



THE EMOTIONAL PRACTICE OF TEACHING

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Introduction

At the dawn of a new millennium, change is on most people's minds, not just the minds of Presidents or Prime Ministers. Education prepares the generations of the future, and educational change is therefore front and center of all the talk about change in general. Learning standards are being defined for children, professional standards are being drawn up for teachers, assessment reform is extensive, new technologies are being widely advocated and implemented, schools in serious trouble are being reconstituted so they can make a fresh start, and school partnerships are being promoted everywhere with businesses, communities and universities. A growing change literature is also helping people understand how teachers and schools cope with educational change, and what sense they make of it (see e.g., Fullan, 1991; 1993; McLaughlin, 1990; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Louis & Miles, 1990; Sarason, 1990; Newmann & Wehlage, 1995; Hargreaves, 1997; Hargreaves, Fullan, Lieberman & Hopkins, 1998). Important as all this reform work is, many of those who initiate and manage educational reform, or who write about educational change in general, ignore or underplay one of the most fundamental aspects of teaching and of how teachers change: the emotional dimension.

Emotions are at the heart of teaching. They comprise its most dynamic qualities, literally, for emotions are fundamentally about movement. Emotions are basically "mental states accompanied by intense feeling and (which involve) bodily changes of a widespread character" (Koestler, 1967). The Latin origin of emotion is

emovere: to move out, to stir up. When people are emotional, they are moved by their feelings. They can be moved to tears, overcome by joy, or fall into despair, for example (Hopfl & Linstead, 1993). Emotions are dynamic parts of ourselves, and whether they are positive or negative, all organizations, including schools, are full of them.

Good teaching is charged with positive emotion. It is not just a matter of knowing one's subject, being efficient, having the correct competences, or learning all the right techniques. Good teachers are not just well-oiled machines. They are emotional, passionate beings who connect with their students and fill their work and their classes with pleasure, creativity, challenge and joy. Robert Fried contends that teaching is a passionate vocation (Fried, 1995). Good teachers, he says, are passionate about ideas, learning and their relationships with students. Woods and Jeffrey have shown that there is more to this view than conventional wisdom or romantic assertion, in their empirical study of what makes 'exceptional' teachers of young children especially creative. The teachers they studied did more than teach to set standards or use approved techniques. Their classroom relationships featured 'interest, enthusiasm, inquiry, excitement, discovery, risk-taking and fun'. Their cognitive scaffolding of concepts and teaching strategies was 'held together with emotional bonds' (Woods & Jeffrey, 1996).

The emotions of teaching are by no means new terrain for educational writers and researchers.¹ Max van Manen, for example, has described the tactful nature of teaching which occurs when the teacher "has the sensitive ability

to interpret inner thoughts, understandings, feelings and desires of children from indirect clues such as gestures, demeanor, expression and body language" (van Manen, 1995). Tactful teachers, says van Manen, on reading the inner life of their students, know when to engage with children and their actions and when to keep a distance from them. They know how much to expect of particular children and intuitively sense what is most appropriate for them at any specific moment. Elliot Eisner has similarly drawn attention to how intuition and emotionality have a significant part to play in what he describes as the 'connoisseurship' of teaching. For Eisner, the mission of educational research is better suited to describing 'the minor miracles of stunning teaching instead of prescribing how teachers should go about their work' (Eisner, 1986). Adherents of the narrative tradition of inquiry in studying teaching have similarly emphasized how emotional qualities such as intuition and a caring disposition form an important part of teachers' personal and practical knowledge. (see e.g. Connelly & Clandinin, 1988; Elbaz, 1991; Clandinin, 1986).

The work of such influential writers has helped elucidate the emotional qualities of teaching, especially those qualities that represent teaching at its best — and they have helped build an alternative discourse of what constitutes the heart of teaching, and counterpose it to the more dominant discourses of educational reform and their preoccupations with knowledge and skill. Yet, drawing on predominantly philosophical, psychological and literary foundations, these writers have also tended to treat teachers' ways of knowing (including emotional ones) as mainly matters of personal and moral choice, commitment and responsibility. This has been at the expense of considering how sociological, political and institutional forces shape and reshape the emotional landscapes of teaching for good or ill, in different ways under different conditions.² Teacher development theorists who have adopted Daniel Goleman's highly popular ideas on emotional intelligence, similarly tend to treat the development of emotional intelligence among teachers as a matter of individual competence or personal choice, and not also as a product of the circumstances in which teachers work (Goleman, 1995). For example of adoption of Goleman's ideas to

teachers development see Fullan (1997) and also Day (in press).

In an age when the work of teachers is being restructured all around them (often in ways that make it much more difficult), overpersonalizing and overmoralizing about the emotional commitments of teachers without due regard for the contexts in which teachers work (many of which are making teachers' emotional commitments to students harder and harder to sustain), will only add to the intolerable guilt and burnout that many members of the teaching force already experience.³ Although teachers are always prone to fall short emotionally, because people expect too much of them — to be "kind and considerate, yet demanding and stern"; or "optimistic and enthusiastic even when harboring private doubts and misgivings", (Jackson, Boostrom & Hansen, 1993) — there are also very specific conditions which can magnify these imperfections (or minimize them instead). Understanding what shapes the emotional lives and work of many real teachers, not a few atypical or idealized ones, (Hargreaves, 1996), calls for a more sociologically and politically informed perspective than most of the literature on teaching and teacher development has so far been able to offer.

A second and important strand in studying the emotions of teaching which addresses one of these basic contextual factors — that of gender — has been contributed by feminist writing. This articulates the caring orientation which many women teachers in particular take towards their work, in a profession where women are numerically but not politically dominant. This caring orientation has been explored in terms of teachers' relationships with students, (see e.g., Noddings, 1992) parents (see e.g., Henry, 1996), and each other.⁴ Feminist writers point to how essential caring is to good quality teaching and learning, yet how ignored and marginalized it is in the official politics of educational reform and administration. Even among these writers, however, only a few acknowledge that in contexts of an over-rationalized reform agenda which is unsympathetic to the needs of teachers, this caring orientation is not simply a cause for romantic celebration, but can also turn against teachers as they sacrifice themselves emotionally to the needs of those around them, in policy conditions which make caring more and more difficult (see, Acker, 1992; Blackmore, 1996).

In addition to these different strands of work which highlight various aspects of the emotions of teaching, emotional issues also crop up incidentally or as minor themes in studies of particular aspects of teaching such as the nurturing orientations of entrants to elementary teaching, (Book & Freeman, 1986), the problems encountered by beginning teachers (Bullough, Knowles & Crow, 1991; Tickle, 1991), or the causes and manifestations of teacher stress (Dinham & Scott, 1996; Woods, Jeffrey, Troman & Boyle, 1997; Travers & Cooper, 1996).

Until very recently, however, there have been few sociologically informed analyses which put a prime emphasis on teachers' emotions in the context of how teachers' work is organized, and how it is being reorganized through educational reform. Jackson described the terms of loving endearment in which elementary teachers described their relationships with students, but also dismissed them as at times amounting to little more than 'sticky sentimentality' (Jackson, 1968). In his classic study, *Schoolteacher*, Lortie noted how teachers found most of their prideful moments in their successes with individual students (Lortie, 1975). It is only much more recently, though, in the worldwide turmoil of educational reform, that the wider emotional lives of teachers have begun to surface more explicitly and extensively in sociological studies of schooling — in accounts of the needs that beginning teachers have for emotional support as they enter a job that is increasingly complex and demanding; (Tickle, 1991) of the emotional risks of collaborative teacher research (Dadds, 1993), of the emotional havoc that external inspection processes wreak upon teachers; (Jeffrey & Woods, 1996); and of how and why teachers experience guilt, (Hargreaves, 1994), self-sacrifice (Backmore, 1966), and senses of loss and bereavement for things they once valued (Nias, 1991) in contexts of rapid, imposed and highly rationalized educational reform. Interestingly, most of this critical literature on the emotional disturbance that teachers experience during times of reform has surfaced in England and Australia where the reform process has been more politically transparent, more persistent and more intensively applied than in North America (where the literature on teachers' emotions has tended to be more celebratory or exhortatory).⁵

These most recent studies provide the first pieces of an explanation of how contemporary educational reform efforts impact on the emotions of teaching and learning. Aside from these few analyses, though, emotions are virtually absent from the advocacy of and the mainstream literature specifically concerned with educational change and reform. Strategic planning, cognitive leadership, problem-solving, teacher reflection, higher-order thinking, and standards-based reform have virtually nothing to say about them. Even the idea of organizational learning which is on the very cutting edge of change theory, is almost exclusively cerebral in its emphasis.⁶ In so much reform-centered and change-centered writing about teaching and leading, it is as if educators only ever think, manage and plan in coldly calculative (and stereotypically masculine) ways. It is as if teachers (and indeed students) think and act but never really feel.

Even where feelings are acknowledged in discussions of how schools and other kinds of organization work

the people presented are emotionally anorexic. They have 'dissatisfactions' and 'satisfactions', they may be 'alienated' or 'stressed', they will have 'preferences', 'attitudes' and 'interests'. Often these are noted as variables for managerial control We find little or no mention of how feeling individuals worry, envy, brood, become bored, play, despair, plot, hate, hurt and so forth (Fineman, 1993).

Emotions are usually acknowledged and talked about within the educational change and reform literature only insofar as they help administrators and reformers 'manage' and offset teachers' resistance to change, or help them set the climate or mood in which the 'really important' business of cognitive learning or strategic planning can take place. The more volatile, passionate emotions (which are also the less easily managed ones), like joy, excitement, frustration and anger are kept off the educational agenda in favor of ones that encourage trust, support, openness, involvement, commitment to teamwork and willingness to experiment. Reformers and many change-managers tend to acknowledge the importance of teachers' emotions only when they can be treated as a gentle sedative (through collaboration, team-building, stress-management, wellness, etc.), and not as an unpredictable (yet potentially empowering) stimulant.

Educational change initiatives do not just affect teachers' knowledge, skill and problem-solving capacity. They affect a whole web of significant and meaningful relationships that make up the work of schools and that are at the very heart of the teaching and learning process. Educational change efforts affect teachers' relationships with their students, the parents of those students, and each other. Teachers make heavy emotional investments in these relationships. Their sense of success and satisfaction depends on them. This paper focuses on one of the most significant emotional aspects of teaching; the emotional relationships that teachers have with their students. What is the nature and importance of these relationships? How do teachers feel about educational changes and change processes in terms of their impact on these relationships? Addressing these questions adequately calls for a specifically sociological and political understanding of emotions in teaching — of how emotions are embedded and expressed in the human relationships of schooling, and in the context of social and political forces that shape or otherwise affect these relationships in times of dramatic social change. The following section sets out the beginnings of such a conceptual framework.

On Understanding Emotion

Although there is a large philosophical and psychological literature on human emotion, sociological inquiry has focused upon it as a major topic of investigation only much more recently. There is insufficient space to discuss all the key issues raised by this literature, including the relationship of emotions to the self, the different ways in which emotions are displayed in different groups or settings, or the emotional dynamics of power relationships, for example.⁷ Here, I want to address four interrelated points drawn from the sociological and social-psychological literature that are germane to the ensuing empirical analysis of how emotions are located and represented in teachers' relationships with their students. These four points are:

1. Teaching is an *emotional practice*
2. Teaching and learning involve *emotional understanding*.

3. Teaching is a form of *emotional labor*.
4. Teachers' emotions are inseparable from their *moral purposes* and their ability to achieve those purposes.

1. In the words of Norman Denzin in his classic text, *On Understanding Emotion*, teaching, like lovemaking, playing or many kinds of working, is not just a technical or cognitive practice but also an emotional one (Denzin, 1984). An *emotional practice*, Denzin argues, is

an embedded practice that produces for the person, an expected or unexpected emotional alteration in the inner and outer streams of experience Emotional practices make people problematic objects to themselves. The emotional practice radiates through the person's body and streams of experience, giving emotional culmination to thoughts, feelings, and actions (Denzin, 1984, p. 89).

In simpler words, as an emotional practice, teaching activates, colors, and expresses teachers' own feelings, and the actions in which those feelings are embedded (i.e. teachers' inner streams of experience). Likewise, as an emotional practice, teaching activates, colors and otherwise affects the feelings and actions of others with whom teachers work and form relationships (teachers' outer streams of experience). Teachers can enthuse their students or bore them; be approachable to parents or alienate them; feel supported by their colleagues (and therefore willing to take risks in improving their craft) or mistrusted by them (and therefore more inclined to play safe). Whichever of these alternatives prevail is vitally important for the educational standards, success, achievement of and equity among students.

2. Because it is an emotional practice which involves relationships with others and which seeks to shape those relationships in particular ways, teaching also necessarily involves and depends upon extensive degrees of *emotional understanding*. Emotional understanding, Denzin writes,

is an intersubjective process requiring that one person enter into the field of experience of another and experience for herself the same or similar experiences experienced by another. The subjective interpretation of another's emotional experience from one's own standpoint is central to emotional understanding. Shared and shareable emotionality lie at the core of what it means to understand and meaningfully enter into the emotional experiences of another (Denzin, 1984, p. 137).

While it is important to acknowledge, as William James did, that emotional and cognitive understanding are never completely pure, never absolutely separate from one another as distinctive and self-contained kinds of experience (James, 1917; Damasio, 1994), the emotional elements that are involved in interpreting someone else's actions (or our own), operate quite differently from the cognitive elements of that process. Cognitive interpretation proceeds through someone else's actions step-by-step, unravelling the sequences within them and motivations behind them. Emotional interpretation, by contrast, takes place at-a-glance, as we reach inside our own feelings and past emotional experiences to make sense of and respond to someone else's (Denzin, 1984; pp. 142–143). Emotional understanding helps us recognize that what we see is fear, pride, embarrassment or disgust, it helps us to understand that the emotions in question are either justified or misplaced in this context; and it helps us to respond accordingly, as we see fit. As van Manen puts it,

Pedagogical tact involves the ability to immediately see through motives or cause and effect relations A tactful teacher seems to have the ability of instantly sensing what is the appropriate, right or good thing to do on the basis of perceptive pedagogical understanding of children's individual nature and circumstances (van Manen, 1995).

Emotional understanding, Denzin argues, can come about when we share feelings in common with others (as when bereaved parents grieve together for their deceased child); when shared feelings and emotional experiences recur in long-standing relationships such as marriages or close friendships (where we become emotionally attuned to one another); or when we feel for someone else vicariously (as when we empathize with an old man's loneliness or take delight in the suffering of a rival), either by reaching back into and instantaneously recalling our own emotional memories from the past or by reaching out to more unfamiliar emotional responses as they are expressed in the arts or literature (van Manen, 1995, p. 149). In this last case of vicarious understanding, however, because the emotions being displayed are not grounded in experiences that people share in common or in close relationships that they have established over time, the emotional understanding that takes place is likely to be more inaccurate.

Inaccuracies of emotional understanding amount to what Denzin calls *spurious emotionality*. This arises when 'individuals mistake their feelings for the feelings of the other and interpret their feelings as the feelings of the other' (Van Manen, 1995, p. 154). Such emotional misunderstanding is common not only among psychopaths, autistics or individuals lacking in powers of empathy and emotional intelligence.⁸ It is, says Denzin, a pervasive and chronic feature of everyday interactions and relationships where those relationships are not ones of shared experience, or where they have not developed to a level of close and common understanding.

Teaching is full of spurious emotion and the many misunderstandings that it contains. The power dynamics of the classroom which separate many teachers' emotional experiences on one side of the desk from students' experiences on the other; the excessively large numbers of students whom secondary school teachers are required to teach which makes close relationships with most of them impossible; assessment processes which provide little scope for student self-assessment and therefore little opportunity for teachers to get access to how students feel they are responding to their learning; and curriculum frameworks that are so filled up with content, standards, benchmarks and coverage that there is little room for care — all these make cognitive and emotional misunderstanding chronic features of many schools and classrooms.

Teachers frequently misconstrue their students' exuberance for hostility, bored compliance for studious commitment, embarrassment for stubbornness and silent respect for sullen resistance. These misunderstandings seriously interfere with teachers' ability to help their students learn. When teachers come from different ethnocultural or social class backgrounds than their students, when they are teaching 'other people's children', these gaps of emotional misunderstanding become even greater still.⁹ In other words, emotional misunderstanding or spurious emotionality is a significant social and educational phenomenon. Among teachers (and others), this misunderstanding arises not so much because individuals do not want to care or because they are personally deficient in emotional intelligence, but because so much about the structures of schooling (timetables, numbers of student contacts, one-way assessment systems

and preoccupation with subject matter content), and about the ways we try to reform schooling (targets, benchmarks, standards, rational planning and committee work) leave little time, space or encouragement for successful emotional understanding with students to occur. Creating conditions where better emotional (and cognitive) understanding can occur between teachers and their students (as well as parents and colleagues) should therefore be a significant educational priority. Studying teachers and conditions of teaching where higher levels of emotional understanding are being achieved can give us valuable insights and clues as to how to reform teaching more widely, in this respect.

3. Caring occupations like teaching call not only for emotional sensitivity; they also require active *emotional labor*. In her classic text on the subject, Hochschild writes:

This labor requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our personality (Hochschild, 1993).

Teaching involves immense amounts of emotional labor. Not just 'acting out' feelings superficially like pretending to be disappointed or surprised, but also consciously working oneself up into a state of actually experiencing the necessary feelings that are required to perform one's job well — be these feelings of anger or enthusiasm, coolness or concern. As Jackson and his colleagues note, teachers are commonly expected to 'smile and appear cheerful on days when they are not quite up to par and would rather be somewhere else' (Jackson et al., 1993).

For Hochschild, emotional labor is a largely negative phenomenon. It involves trading in part of the self for the security and reward that people get from their employers, or for the profitable rewards that accrue from commercial encounters. Critics, however, argue that this view underplays the pleasures of acting, interplay and playfulness that emotional labor involves (Fineman, 1993). In her Marxian inspired analysis, Hochschild overestimates the *exchange value* of emotional labor (as in the profit value of a salesperson's smile), at the expense of the *use value* of such labor (what that labor creates and recreates in oneself and in others). There are

therefore authentic elements of sincere emotional giving that are embedded in the idea of emotional labor, which Hochschild's partner concept of 'emotion work' does not quite to capture.

Emotional labor is an important part of teaching, and in many ways, a positive one. For many teachers, it is a labor of love. Classrooms would be (and sometimes are) barren and boring places without it. With Hochschild, though, it is also important to recognize that emotional labor also exposes teachers, making them vulnerable when the conditions of and demands on their work make it hard for them to do their 'emotion work' properly (Ben-peretz, 1996; Blackmore, 1996). The concept of emotional labor puts care into context. It takes care beyond being a personal choice, or moral imperative to an act of work that can be supported, made difficult or turned against the person exercising it, (through stress and extreme self-sacrifice) depending on the context in which the work is performed.

4. The emotions of teaching, their nature and form are also shaped by the *moral purposes* of those who teach, and the extent to which the conditions of teachers' work permit them to fulfill those purposes.¹⁰ Firstly, as Denzin notes, if emotionality is basic to our understanding of other people, and the actions we consequently take towards them, it is therefore a fundamental part of the moral foundations of society and its institutions, including schools (Denzin, 1984, p. 245). Moral actions and judgments are based upon emotional as well as cognitive understanding.

Secondly, in his extensive writings on the sociology of shame, Scheff points out that we experience shame when we feel we have fallen morally short of our own or others' moral standards in a fundamental way — so much so that not only do we regard our deeds as insufficient or imperfect (as in the case of guilt), but we feel our integrity and our selves have been placed in question (Scheff, 1990, 1994a,b). Similarly, Nias documents the senses of grief, loss and bereavement that primary school teachers experience when a highly rationalized and imposed curriculum crowds out the educational purposes that these teachers have always felt to be important (Nias, 1991). Whatever the reason, a fundamental (rather than incidental) failure to pursue

or achieve one's moral purposes can be emotionally devastating for teachers, as indeed for anyone else.

Thirdly, and conversely, Oatley's work shows that we most often feel happiness when our purposes are being fulfilled, or when, as in holidays, we are suspended from those purposes. Happiness, he shows, often derives from experiences of achievement (Oatley, 1991). This is as important for teachers as it is for other people. Our emotions, indeed, help us choose among multiple and disparate purposes in a complex world

In real life, a purely logical search through all possibilities is not possible (because of limitations of resources, multiple goals and problems of coordination with others). Nevertheless, we must act ... despite our limitations we must take responsibility for our actions and suffer their effects. This is why emotions, or something like them are necessary to bridge across the unexpected and the unknown, to guide reason, and to give priorities among multiple goals (Oatley & Jenkins, 1996).

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 for care) when they are compelled to realize 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 *demoralized* (Nias, 1991). 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.

The ensuing empirical analysis rests on these four fundamental theoretical precepts — that teaching is an emotional practice, which depends on emotional understanding, involves immense amounts of emotional labor, and is

integrally bound up with the purposes of teaching and schooling. Together, these precepts present a compelling case for conceiving the emotions as a central rather than an ephemeral part of teaching and schooling, and therefore as phenomena worthy of much more explicit attention in educational policy and reform.

Methods

Empirically, this paper examines some aspects of the emotions of teaching and educational change among 32 Grade 7 and 8 teachers in four school boards (districts) close to the city of Toronto in Ontario, Canada. The teachers had all been identified by administrators in their school systems as having a serious and sustained commitment to implementing common learning outcomes (or standards), integrated curriculum and alternative forms of assessment and reporting in their classes. These reforms were province (state) level priorities at the Grade 7, 8 and 9 level, and indeed a broad framework of common learning outcomes had been set by the province as a basis for school-level curriculum planning.

All teachers and their principals were interviewed individually in the mid-1990s for between 1 and 2 h about their perceptions of and responses to the changes in curriculum and assessment, about the relationship these changes had to their previous experiences in teaching, about their orientations to change in general, and about how these changes and the ways each teacher dealt with them, articulated with the demands and priorities of their lives outside school.

All interviews have been fully transcribed, generating over 1000 pages of text. Our overall analysis included searching for any references teachers made to the emotional aspects of their work. We picked out any references to how teachers felt about their work (though sometimes 'I feel' seemed to be used as a synonym for 'I think' or 'I know'). Excerpts that involved the use of emotional words like angry, frustrated, guilty, happy, comfortable or excited, were also extracted.¹¹ This created a large emotional file that itself ran to hundreds of transcribed pages in length.

This file was then subcategorized into themes like emotional relationships with students,

parents, administrators and other colleagues, or emotional responses to changes in curriculum, assessment, reporting etc. Where individual data extracts were relevant to several themes at once they were assigned simultaneously to several files. Every quote was then numbered in its subfile (e.g. emotional relationships to students). Many subfiles contained well over 100 quotations. Summary words or phrases were then assigned to each quotation to elicit further sub-themes within which all relevant quotations were clustered. For example, detailed sub-themes under emotional relationships to students, included references to caring relationships and caring climates; to changing contexts that generated a need for caring; and to structures that supported or inhibited caring. These detailed sub-themes provided the foundation for a narrative interpretation in each case.

We cannot claim that the emotional responses of the teachers in this study are typical of all teachers. Because our sample teachers had serious and sustained commitments to particular changes in curriculum and assessment, our findings cannot be generalized to teachers who are more suspicious of change or indeed resistant to it (Riseborough, 1981; Datnow, 1997; Bailey, 1995). Nor can they be generalized to circumstances where changes are unwanted or seen as peripheral to teachers' own purposes (Gitlin & Margonis, 1995). But we believe that our findings do offer significant insights into the emotional experiences of teachers on the leading edge of particular kinds of change, and for the ways that educational change impacts on these relationships.

An interesting feature of our data is that, while several sociological and feminist writers have highlighted gender differences in how emotions are experienced and expressed — for example, in the tendency of women to turn anger onto themselves rather than others, or to feel they must take responsibility for other people's happiness, even on holidays (Crawford, Kippax, Onyx, Gault & Berton, 1992; Brody & Hall, 1995) — there seemed to be no great emotional differences between male and female teachers. This could be a result of selecting a particularly innovative group of teachers for our sample or of the fact that men attracted to elementary teaching are often gender-atypical in their attitudes and actions and have been drawn to working with

younger children precisely because of their preexisting care-orientations (Nias, 1989).

It was soon obvious in our analysis that educational change affected teachers' emotional responses to the structures, practices, traditions and routines of their working lives by the way that the change was filtered through teachers' feelings about their students. Students were at the heart of their teaching, and at the heart of why many of these teachers diverged from the conventional teaching norm. 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 the teachers in our study did. In the next several sections, I will look closely at how teachers' emotional goals for and connections with their students impact on three more aspects of teaching and teachers' approaches to educational change in particular: structure, pedagogy and planning.

Students as an Emotional Filter

Many teachers' relations with their students are significantly emotional in nature. Indeed, like many elementary teachers, a number of the teachers we interviewed spoke of these relationships in terms of love (Nias, 1989). One teacher described her basic teaching technique as 'I love you to death and work you to death and we can still have fun doing it'. Another proclaimed:

I love children. I love all ages. I have great deal of trouble with teachers who say 'Oh I only like grade 1's. I won't teach anybody else. All other kids are awful.' That makes my back just raise right up. I think to myself, 'if you don't like kids, you shouldn't be teaching.' You have to like kids. You have to like what you are doing a lot, and I do.

Not that these teachers were unrestrained romantics. The teacher quoted above was often tired and frustrated and had felt sick on the morning she was interviewed. Another candidly confessed he felt like strangling his students sometimes. But liking kids remained important; it was integral to the job (Nias, 1989). Just as Lortie's classic study of schoolteachers revealed, many of the rewards of teaching among the teachers in our sample were 'psychic' in nature (Lortie, 1975). They came from relationships

with students, from seeing people change as a result of teachers' own commitments and efforts. 'Working with young people and watching them grow' was 'a real turn on', said one teacher. That was where her real strength was, 'with individual kids'. Indeed, as in Lortie's study, many teachers' psychic rewards were to be found in successes with individuals. 'The kids; that's what keeps you going — I mean, if you can only help one in your year ...' Individual students who come back later and have succeeded, who remember and are grateful, are particularly valued. One teacher said, 'I'd much rather meet them in five years and say, 'I really remember when we did' ...; to me that's more valuable'. Another commented:

I feel very proud when they come back and say 'We're doing very well. We've got good marks ... so I feel very good about that, so give us some strokes for that ...' At the end of it all, they come back and thank you ... So that makes us feel good that we are doing a lot of the right things.

As teachers talked about their work, they liked to celebrate stories of their efforts with individuals, and of what they had learned from them. One spoke of a 'wonderful boy' just arrived at her school from the United States, for whom she had had to make a wide range of curriculum adjustments. Another told of a girl who had 'started off completely lost at the beginning of the year' yet who, after involvement in self-evaluation, reflected that 'I'm doing so much better and I feel really good, but I don't want to feel conceited'. Another teacher described a previously 'struggling' child who had responded exceptionally well to an integrated unit on flight, had constructed the most effective airplane, had revealed that he had been making airplanes since Grade 1, and had thereby proved that in a supportive classroom environment 'even an outcast' (as the teacher put it) could have a place to achieve.

The psychic/emotional rewards of teaching fundamentally affected what teachers did as they adjusted their teaching to what they learned about individual students, through conferencing, peer evaluation and other kinds of personal interaction. Teacher after teacher commented on why their emotional relationships with students mattered for the social outcomes they were trying to achieve and for establishing an appropriate emotional climate in which other kinds

of learning could take place, and purposes be fulfilled.

One teacher's 'underlying truths' in the classroom included students having respect for themselves and each other. Another also felt that mutual respect was essential and was proud that none of her children were mean-spirited. Many teachers talked about the value of developing and displaying tolerance, especially in contexts of increasing cultural diversity so that 'there's not a lot of this 'Oh, you're so stupid; you mean you can't do that?' It's like, 'no, it's not right but look what you've done here. It's just a small mistake.' Cooperative groupwork was seen as especially valuable for fostering this purpose of tolerance. Running through all these qualities of tolerance and respect, and through the ways teachers tried to develop them was an underlying ethic of care about which feminist writers like Gilligan and Noddings have written so eloquently, but which applied to men and women in our study, alike (See e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1992). One of the younger teachers in our sample felt that the whole provincial reform philosophy was very much centered on providing better care for intermediate level students, through making learning more relevant to their lives and purposes.

I got a copy [of the Transition Years Reform document] and I looked through it ... what I think it means is working with students, mentoring them, showing them the connections between school and the real world, showing them the connections between subjects that they are learning in the real world, helping them to develop at a very difficult time in their lives and just being caring and at the same time giving them an academic base for the future.

This teacher wanted students to know that teachers cared about their lives, was proud that she had built a reputation for being fair and caring and felt it important to know the students well, to have emotional (and cognitive) understanding of them, if she was going to teach them well. She was aware she could be criticized for caring too much but, she retorted:

People would say to me in the first few years, 'Ah, you've got to toughen up, you're too soft, you're too sensitive, you take everything so seriously'. And I'd say to them, even in my first year, I'd say 'when I get tough and when I stop caring about what I'm doing then I won't be a teacher anymore and I will stay teaching, so I refuse now ... and my philosophy of

teaching has not changed and that is to be a caring and effective teacher'.

Teachers we interviewed wanted to provide a safe, secure environment, a caring environment, a place of comfort that was 'not like high school'. Indeed, some teachers worried about students 'getting lost' in high school when they transferred there in Grade 9. Along with achievement of purposes, a sense of security about oneself and relationships with others is, indeed, a basic correlate of happiness, satisfaction and willingness to take personal risks in learning.

Educational policies over the previous decade have brought a wider range of special education students into ordinary classes, and teachers' caring orientations were especially visible where this group was concerned. This care did not take the form of pity for or protectiveness towards children who were seen as fundamentally deficient, however. Rather, teachers were particularly pleased when special needs children were successfully integrated with all the others. 'I love the fact that they are sitting in groups right now working with everybody else', said one.

Catering for a wide range of differences was technically and emotionally challenging work, however, especially when teachers were inexperienced or felt insufficiently skilled. One teacher 'wasn't comfortable' at first because she didn't feel (she) was meeting the needs of both ends', although now, two years later, she felt she could. Committed as she was to caring for students who were exceptional and demanding, one teacher also worried about 'the average child', 'the gray kids' who were 'getting lost', not 'getting an equal shake' in all the reform effort.

High achievement did not insulate students from teachers' interventions. Teachers were also concerned about *their* attitudes, effort and emotional responses.

I had two grade seven students whose parents were upset with me because, according to them, I was picking on them. They went home and told their parents I was picking on them and I was. Because they are two extremely bright children, and they were content to sit there and let everyone else do the work, and not lead, not volunteer, not risk in any discussions, so I picked on them to get them to do more and now both are. And suddenly their marks have gone up and they are both happier and now they are leading and now they are closer to what they could be.

One teacher whose school was in a mainly all-white community felt that it was these sorts of students in particular who needed their cultural horizons broadening, who needed to gain a better sense of being part of a wider global community. Sample teachers in this district increased students' awareness of cultural diversity by introducing 'global education' in their integrated curriculum or by bringing visiting speakers of color into the school. In the three other and more culturally diverse districts in our study, teachers were confronted more directly by the changing multicultural context of their communities and society. Here, cultural diversity was a living, breathing feature of the student body itself. Teachers who commented on the issue, welcomed the opportunities that working in culturally diverse settings provided. One teacher said of her school that she 'would be so bored if it wasn't multicultural'. Although her example of being able to 'talk about what you had for lunch or dinner last night' may be somewhat superficial, other teachers pointed to more dramatic and moving instances of multicultural engagement, such as linking the Holocaust to the lives of children whose relatives had died in other wars in Saudi Arabia, Vietnam or Japan. One recalled how 'the little Japanese boy had tears coming down his face as he told how his grandfather had been killed'. Another described one way in which he had connected the curriculum cognitively and emotionally, to his students' diverse lives:

Yes, I really enjoy it (the multicultural dimension of his work). For example, we have a student who has just arrived from Turkey. He speaks very little English. He stays with us for math and then he has ESL. They divide differently. He didn't recognize this symbol when I was doing division. They do it like this, some other way. It is nice to share that. They don't do order of operation at all. The concept just floored him. Some other kids backed that up and said: 'Yeah, my parents don't do that, they don't understand order of operation. They've never seen it before.' So it is kind of neat for us to go, 'yeah, just because we are doing this, doesn't mean that it is the be all and end all or it doesn't mean that everybody else is doing it.' It allows me to do things like that and to celebrate differences. We bring in different opinions about things, like women and how they are treated in other cultures. One of the girls did a report on a book about a Muslim girl who had to fight for independence in her family because of the role of women in that culture It teaches them to be more tolerant. It makes an anti-racism unit a lot more meaningful than

when you are doing it with an all-white, affluent group of kids going. 'Yeah, we shouldn't be racist and feeling all pompous about it.'

By focusing on the emotional responses of the project teachers, we were able to rethink what's important about educational change, indeed to revisit what educational change should be for. Our data clearly show that this classroom focus extends beyond issues of cognitive instruction. Teachers' classroom commitments also encompass their emotional relationships with and connections to students; their desire to care for students; to develop them as tolerant and respectful citizens and not merely high performing learners and future workers; to develop their students' social skills as well as their academic knowledge and to create an inclusive atmosphere where students with special needs from diverse backgrounds and/or from non-conventional home circumstances can feel equally comfortable and accepted. The teachers we studied, in other words, acknowledged that their practice is an emotional one and that building emotional understanding with students in relationships which make this possible, is essential to successful academic learning. Many teachers' purposes were also much broader than those of official reform agendas. These purposes valued emotional and social outcomes as well as cognitive ones, and clearly linked these, in the ways teachers taught, to the moral outcomes of equity and social justice.

Teachers' emotional connections to students, and the social and emotional goals they wanted to achieve as they taught those students, shaped and influenced almost everything they did, along with how they responded to changes that affected what they did. Teachers wanted to become better so they could help their students more effectively. The emotional bond that teachers had with their students was central to how they taught them, it affected what kinds of organizational structures teachers adopted as a context for teaching students and what kinds of curriculum they planned and selected for them.

Feelings About Structure

How the teachers in our sample felt about something as seemingly abstract as the structures in which they work, was very much in-

fluenced by whether they felt these structures would benefit their students and their relationships with. The majority of teachers' remarks about structures and structural change came from the district where the most systematic attempts had been made to build curriculum integration, to establish a core-block of time for integrated studies within the timetable, and in some cases, to encourage teachers to follow their classes from one grade to the next. Teachers were consistently positive about the benefits of the new core structures for students, and for their relationships with students, their ability to develop emotional (cognitive) understanding with them. They did not like the way conventional rotary timetables with separate teachers, subjects and short, lesson periods, fragmented their relationships with students. 'The kids really need that one person they can relate to in school', said one teacher. A core-blocked timetable, where teachers were with the same class of students for at least half the day, made such relationships possible. It was now easier for 'children through their adolescence to bond with one teacher'. In one school, this had been very important for being able to care for one particularly difficult group of students, the 'hell kids' who created immense problems for teachers with whom they did not have this kind of bond. Following students through from one year to the next meant that 'because you know them so well, you know their moods and you can start right in with them'. 'You can see the change in growth'. Because of following students year to year, 'I know my kids, and I call them my kids, and I know what they're about. I know what they're doing inside and outside of school. I know their families, especially if you have them for more than a year', and as teachers see students grow and mature, 'it's wonderful to see that process'.

A number of teachers commented on the advantages of the more open time structures that core blocking allowed. They 'felt comfortable' with the open timelines, did not 'feel constricted' by them and would 'love having them (students) the whole day', if they could. Open timelines enabled teachers to keep 'rolling' with the projects, to go with the flow.

Where you have the children for a morning and there are no time lines, for example if you find you are rolling with a project or they start asking, 'Can we go into the library to look up this' or 'we want to find out

more about this', there are a lot of teachers feeling comfortable saying, 'Go for it! and maybe we don't get to math this morning, but yeah we'll do more math later on during the week'.

I can help any kid learn anything as long as he is motivated and I feel that I can motivate a kid through reality, natural situations ... but in order to do that I have to be able to have block periods of time to set up situations where I can show them the reality of this and to me that's a great thing. I get rolling on something and if the kids get rolling on something I don't want to be stopped by a bell telling me to move on, so I welcome it.

... we had some kids involved in smoking in my class and I was really upset with them, and it was a perfect time. They were all upset, how could they have done that and be stupid enough and the kid had smoked so much ... that she literally was drunk on it, she could not walk a straight line. They were so concerned. Whereas if it's a rotary class, pack up way you go ... It was a good learning experience for the other kids to see. She sat there and she had her head on her desk and we talked about it ... It was a wonderful learning experience that you won't get out of a textbook and that I'm not dictated to by a clock. I mean they don't come up everyday but when they do, you really appreciate that time that you can ... bond with the kids.

While alternative structures made these change-oriented teachers feel they could care for their students and teach them more effectively, the persistence of more conventional structural arrangements could make it harder for them to do so, fracturing their relationships, undermining their planning, and overloading them with other obligations. A guidance teacher whose specialist teaching load was spread across many classes wanted time to do team-building, to 'connect more' with the students. Another teacher mentioned how before the core blocking arrangements, the previous timetable was 'horrible', 'just brutal' in the way it fragmented contacts with students into 40 minute slots.

When teachers supported structures that supported their students, they did not do so in a self-sacrificing way, however. Teachers who worked in more open time structures felt more comfortable with them when many of their colleagues did not. When one school printed out its new timetable with a large allocation to core, some teachers were 'more comfortable getting out their rulers and blocking the periods off and putting specific subjects back in'. But teachers in our sample who worked in a larger core, liked to adjust the time to the learning rather than vice

versa, and welcomed the flexibility to do that (Lieberman, 1995; Adelman et al., 1997). In this respect, their desires for structures that would support students, and their own sense of what kinds of structures were comfortable for themselves as teachers, were closely aligned with each other. Their students' emotional needs and their own emotional rewards were attuned to each other. The alternative structures enabled teachers to establish bonds with their students that made deeper emotional (and cognitive) understanding in the classroom possible — something that was central to the purposes of the teachers we studied.

Feelings About Pedagogy

Pedagogy is one of the great rhetorical battlegrounds of educational reform. Many studies portray classroom teachers as still being predominantly wedded to traditional methods of teaching, such as lecturing, seatwork and question-and-answer methods (see e.g., Hargreaves, Earl & Ryan, 1996; Goodlad, 1984; Tye, 1985). Conversely, there has been an international assault on the supposed pervasiveness of and excessive adherence to groupwork and project work in elementary (primary) and intermediate teachers' classes, at the expense of whole class teaching (see e.g., Nikiforuk, 1993; Woodhead, 1995). Meanwhile, new pedagogical approaches like reading recovery, cooperative learning, or manipulative mathematics, surface regularly, each with its own bold claims about achieving significant gains in student learning. Ideologically, teaching has become a pedagogical quagmire.

Interestingly, very few of our interviewees seemed to believe in one best approach to teaching. Most of them valued and said they actually used a wide variety of teaching strategies. Between them, the teachers we interviewed listed a formidable array of methods that they used in their teaching. These included concept attainment, mind-mapping, individual conferencing, 'traditional' teaching, cooperative learning, individualization, 'real-time' assignments, visiting speakers, twinning with high school classes, special events like inventors' festivals, video, television, visual things in general, humor, enthusing students by doing 'crazy things', creating 'hands-on' experiences, setting puzzles or problems, organizing student oral presentations,

using natural situations, having a 'talking bucket' which children could use to speak about items of concern to them, computer data analysis, portfolios, out-of-school visits, kinesthetic learning such as walking around the circumference of circles, peer coaching, peer teaching, reading and writing workshops, roundtable discussions, working in pairs, role play, brainstorming and dramatic presentation.

Not all teachers claimed to use all these methods, of course. But the overall range is extensive; and indeed having and using a broad repertoire of teaching strategies mattered greatly to almost every teacher in this group. Teachers used 'a lot of variety', 'a combination of methods'; they saw themselves as 'a multi-strategy person' and 'liked to mix things'. 'I can't say that I have one strategy that I use', said one. Another teacher said that ideally, he would 'love to see every teacher using a variety of strategies'. Even a teacher who referred to being 'indoctrinated with cooperative learning' said:

I don't do one thing all the time. I do direct teaching at the front of the room, I do pair work with the kids, I do cooperative learning, I do social skills teaching, I like an eclectic mix so that I can make things as interesting and effective as I can

In opting for variety, what mattered most was making things interesting and effective for students. Having a wide repertoire could enable the teacher to 'help any kid learn anything as long as he is motivated'. As one teacher put it, 'all I know is that I like to use as many different things as I can in my classroom to reach as many kids as I can in different ways and make things interesting'. 'Just anything that will work', as one teacher put it, would be a good pedagogical motto for most of the teachers in our sample.

Most of the study teachers included 'traditional' teaching in what they felt would work with students. Few, if any of them were shrinking violets, happy to be quiet facilitators, mere 'guides-by-the-side'. While they favored cooperative learning, hands-on learning and learning that was like real life, these teachers also saw a strong place for traditional teaching, or 'old teaching' as one called it, within their wider repertoire. One interviewee said about her teaching:

You'd see a lot of variety and you'd see some pretty aggressive teaching. I like to be seen. I like to be

heard. I like to move. I like to make sure that people are still with me. I like to be excited about what I'm teaching, even if its bland (material)

Many of the teachers portrayed themselves as vivid and vital presences in their own classrooms. They were not only facilitators; they were definitely teachers as well. One teacher was 'not ashamed' that she 'loved to present'. She took pride in the fact. A teacher of French immersion said, 'I think in second language teaching, you have to be prepared to dance and stand on your head and do just about anything to get kids to understand and respond and participate'. As an example, she described how in one class, she had jumped from one table to the next as she roleplayed a historic naval battle.

Teachers drew on a broad repertoire of strategies to try and reach their students, get them motivated, help them understand. The methods they used were determined, in many ways, by what they felt their students needed emotionally as well as intellectually. Teachers talked about changing their teaching so it meshed with what their students wanted, using support strategies that raised the comfort level of students with learning difficulties, trying 'to involve the kids as much as possible — find out their interests', using portfolios to discover what children found 'fun' so this could be incorporated into teaching them, not 'acting as if I am the boss and as if I know everything' so that the classroom could 'be a safe place where people can be free to express their ideas', creating an atmosphere where students could feel comfortable interrupting or asking questions, playing with students, encouraging them to share their feelings, finding ways to get students to support each other, and even playing soft background music if it helped children perform better in tests. These strategies exemplify the conditions that have been found to be associated with happiness and its correlates — providing a sense of basic personal security (making the classroom safe and comfortable place to express ideas),¹² making it possible for people to achieve their purposes and gain a sense of achievement (Oatley, 1991) and eliminating experiences of powerlessness wherever possible (by the teacher not acting as if she or he knows everything, for example) (Kemper, 1995).

Through all this, some teachers felt that one of the most important strategies was humor. 'I love to use humor as an effective tool', said one,

'because it's a great equalizer. It breaks the tension and the stress'. More than this, it was important to be yourself as a teacher, and to let your own emotions and feelings show through from time to time. As Farson says, it is indeed in moments when we *lose* control rather than exert it, that our humanity as leaders shines through (Farson, 1996). One teacher recalled how, 'the more I imposed superstructures that were not me - and the kids knew it — it didn't function as well'. Another described how he and his teaching partner would sometimes 'do silly things together, in front of the kids', like throwing pies at each other. Humor was what made them human to each other and to their students — it was important that their emotional selves shone through, that they could 'let go' occasionally, even to the point where students could sometimes scarcely believe what their teachers did. On the humor in teaching see Woods (1993).

The teaching strategies that teachers used were shaped by their own emotional needs, as well as those of their students. Excitement and enjoyment figured strongly among those needs, emotions that were often tied to senses of creativity, breakthrough and achievement in teaching students and in themselves as teachers. Teachers would talk about how they would 'really enjoy getting them (their students) involved' or about the excitement of special events or performances like an innovation festival, where students could present their work authentically, to real audiences outside school.¹³ One teacher described her concept attainment lesson on relationships in ways that connected her own excitement to that of the students:

I was so excited about it, and really when I started, I didn't know how it was going to work, but it took a long time, but oh, it was ever so powerful, because these kids, I'm sure if I went out in the schoolyard now, they'd tell me what 'relationship' means because they developed it.

Another teacher recalled how he had caused laughter in an inservice workshop by saying that cooperative learning had now passed sex on his list of priorities. A third teacher talked more generally about her ongoing emotional needs as a teacher:

I also, myself as a person, I have to change every year. I have to get excited about what I'm doing and if I see myself going forward, I'm fine. Like probably the most exciting things are the fact that we are bringing

in more 'real time' people with the junior program and we're doing some more twinning with the high school, and so on. And I think for instance, if you're looking at global customs or man-made hazards globally, those are 'real time' things and the kids get excited about those too.

As with many of her colleagues, this teacher's remarks pointed to the positive aspects — to the *use value* — of her work as emotional labor. She cared for her clients and worked hard to get herself excited so she could meet their needs, while staying off the ever-present threat of boredom, routine and stagnation. Going forward, developing and changing pedagogically was important for many teachers in our sample (who by definition had been selected and identified because they were seen to have a serious and sustained commitment to educational change):

I'm a much better teacher than I ever was. I am much more aware of the kids' needs. I don't think I would say I was afraid of dealing with special ed. kids or gifted kids, but I don't think I was really confident in what I was doing and what was best for them. But now I know it is. I know what works for them.

For some, this sense of growing confidence and competence was especially accented in their early years of becoming a teacher. This time is typically one of early classroom survival, establishing your authority as a teacher, and moving beyond preoccupations with yourself and your own insecurities, to addressing the needs of your students, through a bank of knowledge and strategies that you have begun to accumulate over time (Mearor & Woods, 1985; Huberman, 1993). As one of the teachers put it:

My first year, I never even looked at the kids. Looking back, I kind of go, 'OK, that's OK — it was my first year and they all warned me that I would do that'. You are so concerned with yourself and where you are at and whether your attendance is done and all of that stuff, that you have forgotten to look out to them and see where they are at and what their needs are. I am doing that a lot more now because I am feeling more comfortable about what I am doing. And I am realizing that the more interesting I make things and the more that what I do here is different from other classrooms, the more interested they are going to be. I feel freer to try new things and not worry if it goes overtime. If I don't finish one unit, I don't mind about it.

Part of the challenge of change and development for teachers was struggling with letting go

of old conceptions, familiar practices, and comforting routines.

Well, I taught Math the first two years I was on staff and I was in a portable, the desks were in rows. This is what I left in '74. And that was a big change, getting the groupwork going in the core area. It was already set up in desks. And I thought the first couple of weeks, (after returning to teaching) I was going to go nuts with the noise. But then I realized this is very productive.

Integrating new ideas and techniques recently acquired on professional development courses was equally challenging in both technical and emotional terms:

What I've been doing over my last two years of teaching is learn as much as I can and do things over and over again until I feel comfortable with them. So things that I learned in the cooperative learning institute the first time, I may only have used once or twice. But I have them in my teaching repertoire now, and when I know that it's going to be effective, I will use it again.

To sum up: most teachers were committed to having or developing a broad repertoire of teaching strategies. How they drew on this repertoire at any time was shaped by their relationships with students, their feelings about what would excite and engage students emotionally, and their feelings about what would excite and engage themselves as teachers. Building and maintaining such excitement and enjoyment was at the heart of the emotional purposes and emotional labor of teaching, of what made teachers want to change and develop pedagogically, and of what made them take pride in that development over time.

Feelings About Curriculum Planning

Few areas of teachers' work seem as ostensibly unemotional as planning. Yet, for the teachers in our study, curriculum planning was not constrained by stilted formats, excessively packed with overly detailed targets, or mapped backwards from abstract ends. Rather, teachers started with knowledge and feelings about their students, with *intuitive understandings* about what would be likely to excite and engage those students, and with their own passions and enthusiasms about ideas, topics, materials and methods that they could picture working with their classes.¹⁴ Teachers described how they

loved writing curriculum, making things 'richer for kids', in ways that were 'practical' and 'exciting'.

I argued earlier that emotions involve psychological movement. In this sense, it is interesting that the teachers in our study described their excitement of developing ideas with colleagues in vivid, kinesthetic metaphors that portrayed planning as being full of creativity, movement and emotional intensity. Planning for outcomes began with teachers' own passions and their feelings about the students. Ideas for new integrated units were 'brainstormed' by teachers together and sometimes with students who were made part of the planning process too. They were 'piggy-backed' on one another, 'bounced off' people, or generally 'bashed around'. Teachers would work together in teams to 'capture those learners', be 'springboards' for each other, 'spin off' one another's ideas, 'take risks', 'go nuts' and engage in a 'free-for-all', so that the planning process became 'like a pinball machine' for them.

The feeling of freedom and improvisation in planning was exceptionally important for our sample teachers. It offered the opportunity to let the ideas and the brainstorming with colleagues flow. Indeed two of the teachers specifically talked about their experiences of planning in terms of recognizing the *flow* and making the meetings really *flow*. Csikzentmihalyi describes *flow* as a state of concentration so focused that it amounts to absolute absorption in an activity (Csikzentmihalyi, 1990). Flow, he says, is the necessary ingredient for optimal experience and quality of life. For Goleman

flow represents the ultimate in harnessing the emotions in the service of performance and learning. In flow, the emotions are not just contained and channeled, but positive, energized, and aligned with the task in hand (Goleman, 1995).

'To be caught in the ennui of depression or the agitation of anxiety', Goleman continues, 'is to be barred from flow'. This is exactly what happened when planning processes and formats were imposed (i.e. devoid of emotional understanding), when planning partners were not chosen, when planning purposes were unclear or not owned by those engaged in the planning, and when the 'connections for the kids' were not evident. Teachers used very different metaphors

to describe these kinds of planning — ‘stifled’, coming across ‘stumbling blocks’ or being ‘bogged down in cement’. Rational planning has come in for criticism in recent years because of its failure to deal with the highly complex, uncertain and rapidly changing environments of today (Mintzberg, 1994). Our data suggest that rational planning models are also flawed because they take no account of the emotions. Among the work that teachers do, and among those who try to shape that work, even planning should be approached as an emotional practice.

Freer, flow-like approaches to planning among our leading-edge teachers did not exclude attention to goals or outcomes. But it was only later, as the course of study started to take shape, that many teachers would return to the list of prescribed outcomes, as a checklist, to see if they missed anything and to ensure their curriculum was balanced. Overall, while outcomes were still included in these more open-ended and flexible forms of planning, the emotionally charged way that our sample teachers appeared to plan in practice seemed sharply at odds with the more purely rational process of backward mapping implied by outcomes-based or standards-driven education. For them, curriculum planning engaged their emotions. It flowed. It was attentive to general goals and ends but not dominated by them. Such planning began with the teachers’ emotional connections to and understanding of students and was sustained by their emotional engagement in and excitement about the creative, interactive aspects of the process itself as they brought their purposes alive, among colleagues with whom they had also developed emotional understanding in team-based relationships. Once more, students’ emotional needs and teachers’ emotional engagements in a creative, flexible labor process of teaching, were reciprocally attuned to each other.

Conclusion

Teaching cannot be reduced to technical competence or clinical standards. It involves significant emotional understanding and emotional labor as well. It is an emotional practice. The teachers in our study valued the emotional bonds and understandings they established with students, and valued the purposes of educating

their students as emotional and social beings as well as intellectual ones. Teachers’ emotional commitments and connections to students energized and articulated everything these teachers did: including how they taught, how they planned, and the structures in which they preferred to teach. One important way in which teachers interpreted the educational changes that were imposed on them as well as the ones they developed themselves, was in terms of the impact these changes had on their own emotional goals and relationships. It is time for educational change strategies and reform efforts, and for definitions of teaching and learning standards to come to terms with and embrace these emotional dimensions of teaching and learning — for without attention to the emotions, educational reform efforts may ignore and even damage some of the most fundamental aspects of what teachers do. How, specifically, might reform efforts embrace and engage the emotions more positively? Just a few suggestions are outlined here as the beginning of an agenda I develop more fully elsewhere (Hargreaves, 1998).

First, the discourse of educational reform must acknowledge and even honor the centrality of the emotions to the processes and outcomes of teaching, learning and caring in our schools. The emotions must no longer be ignored, still less demeaned as peripheral in the proclamations of policymakers or (in the memorable words of England’s Chief Inspector of Schools, that disturbingly connoted emotional preoccupations as being ones of female self-indulgence), as an ‘agony aunt approach’ leading to ‘a sloppy and sentimentalized kind of caring’ (Young, 1997).

Second, educational policy proclamations must show more authentic pride in what many schools and teachers have achieved and are achieving thus far. A single concessionary acknowledgment of how hard teachers work or how dedicated they are, before a long, ensuing litany of blame for their extensive shortcomings is not enough. We will build a better system of teaching and learning if we do so on a foundation of pride in our existing achievements that we seek to extend further rather than on a wreckage of despair regarding teachers’ educational failures.

Third, healthy individuals acknowledge both pride and shame in their past actions. Yet, as

Norbert Elias has shown, the modernization process in Western societies has brought about a suppression of shame (Elias, 1987). Scheff argues that many of the spiraling conflicts and standoffs in Western societies, be this within families or among nations, spring from this unacknowledged shame (Scheff, 1994a). The conflicts and disputes between Governments and the teaching profession (especially its unions) are at least partly attributable to this emotional phenomenon.¹⁵ When people and their organizations fail to acknowledge the shame they should feel for their own failures and shortcomings, they intellectualize or rationalize the issues (as much of the reform process does). They hide beyond the armor of administration and intellectual argument. Or, like Hitler, they convert the suppressed shame of their past into false pride for the future in quests of personal and political grandiosity (as when governmental leaders boast that they will raise their failing school systems to the top of international performance tables of achievement). Or they project their shame on to others, imparting blame to the adversaries they hold responsible for what has transpired. The increasingly widespread naming and shaming of failing schools by Governments and inspectors is just one example of this latter phenomenon.¹⁶

In order to avoid unproductive conflicts that transpire from such spirals of blame, it is important, Scheff argues, for each party to acknowledge their own shame, in rituals of apology and purification (Scheff, 1994a). In education, it is important that Governments start to acknowledge their own contributions to today's educational problems through their chronic underfunding of public education, through their mismanagement of the reform process, through undervaluing the teaching profession, etc. The ritual of apology is one in which teachers' unions must also participate, acknowledging their past failures to be tough on teacher incompetence, and to embrace educational changes of their own as well as simply opposing the reform agendas of others. Beyond these rituals of apology, anthropologist Mary Douglas argues that cultures of blaming can be replaced by no-fault approaches to problem-solving, as in no-fault insurance and no-fault divorce (Douglas, 1992). The no-fault approach to school reform among professionals and communities in the Comer

Schools of the United States is one example of such an approach (Comes, Haynes, Joyner & Ben-Avie, 1996).

Fourth, in terms of the content of educational reform, Government and other reformers must incorporate the emotional dimensions of teaching and learning into learning standards or curriculum targets for students, and into professional standards or competencies for teachers and administrators. As Goleman and others have shown, emotions are not simply a support for teaching and learning, but a vital and integral part of teaching and learning themselves (Goleman, 1995).

Fifth, including the emotions as part of the core of teaching and learning, is more likely to occur when policymakers can grasp what teachers in this study could grasp: that the emotions are educationally central. For this to come about, there will need to be better emotional understanding (less spurious emotionality) between policy-makers and teachers. Rational persuasion will not do the trick. This means creating conditions of policy-making where more shared emotional understanding between professionals and policy-makers becomes possible. Moving more and more policy decisions to the local level where politicians, administrators, professionals and communities can participate in decision-making together, around agendas and contexts that they all have some closeness to and understanding of, is one way to approach this issue. The delusions of false pride that motivate national agendas of educational control, must, in this sense, give way to policies which permit and encourage capacity-building and decision-making at the local level in communities of shared experience and understanding.

Sixth, the reform process itself must become less highly rationalized. The step-by-step approaches to planning that are commonly advocated or mandated in reform implementation, in school development planning, in backward-mapping when planning for curriculum standards, or in identifying professional development goals as a teacher, must be loosened to leave space for the improvised and emotionally engaged approaches to planning and decision-making that have been reported in the data of this paper. Planning and decision-making must release the emotions, not eliminate them; engage people's purposes not marginalize or silence

them. Many reformers and educational leaders have a lot of work to do to recapture this positive emotionality in the planning and implementation process.

Seventh, reformers, administrators and teachers themselves must endeavor to ensure that the 'rational' aspects of their change agendas, with their checklists, targets, meetings and paperwork, do not crowd out teachers' time to care for their students or connect with them emotionally in general.¹⁷

Eighth, we must explore and establish structures of schooling such as mini-schools, teacher-teams and core-block timetables of the kinds documented in this study, which give teachers enough time and sufficiently small groups of students to know and to teach, so they can establish the emotional bonds and understandings with students that are the foundations of effective learning.¹⁸ This means, at the same time, questioning other priorities of educational reform (such as preoccupations with covering subject matter content or meeting detailed subject-based learning standards), which lead to high degrees of teacher and student specialization that disperse and fragment the contacts which teachers have with their students.

This agenda for including the emotions in educational reform is just a starting point. What is important are not any details of this particular agenda, but the general need to lift the emotions out of the private knowledge and appreciation that teachers already have of them, and give them pride of place in the public domain as being central to the outcomes of educational reform and to the ways that reform is and should be implemented.

Notes

¹See, for example, the psychoanalytic approach of Salzberger Wittenberg; Heary and Osborne (1993).

²For an extended critique of the narrative tradition and its tendency to focus on the stories of small numbers of atypical teachers who tend to reflect back the values and ideals of the researchers studying them — see Hargreaves (1996).

³I have written about the causes and consequences of teacher guilt in Hargreaves, A. (1994).

⁴Particularly important here is the research of Sandra Acker, (1992).

⁵Another reason for this difference may be found in the politics of research funding. In England and Australia, government supported but politically and academically

independent research agencies fund educational and social research largely on scholarly merit, even when it is critical of government policy. In North America, most funding sources are located in government itself, or in charitable and corporate bodies with an action-orientation. This tends to push critical scholarship to the margins of academic research — with the result that such critical work draws little of its inspiration from empirical problems and discoveries in the field, but instead applies existing social and philosophical theories of a critical nature to the education field. These critical theories are mostly highly rational in nature and pay little attention to the emotional aspects of life and work.

⁶Commenting on systems theory as one of the basic elements of organizational learning theory, Robert Evans observes that it is:

overly rational in its orientation. It sees most problems as conceptual, approaching organizations and change in terms of 'mental models' and 'feedback loops' and relies on a truly remarkable degree of objectivity, on problem solving through cognitive self-observation.... Although systems theory does allow for intuition, it virtually disregards the role of emotions, interpersonal dynamics, culture and other crucial non-rational influences in organization functioning.

⁷I do discuss these issues elsewhere, however, in Hargreaves (1998).

⁸The best known exposition of emotional intelligence theory is Goleman, D. (1995).

⁹This point is superbly shown in Delpit, L. (1993).

¹⁰This argument is elaborated in Hargreaves and Fullan (1998).

¹¹Scheff notes that some emotions, such as shame, which are not easily acknowledged in Western culture are hard to detect or elicit through this method. However, the analysis in this paper concentrates more on positive emotions of happiness which are expressed more readily, and therefore less prone to these methodological limitations. See Scheff (1994a,b, 1990).

¹²On the necessity of basing risk upon security, see Hargreaves A. and Fullan M. (1998).

¹³For a more extended discussion of the importance of exceptional events in teaching, see Woods (1995).

¹⁴On the role of intuition in teacher planning, see Connelly & Clandinin (1988).

¹⁵Differences of political interest are also important, of course — an influence on the process of conflict that Scheff largely ignores in his emotionally oriented analysis.

¹⁶Some of the first critical responses to practices of 'naming and shaming' in policy discourses, inspection processes, and league tables of performance are contained in Stoll and Myers (1991).

¹⁷This point is elaborated in Hargreaves A. (1994).

¹⁸A leading advocate of this approach is Ted Sizer and his Coalition for Essential Schools; see Sizer (1990).

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