy
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

CG20-C I'll be frankly honest with you. With the assessment policy it is still a confusion. There is no clarity as to what exactly must you do in order to be in line with the assessment policy. But I try my level best to follow the guidelines. Sometimes where we are provided with the guidelines on how to assess learners, like, giving the specific outcomes and the assessment standards, I just follow that. 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.

KG21-I And where do you find the guidelines?

- colleagues
- policy

CG22-C They are provided by the HODs, the Head of Departments. They provide us with...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. So until I'm satisfied that my learners has acquired such skills, then I feel I have done justice. But we still need a lot of workshop on that.

Though we went for this workshop for NCS, but still the time wasn't sufficient enough for us to grasp all that changes that have occurred in assessment.

CG23-I And have you changed your...the way you write the tests or the way you...how you assess the children?

CG24-C Yes. But not so much. Ya, I can say we still use the old traditional style of assessing learners but we have...we are trying to accommodate these new changes, like testing the higher order thinking skills, where you make sure that some questions they want learners to reproduce information, some they want them to give their opinions and some they want them to just criticise or argue against or for. So I'm always making sure that when I set questions I include all those kinds of questions, though I'm not yet perfect. Ya, I'm not yet perfect.

- assessment tasks
- comparison with pre-OBE assessmer
- self image
- SV-access threatened

CG25-I Ok. Alright. If you could change the assessment policy, what would you suggest would be a good change?

CG26-C I'm not sure whether this is going to find favour with you, but do away with exams, tests. Let's just go for continuous assessment. I really, I don't know what I can say, but these formal examination where there are strict rules, you see learners have to come on time and what-what. But you know, learners learn well when they are relaxed. They can give you very good marks when they are...but once we tell them about the test, the exams, they even change on their faces. So if we can do away with these formal examinations I think we'll make it...we'll find that the learner performing very well in class-works and homeworks, and assignments. But bring the test, that learner's results will drop. I don't know why.

- attribution- system
- enabling learner achievement
- policy
- SV-access threatened

CG27-I Ok. Now, let's talk about learners. How do you feel about learners in relation to assessment? So how do you feel for example when learners have failed? Or how do you feel when you're marking learners that are not doing so well?

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

- feedback
- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- SEE - feedback
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

CG29-I Ok, and students that passed well, how do you feel about them?

CG30-C Very proud. I feel very proud. That is why I said I wish

- learner characteristics
- SEE - learner achievement
- self image
- strongly expressed emotions

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. But when they fail, they end up absconding out of your house, because they weigh themselves as failures, as slow learners.

CG31-I It's a really difficult dilemma that one, 'cause you can't...you also, how do you pass one, pass all?

- dealing with failure
- judgement - making it
- SEE - judgement
- strongly expressed emotions

CG32-C It's not an easy thing to do. It's not an easy thing to do really. And 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.

CG33-I Ok. Now marking, especially as a language teacher, how do you find the marking? How do you mark? How much time do you spend marking? How do you feel about the marking?

- judgement - making it
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access to internal goods

CG34-C I hate marking. I wish there could be a machine to do marking. Really, it's not a nice experience to mark. And it's a lot of work, it needs a lot of time. If really you want to give good results, if you want to produce what is fair, when you mark you must give all your time to marking, you must dedicate all your time to marking and I must tell you if you can come to my school and check my cupboard, piles and piles of marking I start, because it takes me long to finish them, if I wanted to do justice.

GC35-I What kind of assessments do you give them?

- assessment tasks
- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

CG36-C Different kinds depending on the portfolio guide. Some they are short, some are long. But the most marking that I hate is the essays. It's too much work there. You need to follow the learners grammar, the content, is he 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).

CG37-I And is there a difference between your English classes and your Zulu classes?

- language

CG38-C There is a great difference. 'Cause in Zulu, it's my mother tongue, so I can express myself in any way that I like. But when it comes to English, it's my second language, I still have difficulties somewhere, somehow, you see, as an educator as well.

CG39-I And when you're marking?

- judgement - making it

CG40-C When I'm marking, I just follow the content. The language I'm not that strict. Ya.

- language
- marking

CG41-I Ok. Now when you're marking 70 scripts, are there any...while you're working, how does it feel? Are there any scripts that surprise you? Are there scripts that frustrate you? What's it like in the process of marking? Try and talk about that.

CG42-C Ya...sometimes the...you have to...you find two different things. Some are exciting, some are surprising, some are good. Then you know what I do when I mark, if I have to mark maybe 70 scripts, I start with those that I know that their language is better, so that I can have energy. If I have started with those that are frustrating, I end up demotivated to mark the whole scripts. So what I normally do, I take those that I feel I can find something that will motivate me to keep on marking. If I'm done with those that I know that are good, then I go to those that are difficult, where I have to put much effort to mark them, where I have to give myself time, after I've marked those that will motivate me. So whenever I mark these that are difficult, I always think about those I have marked already, that motivated me. So I also become lenient to these ones that are struggling.

CG43-I That's a very interesting tactic. (laughs)

CG44-C Though it's not easy. (laughter)

- marking
- SEE - marking
- strongly expressed emotions

CG45-I Last question on marking: in how far do you feel responsible for the students' results?

CG46-C Eish, will you rephrase that question? Meaning that where I'm responsible for them...?

CG47-I I'm asking, do you feel responsible for students marks or do you think students are responsible for their own marks?

CG48-C I feel they are responsible for their own marks. But if I've done my part. But 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 shoulder. But if I know that something disturbed me, like now, I was given a Zulu class for grade 12s. It was second week of March. These learners have been without a teacher for the past six months. Last year, the ones that wrote exams last year they just wrote out of their efforts. So they said they haven't done anything until our IDSO came and said I must help in Zulu. So we just started two weeks ago for matrics. So now I feel I must go during holidays and push them, because if they fail, the fault or the blame should be on educators. 'Cause

- attribution- learners
- attribution- self
- enabling learner achievement
- judgement - making it
- learner characteristics
- self image

- SV-access to internal goods

they haven't had a teacher for far long now?

CG49-I What classes do you normally teach?

CG50-C I'm teaching grade 11s and 12s.

CG51-I So you've done the syllabus before?

CG52-C Yes.

CG53-I You've done the curriculum before, so you know what to do with the grade 12s?

CG54-C I know what to do, yes. I know what to do.

CG55-I Ok, now...what is it like at your school, like at the end of the year when people are writing exams? What's the general feeling?

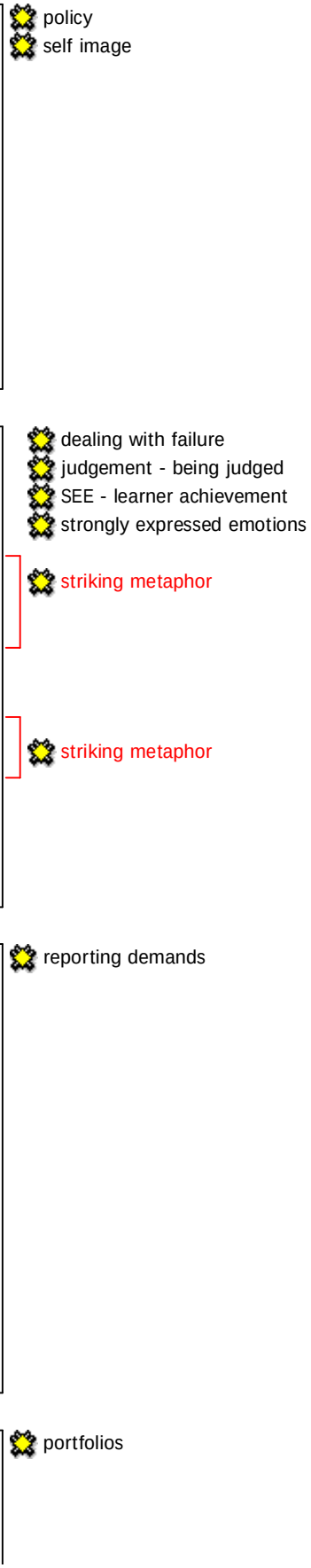
CG56-C The pressure is on educators, we are all crossing fingers that the learners should make it. And then the learners are...they're always having their exam fever. They'll be always scared really. There's a high tension. Both in educators and learners. 'Cause we are a high school, we are weighed according to our results, so everybody's crossing fingers that ooh, that they make it. And that's when we remember God. You know, the time for prayer is taken for granted during the whole year, but come the exams, every session we start with a prayer. (laughter) Really! The tension is high always. You'll never ever find us relaxed during exams. Ya...we are always worried.

CG57-I Ok. So is there anything that you could think of that would make that process less stressful?

CG58-C If our things will be organised in time, because we have this habit of leaving things up to the last hour, 11th hour. We'll start pushing late in September, already learners are writing preparatory exams, so it's late to start anything then. When the year begins we are so relaxed, we will say, do it in March. After March it's April, April, it's November. It's exams already. We tend to postpone things. And then the disruptions that are taking place, they're also contributing to this. If we can just plan, if we have a proper management plan from January till November, I don't think we'll have a problem. Because most of the time our school is known for late submission. We don't do our things in time.

CG59-I Tell me about the portfolio submissions. How do they work and what happens around them?

CG60-C There are due dates to submit all the portfolio works.



Like I'm doing the language. In April/May we submit orals. Then in September we submit portfolios. So if they're done and submitted in time they have a great influence on the learners and their results. They can help them really to get good marks, good results.

CG61-I And do you find that the learners, all 60 or 70 of them, do you find that they hand in their portfolios, that they do the portfolio work?

CG62-C It's a struggle to get learners submitting their portfolios. Some teachers have to drive inside the squatter camps, risking their cars, to go there. Sometimes they can be hijacked or what. Running after a learner to come and submit their portfolios, they are so reluctant in submitting their portfolios. They only realise it on the 11th hour that: I was supposed to submit. So that's how they lose it. They don't comply with submissions and everything. They're just hard to submit. The poor teachers will run after them, parents will be called, but there will be no change. It's very difficult. And an educator must account. You can't just give a learner a zero, whereas the learners has been attending for a whole year. You must account. So that is why they will go into the trouble of going and run after these learners, until they sit with them in their homes and let them write the task of three months in one hour until they finish. Because the department wants something because the learner has been attending. So you must produce something. The learner can't get zero.

- aversion-fear
- department
- learner characteristics
- portfolios
- SEE - department
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

CG63-I And do you find that the portfolios fit in with what you're teaching anyway?

CG64-C Ya, it fits. In fact it is a preparation for what they are going to write at the end of the year, ya. It is exactly what they are going to write. It is preparing them for what they are going to do at the end of the year. It's not different. If a learner has done well on a portfolio, surely in the exams she is going to excel.

- portfolios

CG65-I I also wanted to ask about the monitoring...the cluster meetings. How...do you go to cluster meetings? How do they work? And how do they make you feel?

CG66-C Yes, there are cluster meetings and they are well monitored. Because before you go to the cluster meeting you must do the internal moderation with your head of department, with your HOD. So the cluster meetings give you clues, the answers to the questions you are having. They also give you a guide, and the time frames that you must do this and you must finish it by this time. So I think they are useful, they are fruitful. Because that is where we get information on whether we are on track or not. And in these cluster meetings we also discuss what should be said on

- cluster meetings

tests. We also write common papers in June. One school set for the whole cluster. So they are helpful, a lot.

CG67-I Ok, so if one school sets for the whole cluster, do you find that the students in that school do better than the students in the other schools?

cluster meetings
teaching

CG68-C No, because that...even that test is going to be moderated. It's going to circulate around the whole schools. So the only children that will do better are the prepared students. Not that the paper was set on their school so they'll perform better, no. Even the scripts that are marked, they are going to circulate to be moderated as well. So there's no way that they can pass better than other schools. But if you haven't taught your learners what we have agreed upon in the cluster, then your learners are going to be in trouble. They are not going to make it on that exam.

CG69-I So the cluster meetings are really important to attend.

CG70-C Very important.

CG71-I Alright, now, about emotions, I mean, there's no one way to manage emotions. Sometimes we feel them, sometimes we ignore them, sometimes we suppress them, we shift them onto other people, sometimes we talk about them some places but not other places. But strong emotions that are associated with a particular incident or situation have a tendency to come back. So my question is: how do you deal with your emotions? How do you manage them? What do you do when you feel very strong pleasurable emotions? What do you do when you feel strong negative emotions? How do you manage your emotions?

about emotions
colleagues

CG72-C I discuss with my colleagues. In the staff room we'll talk about all these kinds of emotions. Maybe one of the colleagues will come with a solution. Sometimes you won't get a solution, but speaking about them, sharing with your fellow colleagues, it helps, though you were not having a solution at that time. But when time goes on, together collectively you find some of the solutions, though they're not permanent solutions, though they are temporary solutions. But talking about that it helps, because if you don't talk, you'll end up in hospital bed. (laughter) Really! No matter what emotions. But if you discuss, even if you have a hard learner in your class, a difficult learner, you share, someone will come and say, oh, I also have that kind of learner, you know, what I do? I do this and this. Then you go and apply that, it works for you, sometimes it doesn't work for you. We just share.

CG73-I Do you think that sometimes you're supposed to feel a particular kind of thing but then you feel something different?

CG74-C For an example? In what kind of situations?

CG75-I ...Ok, maybe...maybe you're supposed to feel that all the students deserve to pass, or all the students...that all the students are doing their best. You're supposed to feel ok about the students because you think they're all doing their best. But actually you're really pissed off with particular students because you think they didn't do anything. Do you have that kind of conflict between what you think you're supposed to feel and what you really feel?

CG76-C Sometimes...

CG77-I And if you do, what do you do...when do you have that conflict and what do you do with it?

- feedback
- learner characteristics
- SEE - feedback
- SEE - learner achievement
- strongly expressed emotions
- SV-access threatened

CG78-C I feel that when I have to give them their final results at the end of the year, I'll always encourage them that we are all going to the next grade, we are all going to proceed to the next grade, to the next grade. But it is all depending on our efforts. We must be responsible for our school work. But then come the end of the year, maybe my children are 55, you find that 4 of them are not proceeding. So that puts me in a little corner where I have to give them their results and tell them that you are not going to the next grade. I used to tell you that it depends on you. If you want to go to grade 12, you'll go. But if you are not willing to go, you are not going to go. So that is frustrating me. I wish I could be not available on the day of the results. Because they are all excited to go to the next grade. I wish I could give someone else to tell them those news, not me.

CG79-I Ok. Now is there anything else that you want to say about assessment and the feelings that it generates? Anything that maybe I didn't ask but you want to say?

- judgement - making it
- SEE - purpose and value
- strongly expressed emotions

CG80-C Eish, assessment is a good thing, but most of the questions about assessment that you have asked, I'm not sure whether there's something which you have left, but really I still feel very strong with this feeling of saying we must do away with the formal assessment. I don't know how can we do it but it should not be formal. It should not be formal. You know, the children learn more when they are playing. They can achieve best result when they are playing, unaware that we are learning.

CG81-I Tell me what aspects of the formal? Is it that the test is external, set by other people? Is it that the test must be done in silence, in rows? What aspect of the formal do you think we should do away with?

CG82-C This one of invigilating, making everything formal,

putting a borderline that this is exams, keep quiet. That thing alone brings tension. I don't say that we must not write external papers, we must still do external papers, external exams, but the kind of set up where children will do it, it should not be that formal. It should not be that formal. Though there'll be someone who's invigilating, but you mustn't preach it as if it's a strange thing, it's like it's a kind of a death...a life or death situation. Really...I'm not sure, really.

striking metaphor

CG83-I That's interesting. And then last thing, is there anything you want to ask me?

self image

CG84-C Eish, I want to ask you about how can one be certain that she's doing the right thing, when it comes to assessment? How do I weigh myself as an educator, that now I'm doing assessment. I can boldly say I know what assessment is. If a teacher comes to me and asks me about assessment I will advise her to do 1, 2, 3. Then I will say: that person is doing assessment.

CG85-I That's a really difficult question. (laughter) And you've asked me as a teacher of assessment!

CG86-C So please give me clue. You don't know much how I long to reach that stage where I will say: ya, I'm doing it.

CG87-I Ok, I think you're doing it all the time. You've been doing it. But how do you know you're doing it well, that's the real question, hey? Ok, so I have two answers for that. The one answer is: that you never stop learning. And because assessment is such a morally difficult issue, you will never feel...well, I never feel that I've done it perfectly. I never feel that this is the best and I will always do the same thing. I'm always learning.

image of profession

CG88-C Every day.

CG89-I Ya, and every year. So I look at previous exams and I try and do them better than previous exams, and I can see from one year to the next year my exams are getting better, they're getting clearer...I scaffold them more, I explain them more. So I think that any good teacher is always learning about how to do assessment better, in the same way as that you're learning how to teach better. So that's my real answer. Oh, and the other answer is that, assessment comes out of how we teach. It comes out of our ideals and our methods of teaching. So if I teach in a...if my teaching gets better, if my understanding of the subject that I'm teaching gets richer and fuller, then my assessment will also get better. So...I don't think that there's one point where you can say, now I'm doing assessment.

CG90-C Because there's always changes. Ok. You have

image of profession

self image

answered me. (laughter) So I'll take that with me. I think it will make me feel at least happy with my assessment.

CG91-I I mean, can I ask you, we did an assessment course on the ACE. Was that useful to you?

CG92-C Yes, we did it. I'm even using it even now. It was very much useful. And most educators are coming to me for...they are questioning me about this assessment. They'll always wave me like a superstar and come to me and Ouma. They say, what you have learned in Wits changed you. You have changed. Though we find ourselves trapped in that kind of situation, but we have tried to bring a change in our school. We also, joined the SBST? committee. Then we show them how to identify learners with needs, learners with reading and learning difficulties. There's a slight change that is coming. I just can't wait for a new principal to come who will give us a room to do what we feel we want to do to bring change in our school. It's just that we were never granted a platform to apply what we have learned. But as I am telling you, if you can come to our school, most of the educators they come to us, come with filing, assessment, whatever, they come to us. Though we know we don't know, we don't have all answers, but we give them the light of what we have learned at Wits.

CG93-I So then that's really the answer, is to carry on learning. (laughter)

CG95-I Ok, thank you.

CG96-C Thank you very much.