

Emotion in U.K primary schools:
silenced voices in a performance driven culture?

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Abstract

The change in the education system over the last 30 years has altered what it means to be a teacher. Current literature suggests the present focus is on performance and targets (Ball, 2003) and the central remit is to produce desired outcomes in an input/output education system. Critics have argued (Hargreaves, 1998) that teaching is an emotional practice but this largely goes unrecognised and therefore may not be considered whilst expecting teachers to improve standards. The problem that has arisen is that teaching has been acknowledged as involving a large amount of emotion on the one hand, but on the other, the technical discourse of the current educational system determines that this is underplayed in favour of accountability and performance. As such, teachers are left with no emotional voice, which is significant in how they reflect about their practice, and grow professionally.

The purpose of this research is to further our understanding of emotion in teaching. More specifically it aims to understand what place emotion has in a performative culture and performance reviews, what emotional voice is afforded, and what impact this has on teachers' behaviour and beliefs. Informed by a poststructuralist perspective, it is argued that it is necessary to explore teachers' stories through narratives in order to gain a better understanding of the complexity of factors that impact on how teachers experience different emotions in their profession, and more importantly how these are acknowledged in light of the demands on them. The data collection was carried out from the academic years 2013-2015 using semi-structured interviews. Findings from the research have enabled new themes and areas for reflection to emerge about the contexts in which emotion is acknowledged and what impact this has on teachers' emotional voices. In particular, themes such as relationships; preconceptions, confidence; emotional rules and expectations have emerged. The conclusion is established that both individual and structural factors need to be considered for teachers to have an emotional voice.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Purpose of the study

‘I think emotions are so... they have to run hand in hand because you are not a machine’ (Louise, teacher). This view represents the voices of the teachers interviewed in this research and is offered against a backdrop of an education system that appears to favour targets and outcomes at the expense of teachers’ emotions (Ball, 2003; 2010). Positioned in the context of primary education in England, the aim of this research is to offer greater understanding of the views of teachers regarding their emotional voice. It seeks to understand whether teachers have an emotional voice, what impact this has, whether there are emotional rules that define what this looks like and whether ‘playing the game’ is a mechanism for coping with the demands of the current education system. Influenced by a change in career path, this research was carried out between September 2012 and July 2015. This chapter explores the rationale and aims of the research, the research context, my own biography and the exploration of the theoretical position.

Research rationale, objective and questions

The main objective of this research is to increase the understanding of teachers’ emotions during performance management (**PM**) reviews and in a performative culture, and more specifically to explore how important this is. In addition, it aims to understand whether emotional regulation is used during this process and what this might tell us about the culture in which teachers currently work. This is deemed important as PM is considered as the primary tool that will improve teaching (Groundwater –Smith and Mockler, 2009), yet it could be argued that if it does not understand or take account of the emotion involved, it will have little impact, and in fact may have a detrimental effect. This research also adds to current literature by looking more specifically at emotion in PM and a performative culture, rather than just emotion per se in teaching. The central research question was therefore:

How are teachers in UK primary schools able to express their feelings about their practice?

To examine this issue, the following sub questions were explored:

1. To what extent are teachers’ emotions considered in their performance management, and every day performance, and is this important?

2. What impact does the acknowledgement of emotion have on teachers' views towards their profession?
3. How do theories around the regulation of emotion help us to understand how teachers experience emotion during performance management reviews and performance culture generally?
4. How can 'the performance game' protect teachers from more stressful emotions?

Research context: The place of an emotional voice in a performative culture

It has been argued that our current education system is one of 'audit and standards' (Groundwater-Smith and Mockler, 2009, p.4), which has been born out of a culture of mistrust in public sector organisations. Groundwater-Smith and Mockler argue that an ideology of accountability has developed over the past ten years that 'seek to measure, codify and quantify educational outcomes' (Groundwater-Smith and Mockler, 2009, p.5) and standardise all aspects of education. Central to this culture is a notion of compliance to a political agenda that promotes the use of targets and standards, towards which teachers need to work. It has also been argued (Cochran-Smith and Lytle, 2001) that professional learning under this model is nothing but a tick box exercise and one that is more about surveillance rather than professional learning.

During the past six years PM arrangements for teachers, which is the tool to identify professional development needs, has changed significantly. Prior to 2007, Evans (2011) tells us that there was really no compulsory appraisal system and those that existed in some schools were often inconsistent. The 2010 White Paper, *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE, 2010), seemed to increase the element of accountability on teachers (Evans, 2011), and more recently, in September 2012, a new appraisal system was introduced which has made a much more direct link between teachers' performance and pay.

The significance of this for professional development and daily reflective practice is that there is an attempt to promote a professional model of teaching that suppresses the expression of emotion and an emotional voice (this will be defined more explicitly in chapter two). Current literature has acknowledged this changing focus and is critical that the present emphasis is on performance and targets, not only in performance reviews, but also on an everyday basis (Ball, 2003). It is argued (Ball, 2003; Fitzgerald et al., 2003; Forrester, 2011) that there is a heavy focus to produce desired outcomes in an input/output education system with PM becoming central to this. However, what could be considered problematic in this approach is the nature and importance of emotions in teaching. Hargreaves (1998) offers that teaching is an emotional practice and that

emotion is at the heart of good teaching, but within the current education system this largely goes unrecognized, limiting any opportunity for an emotional voice, whilst still expecting teachers to improve standards. Also significant in educational literature more broadly is the nature of a 'hierarchical relationship between reason and emotion' Beatty (2000, p.334), which suppresses an emotional voice, potentially both for leaders and teachers themselves. It also argues that the denial of an emotional voice may be a limiting factor in professional growth, which can only happen if teachers are given the opportunity to express themselves emotionally. Interestingly, it further suggests that it is the very same culture that places demands on teachers to perform, that stops leaders allowing teachers to have an emotional voice for fear that they will lose control of their staff and weaken expectations. Beatty's (2000) research establishes that whilst there is growing awareness of emotion in education, most leaders do not display an emotional voice to their colleagues. Whilst this is significant in the kind of culture it generates, it also presents the expectation of the place emotion has.

The researcher

This section gives a brief biography of my professional career, outlining my location within the research and reflecting on the issues this brings. It considers my role as an 'insider' and 'outsider' or described by Dwyer and Buckle (2009) as 'the space between' and my epistemological stance.

When I started the research, I was still a classroom teacher, albeit one with senior management responsibilities and a coach and mentoring role. Although during this time I became 'acting head' of a school, it is the job as coach and mentor that led me to research emotion within teachers' roles, as it was here, for the first time I was able to reflect deeply with other teachers about their practice, and of course, my own.

Starting my career in teaching in 2001, I entered at a time which Gleeson and Gunter call 'productive autonomy' (Gleeson and Gunter, 2001, p.3). This they describe as a time where there was the development of more formalised procedures for checking the performance of teachers against targets and national standards, in the form of PM, classroom observations and pupil tracking. For me this was not new and challenging prospect as a previous career had involved high targets and a large degree of pressure to achieve them.

During the nine years of being solely a class teacher I pursued many interests to broaden my horizons and continue my learning. A number of these I feel have perhaps been key in the choice

and approach to this piece of research. The first was achieving a certificate in counselling skills. Whilst I do not necessarily believe this has been useful in carrying out the research, it has guided my area of research. Whilst achieving this qualification, I had to keep a reflective journal about my learning. This I believe has enabled me to continually be reflective about my practice and wonder whether it has been an aid to helping me 'survive' and develop as a teacher amidst a changing profession. It is true to say that my own experience by and large has been very positive.

The role of a coach and mentor also undoubtedly led me to have a great interest in teachers' feelings and thoughts about their practice. In this role I became acutely aware of the degree to which teachers expressed emotions about their practice and how this seemed to influence their ability to carry out their role. I believe it also had a huge impact on my own practice and concur with Fay (1996) who believed 'There is no self-understanding without other-understanding' (Fay 1996, p.241).

My experience of research at Masters level provided a foundation for the type and subject of this research. Whilst its focus was assessment, it was the emphasis on learner's voice that was expressed by pupils, which sparked my interest in the importance of this in lifelong learning and professional development. Whilst this was an action research project, which involved some quantitative data, it was the qualitative element that captured my interest the most. The rich data provided by interviews and observations redefined my complete understanding of assessment.

During the course of this research my career path changed course again, to become a head teacher. This was significant in that I found myself in the position of performance assessor that I had not been in before, and felt in both a privileged, but also challenged, position to provide the right experiences for my staff. To a large extent it also enabled me to continually question and reflect on the findings of my research and consider the influences I discovered when listening to others' stories.

My career path, current position, related values and beliefs have guided my approach to this research and also where I am positioned in it. Whilst I am no longer a teacher, I am also not detached from the context of my research. In this case, I do not consider myself to be insider or outsider and that the dichotomy between the two suggests I am not one thing or the other. I believe the position of this research is as Dwyer and Buckle (2009) offer as 'the space between' Dwyer and Buckle (2009, p. 61). This space acknowledges that whilst I do not work alongside any of the participants, I can relate to them 'at a deep personal level' (Dwyer and Buckle 2009, p. 61). It is true to say that the findings of this research have had an impact on my own practice, not as a research, but as a teacher.

Approaching the research with these ontological and epistemological standpoints, beliefs about teaching practice and research approach, it was necessary to maintain a completely reflective and critical approach. At every opportunity I believed it was necessary to acknowledge my position, one where my own experiences were at odds with much of the literature, and I wanted to ensure that the teachers' stories reflected their voice.

Developing a theoretical framework; exploring Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism, by the very nature of what it is said to reflect, has no particular definition (Agger, 1991). One of the main identifiers though is its rejection of 'certain truth' and absolute facts about the world (Palmer, 2004). Instead, poststructuralism offers the notion of multiplicity with the existence of many interpretations. Its assertion, while still rooted in the structuralist belief of the 'constructions' of individuals and society, as opposed to an essentialist view of the individual, is that:

Knowledge is inextricably bound up with power, where power is understood not as the possession of material resources but as representational power. It unfolds in and through texts and discursive practices by means of which particular conceptualisations of the world are circulated, and by which these interpretations are transformed into conceptual prisons, which stop the free play of signification and fix meaning in the name of 'truth-maker'.

(Merlingen, 2013, p.3)

Furthermore, it can be seen that:

By understanding the multiplicity of routes by means of which power is articulated, it seeks to disclose the numerous sites at which resistance is possible.

(Blunden, 2005, p.1)

What is important to this perspective are the connections between discourse, individual subjects, organisation of society and social groups, and power. This understanding of poststructuralism lead to a consideration of how it may be useful following the pilot interviews described below.

In the autumn of 2012, a pilot study was undertaken for this research. This took the form of three forty-five minute interviews of teachers from the same locality as that described in the main research. As Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) point out, a pilot study has various functions from providing evidence for funding bodies to checking out a research instrument. For this research the purpose behind the pilot was to collect preliminary data to help direct the formulation of the research questions for the main study and to explore the theoretical framework.

At this point the approach taken can be considered more like that of an ‘informed grounded theory’ (Thornberg, 2012) approach. As Strauss and Corbin explain (1990), through examining data from specific contexts, theories evolve that are relevant to the issues being explored. It is felt that as a result of these interviews and a consideration of theoretical literature, an appropriate lens has been adopted, and one that is able to ‘fit to context without force’ (Flower, 1989, p.296 in Nunes et al., 2010). However, as Thornberg (2012) argues, I recognise that my own beliefs and understanding about the context of research was influential in the direction that the theoretical exploration took and there was not a pure inductive process happening.

Nevertheless, through the nature of the themes identified in the pilot and iterative approach after each interview, it was felt that a better understanding of the context, relationships and dynamics was gained. Nunes et al. (2010) argue that this element is crucial in ensuring that the theoretical framework is sensitive to the context. Further more, Nunes et al. advocate the use of pilot studies to bring this about. They offer that pilot studies:

can be used to acquire early contextual sensitivity through the collection of essential information for effective research design and development of greater awareness of dynamic events, agents and circumstances that can positively modify the research process flow and affect decision-making.

(Nunes et al., 2010, p.74)

This approach also allowed a point of reflection in which to consider the nature of the data being gathered. As Nunes et al. also point out it also marks a shift from an idea into something more theoretically positioned:

pilot studies are an invaluable source of contextual data, which have the ability of moving the researcher into the phenomenon’s ecology and into the core of respondents’ accounts, thus partitioning the broad emergent theory into workable, theoretically-relevant conceptual units.

(Nunes et al., 2010, p. 75)

The openness of this initial approach proved useful in establishing what theoretical stance to take but also in exploring the tensions of the approach; namely the deterministic nature of

structures. Through revisiting themes and context after each interview, further theoretical analysis was required to explore aspects of the approach that appeared less well established. Nunes et al.'s 'Pilot studies' context-awareness cycle' is useful to show the stages that this took (see Appendix A).

To explore this further, particularly the use of power, and how this could impact on the capacity for teachers to have emotional voice, Foucault's work was explored. Foucault's (1975) idea of 'Panopticism' can be considered a useful tool for exploring this further and could be deemed relevant to the performance culture that teachers work within today (Ball, 2001; 2010). More specifically, it is useful how Foucault believes a 'gaze' (Krips, 2010) has an impact on the individual at an emotional level. Foucault developed the metaphorical use of Panopticism from Bentham's prison design (Panopticon) in the late part of the eighteenth century (Page, 2013). The design involved an arrangement where it was possible to have 'ongoing' surveillance of the inmates, made possible by a central tower looking out to individual cells in a circular format. The central tower could not be seen into by the inmates, but could only be viewed outwards by the guards. As such, it is believed that the prisoners had to assume that they were being watched continuously, even if there was no one in the tower, and as a result of this they maintained appropriate behaviour. It is believed that this developed 'self-discipline' where inmates internalised the expected way to behave:

There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself. A superb formula: power exercised continuously and for what turns out to be a minimal cost.

(Foucault, 1980, p. 155)

Developing a metaphorical version of the Panopticon, Foucault believed that this design could be adopted, not in an architectural way, but in the use of a 'programme of power' (Gallagher, 2010). It was the underlying principles of Bentham's design rather than the construction itself. For Foucault (1977), it was the notion of how power could be achieved through surveillance in various forms. It was also the process of 'normalisation' so that individuals started to behave in certain and desired ways (Gallagher, 2010). Foucault also extended this 'ideal' further by acknowledging that surveillance is not only achieved by sight but also by sound, and a sense of the unknown. For Foucault, modern society held a number of examples where this panopticism could be evident, including hospitals, prisons and schools. Ultimately panopticism is based on power; the power to control and normalise others' behaviour. The essential ingredient to this still

is the invisible nature of surveillance. Foucault believed the uncertainty of not knowing who and when someone was watching gave control. Because of this, power becomes feared and therefore subjects begin to self-monitor in order to conform. Responsibility for expected and desired behaviour now rests with the individual. Normalised behaviour, according to Foucault, inevitably becomes natural to them.

Panopticism in the UK education system

The concept of panopticism has been applied to many areas of the education system in the UK. Using a Foucauldian perspective, Page (2013) argues that the recent developments in the management of teachers, after the end of the General Teaching Council, has led to a more internal surveillance of teachers through both formal inspections in PM and a general 'readiness' for an **Ofsted** inspection, which permeates the culture of schools. He argues that this model has increased a focus on 'weeding out the classroom incompetent' (Page, 2013, p.9) through the constant inspection of teachers' capabilities against the teaching standards. Furthermore, Page offers that professional development has been almost entirely removed and in its place is a system of checking and auditing:

The yearly assessment of teachers against the standards is not presented as a means of identifying areas of professional development; rather they are presented punitively, a means of identifying the bad apples in the teaching barrel. The emphasis is not on supporting and developing struggling teachers but on removing them.

(Page, 2013, p.9)

Within this new 'incompetence procedure', teachers can now be dismissed within a term, rather than a year under the previous arrangement. For Page, this further increases a panoptic arrangement whereby teachers have become self-disciplining for fear of this possibility. Furthermore, it is argued that there has been a 'colonising' of teachers with a report by the Sutton Trust suggesting that 52% of teachers agreed that it should be easier to remove underperforming teachers (Lewis and Pyle, 2010). This suggests there is growing acceptance of a fixed model of what it is to be a good teacher and that they have become highly individualised in their bid to demonstrate their own competency (Ball, 2003). Page offers that this is indicative of how panopticism has become part of a teacher's practice:

In this context, teachers work under the fear of inspection and surveillance which renders them docile as they internalise the panoptic gaze and become self-disciplining.

It could be suggested that a performance and surveillance culture is also increased with the change to Ofsted inspection, which can be argued changes the discourse of the school to one that emphasises the ‘readiness’ for an inspection at any time. With as little as half a day notice now given by Ofsted before their arrival, Perryman (2009) argues that teachers need to continuously demonstrate their skills and competence on every level, so whilst the inspection is an external one, the expectations from this have filtered down to the every day lives of teachers, who in turn internalise this.

Simon (2005) uses the term ‘Dataveillance’ to describe Panopticism in its modern setting. By this he means ‘the collection, organisation and storage of information about persons’ (Simon, 2005, p.1). This could be seen as relevant to the notion of surveillance of teachers’ working lives related to PM and performativity generally, due to the increased use of data to determine the success of a teacher. Beckmann et al. (2009) argue that PM today seems to be based on a measurable, valueless system and excludes anything that is not measurable. As such PM is a system whereby:

Managerialism represents a fragmented vision of being, empty of ethical dimensions and only informed by materialism, opportunism and industrialism, thereby excluding non-accountable, non-measurable qualities and other forms of relating, evaluating and being. It is a reductionist opportunism that pays for those who ‘play the game’ and as such managerialism is subserving any predominant ideology - in this context, capitalism – by complementing it on a practical level.

(Beckmann et al., 2009, p.323)

Goldstein (2001) reminds us that since the late 80s increasing emphasis has been placed on the use of data to make schools more accountable. In the primary sector, **Key Stage Two** results are now used as commonplace to evaluate the performance of and between schools. At a more individual level, data has increasingly become the focus in performance appraisal with pupil progress measured by points being key indicator of how competent a teacher is. Ball (2010) also agrees and argues that we now exist in a ‘regime of numbers’ (Ball, 2010, p.125) where performance is easily measured and monitored. According to Ball (2001; 2003; 2010; 2012) this has significantly changed teaching with a culture of ‘new management panopticism’ (Ball, 2001, p.36). It, according to Ball, changes the nature of relationships between teachers, from being ones with a sense of solidarity, to ones with a competitive edge. Because of an ever-present ‘gaze’, teachers behave in certain ways that mean they remain ‘safe’ and are not subjected to further scrutiny. Willmott describes this scenario as ‘the governance of the employees’ soul’ (Willmott,

1995, p.517) where there is a bid to ‘normalise’ employees behaviour so that they behave as desired. In applying a Foucauldian perspective to education Ball offers the following:

There is not so much, or not only, a STRUCTURE of surveillance, as a FLOW of performativities both continuous and eventful - that is SPECTACULAR. It is not the possible certainty of always being seen that is the issue, as in the classic panopticon, it is the uncertainty and instability of being judged in different ways, by different means, through different agents; the ‘bringing-off’ of performances - the flow of changing demands, expectations and indicators that make us continually accountable and constantly recorded

(Ball, 2001, p.37. Emphasis in original.)

Ball argues that power is maintained over teachers by the uncertainty of which judgement is being applied at which time, thus ensuring teachers conform to desired expectations even if they are unsure of their worth. Like the panopticon, teachers become uncertain of when and who is being checked and therefore learn to adopt certain teacher behaviours. Ball goes on to say that this new culture ‘invites and incites us to make ourselves more effective’ (Ball, 2010, p.125) and if they do not do this they feel incompetent. As such, performativity is working at a very personal level and ‘works most powerfully when it is inside our heads and our souls’ (Ball, 2010, p.125). According to Ball, in this scenario, teachers self-monitor themselves and strive to continually show their best.

Ball is clear to point out that situations like this cannot simply be seen as scenarios of domination. For some, there may be fulfillment and achievements. In this culture:

Performativity is not in any simple sense a technology of oppressions; it also offers satisfactions and rewards, at least to some. Indeed performativity works best *when we come to want for ourselves what is wanted from us*; when our sense of purpose is aligned with its pleasures.

(Ball, 2010, p.126)

However, rather than suggesting this is indicative of some kind of agency, Ball suggests this is due a subtle manipulation by a market driven culture. Instead of suggesting this strive for success is independently desired, he offers that teachers are ‘indoctrinated’ into believing a certain way is better. It implies that it is only the threat of audits, observations and a continual ‘gaze’ that spurs teachers to work towards to a desired way of teaching. In fact, Ball offers that in order to

conform to this, teachers' practice often becomes 'inauthentic' (Ball, 2010, p.126). Teachers learn to perform not only in the audit sense but also in a dramaturgical way.

Critical Reflection

Foucault's theory of Panopticism and its use by the authors above, could be criticised as being overly deterministic in how it seems inevitable that modern subjects will become 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1977). Simon (2005) argues the concept of panopticism alone cannot control people as there is always a propensity for humans to fake a certain kind of behaviour in order to avoid retribution. Mann et al. (2003) discuss the idea of 'sousveillance' where there may be some kind of resistance to being watched. By this they mean 'inverse surveillance' (Mann, 2003) by using technology to 'mirror' the surveillance that is directed towards people from positions of power. This, they argue is a form of 'reflectionism' (Mann, 1998) where there are 'individuals using tools to observe the organisational observer' (Mann et al., 2003, p.333) and attempt to make the relationship more equal. Key to this 'empowerment' is the use of more personal technology by individuals to watch those who are watching them. This, they argue, may be in the form of photographing or videoing those who have traditionally monitored them, for example the police or security guards, or to make known they are being watched by behaving 'unusually' in front of CCTV, and thus demonstrating they are not being controlled.

The adoption of data management systems by schools, and by more and more teachers, to inform their daily practice could be considered a form of sousveillance. Over the last ten years, an increasing amount of statistical data has been used to analyse teaching and learning to the extent it is now ubiquitous. A report by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER, 2005) commissioned by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), identified the increasing use of data to inform planning, grouping and approaches to teaching. Whilst it identified that it was mostly head teachers, deputy heads and assessment co-ordinators who used it most, it also stated that there was a growing number of teachers using it to inform their work. They offered that although some teachers saw 'data as a threat and used primarily for PM rather than as a genuine means to improve pupil learning' (NFER, 2005, p. 61), others were finding it useful and adopting it.

This adoption by some teachers could be seen as an attempt to understand the process by which they are being judged in order to make the relationship more equal. One quote by a teacher from another report (Kelly et al., 2010) indicates teachers are trying to monitor what they personally need to improve before being told:

I think data can be used to put pressure on teachers. It is used to show where value-added is happening and where it isn't happening. And that is unavoidable when you're looking at data, so I think certain teachers do feel under pressure but I am not sure that that is a bad thing. I think it is a positive thing because if using data is flagging up where a teacher is consistently getting negative value-added, then that teacher needs to be aware of it, rather than just ignoring it and pretending that things are OK when they're not.'

Advanced Skills Teacher (English)

(Kelly et al., 2010, p.33)

Although this could be an indication that teachers are making known more explicitly that they are being monitored, it could also simply indicate what Foucault predicted modern forms of governmentality would look like. For him, rather than surveillance having an effect on the body, as in the panopticon, it is something that can alter their attitudes. Holligan (1999, p.138) offers that 'so called experts are involved with both creating and dispensing knowledge whose purpose is basically corrective'. It could be suggested that promoting the use of data by teachers is another means to normalise teachers' behaviour. Using Foucault's idea, it may be argued that this modern type of power, in the form of knowledge, permeates through the education system and creates a culture, which "inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes, and everyday lives" (Foucault, 1980, p39).

Developing a theoretical framework; exploring Structuration theory

Issues around agency and the seemingly overly deterministic nature of poststructuralism with its emphasis on power require a consideration of Structuration theory. Anthony Giddens's Structuration theory (an ontology of social reality) emphasises the nature of individuals to be creative, and that there is a duality of structure and agency, which is not obviously present in poststructuralism. For Giddens (1984) social structures are not separate and do not exist outside human actions. Within this arrangement there are rules and resources which either produce or reproduce a social system. The social system can therefore 'enable and constrain actions'(Giddens, 1984, p.2). Within these systems, individuals perform scripts that convert the principles of the organisation. Individuals may be conscious of these or not. There also may be an awareness of an alternative. Barley and Tolbert (1997) offer that if individuals are aware of

scripts they can provide a rationale for why they are doing something. Furthermore, they offer that by and large individuals mostly behave inline with the way they believe things are and that any degree of change would require a significant amount of autonomy. Giddens does himself argue that 'human social activities are recursive in as much they are continually being recreated by the actors' (Giddens, 1984, p. 31). Nevertheless he maintains that 'social structures do not force people to act in particular ways; people are not 'ideological dopes of stunning mediocrity' (Giddens, 1979, p. 52), and 'social structures do not operate independently of the motives and reasons that people have for their behaviour' (Giddens, 1984, p. 181). In essence individuals are active and therefore structures are dynamic rather than static. Organisations and structures although often referred to as single entities are sum totals of individuals. Berends, Boersma and Weggeman (2003) argue that it is possible to change these structures therefore by changing practice and where learning is part and parcel of the social structure, and where resources are available. Giddens (1984) refers to two types of resources. As Ashley (2010) explains, these are:

authoritative and allocative. The first relates to the non-material resources drawn on in controlling and influencing the circumstances of other agents' actions or coordinating the activity of others; and the second relates to the harnessing of material resources, in terms of goods, technology and the environment

(Ashley, 2010, p.342)

This theory somewhat proved useful in understanding that in the pilot studies there was evidence that some teachers were experiencing more agency than others, in that they appeared to have an emotional voice. However, the commencement of the main research resonated with some of the ideas of poststructuralism again, in that a number of themes indicated notions of power and control in allowing or disallowing an emotional voice. My tensions with structuration theory align with Willmott (1999) who questions the possibility of looking at individuals with structure and vice versa. He argues:

If structure is tied up with agency, then we thus end up with agency being accorded an inordinate degree of interpretative freedom and the capacity to effect structural change as and when such change is desired

(Willmott, 1999, p8)

This freedom somewhat implies that individuals are free to act without repercussion; something that was rarely evident in my research. Whilst Giddens also acknowledges that systems can be reproduced as well as produced, the ability for individuals to change structures seems overstated. As Willmott argues, it hard to comprehend the agency individuals have in the education sector when an outcome driven culture has been perpetuating for so long. Ashley (2010) is also critical of Giddens in that there is an assumption that individuals have the knowledge and the power to change social structures. This assumes a 'reflexive capacity' (Giddens, 1984, p3), which for this research is questioned. Whilst there is evidence of agency, it is challenging to see individuals always having access to the knowledge and resources required for change.

A return to poststructuralism and an exploration of Wall's (2007) consideration of poststructuralism (and feminism) was useful in this further analysis. Her vignettes of reflection resonated with many of my own doubts and questions regarding the notion of poststructuralism as a tool for engagement. Firstly, like her, it seemed to offer something perhaps 'too theoretical' and not useful in the everyday sense. Secondly, I found it hard to identify myself within these power structures that are evident in this theory, but was challenged by the fact that teachers had described situations like this. Lastly, and because of the final point, the notion of agency seemed to be the tension that for some time remained unanswered.

Wall (2007) too, in problematising the use of poststructuralism to consider the role of nurses, notes how challenging the concept of agency is in the theory. Furthermore, (Clegg, 2006) offers:

Poststructuralist deconstruction of the humanist subject emphasizes the 'unfixity' of the subject and the continual discursive construction of the self; it eliminates the ability to theorize about agency and the power that might flow from the self.

(Clegg, 2006, p.313-14)

Likewise, Butler (1997) suggests that because of the assertion that the subject is bound up with power relations, understanding the subject more at the centre of this is problematic and thus can be an issue for considering agency.

However, despite this skepticism, Wall (2007) offers that under further scrutiny, agency can be seen in poststructuralist theories, which ultimately can be useful. In elaborating this point she uses Davies (2000) to explain:

Agency is never freedom from discursive constitution of self, but she also maintains that it is “The capacity to recognize that constitution and to resist, subvert, and change the discourses themselves through which one is being constituted

(Davies, 2000, p.67 in Wall, 2007, P.45)

This is a different kind of agency where the subject:

“can move within and between discourses, can see precisely how they subject her, can use the terms of one discourse to counteract, modify, refuse, or go beyond the other”

(Davies, 2000, p.60 in Wall, 2007, P.45)

Peters (2005) also offers that as well as recognising this ‘unfixity’ of the subject allows for a re-negotiation of the subject, it also allows for an improved awareness of the instruments by which certain power dynamics happen and how these relate the individual and social structures. Furthermore, Lee (1992) argues that taking a poststructuralist position in education can be productive in that it does not try to offer ‘too-neat analysis of power’ (Lee 1992, p.1). It recognises the tensions and the muddle. These further insights in the possibilities of change and reconstructions, once again made the poststructuralist lens more appealing. Educationally, it is hard to accept the notion of a teacher as a static rational being, which Walshaw (1999) offers that the current education system does. Poststructuralism seems to allow for the consideration of how certain identities and ‘ways of being’ are governed and restricted, which was reflected in the pilot interviews.

Developing a theoretical framework; exploring Critical Realist perspective

The work of Margaret Archer (2003) is significant as a response to the idea of creating ‘docile bodies’ in an age of panopticism. For Archer the idea of being conditioned by social structures alone ignores the personal capability of individuals, however this is not the duality described by Giddens, but rather structure and agency are distinct. She argues that it is a much more complex process that occurs between structure and agency, where she proposes that whilst there is a connection between structure and its individuals, they can be viewed separately, so to see the influences from one to the other. From a critical realist perspective Archer argues that if we do not take account of internal reflexivity, we are not seeing the whole picture. Using the terms

‘constraints and enablements’ (Archer, 2003), she argues that individuals consider the merits of certain structural ways of doing something and make decisions to adopt or reject them. She offers:

Reflexive agents can sometimes foresee the impediments that certain projects would encounter and thus be deterred from pursuing them. Equally they may anticipate the ease with which other projects could be advanced, and the benefits that would accrue, and thus be encouraged to adopt them.

(Archer, 2003, p.6)

By this token, Archer believes there is a level of freedom in deciding on which course of action to take. From this perspective, it is not structure alone that ‘exercise causal power’ (Archer, 2003, p.8), but the level of engagement that takes place with reflexive agents. The effects are therefore ‘conditional rather than deterministic’ and ‘no structural or cultural emergent property is constraining *tout court*’ (Archer, 2003, p.8).

Archer argues that the ability of individuals to reject or accept structural influences is achieved through ‘the internal conversation’ (Archer, 2003). This is more than ‘idle commentaries’ (Archer, 2000) of everyday mundane events but a continual engagement with our own thoughts and feelings about the world we find ourselves within. It is not a separate element but connected with the sociological aspects around us. This is an interesting consideration for this thesis because if we take the view that the current education system is limiting in its acceptance of teachers’ emotions, which much of the literature about the current system suggests it does, Archer would argue a fundamental aspect of what it means to be a thinking, acting individual is missing. Archer says:

The central assumption made here is that our emotions are among the main constituents of our inner lives. They are the fuel of our internal conversation and this is why they matter. The importance of emotions is central to the things we care about and to the act of caring itself.

(Archer, 2000, p.194)

Furthermore, if only a structural view is taken to explore the research questions, it could be argued that emotion has no relevance at all. Therefore, a view that education is somehow deterministic and limiting upon individual teachers can be seen to be crucially missing the thinking and feeling agents who engage in society and are not simply passive participants.

From my own reflective practice, my internal grappling with theory and reflecting on this research in a diary, Archer’s internal conversation resonates with my understanding of how I

question social structures. However, as with structuration theory there is an assumption that individuals have the capacity to be reflective. Archer does herself argue:

the kinds of agents that they start out being without any choice, due to parentage and social context, profoundly influences what type of actor they can choose to become.

(Archer, 1995, p.277)

This is useful in recognising that individuals have different types of reflexives that influence their ability to have these internal conversations and like Giddens, are dependent on resources available. Nevertheless, in using ‘personal identity’ and ‘social identity’, Archer argues that the personal identity can remain distinct from social structures, and this is where the capacity for the internal conversation to happen.

Conclusion

Whilst Giddens and Archer offer the opportunity for agency which was a tension in poststructuralism, ontologically this theoretical position reflected my belief in how meaning is created, produced, linked to power, and the impact it can have on us, and in this instance our emotional voice. This research follows the premise that emotion, the display of emotions and an emotional voice are inextricably tied up with power: the power of structures to influence and dictate when and how we have an emotional voice, but also the power of the individual to develop an emotional voice. Following the line of argument developed by Boler (1999) this study is interested to understand how and when some teachers gain an emotional voice through acknowledgement and how others don't, and what affective dimension this has. Taking this position I believe poststructuralism still allows for exploration of agency, using Wall's (2007) argument that we can explore agency within structures rather than discrete from them.

Chapter 2- Literature review

Introduction

The five sections of this chapter review the literature that has informed this research, with regards to emotional voice and the key questions being investigated. The first section outlines what I understand emotion and an emotional voice to be. The second and third sections explore what place emotion currently has in the education sector, and what the impact of its place or absence is. Section four considers the role of emotional labour and rules and the final section reflects on the presence of 'playing the game'. The conclusion identifies common themes, which help us understand the current context, but also the gaps in the literature.

Emotion and an emotional voice

In 1884 William James asked "What is an emotion?" (James, 1884). Unfortunately for my purposes, this has not yet been answered within any definite clarity. Kleinginna and Kleinginna's (1981) analysis of ninety-two definitions still does not make the job easy. Indeed, within the literature I have read on emotion in teaching to date, no real attempt has been made to clarify what it is, other than to assume it is to do with human feeling. An attempt is made by writers such as Malm (2009), who distinguish between cognition (defined as achievements and skills) and emotion (defined as attitudes and values). Kelchtermans (2005) too questions whether vulnerability is an emotion, whilst other articles allow us to use our own lay understanding of what emotion is (Day and Leitch, 2001; Hargreaves, 1998a; 1998b; Woods and Jeffrey, 2002).

My understanding of emotion concurs with that of Zembylas (2005b). That is I believe emotions are not an internal affect only but are created through engagement with the surrounding social structures and discourse, which create emotional rules. Furthermore, like Zembylas, I believe that power relations are at work in determining our emotional voices and the way we are allowed or not allowed to use these. The implication for an education system that is based on outcomes and performativity as described so far in chapter one, is that this rational mechanistic way of working creates a culture where there is no room for an emotional voice. For this research, I mean an emotional voice to be:

- The opportunity to reflect on emotions generated by their practice;
- Express emotions related to their practice;
- Emotions to be validated and acknowledged;
- Opportunities professional development generated from this acknowledgement.

The importance of establishing this assumption is that this research will be concerned with more than the individual's experience but also that of cultures, which create power relations that are limiting to teachers and their practice. Returning to Foucault's use of power, and his argument that power is a process, not a possession (Zembylas 2005b), the emphasis is that control over emotions is the on-going construction and reconstruction of power relations that define what emotion should look like, but also that resistance also forms part of this construction. Although Foucault argues that there is never total freedom, the argument is that individuals can understand the rules and power at work and subvert these and question their existence. The following sections explore exactly what cultures with these power relations might look like.

Education and emotion

Since the arrival of PM as a more formal process in 2000 (DfEE 2000), there has been a gradual move to systems that resonate review systems found in the private sector (Forrester, 2011). These promote the checking of 'performance, productivity, accountability and transparency' (Forrester, 2011, p.5). What is of importance for this research is how this change has had an impact on the emotions of teachers, both in being recognised and managed, and the ability of them to have an emotional voice. Beatty (2000) argues that school cultures are 'carefully controlled emotionally' (Beatty, 2000, p.335). She argues that:

Denial of the emotionality of experience may also be limiting the potential for professional renewal and synergy that can occur only when the whole self is safe to grow and to discover in collaboration with trusted colleagues

(Beatty, 2000, p.335)

Other critics (e.g. Ball, 1993; 2003; 2012; Down, 1999; Forrester, 2011; Sachs, 2001) argue that the discourse of PM focuses of the language of targets, aims and outcomes, which leaves little room for individuals' feelings towards their work and emotions around what they want to achieve, and their capacity to express this. Rather than this being a useful tool for teachers to develop, it could be seen as:

a millstone: a heavy burden, which increases bureaucracy, intensifies surveillance and monitoring of their work and potentially erodes their working relationships. Indeed, performance management can be regarded as primarily a form of control, not for incentivising individuals.

(Forrester, 2011, p.7)

Ball (2003) also supports this view and goes as far as to say that not only does it change the

way we work and what we do but also alters who we are as people. That is the culture in which we now teach emphasises procedure and inspection at the expense of relationships, which understand the individual needs of employees. Quotes in this article from teachers offer us an insight, which suggest that personal feelings are sacrificed in order to fulfill organisational goals. This, suggests Ball, is highly detrimental to the individual and can lead to highly negative emotions that can go unchecked. Furthermore the disparity between the feelings and emotions of teachers and the overall aims of the school are the ones where:

The ground of such struggles is often highly personal. Expressed in the lexicons of belief and commitment, service and even love, and of mental health and emotional well-being. The struggles are often internalized and set the care of the self against duty to others.

(Ball, 2003, p. 216)

Ball's work could suggest that it is important to recognise this, as asked in this first question, as failure to do so can have deep rooted effects. Furthermore, this quote gives us insight that these changes can lead to emotional management, which Ball also sees as damaging. In fact, in this changing climate of accountability, Ball (2003, p.217) offers that 'this is the struggle over the teacher's soul'.

Ball (1993; 2003; 2012) goes onto to say that at the heart of this performative culture, including performance reviews, relationships have changed. He argues that we have become egocentric talking about our self only in comparison terms, and are in control of our own successes. In an instant this could appear appealing as it offers a sense of freedom, however this dialogue has strict guidelines of discussion, which are firmly rooted in performance, related to collective goals and not an emotional voice. Morley (2003) describes this as 'ventriloquism' where individuals talk only in organisational terms rather than as themselves. Ball does however recognise that this might not be entirely problematic for everyone, but could lead to 'inauthenticity' discussed in question three.

Beatty (2000) argues that there needs to be relationships between leadership and teachers, which fosters a trusting and safe culture. Thus allows for the opportunity to reflect on the 'emotionality of their experience' (Beatty, 2000, p.336). However, in reality what seems to be apparent according to Beatty is that:

The relationship between the teachers' emotional experience in this sense and that of the leader may be one of inverse proportionality. That is, in some cases, the more secure and empowered the teacher, the more threatened, insecure and anxious the leader.

(Beatty, 2000, p.336)

In terms of an emotional voice within these kind of relationships, Ball also describes an arrangement where anything manageable becomes managed, including the ability to keep workers' feelings under control by keeping the focus firmly objective driven. However, this is problematic as 'much of this reflexivity is internalised, rather than expressed. These things become matters of self-doubt and personal anxiety rather than public debate' (Ball, 2003, p.220). It appears then that this performance-managed culture has two opposing elements: a private emotional one and a public rational one. The result of this is that the individual becomes alienated within relationships that are devoid of any feeling. 'Again, performance has no room for caring' (Ball, 2003, p. 224).

Clegg and Rowland (2010) support Ball's view and offer that whilst there is emotion in education, it is devalued and unacknowledged at the expense of more technical approach to work. In researching kindness towards pupils they claim that this goes hugely undervalued by management as this does not fall within the remit of producing more measurable results. Referencing Mortiboys (2002) they argue that any acknowledgement of emotion is 'inappropriate territory'. The dichotomy between emotion and rationality renders any recognition a sign of weakness and therefore not useful to outcomes. Therefore, 'as teaching performance becomes increasingly accountable, so the personal quality of kindness is replaced by more manageable routines of 'due care' (Clegg and Rowland, 2010, p.724). As such

Demonstrating that one 'cares' about students is transformed into a performance indicator. Such performances are regulated in ways that reduce the risk to the organisation and protect it from acts of kindness that might go beyond the mechanical performance of duty.

(Clegg and Rowland, 2010, p.725)

Clegg and Rowland argue that it is not the accountability that is the issue here but the disregard for personal feelings at the expense of auditable regime.

Zembylas' (2005a) ethnographic study provides further evidence that suggest emotions are not considered, recognised or allowed to be expressed. He offers that emotion is one of the least researched aspects of teaching but probably one of the most important. He argues that emotion is fundamental and an 'inextricable aspect of teaching' (Zembylas 2005a, p466). Furthermore, examining the context within which we experience emotion is also useful to question structures, relationships, rules and power. In his research he concludes that Catherine, his participant, is

subjected to emotional suffering because of the unwritten rules that are in place regarding the display of emotions. These rules cause a personal conflict between her personal beliefs and feelings about teaching and those placed upon her by the school culture. This is illustrated in a quote used by Zembylas:

I remember as a young teacher I often felt so much discomfort and shame, because my ideas were not appreciated. I felt that my feelings were ignored or dismissed by my colleagues... [pause] And this made me feel a tremendous sense of disempowerment. Recognizing that my ideas and feelings lacked appreciation made me feel even more discouraged.

(Catherine, Interview, 10 May 1999 in Zembylas, 2005a, p. 465)

Whilst the research also shows examples where Catherine also finds ‘emotional freedom’ in her classroom away from more formal structures, and is able to feel better about her work, Zembylas is concerned that many cannot do this and therefore may be affected in their development. He warns that if teachers do not have the capacity to ‘facilitate emotional navigation’, often supported by other colleagues, then emotional tension can remain.

Day and Leitch’s research (2001) also gives examples where they see tensions between being seen as professional on the one hand and acknowledging emotions on the other. They argue that reducing this dichotomy is necessary as not valuing someone’s feelings can hamper their enjoyment of being a teacher. They give five points of why we should not continue in this way:

- (1) emotional intelligence (EI) is at the heart of good professional practice (Goleman, 1995) (EI discussed later);
- (2) emotions are indispensable to rational decision-making (Damasio, 1994);
- (3) emotional health is crucial to effective teaching over a career;
- (4) emotional and cognitive health are affected by personal biography, social context (of work and home) and external (policy) factors;
- (5) research which focuses upon the passion of vocation (Fried, 1995) in relation to person as well as professional is scarce.

(Day and Leitch 2001, p. 404)

Whilst attempting not to over 'romanticise' the nature of emotions in teaching they are clear in their warning that by not addressing the damaging effects of ignoring emotion, and giving teachers an emotional voice, we are actually denying the opportunity for teachers to develop. Day and Leitch give examples where many teachers felt forced to hide their emotion in order to deliver a much more acceptable professional face. However, the long-term damage of this was disillusionment and resentment. Using the task of mask-making to express their thoughts about emotion, many of the teachers asked spoke of putting on a disguise and using a face that was not theirs. In focusing more on the experiences during the PM cycle, Down et al. (1999) offer that this process is much more about 'human resource management', where staff are managed to create the best outcomes which often excludes more personal aspects. One theme central to their work is the idea of how the process is 'contrived and superficial' (Down et al., 1999, p. 18). Rather than targets being made with the teachers' interests in mind, they are in fact expertly produced through a 'controlled negotiation' (Down et al., 1999, p.18).

This implies then that the nature of this process is far less about the personal development of the individual and much more about the whole school targets. Fitzgerald et al.'s (2003) work also points to the idea that the hierarchical nature of PM systems gives teachers very little voice both professionally and personally. They describe this as 'the bureaucratisation of teaching' (Fitzgerald et al., 2003, p.94). Within PM reviews, targets have become the discourse between reviewers and reviewed who now find themselves in contradictory relationships of colleagues on a daily basis but authority figures during reviews. Because of this, Fitzgerald et al. argue that large amounts of emotion are generated but these are not necessarily considered or discussed causing pressure and anxiety. They argue that a more holistic approach with more equal relationships would render this experience much more useful and less stressful for teachers.

However, Isherwood et al.'s research (2007) reveals a different picture of the experiences of teachers during their PM reviews. Although the focus is on a special school, this is still relevant for this research because it explores the nature the relationships, which is seen as crucial for an effective experience. Isherwood et al. begin by asking what the purpose of PM is; that of compliance and accountability or genuine development of teachers? They argue that it indeed can be both. They suggest that teachers have the right to have a thorough process of evaluation but this needs to be more people-centred, implying an acknowledgement of how individuals feel and a dialogue in response to this. Part of this process is that school leaders need to be emotionally intelligent. What was discovered in their research was that the experiences of the teachers, in the PM process, were generally positive. This, it was believed, was partly to do with the nature of the relationships being open and the senior staff being encouraging. In addition, the introduction of 'Health and Well-being' targets also made staff comfortable and their feelings valued. This move was seen as important and positive so that staff felt part of the process and

received a genuine sense of development. As Isherwood et al. (2007) point out, the findings of this research seem to contradict the views above and offer that PM review experiences may be very much dependent on the context and the structure of the school. Although initial documentation from the DfES (2000) proposed that PM should be an 'open and supportive' process, it can be seen by the contrasting views that there are mixed experiences depending on how schools adopt policies.

Hartley (2004) also offers, with some caution, that there may be signs of a more 'holistic' view of PM. After a long period of a largely rational approach to managing staff effectiveness, Hartley suggests there may be a move to an emotional recognition within this process. With the development of terms such as 'emotional leadership' and 'emotional intelligence', he identifies that there may be an attempt to combine the 'heart and head' (Hartley, 2004, p.588). Within such a structure, there is an acknowledgment that it is important to ensure staff are happy in their work and find it 'emotionally satisfying as well as productive' (Hartley, 2004, p.588). Salovey and Mayer (1990) offer a framework for understanding emotional intelligence. They offer that it is the skillful evaluation and expression of emotion recognised in oneself and in others. Important to this research is the individual's ability to empathise through being able to gauge others' feelings and respond appropriately. Goleman (1995) offers that to be emotionally intelligent, individuals understand that emotions are ever present and exist between people continually, and recognising what they are is key. Abraham's (1999) work on the importance of emotional intelligence in performance feedback proposes that the emotional intelligence of the manager and reviewee can have an impact. She argues that managers with greater EI have a propensity to be optimistic and that any failure is not considered to be a fault of the individual per se but of circumstances that can be changed. She also argues that an emotional intelligent manager would be solution-orientated and can give valuable advice. Similarly, an emotionally intelligent reviewee would be receptive to feedback and be more willing to accept the need for change, and able to cope with a critical look at their practice.

This sense of being emotionally engaged can also be achieved by an approach described as 'internal marketing'. This is

If managers can treat their workers *as if* they were pleasure-seeking consumers, then those same workers will bond emotionally to their work.

(Hartley, 2004, p.588)

Hartley uses the work of Thomson (1998) to explore these ideas using the term Internal

Emotional Capital. What it advocates is that as well as the ‘customer’ being happy, so must the workers. They must invest themselves emotionally with their work for them to be of use to the workplace and managers must be successful in establishing this. What is required is what Hartley calls an ‘emotional contract’. Within this framework appraisals become much more a ‘360 appraisal’ (Hartley, 2004) where every element is considered from several different perspectives.

Whilst this suggests that some organisations have considered emotion to be important, Hartley also adds in a caveat to these ideas. One problem with this use of emotional intelligence is the nature and purpose in which it is used. Emotional intelligence is believed to advocate these skills,

- (1) *Self-awareness*: the ability to recognize feelings as they occur in real-life situations.
- (2) *Management and self-regulation of emotions*: being able to cope with strong feelings so as not to be overwhelmed and paralysed by them.
- (3) *Self-motivation and performance*: being goal orientated and able to channel emotions towards desired outcomes.
- (4) *Empathy and perspective-taking*: being able to recognize emotions in others and to understand others’ point of view.
- (5) *Social skills*: the ability to handle a range of social relationships.

(Hartley, 2004, p.590)

However, it could be argued that the acknowledgement of emotions becomes another auditable aspect of people’s working lives. That is to say, the ability of someone to be emotionally intelligent can be measured and therefore checked, and also therefore managed (Elias, 2003). With this in mind, it could be seen that to acknowledge emotion is simply a far better way of managing employees rather than to ignore it. By giving time to explore people’s emotions also gives time to encourage a preferred ‘corporate emotion’. It could be argued that by discussing emotions and feelings, a more ‘collective soul’ may be developed where employees are subtly encouraged to feel something that benefits the organisation (Lewin and Regine, 1999, p. 16).

It is also important to point out, whether organisations choose to acknowledge and measure emotion or not, EI is now looked at with much caution (Murphy, 2006; Emmerling and Goleman, 2003). Issues with the term centre on the idea of whether emotion can be considered an intelligence, and indeed whether it can in fact be measured at all. Scales used to measure EI are now contested, as there are reservations about what they are testing and whether the results are at all valid. What debate does acknowledge though is the increasing understanding of how cognitive processes and emotion are linked through developments in the understanding of neuroscience (Emmerling and Goleman, 2003). For this research, the term is used with reservation and when used in the Discussion chapter it is used to reflect the participants’

perceptions of their manager's acceptance of emotion in the workplace and how they deal with it.

Yariv's (2013) research on the relationships between senior members of staff and teachers during appraisals also shed some interesting light on how emotions are considered during PM. Whilst she found that emotions were not necessarily discussed, they were acknowledged and taken into consideration. One example of this was the reluctance of senior to staff to give negative feedback to teachers so that they did not experience upsetting feelings, and in the hope that more ambivalent praise would raise teachers' performance. Whilst this would initially appear commendable, what Yariv discovered was that teachers that were not performing well were given the least emotional investment, while more successful teachers were given more personal involvement. Although this meant that teachers requiring improvement remained somewhat upbeat about their work, it did not provide them opportunities to develop because management were avoiding having to deal with difficult emotions. This led to scenarios where there were vicious cycles, as untold negative information led to teachers believing they were doing well, which meant they did not change anything in their teaching.

For Hargreaves (1998, p.836), scenarios like this are highly problematic, as he believes 'emotions are at the heart of good teaching'. Using the previous example, it would seem a reasonable option to avoid negative feelings by only delivering positive aspects of the lesson, so that teachers always felt good in their work. However, at some point, because of external pressures or a realisation of very little changing, the 'real' picture needs to be delivered. At this point, the emotional consequences may be exacerbated, causing a more difficult situation. For Hargreaves, emotions, good and bad, cannot be ignored, as they are part and parcel of teaching, not a romanticizing of what teaching is:

Emotions are an integral part of education and of organisations more generally. Teachers, learners and leaders all, at various times, worry, hope, enthuse, become bored, doubt, envy, brood, love, feel proud, get anxious, are despondent, become frustrated, and so on. Such emotions are not peripheral to people's lives; nor can they be compartmentalized away from action or from rational reflection within these lives.

(Hargreaves, 2000, p.812)

Nevertheless, Hargreaves also warns that there needs to be a fine balance of acknowledgment, and for teachers to have an emotional voice, and having more of it in the work place does not always mean better. He uses the recent trend, as Hartley does, towards a use of EI in the

workplace and the contrived nature in which emotions are sometimes overtly expressed or shown. What is of more importance for teaching is that we take a critical stance towards how emotions should be explored and what role it plays.

Avis and Bathmaker (2004) offer that there is a possibility that teachers can move out restrictive objective orientated approach by developing 'reflective' teachers. This not the clichéd view of reflection that every student teacher is asked to do but one where teachers develop a real sense of the structural policies implemented and 'larger social forces' (Avis and Bathmaker 2004, p.15) that define who they are as teachers.

Although there is some evidence of more emotional recognition, this can be looked at with skepticism in its true purpose, and also that it does not necessarily lead to a greater emotional voice. Ashford, Christianson and Sutcliffe (2009) point to the culture of an organisation, and its leader being the factor in whether an employee decides to voice their feelings. They argue that organisations can create a culture of silence and that leaders can 'affect the psychology of individual voicers in organisations' (Ashford, Christianson and Sutcliffe 2009, p.181). Furthermore, this can be perpetuated by a 'spiral of silence' (p.182), with employees looking to leaders as a point of reference, often finding that their emotional voice is also muted. McDonald (1986) argues that this is down to the 'cellular design' of education, where teachers have traditionally not be encouraged to talk to one another and also a protective strategy to not upset the status quo where they may feel some sense of security in their own classrooms.

The benefits of emotional an emotional voice

There are two levels in which it seems the acknowledgment of emotion has an impact on teachers: one at a more theoretical level (Day and Leitch, 2001; Hargreaves, 1998; Zembylas, 2005), the other at more empirical level (Kelchtermans, 2005; Veen et al., 2005; O'Connor, 2008). The literature reviewed for this section is not specifically about PM and performativity generally, as there appears to be a dearth of this, but rather about teachers' development in times of change, which could be applied to progression after PM, and is also extremely relevant in our understanding of how emotion plays its part in change (Beatty, 2000 and Ashford, Christianson and Sutcliffe 2009,)

As previously stated, teaching seems to be an emotional practice (Hargreaves, 2008 and Zembylas, 2003) and it is for this reason alone, writers would suggest that acknowledgment of it

can have a positive effect on teachers. Hargreaves (1998) tells that those implementing changes to the educational system neglect a hugely important aspect of teaching:

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 how teachers change: the emotional dimension.

(Hargreaves, 1998, p.835)

By using the statement ‘good teaching is charged with positive emotion’ (Hargreaves, 1998, p.835), it could be inferred that neglect of negative emotions, caused by difficulties in an aspect of teaching, could lead to negative outcomes for teaching. Conversely, if teachers feel happier in their work, then they are more likely to deliver interesting and challenging lessons. Hargreaves is quick to point out that this is not a romanticised notion about teaching but that research of teachers’ working lives tells us this. He refers to the work of Woods and Jeffrey (1996) who offer that their study found that teachers who were allowed the opportunity to engage emotionally with their work, and had an emotional voice, provided a more fulfilling learning environment. However, despite there being evidence of this, Hargreaves reminds us that the current political agenda of a more rationalised education system does not seem to understand this (Hargreaves, 1998).

Day and Leitch (2001) also agree that the acknowledgment of emotion is important for teachers in both maintaining a ‘sense of self’ and for their own continuing professional development. In fact they argue that ‘emotional health is crucial to effective teaching over a career’ (Day and Leitch, 2001 p.403). The reasoning behind their thought is that learning, by anyone, including teachers, involves two elements: a rational element and an emotional one. They argue that negative feelings can be detrimental for good learning:

Feelings and emotion then, have a vital role in the development of learning since it is through our subjective emotional world that we develop our personal constructs and meanings of outer reality and make sense of our relationships and eventually our place in the wider world.

(Day and Leitch, 2001, p. 406)

If we apply this to professional learning, the above idea could infer that if teachers are not able to be emotionally reflective and have the license for emotional expression, then professional learning may not be as effective as it could be. Like Hargreaves (1998), Day and Leitch also conclude that this situation rarely occurs, which can leave teachers feeling resentful of more

technical approaches to teaching. They suggest that an increase in effective dialogue that allows for teachers to truly reflect openly with others needs to be a way forward. They argue that mere 'contact' with a performance manager does not necessarily develop relationships that allow for an emotional voice in their professional learning.

Zembylas (2003) also argues, through a poststructuralist lens, that emotions are pivotal in how teachers see themselves. Teachers' self-understanding are continually under construction, and emotion plays a part in this. The concern for Zembylas is how certain emotions can have implications for teacher change. He sees that it is important then that there is a:

move toward an understanding of teacher self through an exploration of emotion opens possibilities for the care and the self-knowledge of the teacher and provides spaces for his/her transformation.

(Zembylas, 2003, p. 214)

Zembylas argues that teachers' emotions can be 'sites of resistance and self-transformation' (Zembylas, 2003, p. 213) and therefore it is imperative that we move away from a static view of what a teacher is, to one that understands the multiplicity of teachers' identities underpinned by their emotions. Zembylas suggests that we can challenge the 'essentialist' nature of what teachers are supposed to be and move away from the idea of a strict private/public divide. He offers that we can consider the nature of power relations that have an effect on what are acceptable and unacceptable emotions to express and consequently what impact these have. It is Zembylas's view that managed emotions can be constraining in that they imply a fixed view of a person's beliefs, whereas he argues that a context that recognises the shifting nature of self-understanding and emotion could be more empowering. Because Zembylas believes that emotions are the bedrock of peoples' ideas, thoughts and beliefs, it is of considerable importance that they are acknowledged and able to be expressed. Zembylas argues that our self-understanding is also established through our connections with others, which are bound up with emotion. He suggests that 'if teachers are denied recognition, this may cause them to internalise a demeaning image of themselves' (Zembylas, 2003, p. 223).

At the heart of Zembylas's ideas is a much more political element in how emotion and self-understanding can be more powerful. The difficulty is the suggestion that teachers' themselves will also need to recognise this within these political constructs and understand how their emotions have been defined by structural expectations. This moves away from the notion that it is the reviewers' role to be more emotionally intelligent but that somehow teachers need to be more politicised in their roles, through an emotional voice. Zembylas argues:

Developing an awareness of their emotional responses as one of their many ways of knowing, and using the power of emotion as

a basis of 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.

(Zembylas, 2003, p. 230)

Similar to Hargreaves (1998) and Day and Leitch (2001), Zembylas proposes that some of the ways to do this are to develop 'mentoring relationships', create 'professional bonding' and develop action research linked to the emotional aspects of teaching. Again this implies a move away from what is considered unequal relationships in the PM process, to more egalitarian ones in professional development, and teaching generally. Zembylas concludes by offering:

if the emotions are so important in teaching, and I believe they are so, then they in particular would seem worthy of consideration for the construction of a more educative approach in the professional development of pre-service and in-service teachers.

(Zembylas, 2003, p. 232)

At a more empirical level, Kelchtermans's (2005) narrative-biographical study suggests that understanding teachers' emotions is important in how teachers perceive themselves in their work, particularly with the notion of 'vulnerability as a structural condition in education' (Kelchtermans, 2005, p.997). Like Zembylas (2003), the feelings of vulnerability, which Kelchtermans suggests many of his research participants displayed signs of, is of significance to how teachers carry out their work and how they see themselves. In a climate that imposes certain regimes and approaches to teaching, Kelchtermans offers that educational contexts would benefit greatly by recognising how teachers felt in relation to change, by giving them the opportunity to express this. This implies that for any change to take place, whether it is at more personal level or whole school reform level, the emotional engagement of teachers needs to be considered. Van Veen et al. (2005) also agree that teachers' sense of self, tied in with their emotions, is central to how they may develop and change over time. In the main, Van Veen et al. state that consideration of teachers in regards to change is only to take account of the cognitive aspect of their response. However, they argue that this fails to consider 'the layers of emotion that seem to be involved' (Van Veen et al., 2005, p.918). Using a case study of one teacher in times of reform, they argue that any change teachers are asked to do involves a response that involves 'personal concerns...moral concerns ...and social concerns' (Van Veen, 2005, p.931). By taking notice of these aspects, they argue that schools would have a better understanding of why some teachers may show elements of resistance. O'Connor's (2008) qualitative interactionist study, shows what impact this emotional aspect has to teaching. She argues, by maintaining a more emotional stance to their teaching, her participants were able to keep more

of a sense of their true selves, a concern raised by Zembylas (2003) and Kelchtermans (2005). However, she notes that for them there was still a price to pay. She suggests that within the constraints of current educational preferences, the participants were aware they had to show the more emotional side to their teaching in 'the right way' and elements of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) were obvious. Nevertheless, keeping this emotional element to their teaching was much more rewarding and implications to how they saw themselves as teachers.

As some kind of critical response to these ideas, Kong (2011) offers that the changing nature of the teacher workforce may not place such value on the role of emotions and an emotional voice within their role. He questions that the increase in numbers of people who have come into teaching as a career change might hold more value in the more 'technical' approach to PM and a 'performative' climate generally. In his research he suggests that the language traditionally associated with the commercial sector, and now more readily applied to the education system, is considered to be less problematic than has been shown in others' ideas (Zembylas, 2003 and Hargreaves, 1998). He offers that such things as targets, use of data and other performative type measures were not held up as sites of contention for the participants of his research. Kong (2011) is also quick to point out that acceptance of targets and other 'technical' aspects of teaching, was not coupled with less innovative teaching methods. In fact, the research showed evidence of challenging and interesting lessons. However, Kong is also aware, taking a more cynical stance of this evidence, that what we could now be seeing is the phase where we have self-monitoring and self-controlling individuals in the ultimate panoptic view of the profession.

Theories of emotional regulation: limiting an emotional voice

It is asserted (Bolton and Boyd, 2003) that Hochschild's (1983) 'Managed Heart' is the starting point for any discussion on the regulation of emotion. Although written thirty years ago, it helps us explore the connection between work and emotion and why it is that employees carry out emotion work. Hochschild argues that in a capitalist economy, where the main aim of any company is to make a profit, employees are subjected to an environment where they have to manage their emotions so that they are acceptable and desirable to their customers. Importantly, she argues they not only have to work at any physical labour but also have to work hard to ensure the correct emotions are displayed. The relevance for this research is notion of managing emotions and the degree to which this means teachers are not able to express emotions or have an emotional voice.

Hochschild makes the distinction between 'emotion work' and 'emotion labour'. She uses the term 'emotion work' to refer to the unwritten social guidelines that exist in society. These are the

occasions when we try not to cry in a public space or conversely display emotions of happiness at an event such as a wedding. Whilst they are not set in any sense of formality, society understands them to be accepted ways to behave. The important element for Hochschild is the influence that social structures have on people in so much they make them behave in certain ways. What is relevant to this research is how Hochschild extends this idea beyond the personal realms of people's lives into the market sector. Here she uses the term 'emotional labour'. By this she means the management of emotions 'with a profit motive slipped under it' (Hochschild, 1983, p.119). In this scenario, employees are expected to display certain emotions in order to benefit the company. This may be that customer service people are expected to smile more and generally act pleasantly, whilst debt collectors may need to 'put on' an aggressive face. However, for Hochschild, this situation has negative consequences for employees as they lose control over their emotions. The effect of this can be damaging to the person and 'alienating' in nature (Lazányi, 2010).

According to Hochschild, the scenario this is most likely to happen is when employees are 'surface acting'. This is when individuals 'perform' in certain ways to suggest a certain emotion but do not actually change their own emotions. However, because there is a clash between the real emotions and those acted, this may have a detrimental effect after a period of time, with employees feeling disillusioned by the pretence. However, 'deep acting' is where workers seek a more comfortable space for themselves (Jansz and Timmers, 2002). This is when employees try to change what they are feeling to match those expected by their employer. For Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) this is a more positive scenario. Unlike surface acting, where there may be burnout from the continual need to adjust feelings, deep acting may help an individual gain more satisfaction with their job as they have now 'adopted' the right workplace feelings. Nevertheless, although this seems a more positive path to take, there is 'a cost to be paid' (Hochschild, 1983, p.119). Because deep acting requires the continual containment of real emotions, in favour of those of the organisation, there may come a point where the individual experiences a sense of confusion with what belongs to them and what may be 'owned' by the employer. This too can therefore lead to other negative effects and also resistance. Essentially for Hochschild, whatever degree this is being performed, feelings have become commercialised and commodified and altered for the means of promoting a company.

The work of Hochschild is useful for this research because of the changing state of the educational system in the past few decades. Tsang (2011) reminds us that during the last thirty years the education system has become more like that of the service sector. It is seen like this because, as Ball (1993; 2003; 2010) points out, schools find themselves in an increasingly competitive marketplace where there is a consumer (the parents and the children) and a profit motive (the position and the kudos of a school compared to that of others). Furthermore, Ball

suggests that this has changed the very essence of what it means to be a teacher as they are now working within the structure that actively encourages its staff to promote the image and performance of a school with the use of ‘impression management’ (Ball, 1993, p.108). This change in the education system is obviously relevant in considering whether Hochschild’s theory of emotional labour is useful. What is also now worth considering is whether Hochschild’s criteria for where she sees emotional labour taking place can be now applied to the education system as well as the service industry. Hochschild sees emotional labour happening in jobs that have the following requirements:

1. to have face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public;
2. to produce a positive or negative emotional state in other persons;
3. to tolerate others’ supervision and control over their emotional activities.

(Hochschild, 1983, p. 147)

To a large extent, literature tells us that the first two are expectations on teachers (Ball, 1993; Hargreaves, 1998), and increasingly research tells us that the third also might be a requirement of the job (Zembylas, 2002b; 2005; Winograd, 2003). Although unwritten in form, research by these authors suggest that schools do contain ‘feeling rules’ that prescribe how teachers should feel and act and speak. In Zembylas’s 2005 study, he found that showing of any extreme emotions at either end of the scale was considered inappropriate and therefore should be avoided. Likewise Winograd’s (2003) work also uncovered a number of desired emotions, which included the promotion of more positive ones and the disapproval of more negative ones.

Like Hochschild, many also regard the effects of this emotional labour in teaching as a negative experience. (Ball, 2003; Avis and Bathmaker, 2004). As such:

the emotional labour of the teacher thus risks becoming a solitary affair: a personal problem. This can easily lead to emotional suppression or, as the head-teacher points out, to the inappropriate transfer of negative emotions to innocent colleagues. As part of their training teachers have not been taught how to bring their own emotions to moral scrutiny nor to find appropriate outlets for them, especially in societies where social norms do not facilitate their expression.

(Chen and Kristjánsson, 2011, p.355)

Unsurprisingly, Hochschild has gathered critics since her work in the 1980s, both in terms in terms of the applicability of her ideas to other areas and also to her somewhat ‘absolutist’ view

of emotional labour (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Fundamentally, for her critics, is the notion that negative outcomes are a certainty from carrying out emotional labour. For Bolton and Boyd (2003) the issue lies in that Hochschild's use of surface and deep acting ultimately lead to either alienation from their true feelings or a complete 'transmutation' of themselves, which now belongs to the organisation (Hochschild, 1983, p.19). This, they say, does not consider any sense of agency on the part of the individual and reduces them to a helpless individual at the hands of an organisation. Bolton and Boyd argue, that whilst it is important to consider the social, we should not forget the individual element to emotion.

With this in mind, Bolton (2000) offers a more encompassing perspective of how emotion is managed in the workplace, which she believes moves away from the constraining view of an organisation that Hochschild offers. Rather it proposes a typology that allows for how the individual deals with employer demands. Bolton and Boyd (2003) say that Hochschild's understanding of emotion in organisation has a number of fundamental issues. These will be addressed in turn and considered in relation to this research.

First and foremost, Bolton and Boyd are critical of the fact that Hochschild seems to have too much of a distinction between her concepts of 'emotion work' and 'emotion labour'. This is seen as problematic as it ignores the degree to which personal aspects infiltrate into the workplace. Having this distinction means that Hochschild believes that there is 'no room for the personal in organisational life' (Bolton and Boyd, 2003, p. 293). The idea that the emotions of workers become owned by organisations is also a point of contention. Bolton and Boyd pose the question to what extent individuals are made to 'put on a smile' or demonstrate an emotion. These criticisms of Hochschild's theory raise the question of agency and open up the debate of where the individual sits within organisational structures. For Bolton and Boyd (2003) this is much more central than Hochschild recognises. In fact, Bolton sees 'the organisational actor as an active, knowledgeable agent' (Bolton, 2005, p.3). In this view Bolton explicitly rejects the notion that individuals' emotions automatically become consumed by organisations in a capitalist society. Rather, she suggests that it cannot be ignored that individuals arrive at work with their own sense of being, beliefs, feelings and voice. Bolton summarises previous emotional labour theories as follows:

...there is a neglect of any conflict and contradiction which may occur due to demands made by organisations for employees to manage their emotions in certain ways...there is an underlying implication of normative control, that is, it is assumed that organisational actors' emotions are being captured and irretrievably damaged in the velvet cage of corporate capitalism.

(Bolton, 2005, p.2)

Rather, instead of this deterministic and dismal view of organisational life, Bolton proposes that there is in fact much more scope for individuals to thinking, active workers. As such, Bolton proposes a typology that takes account of four different types of emotion management: Pecuniary, Prescriptive, Presentational and Philanthropic. Within this typology there is an acknowledgment that feeling rules can apply in a commercial sense, in a professional sense and in a social sense. It also allows for the understanding that individuals may draw on these for different purposes and different times of day. This new framework not only recognises organisational constraints on emotion but the possible power of individuals to work within this and the acceptance that not all feelings fall under the umbrella of being commercialised.

To take the idea of 'Presentational' emotion management first, Bolton and Boyd (2003) see this as the kind of emotional management that we all have as basic part of a social being. That is, we all, in our everyday lives, alter and adjust our emotions to suit that of the environment we are in. This is similar to that of Hochschild's 'emotion work' in that it acknowledges that individuals already have some understanding of emotion rules even before they enter work. However, what differs for Bolton is that this does not get left behind when the workday begins and furthermore, it seems to represent a less socially defined representation of oneself. In fact, Bolton sees this as an important part of the work day; the parts where colleagues are not with their customer or having to represent the organisation, but where workers are 'behind the scenes' taking a break or out of direct view. It is here these 'every day' emotional rules come into play, which are not necessarily dictated by the organisation and can seemingly be quite relaxed. Bolton and Boyd (2003) show this in examples of air-crew assistants who play pranks and have jokes when there are moments of 'downtime'. This is an important consideration when applying this to teaching as it has already been acknowledged that teachers are emotional beings, which enter the profession with strong feelings:

Teachers, learners and leaders all, at various times, worry, hope, enthuse, become bored, doubt, envy, brood, love, feel proud, get anxious, are despondent, become frustrated, and so on. Such emotions are not peripheral to people's lives; nor can they be compartmentalized away from action or from rational reflection within these lives.

(Hargreaves, 2000, p.812)

What will be of interest for this research is the extent to which 'space' is evident for teachers is the extent to which emotional labour hinders their expression and emotional voice particularly in the light that 'performance' seems to have entered the every day realm of teachers and that

a performativity discourse currently pervades teachers' work. It is a discourse that relies on teachers and schools instituting self-disciplinary measures to satisfy newly transparent public accountability and it operates alongside a market discourse.

(Jeffrey, 2002, p.531)

This element of breaking free of organisational parameters is Bolton's interest in agency, which she feels is so lacking in Hochschild's work. For my own theoretical positioning this is also an area of difficulty. Whilst I am essentially taking a poststructuralist stance in this research, I understand that, from my own experience as a teacher, that agency cannot be ignored and somehow has a part to play. This will be discussed more in the chapter three.

'Philanthropic' emotion management is for Bolton also another aspect of freedom away from organisational constraints. This is moments when individuals give 'that little extra' (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Examples of this might be 'covering' for colleague when they are late or doing a task for someone else if they are having difficulty. Bolton and Boyd suggest this goes beyond the requirements of the organisation to providing a 'gift' for another individual. Once again this is of interest to this research in education as literature tells us that in a performance driven culture there is little room for collegial offerings. Ball (2003) reminds us that teachers, to some extent, are not only in competition with other schools but they can find that they are in competition with each other to demonstrate the best performances in terms of well behaved classes and eye-catching displays. In this sense it may be difficult to think of others while continually trying to promote ones self.

'Prescriptive' and 'Pecuniary' emotion management are the terms Bolton applies to organisational rules on emotion. She sees these as much more obvious than the rules that govern us outside the workplace. This type of management is what Hochschild refers to as 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1983). This area of emotion management is concerned with the extent that workplace organisations dictate what we should feel and how we should behave. For both Bolton and Hochschild, the issue here is the extent to which organisations try to make workers 'internalise values so that their emotion management performances become sincere' (Bolton and Boyd, 2003, p. 300). This is not just feigning a smile, but actually 'taking on' the culture of the company and acting as they would wish. However, what differs between Hochschild and Bolton is the extent to which this actually takes place. For Hochschild, this kind of emotion management can be seen as essentially alienating towards the individual who are deprived of their own feelings, and is therefore negative, although Brook (2009) does point out that Hochschild is sometimes ambiguous in this area and seems to offer that if workers manage this 'deep acting' well, they may be more satisfied. However, for Bolton and Boyd (2003) this scenario is not

inevitable. Through their own research on air stewards, they found that the employees were very aware of their shallow performances and therefore did not become alienated as they still had a good understanding of their true self. It was also found that at certain points, the cabin crew did not act according to work rules if they felt the circumstances were not acceptable. For Bolton and Boyd, this demand did not inevitably produce 'passive' actors but could be sites of resistance. Bolton and Hochschild both acknowledge that emotion rules exist in the workplace and there are demands upon workers to feel and act and speak in a certain way to enhance the organisations performance. However, where they essentially differ is the level of agency that can infiltrate the workplace. For Hochschild, some form of 'transmutation' of feelings is inevitable and workers follow the requirements without question. However, for Bolton, emotion management is much more complex than this with many factors coming into play, not least of all their own personal judgments on the appropriateness of certain emotions.

Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993) work also adds to Hochschild's surface and deep acting by offering a third category; genuine emotional expression. They argue that Hochschild's definitions do not allow for the possibility of natural and instinctive emotions, which could lead to better outcomes than Hochschild suggested. Ashforth and Humphrey believed that more genuine emotions were still emotional labour if the person was aware they were showing them but, because of the less controlled nature, they would have a more positive outcome. Grant's (2013) work develops this possibility by arguing that those people who have a deeper understanding of emotion regulation have a greater capacity to have an emotional voice when needed. His findings propose that those who have developed greater skills in this area are more likely to be able to express certain emotions when deemed necessary and were favoured more by managers. Grant believes that these scenarios, 'challenge the status quo' (Grant, 2013, pp. 1717) rather than displaying compliant behaviour.

Within educational literature there are areas of research on emotion that conflict and support these ideas (Ball, 2003; Zembylas, 2005). Ball's concern with a 'performative culture', is that it has its effects on teachers' emotions to the extent that they lose a sense of who they are and what they believe. In the same vein as Hochschild (1983), Ball sees that this culture overrides any sense of individual expression and can lead to negative consequences. As such:

The ground of such struggles is often highly personal. Expressed in the lexicons of belief and commitment, service and even love, and of mental health and emotional well-being. The struggles are often internalized and set the care of the self against duty to others.

(Ball 2003, p. 216)

Ball goes as far as to say that the educational reforms that have taken place in the last few decades are an endeavour to change who teachers are. This implies that educational organisations are attempting to change the feelings and attitudes of teachers so that they fit the culture of the school, just as Hochschild suggests businesses actively encourage their employees to take on the organisation's attitudes. In this sense Ball offers that teachers see and present themselves in new ways that fit in with this culture. In this culture:

We must become adept at presenting and representing ourselves with this new vocabulary and its prescribed signifiers and the possibilities of being 'otherwise', to or within it, are extremely limited.

(Ball, 2003 p.218)

For Ball, the performative culture also redefines the role of managers, with one task being to transform the teachers' attitudes and beliefs. Using PM processes, more of the person comes up for scrutiny. As a consequence, just as Hochschild offers, individuals begin to become alienated and question who they are and what they do:

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? It will make us look good! Do we know we are good at what we do, even if performance indicators tell a different story? Do we value who we are able to be, we are becoming in the labyrinth of performativity?

(Ball, 2003, p.220)

Because of this, there is the development of what Ball calls 'values schizophrenia' (Ball, 2003, p.221), where own feelings and beliefs are set against organisational ones. As a result, again as Hochschild suggests, this can lead to 'burnout' and an eventual desire to leave the profession indicated in many example in Ball's (2003) work. Ball's work is useful to see how 'fabrications' (Ball, 2003, p.225) of selves are apparent within our education system and that these are used as a means of promoting and 'selling' oneself in competition with other schools. Schools and the staff become an 'auditable commodity' (Ball, 2003) which includes people's beliefs, feelings and attitudes. This can be seen in the same vein as Hochschild's use of feeling commodification, where positive feelings are 'sold' in order to attract customers. Within this view there is again a limited sense of agency at the expense of structure. 'The policy technologies of market, management and 'performativity' leave no space of an autonomous or collective ethical self' (Ball, 2003, p.226).

Playing the game: a sign of agency?

'Playing the game' and 'playing it safe' are phrases that in recent times have become commonplace when we explore teachers' experiences under observation (Burnard and White, 2008; Adams, 2008; Ball, 2003). Connected with the idea of 'surface acting' (Hochschild, 1983), further literature tells us that part of the process of PM is that teachers are deliberately 'putting on a front' or 'fabricating' areas of development in order to make the process easier for themselves (Hogan et al., 1998; Ball, 2003). Whilst in the immediate term this may seem beneficial for the teacher, long-term enactments may lead to frustration and resentment (Down et al., 1999; Hogan et al., 2003).

Using phrases indicated above suggests that the 'performance' of teachers could be viewed in different ways: its official term is how effectively teachers improve pupils' learning indicated through tests scores, and more cynically how teachers 'act' in accordance with what they feel the education system requires of them (Adams, 2008). Hogan et al. (1998) carried out a study on the experiences of teachers during PM which indicated that mechanisms of control from management might be to deliver a 'performance' that was an expected norm of a good lesson. This strategy was seen as a way of coping with organisational demands whilst maintaining their own values behind closed doors. Therefore 'schools and teachers practiced a superficial compliance with the mandated aspects of policy, but did not engage with it at a deeper level' (Hogan et al., 1998, p.7). Although this did little to help them professionally and did not form the basis for good professional development, and dialogue, it allowed them to keep some sense of control rather than come under the focus of management:

For these teachers, mandated performance management failed to connect with their authentic learning because in the words of another teacher, "it is performing for the management" (Teacher interview, 9/98).

(Hogan et al., 1998, p.8-9)

Hogan et al. suggest that even though this is not an 'ideal' for teacher development, it indicated a sense of agency that previous literature had not offered:

Writers of a critical persuasion would have us believe that performance management is highly manipulative and controlling. While we found evidence of this we also found that teachers actively "subverted, circumvented and reinscribed"

(Smyth and Shacklock, 1998, p.5) the performance management system to preserve their deeply held pedagogical values (Nias, 1993).

(Hogan et al., 1998, p.11)

Despite the fact that Hogan et al.'s research showed that few teachers found usefulness in the PM process for their professional development, they did find that teachers, through good connections with their colleagues, found themselves still able to reflect and learn from each other in less formal ways.

Down et al. (1999) suggest that the experiences of teachers' PM cannot be seen in a singular way and use Ball's (2003) idea of 'localised complexity' to explain some of the ways teachers' interpret policy. In their study they found a number of evident themes, which seemed to suggest a notion of fabrication. In particular, 'at the heart of teachers' concerns is a suspicion that the process put in place to facilitate negotiation and consultation are contrived and superficial' (Down et al., 1999, p.18). This appeared to be a point of concern for teachers as they felt that the term 'negotiation' was an external representation of the process and was far from what happened in reality. With this in mind, it can be seen that there may be many levels of 'playing the game' to satisfy external needs:

A recurrent theme in teachers' written and oral narratives concerned the way in which performance management can promote misrepresentation, dishonesty and mistrust at all levels.

(Down et al., 1999, p.19)

At an organisational level, the research suggested that correct image of schools seemed to be far more paramount than anything real or concrete in teaching. It also found that there was evidence of some resistance to 'play the game' because of the conflict it caused with individual values and beliefs. However, most found that by doing so allowed them combat some of the stress caused by the process and was a form of resistance to a 'low trust' model. In this game playing teachers quoted that they faked areas of development to show how they had developed after PM reviews and only gave information to reviewers that they knew they wanted to hear:

You make yourself look like a little bit needy in one area where you are really good anyway and you can suddenly say, here, this is what I am doing now, you don't tell them about the things you aren't really good at.

(Down et al., 1999 p. 20)

Ball's (2003) article extends this idea of 'playing the game' beyond PM reviews into the life of a teacher generally. He is able to do this because of what he calls a 'performative culture' (Ball, 2003). This is 'a culture and a mode of regulation that employs judgements, comparisons and displays as means of incentive, control, attrition and change' (Ball, 2003, p. 216). Ball offers that this is beyond producing spreadsheets of performance data, but, in fact, has an impact on how teachers are supposed to be on a daily basis. This suggests that it is not only during PM review time that teachers may feel forced to put on acts but this may actually occur daily. Ball uses Morley's (2003) term 'Ventriloquism' to describe the process that sees teachers increasingly speaking and acting in accordance a 'corporate image'. Admittedly, Ball does offer that this may be attractive option to some, a chance to explore a new direction, but for most it is a mode of 'inauthenticity' enforced by 'technicians of behaviour' (Foucault, 1979, p.294). These are the new kind of managers who have the job of 'instilling the attitude and culture within which workers feel themselves accountable and at the same time committed or personally invested in the organisation' (Ball, 2003, p. 219).

Whilst Ball also sees that there are modes of fabrication in teachers' lives, this appears to view teachers in more subjugated roles than shown by Down et al. (1999). Although the process seems like a tactic to survive other's judgments, there seems to be less of an element of individual control here but more a sense of inevitability. There is also the issue of what these 'new subjectivities' (Ball, 2003) do to people. The concern is that acting in these ways can have an emotional impact on the individual:

There are other 'costs'... personal and psychological. A kind of values schizophrenia is experienced by individual teachers where commitment, judgement and authenticity within practice are sacrificed for impression and performance.

(Ball, 2003, p.221)

Within school cultures Ball sees there is a continual 'management of performance' (Ball, 2003). This culture means that teachers feel pressured to put on displays of those desired by external control. However, this 'cynical compliance' can have a heavy burden. Ball offers that teachers become unsure of who they are and what they believe in, and that these fabrications have little room for emotion or individual values. What he says seems to be evident is ensuring teachers are projecting the correct image, which does not involve personal feeling. However, teachers are expected, Ball argues, 'to care' about making a good impression by performances intended ultimately for the external gaze. Furthermore, he suggests the notion that these facades give any sense of agency to teachers is debatable. In fact, although these 'performances' may serve as a means to avoid coming under the surveillance of others, they are also indicative that individuals

and organisations have become submissive to the demands of a performative culture. For Ball, this whole emphasis is therefore detrimental and renders an educational system valueless:

Within the public sector, the process of ‘exteriorisation’ also involves a profound shift in the nature of the relationship between workers and their work - ‘service’ commitments no longer have value or meaning and professional judgement is subordinated to the requirements of performativity and marketing

(Ball, 2003, p. 226)

Taylor–Webb also asks us to consider whether these manifestations are really as liberating as they initially might seem. Although teachers appear to be ‘political’ by creating manufactured performances, this may not reflect as much ‘power’ as it may look

...because teachers’ fabrications occur as individual and uncoordinated responses to surveillance, the analysis maps how the political organisation of schools maintains teachers in subjugated roles even though teachers believe their fabrications held greater micro-political capital than what actually occurs.

(Taylor-Webb, 2006, p201)

As with the emotional labour aspect of work, these ‘enacted fantasies’ may hold a price and these strategies of coping ‘will always haunt teachers and policy-makers alike’ (Taylor-Webb, 2006, p. 204). What could be argued is whether teachers are inadvertently, through the culture of the school, encouraged to take on this model to satisfy a larger corporate image (Taylor-Webb, 2006). Taylor-Webb offers that in the immediate term this may be useful to the teacher in order that they do not stand out amongst their colleagues. It could also be seen that they are political acts as teachers try to ‘(re)control, or (re)claim, the discourse of what a ‘good’ teacher does/is’ (Taylor-Webb, 2006, p.203). However, Taylor-Webb suggests that with a more critical eye, we might view these ‘performances’ not as independent attempts at working the system to their advantage, but rather a response to more coerced attempts to change their practice to fit with desired images of the school.

Outwardly, Taylor-Webb shows us that teachers are able to ‘play the game’ well by using elements of daily practice as ‘representations’ of the teacher they want management to see them as. This could be dual-lesson plans, in case of a ‘drop in’, pupils’ portfolios and public displays.

Each of these involve outward displays of acceptable conduct and appear to show control of this practice. Nevertheless, despite successful portrayals to management, these ‘acts’ could have personal consequences and a detrimental effect on relationships with colleagues. Reed (2000) tells us that too much overt ‘show-casing’ can cause tension amongst staff, who subsequently feel under pressure to perform at the same level. In addition, as Ball (2003) pointed out, teachers can feel confused by the strain that exists between their outward projections and their own beliefs.

Seemingly, ‘playing the game’ can be seen as a way of avoiding the stresses of being under the spotlight (Hogan et al., 1998 and Down et al., 1999), however, research tells us that it can be highly detrimental too (Ball, 2003 and Taylor-Webb, 2006). As well as the issues outlined above, Turnley and Bolino (2001) point out that there is considerable work that goes into giving the correct image. They tell us that not only do individuals have to work out the rules of the game, they have to adjust their response depending on where and who they are with. Furthermore, they need to develop strategies that can successfully deliver certain ‘representations’ and avoid detrimental ones. An issue that can also be personally challenging is the extent that ‘performances’ are carried out to the detriment of pupil learning (Taylor –Webb, 2006) and their own wellbeing.

What is of interest to this research is how literature like this leads us to question the agency of teachers in regards to their own emotions, own values and voice. Although this particular question focuses on the physical act of performance, it is important to point out, that beneath this has been continual reference to the impact on emotions. What writers such as Ball (2003) and Taylor-Webb (2006) argue is that of particular concern is the element of inauthenticity that appears to permeate our education system. In this system it appears:

teachers must adhere strictly to a rigid and pre-determined recipe for success. This ‘recipe’ is based on school effectiveness theories, and uses performativity and normalisation as its mechanisms. It is assumed that all schools can follow the same recipe for success, and any deviation from this norm can be an indicator that a school is failing, which of course ignores the individual socio-economic contexts in which schools are located.

(Perryman, 2006, p.4)

However, there is also evidence (Isherwood et al., 2007), albeit from a lesser-explored area of a special needs school, which indicates that the inauthentic approach to PM is not an inevitable path for schools. These findings, although offered with some caution, could indicate that PM can be a useful and genuine experience for teachers and can be catalyst for professional development.

Conclusion

In drawing together the literature relevant for the four questions, it can be seen that there are some common threads. By cross-referencing the more salient points it is clear that the following themes are apparent: the language/discourse of performativity; personal change; structure and rules; impact on emotions and an emotional voice; relationships; possibilities of alternative ways; a notion of agency and self control. The table broadly shows the themes that are evident in each area of reading but also that there are shared themes. This was a useful exercise when comparing the themes of the literature with that of the narratives.

<p>Question 1 Discourse – language of outcomes & audit Self change Structure / rules Suppressed feelings Detrimental consequences Inauthentic/ventriloquism/putting on a face Managed Dichotomies Relationships Power/ dis-empower Emotional leadership is evident in some places Context specific – not inevitable</p>	<p>Language Personal change Structure/rules Personal impact Relationships Another way Agency Changing teachers</p>	<p>Question 2 Disregard of emotion Sense of self lost Unequal relationships Essentialist view of teachers Show acceptable emotions Self change Directive relationships Political influence New ‘mature’ entrants ready</p>
<p>Question 3 Managed emotions Structure /organisation Loss of control Surface acting Sense of confusion Impression management Feeling rules Suppression Loss of sense of self Agency Too much dichotomy Own sense of being</p>		<p>Question 4 Game playing Performance as an act / for others Image of the school Low trust model Performative culture – everyday discourse Ventriloquism Negative emotional impact Loss of self Ind judgement lost to marketization & audit In-authenticity Recipes / models for success</p>

Table 1

However, it is also recognised that there are also gaps in the literature. What is most lacking is examples where schools manage to have a robust PM systems but do this within a culture that acknowledges the importance of teachers’ emotions and how they impact on their practice. What is evident throughout is that ultimately, even when teachers appear to have a sense of control, they are always some how pressured to behave, act and feel in certain ways. What seems to be unanswered is where are the genuine examples of teachers who can teach, feel and act as they wish, and whether it is possible for teachers to express some emotions about their practice without having to compromise others. The literature is very cautious in the evidence where

teachers appear to have some autonomy, and a reluctance to accept that this could possibly be true agency. Connected with this is evidence of whether in fact acknowledging emotion does have positive repercussions. The literature only provides evidence of the impact on not acknowledging them. Therefore this is somewhat of an assumptive position, that acknowledging must be positive because the reverse is negative. By and large, the literature also takes the position that by adhering to organisational beliefs is a negative experience. Little evidence was found of occasions where teachers may seek out schools that share their own beliefs, and that in fact some teachers may choose to be in schools that have structures that emphasise a performative culture.

Chapter 3- Research methodology, design, methods and analysis

Introduction

Studying an area of research that involves emotion is challenging (Lupton, 1998). One reason for this is that there are many beliefs about what emotion is and very little consensus on a definition (Zembylas, 2007). Here I outline my understanding of emotion, present my epistemological framework and discuss the chosen methodological approach of narrative research. My ontological and epistemological standpoint will also be made clear as these influence why I have chosen this particular route. The chapter also details my chosen method, sampling and analysis.

Epistemological framework

As Zembylas (2007) offers, it is important to make our theoretical assumptions clear as these have important implications for how we carry out our research. Here I briefly outline different approaches to the study of emotion and clarify which I align myself with. Broadly speaking, the study of emotion can be considered from three different perspectives; internal experiences, sociocultural experiences and interactional and performative experiences (Zembylas 2007).

Historically, emotions have primarily been seen as an internal process. This concentrates on how and why individuals feel things with very little regard to external influences (Gallois, 1993). I agree with Schutz and Decuir (2002) who consider this approach to be reductionist in that it is completely removed from the context in which emotions are experienced. Also, as Zembylas (2007) points out, this view of emotion perceives emotion as very static and also very passive. It does not acknowledge that emotions can evolve and change over time and they vary from context to context.

Schutz et al. (2006) offer that there now is a general acceptance that emotions can be socially constructed. That is emotions are not purely experienced in isolation and as an internal process. A social constructive stance understands that individuals act within structures and contexts, which can dictate how an individual should feel and how they may respond emotionally. However, this view can also be seen as reductionist in the sense that it over emphasises the social at the expense of the individual. As Leavitt (1996) points out:

To define emotions as emotion words or concepts... is to lose the feeling side of the phenomenon and reduce emotion to a kind of meaning

(Leavitt, 1996, p.522)

With this in mind, I agree with Leavitt (1996) that to research emotions we should take account of the individual and the social. For this research I take an interactionist perspective. This recognises that individuals may experience emotions to a lesser or greater degree and that the socialisation of those individuals will be an influencing element.

Ontological and epistemological justification for qualitative research approach

As outlined above, the theoretical stance being taken emphasises the nature of interactions between the individual and social structures and the meanings they attach to them. As such, I believe a qualitative approach is appropriate as it allows me to access human perceptions in-depth. It allows the opportunity to explore attitudes, experiences, perspectives and meanings of the participants. Furthermore, by using a qualitative approach, through a poststructuralist lens, I am assuming that any meaning making is linked to the context in which it is made. This context will take account of the current education culture and question its forms of control. Ontologically my understanding of the world is based on the notion of how people interpret and making meanings of the context and structures around them. I see knowledge and understanding as a product of constructions that are based within historical, political, social, cultural and economic structures. As such, I agree with Leavitt (1996) that emotions are born out of interactions between an individual and their surroundings within a framework of historical and social structures that embody power relations. I wish to describe and understand people's experiences.

As such, using a narrative approach gives the opportunity to gather data in an iterative way, not in the sense of a mechanistic repetition, but one to develop meaning in a reflexive way (Srivastava and Hopwood, 2009). I believe this qualitative approach is more suitable to answer the question of 'how' and associated meanings with this. Narratives permeate through our lives and mould and define who we become. They are defined by the culture in which we live, the traditions we uphold and the political position of society. As Josselson (2004) describes;

Hopes, desires, memories, fantasies, intentions, representations of others, and time are all interwoven, through narrative, into a fabric that people experience – and can tell – as a life history.

(Josselson, 2004, p.2)

Inescapably, we live through narrative and narrative lives through us. As a researcher, with this view, there should be an acknowledgment that narrative stories not only retell the events experienced but also hold other stories, reconstructed memories through the light of current experience, projected ideas and structural influences. This complex relationship of past, present and future is a challenge to the researcher, who is also bound up in this construction and forms part of the story being told. By using narrative I am acknowledging that I am engaging with individual's constructions rather than with the reality and experiences directly. The data is a retrospective reflection of previous events and will have been filtered and considered before retelling their stories.

The importance of the narrative approach

As Salkind (2010) reminds us, narrative is at the core of how we see ourselves and how we make sense of our world. The focus is to explore how and why we do this. This is important for the questions posed in this research as it seeks to find out how teachers are emotionally within PM reviews and a performative culture, and why they might have these feelings. Clandinin and Huber (in press) offer that by deepening our understanding through stories we can question what happens within contexts and whether there is room for improvement. With this research, narrative will provide us with a deeper understanding of whether emotion is considered important and what, if anything, we could change.

Lawler (2002) reminds us that narrative is much more than a story that has a set of facts, it is the retold experiences of people and the meaning they attach to them. It, as identified as important earlier, breaks down the dichotomy of self and society, but places the individual within it. However, within this we must also take account of the narrative of the context. That is that individuals tell their stories within stories of society. This leads us to acknowledge the nature of narrative and performance. Salkind (2010) reminds us that society can also constrain stories and influence the performance of how a story is told. We tell stories within frameworks that we believe are acceptable. This is interesting for this research, as the performance is a central theme to how we may live through and manage PM experiences.

At the centre on narrative study is the belief that there can be no separation between living our lives and telling stories (Ochberg, 1994). To elaborate:

narrative is a scheme by means of which human beings give meaning to their experience of temporality and personal actions. Narrative meaning functions to give form to the understanding of a purpose to life and to join everyday actions and events into episodic units. It provides a framework for understanding the past events of one's life and for planning future actions. It is the

primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful. Thus, the study of human beings by the human sciences needs to focus on the realm of meaning in general, and on narrative meaning in particular

(Polkinghorne 1988 p. 11).

This takes an approach to understanding the meaning of people's experiences. As Reissman (1993) suggests, we want to come as near as conceivable to 'what life means at the moment of telling' (Reismann, 1993, p.52).

The appropriateness of using narrative to study emotion in education

Polkinghorne (1995) suggests that there are two types of narrative research: analysis of narrative and narrative analysis, although it is recognised that there is a blurring between the two (Elbaz-Luwisch, 1997). Using Polkinghorne's distinction, this research focused more on analysis of narrative which gives more focus to the collective story of the individuals and their connection with the context, although it is true to say I was still interested in any unique experiences of each teacher which is more suggestive of narrative analysis. Analysis of narrative also pays attention to the political aspects of where narrative stories are told. This also takes account of notions of power, accepted discourse and agency, which were important aspects to the research.

The choice of a narrative methodology for this research was born from several areas. First, because the focus of the research was emotion, it was felt that taking a quantitative approach to this would not give 'voice' to the teachers being interviewed. As Denzin (1992) reminds us, within narrative, we can explore the central role of emotion in individuals' experiences. It was believed that the narrative focus using interviews would provide 'thick description' of experiences, which could be explored for their meaning. I also felt it was the most suitable approach to connect the theoretical aspect of the research with the empirical aspect. My epistemological stance is interactionist, which emphasises the notion that knowledge is created within contexts, with their being no certainty of absolute truths. Narrative research, as described above, also takes this position. Geertz (1974) describes this relationship as 'experience-near' and 'experience-distant' model:

An experience-near concept is, roughly, one that someone-a patient, a subject, in our case an informant-might himself naturally and effortlessly use to define what he or his fellows see, feel, think, imagine, and so on, and which he would readily understand when similarly applied by others. An experience-distant concept is one that specialists of one sort or another-an

analyst, an experimenter, an ethnographer, even a priest or an ideologist-employ to forward their scientific, philosophical, or practical aims.

(Geertz, 1974, p. 57)

The decision to use a narrative approach was also born out of what I was aiming to gain from the research. I was interested to understand teachers' subjective experience and explore the meanings of this in relation to current context of the education system and to explore whether there were any shared experiences. Because of the nature and complexity of emotions, I felt that this research approach was respectful to this.

Why not ethnography?

The focus and epistemological stance to this research lends itself to taking an ethnographic approach. However, although the methods employed are used in ethnography, the ethical and practical issues (outlined below) restricted using ethnography as a methodology. This style of research is defined as:

the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally.

(Brewer, 2000, p. 11)

Whilst I was interested in the context of the participants, particularly in relation to power structures, and for some I was more familiar with their working environment, I wished to avoid placing myself too directly within their social settings. Observing teachers and being immersed in the everyday would have undoubtedly provided additional data but I felt posed too much of a challenge to participants' anonymity, everyday practice and well-being. These points are considered further in the ethics section.

Validity and reliability issues

Validity is an issues for all research conducted (Polkinghorne, 2007). This is particularly difficult in narrative as the purpose is not to uncover absolute truths, but to interpret meaning of stories within contexts. Polkinghorne (2007) argues that an approach to this is to convince readers of a particular meaning and understanding related to an event. He offers that readers should be provided with enough evidence to make their judgment about what is being suggested.

Readers can be ‘persuaded’ of an argument by providing them with data that supports an interpretation. Such data would be the use of quotations and clear explanations of why an interpretation has been reached. It is also important to include the journey of the author’s thoughts of how interpretations were reached and to include how the knowledge of the author about a context can help with interpretations. The nature of the data being trustworthy is the emphasis here.

Validation of narrative stories takes a different meaning to that imposed by quantitative methods. The purpose of narrative is not to gain objective truths that can be applied to a much wider context but to look at the meaning applied to detailed stories. It also takes account that there may be multiple meanings and that they may alter during the course of time (Lieblich, 1998). An aspect that is considered important amongst narrative researchers is that of its aesthetic appeal (Josselson, 1993; Lieblich, 1998). This takes the stance that the portrayal of a person’s narrative is complete and delivered in a way that it is believable (Lieblich, 1998). That is not to say that narrative seeks absolute truths, as it has already been highlighted that narrative assumes that there are multiple truths, but that the representation of individual’s narratives are a trustworthy and true to the storyteller’s intention. I acknowledge that that the stories told by participants during the interviews were versions of past events and therefore have been subject to change associated stories being told over time. However, what I wanted to be sure of was that the narratives reflected the stories told at that time and so participants were asked to read them to check for accuracies.

Another aspect that is considered important is the persuasiveness of a narrative (Lieblich, 1998). This takes account of the plausibility of what is being offered and the consideration of alternative interpretations. For a narrative to be plausible, evidence needs to support claims being made about certain phenomena. For this to happen, the researcher needs to offer reasons why a conclusion has been reached (Polkinghorne, 1988). It is for this reason that I have chosen to include the full narratives of each participant, in order make clear reference to the data.

Coherence is also considered important in the ‘validity’ of narrative research (Josselson, 1993). This takes account of the completeness of a story and how all the parts of a story fit together. This coherence is reflected in the extent to which themes are tied together, an understanding of the overall aims of the speaker and how the speaker has attempted to deliver their story (Riessman, 1993). With this in mind, an attempt has been made to make explicit some of the themes that emerged within the narratives themselves.

Transcription

The transcription element to the narrative process is difficult. As Riessmann (1993) reminds us, language is not transparent. It, as described above, is bound up with context. The need to play ‘close attention’ (Reissman, 1993) when transcribing is highly important. The inclusion or exclusion of aspects of stories can be as valid as each other but can also be opportunities for the researcher and subsequent readers to understand experience in different ways. For this research it was decided that each interview was transcribed in full. I understood that by doing this, it was a reflection of my interpretation of the story and therefore would become not only their narrative but also my own.

It is acknowledged that when individuals talk about their lives many factors come into play; forgetfulness, confusion, exaggeration, self-censorship to name a few. The stories told don’t tell the past as it actually was, but rather a version of it. It is important to point out that it is not possible to know and portray and the exact experience someone else has (Riessman, 1993). What is interpreted and subsequently written always has the researcher’s understanding threaded through it. And as Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) point out:

transcription is theory laden; the choices that researchers make about transcription enact the theories they hold and constrain the interpretations they can draw from their data.

(Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999, p.64)

Ethical issues

Josselson (2007) and Sikes (2006) point out conducting narrative research and research in education can be ‘dodgy ground’ (Sikes, 2006) and contain ‘slippery slopes’ (Josselson, 2007). As my research involves human relationships, ethical issues permeate throughout and need continual consideration.

What Josselson (2007) discusses, and I agree with, is the idea of developing an ethical attitude. Rather than working on the basis of formulaic tick sheet of ‘how to do ethics’, Josselson prompts us to consider ‘thinking ethically’ is much more than a one off hurdle. Far from a matter of gaining informed consent, a real sense of responsibility needed to be threaded throughout this work. This needed to be the responsibility to ‘dignity, privacy and well-being’ (Josselson, 2007,

p.538) in context of an academic framework of ‘accuracy, authenticity and interpretation’ (Josselson, 2007, p.538). By continually recognising these demands, we can go some way to overcoming these potentially ‘slippery slopes’, but will nevertheless still require ways and means of dealing with them.

Josselson (2007) goes on to exploring these ways by offering the idea of explicit and implicit contracts. The explicit involves the obvious acknowledgment to the purpose of the study, the consent to take part, the means of recording data and the opportunity to withdraw. All participants were given details about the project and were asked to sign a consent form. On this detailed the right to withdraw. They were also told that the recorded interviews would be stored on an external hard drive in a safe. However, the implicit recognises more than this, something that needed to underpin this research. The implicit contract is the one that is at the root of the relationship and one that needed to exist between the participants and myself. As the research was about the personal experiences and emotions of the teachers, many other factors came into play that cannot be easily written in an explicit contract: rapport, respect, trust, to name a few. Coupled with this was ‘assumptions, expectations and contingencies’ (Josselson, 2007, p.539). As research of this nature is often laden with emotion, the building of trust was the bedrock of the work. These ‘hard to define’ elements continually required reflection when carrying out this research.

Another aspect of Josselson’s (2007) and Downs’ (2009) work is the nature of informed consent to be on-going. This was extremely relevant to my work as it was fraught with uncertainties. If the intention is not to ‘lead’ the participant in the exact direction the researcher is exploring, consent may be temporary. This is because the nature of what the participant uncovers about themselves may lead them to question their involvement. Placing the study in larger context (but as close to the actual interest as far as possible) may be useful in not defining the areas where the participant must go, but develops a circumstance where consent needs to be something that is on going, not just a procedure at the start of the research. Unless written with every minute detail, which is not useful, consent forms can be seen as a means to making a start, but, as Josselson’s ‘ethical attitude’ offers, we need to regularly review.

The issue of power is another element that needed to be considered in this research. While I did not interview anyone who I performance managed, for a number of the participants they would have been aware that I was in a more senior role than themselves in the same profession, an issue raised by Ensign (2003). This was managed by also making the participants aware that I was still a class teacher and was subject to the same PM and accountability procedures that they were. Josselson (2007) argues that it is acceptable to have an element of self-disclosure, as long as the purpose is to build rapport and not to try to elicit more information than they would naturally want to offer. It was also important to advise them that the research was being

conducted for my own personal development and was not in anyway being directed by a school or other educational establishment.

Confidentiality is another area that posed a concern, and more specifically maintaining the anonymity. While giving a pseudonym was a straightforward process, including data that was rich in information but was very specific in detail, posed a problem. I made the decision to offer the opportunity for participants to review their transcripts so that they could amend anything they felt was inaccurate or identifiable. Changes were made in two areas to small details. The level of detail, which the participants allowed to be in the research, was surprising and it was often commented that if this research would mean a change for the good, then they wanted to provide an accurate picture. I was also mindful of anonymising the people that the participants made reference to as some of these are described with a reasonable amount of detail.

An area that I have reflected on since the inception of the research idea is the potential for harm and upset. While every effort was made to build trust and rapport, as mentioned earlier, I was also mindful of being aware of moments where participants felt overwhelmed by the subject matter. Josselson (2007) advises that we need to be alert to the feelings of ‘uncomfortableness’ and deal with these in a human way. However, she is also mindful of being cautious of not setting the tone that an interview might be difficult or upsetting as this can define the experience even if the participant is not yet sure what they are going to say. Josselson offers that as long as the participant is clear about the nature of the research, they will tell the researcher what they want to. In this research a number of the participants expressed strong emotions willingly. The process of ending the interview with a ‘debrief’, allowing the participants to reflect on the interview process, became an important part of the experience to ensure that they left feeling confident about their involvement in the research. Certainly for two of the participants, this was an important period to discuss the research as a whole and how they fitted into it.

Narrative research in itself has the propensity for impacting individuals and the nature of the methodology is such that participants are given time to reflect on past experiences. Taking an ethical stance to this work has meant that at all stages of the research an awareness was maintained that the work was about real people and their experiences.

Positionality as a researcher

As Sharan, Juanita, Ming-Yeh , Youngwha , Gabo & Mazanah (2001) remind us, being close to the research area or an insider, does not necessarily make the research process easier. Whilst it true it is true to say that having access to different teachers was relatively easy, there were other areas that I had continually be mindful of. Sharan et al (2001) point to the fact that being part of the community the research was being conducted in, issues of bias are raised as well as the

concern that assumptions may be made about what is thought to be known about the community and whether there is enough interrogation therefore of the subject matter. Furthermore, and particularly true of my research, is the concern regarding positionality and power.

It is true to say that my changing status during the research project posed issues around power. As the literature has already alluded, teachers appear to be primarily in subjugated roles involving the direction of leadership. Sharan et al (2001) argue that power dynamics ‘is something to not only be aware of, but to negotiate in the research process’ (p.413). I was aware of the hierarchical nature of the relationships, which simulated the structure we all worked in, but was I also transparent in the empowering nature of a relatively underexplored area of research, and that I wanted to represent their voices, but also that conditions under which the interviews took place were on their terms, and what they offered was done so with the reassurance from me that it could be revoked or changed. It is true to say that during the course of the first interview, and then in the second, my position seemed to change from that which felt like it had a sense of formality to it, to one where it felt like a conversation. Whilst the relationship was still somewhat being mediated by position, I also felt a sense of belonging and comradeship with the participants. The fact we were all also female and of similar social class aided this.

Representation of their stories and ensuring their voice was reflected needed to be considered with the above factors in mind, and my epistemological beliefs around the notion of truth and power. Although cultural issues per se did not impact on my understanding and ability to interpret what they were saying, being true to their somewhat difficult working environments, when they were so at odds with mine, was something I was mindful of. On many occasions I was challenged by the degree to which some had felt helpless in their progression and lack of emotional voice, which had felt both frustrating and hard to comprehend from my own experience. As Bourke (2014) explores,

The identities of both researcher and participants have the potential to impact the research process. Identities come into play via our perceptions, not only of others, but of the ways in which we expect others will perceive us. Our own biases shape the research process, serving as checkpoints along the way. Through recognition of our biases, we presume to gain insights into how we might approach a research setting, members of particular groups, and how we might seek to engage with participants.

(Bourke, 2014, p. 1)

With this in mind, my use of a reflective journal was a helpful tool in exploring my thoughts in response to the literature and the interviews. When analysing the data I knew I was doing so

through the lense of someone who was in a position that was the same as who the teachers were referring to.

My position as a woman researching only female participants was also something that could not be ignored. Whilst this was brought about more by circumstance rather than a particular interest in female teachers' experiences, it is important to acknowledge the benefits it gave me. As a woman, I felt that the teachers were happy to talk to me about their emotional voice and their practice, particularly since some had never had the opportunity to do this. It is important to acknowledge here that this position will have been influential in how I interpreted their narratives.

Sampling method and size

A non-random snowballing sampling method was used to gather participants for this research. This can also be 'convenience sampling' (McNiff and Whitehead, 2006) or 'opportunistic sampling' (Creswell, 2007) as three of the participants were known to me and the other contacted via colleagues that were easily available to talk to. This method was used, as I wanted to focus on particular teachers (see criteria below). In the main, direct solicitation was used by approaching people I had worked with or alongside during my twelve years of teaching. Having both been a class teacher, and coach and mentor, I was in a position to approach a number of different teachers from different schools. Word of mouth was a recruitment strategy in which I asked known teachers to speak to other colleagues about the research project. A variety of means were used to contact them, including face to face and email. Each contacted person was given an outline of the project (Appendix B) for their consideration and then contacted again a few days later through the agreed route. Following confirmation of the agreement to be in the project, the participant was asked to sign a permission slip (Appendix C).

In total eight teachers were interviewed, four of them twice. There were both pragmatic and epistemological reasons for this number. Practically, had I wished to interview more, my changing career path over the course of the research project made it increasingly more challenging to approach other teachers without arousing suspicion. Whilst all the participants interviewed by the time I became a head teacher knew and were happy to remain in the research, I was aware a further shift in the power dynamics, coupled with the focus of the project being on PM, meant that dealing with these issues would be fraught with complexities.

Whilst this number represents a relatively small sample size, Baker and Edwards (2010) argue this number can be deemed suitable if you consider the research aims and context. They offer

that when the focus of the research is on individual emotional experiences, a larger sample may not necessarily be needed. As I had no intention to make generalisations, and was interested in the meaning of the stories, my focus remained on depth rather than quantity. More interviews would not have provided more depth. Although there were areas of similar experiences in the narratives, in essence each one was unique, therefore there would never have been a 'saturation point'. In consideration of 'How many?' Baker and Edwards (2010) suggest a researcher asks the question of whether doing more would add anything to the study. My aim from the inception of the research was always to be able to offer the voices of the teachers interviewed, which I believed would not have been gained if more were interviewed.

The aim was to interview the participants for at least an hour at a time and twice. In reality, they varied from one hour to nearly two hours for three of the participants. Four of the eight participants were interviewed twice. Some interviews and arrangements were more successful than others, due mostly to practicalities. Two of the participants left teaching during the course of the research and whilst they were happy to have their first interviews included, they did not wish to be interviewed again. One of the participants moved two hundred miles away and the other felt she did not have time to be interviewed again.

Overview of participant demographics

All the participants in the study were female, full-time permanent contract primary teachers in Key Stage One and Two. All of them had been teaching for three years or more and had taught in various year groups. The profile of the participants in the study was that of a relatively homogenous population as the participants were class teachers with no senior management responsibilities.

The selection was guided by a number of principles. The first was that I did not want to include newly qualified teachers, as it is common that these teachers are offered more support (DfE, 2014). Secondly, there was a deliberate choice not to choose male teachers, principally because they make up only 20% of primary teachers (DfE, 2012) and making comparisons between male and female teachers' experience would have to become part of the research, which was not the aim. Finally, no part-time teachers were chosen as working fewer hours would undoubtedly have to have been another factor to consider.

It can be considered that are limitations to this sampling method (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007) as the 'non-random' element of it means that it is not possible to make generalisations

from the findings, although this was not the intention of the research. Another concern is the potential bias in the selection of participants. The element of self-selection means there is potential for choosing teachers with similar characteristics, above those in the criteria. It is also true to say that those who agreed to be interviewed potentially had a greater concern around emotion and so the sample potentially represented a certain type of teacher. However, due to the focus of the research, I felt that the sampling methods were appropriate. It meant that the chosen teachers were similar in features, and other factors did not need to be considered, such as newly qualified status. The use of the snowballing technique also reduced the associated ethical issues identified above such as power dynamics, as they were not associated to me in anyway, and due to the relationship being new, I was not known them in a managerial role.

Data collection

Semi structured interviews were used to collect the data for this research. The rationale for this was that it would give the best opportunity for an emotional voice, which was central to the research. It was also considered a suitable way to gain detailed data about a difficult area of study. The method is adaptable in nature, meaning that the participant's views can be fully explored and the agenda is 'open to development and change, depending on the narrator's experiences' (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000, p.31). This meant that the structure did not always follow a question and answer format but changed according to what the narrator wanted to say. Hollway and Jefferson also argue that this approach enables the participant to tell a story, rather than the researcher producing a report. This means that the emphasis is on giving meaning to the process rather than just eliciting answers (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). Furthermore, by sticking to a rigid agenda, this may impose restrictions on the narrator, who may want to discuss something more relevant to their own experiences.

As Johnson (2009) makes clear, doing research itself is fraught with emotion, and this is particularly the case when using a method that involves developing a relationship with the participants. Apart from the fact that it was considered the best approach to give an emotional voice, it was also deemed important to ensure that an awareness of the emotional impact could be gained. Therefore the method was both about the content of the interviews but also the process of giving an emotional voice. Johnson (2009) goes on to point out that we cannot expect participants to engage emotionally if we are not prepared to do the same. Whilst my self disclosure was not as detailed as Johnson's, I was prepared, and did when required, engage emotionally when I felt it was important to show empathy and understanding towards their

experiences. Furthermore, as Johnson explains, this was particularly true when participants offered that they often didn't have an outlet for an emotional voice.

Other methods and triangulation were considered when looking at the study design to increase the validity of the research (Robson, 2002), however these were not used for a number of reasons outlined below.

Questionnaires

Whilst questionnaires would have allowed me to widen the number of participants, and to an extent given an opportunity to gain participants' voices if closed ended questions were avoided, I felt that they did not reflect the purpose and concern of the research. By the very nature of how questionnaires are constructed, there are always limiting factors such as the amount of space given for an answer or indeed understanding the question itself. Writing down answers to questions would have also added another layer between the participant's thoughts and my interpretations. There was also a consideration that due to a teacher's workload, significant enough time may not have been given to filling out a questionnaire and therefore would not have reflected their voice.

Observation

A consideration was made to observe the teachers during aspects of their PM. By doing this, findings could have been compared with the teacher interviews and may well have led to an increased assurance of the findings. However, observing teachers was also considered ethically and practically challenging. It is understood from my own pilot research and the literature reviewed that by and large, even if emotions are considered to be important, PM is a stressful aspect to the job. Because of this, it was felt that any additional presence by the researcher would add to this. Practically, it would also be difficult to logistically work out my presence without others knowing my reasons for being there, which again raises the issue of anonymity.

Interviews with senior management

Interviewing staff, who were responsible for carrying out the performance reviews of teachers would have given the 'other side of the story', which has been identified as a limitation of the research. However, issues around anonymity were again the reason for this not being pursued.

By using teachers and PM reviewers in the same school, there was a potential for individuals to be recognised had they chosen to read the thesis after completion.

Diaries

Johnson's (2009) recognition that research in itself is an emotional endeavour gives significant rationale for writing a research diary. I chose to do this as I wanted an outlet to record my own reflections throughout the research. This resonates with Archer's (2003, p.105) 'internal conversation', which Archer recognises as an important element of how individuals make sense of the world. In hindsight, this is a method that could have also been used with the participants and could have helped to capture thoughts and feelings immediately following a performance related event. It potentially could have been a powerful tool for capturing the individual's emotional voice. However, the success of this would have been very much dependent on the participants consistently writing the diary and their ability to write reflectively, and therefore could have been used alongside, rather than replace the interviews.

Arrangement and implementation of semi-structured Interviews

All interviews took place in a mutually agreed place, and were recorded on an Ipad, and subsequently transferred to an external hard drive and stored in a safe. During the process, prompt questions were available (Appendix D) but in reality many of the participants spoke freely about their experiences. It was the belief that the questions were open to change so that they would take account of emerging themes. It is true to say that the format of the interviews were more like that of 'guided conversations' (Yin, 2003, p. 89). This allows for flexibility, allowing for clarification but also following the line of research. So that initial direction was given to the interviews, a short description of the purpose of the study was given to the participants so that they could prepare themselves.

During the interviews I was alert to the possible sensitive nature of the content. Some proved easier than others, varying from a very pragmatic delivery of experiences to a highly emotionally charged recount of events. I was also mindful of the way these experiences were offered and aware to the fact the same questions I was seeking to investigate had relevance to the interview process. This was particularly true regarding the element of performance and how the

participants wished to reflect themselves. On reflection, it is true to say that the way in which the participants chose to tell their stories somewhat reflected the way they described their practice. Having learnt skills from previous experiences, counselling and coaching, I was mindful of the skills required to conduct the interviews. As will be discussed in the ethics section, the need to build rapport was important with interviewees that had been contacted via other teachers. Offering opportunities to think was also important as I was asking teachers to reflect back over their careers, some which spanned 20 years or so. Wengraf (2001) reminds us that carrying out semi-structured interviews are more challenging than more structured ones because of the unpredictable nature of the participant's response. Because of this, it was necessary to consider the arrangements of the interviews, such as taking the time to ensure the interviewee felt comfortable prior to interview, adopt a probing but not forceful technique to explore themes, and a time to debrief following the interview. After the interviews, most participants were keen to learn about the wider aspects of the research and were eager to understand how by taking part they may somehow improved the experiences of other teachers. They all also seemed to welcome the opportunity to reflect on their experiences.

Challenges to the interview process

Due to the subject of this research, I was aware of the influences that might affect the responses given by the respondents. This I felt could come in various forms: that of following the media's perception of PM in education such as that offered by the National Union of Teachers (NUT 2013); official rhetoric of schools which may be considered more appropriate than their own personal view, and responses that may be considered to reflect the interviewer's beliefs. The last of these was of particular concern, as I was aware of my influence upon the interview. In order to address some of these factors, participants were regularly reminded that their identity would remain anonymous. Experience from the pilot studies also helped to ensure that participants were able to engage meaningfully and they were allowed an opportunity to express feelings, by choosing choice phrases that allowed them to explore but made them feel they were not being interrogated. An issue around friendship amongst known participants was an area of consideration. While there was no concern around building rapport, it was important to stay true to the protocols of good research and not to make assumptions about those participants because they were known in a different capacity. This was managed by formalising the process as much as possible, for example meeting for the interviews in a neutral place.

Research analysis approach

This section considers the approaches to data analysis used in this research. However, in reality the process cannot be considered as discrete as this, as the analysis was a continual aspect throughout the study. As is suggested (Symon and Cassell, 1998), the process of analysing qualitative data is iterative and does not have a separate place in the study process. Broadly, there were four stages to the analysis.

The first stage of the analysis was during the interviews. At this point, brief notes were made during and after the interviews to capture any initial themes and thoughts.

Full transcription then was a significant stage as

it is not just the transcription product—those verbatim words written down—that is important; it is also the process that is valuable. Analysis takes place and understandings are derived through the process of constructing a transcript by listening and re-listening, viewing and re-viewing.

(Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999, p.82)

I personally typed the transcripts, which offered an opportunity in itself to start to identify themes and engage in the interviews. They were listened to several times, noting questions and thoughts on the hardcopy next to the typed version.

During the process, I noted any areas that seemed to be recurring and also connections between themes. At this point referral back to the literature complemented the process and was useful in categorising the findings. I used four different coloured pens to highlight areas that I felt made connections with the literature. (Appendix E). Throughout the process a reflective diary (See Appendix F for extracts) was kept to record thoughts and questions that were generated by the data, and to start to bring together the literature, research questions, theoretical framework and findings and emerging themes.

Thirdly, the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo 9, was used to confirm my own identification of themes and a process of text searches was used to check for use of words and phrases. Having identified some broad areas, words that reflected these themes were searched for to check these were as evident as I believed. This process helped to develop ideas into categories, which were evident in the literature, and those which stood out as unique themes or new themes. Lastly, the process of writing the narratives was also a stage in the analysis. Through writing the stories in my own words, using quotes to add validity to points being made, it provided another

opportunity to check for the reliability of the story being told. It also became another opportunity to reflect on what I thought each teacher's story offered. As stated already, these were given to the participants to check. Throughout the process the continual aim was to ensure the teachers' voices were represented.

In order to represent the themes explored, I devised a 'levels of influence web' (see conclusion) to reflect the connection between the factors that seemed to affect how the teachers were able to show their emotions and the performance management experiences they had. As this was my interpretation of what they said, I once again asked them to be a part of this process and create their own. This, I believe increased the reliability of reflecting their stories.

Conclusion

In this chapter I outline the rationale for my methodological approach, the practicalities of conducting the research, issues of ethics and positionality, and the analytical process. It has argued that the decisions made regarding collection and analysis have been done to give voice to the teachers in this research. In this sense, the data is not generalisable but aims to give illumination to the growing understanding of the importance of emotion in teaching.

Chapter 4 – Presentation of data

Introduction

This chapter offers the presentation of the teachers' narratives from interviews with eight participants. Each narrative provides chronology of their career, marking noticeable changes in PM. Following the same format, they all offer vignettes to illuminate some of the perspectives of the participants. Although restricted in word count, the purpose in presenting all eight was to remain true to giving the teachers a voice, but it is important to acknowledge the content that evolved from interview to narrative was my decision. The themes identified in each narrative's summary informed the discussion chapter. The table below summarises the context of the narratives.

Teacher Pseudonyms	Length of service	Other career	How contact was made	Number of interviews	Reason for no second interview
Alexandra	15 years	No	Worked with in the past	2	NA
Louise	12 years	No	Worked with in the past	2	NA
Teresa	4.5 years	Yes	Contacted via another teacher	1	Felt she didn't have time
Tina	10 years	Yes	Contacted via another teacher	2	NA
Vanessa	20 years	No	Contacted via another teacher	2	NA
Elizabeth	10 years	Yes	Contacted via another teacher	1	Left profession
Nicola	12 years	No	Worked with in the past	1	Moved away from area
Melissa	3 years	No	Contacted via another teacher	1	Left profession

Table

Alexandra's Story: 'Until we get rid of 'it's assessment on you', people are going to think that they can't say stuff'

Over the fifteen years of her teaching career Alexandra had seen an immense change in the nature of PM. In the early stages of her career she recalled there that was no real PM, but that changed to a more formalised system a few years ago. Within this system, Alexandra suggested that relationships seemed to be at the centre of whether you had a meaningful PM, and one that allowed you to express your feelings and have your feelings recognised. It also allowed for 'genuine discussion', rather than a 'tick sheet exercise' akin to 'playing the game':

*I think it is a lot to do with the person observing you...[pause]
But if the person doing the feedback isn't that knowledgeable, it isn't that beneficial. It's kind of a list of things you have done in your observation, which you already know you have done, you taught it. They say that was nice and that was nice, whereas I'd much rather have 'Well you did this but you could try this, or this could be a good idea that you could try in other lessons'.*

For Alexandra, she seemed to have gained the confidence that she outwardly welcomed critical conversation and was at ease with the whole process. However, she knew this still had to be done in a way that did not have a damaging effect on teachers' emotions. Although confident in her own abilities, she seemed very aware of the impact this could have on teachers' feelings if they experienced feedback that did not take account of where the teacher was emotionally:

If you have constantly got negative feedback, your confidence is quite low and therefore your expectation of going into a lesson is going to be 'I'm going to do really badly'. I think you know. When I've observed people they do things they wouldn't normally do. So for example, if it's going really wrong, instead of pulling everyone back to the carpet, they plough straight on with the lesson because they haven't got the confidence to say 'hang on stop!' Because of previous negative feedback, they think they need to follow the plan to get through. I think for lots of people it [confidence] would develop but if you have constant negativity it probably wouldn't.

Alexandra's seemed aware of the long-term impact of continual negative feedback and understood that this would end up being a 'vicious cycle' as teachers would get negative feedback, feel knocked by this, start the next observation feeling low, perform badly and then

receive negative feedback again. This, ultimately, would mean that their confidence would never develop.

By being allowed to build confidence, Alexandra seemed sure that teachers would not find the whole experience of PM and a culture of performativity so stressful and would ultimately try not to 'perform for observation':

I have become more confident as a teacher. Like now, I never change any of my planning or do anything different. I just do it as I normally would so I don't feel nervous about it at all. Earlier in my career, I would have been more nervous and planned it the week before and had a little run through and I would be panicking in the morning. But that's just come through confidence. So I don't really mind. I just think its part of the job. People come in, watch. Even when they go really badly. Recently I got out loads of equipment but I thought oh god that was awful. However, I knew that was not how normally I would do it and it was a bit of a risk but it was fine and it was the same as always.

This ability to feel confident and 'to take a risk' had come through, she felt, from being lucky enough to have a reviewer that allowed for this. What seems to be the case for Alexandra is that she experienced a scenario where the senior management person was more emotionally intelligent. Taking a more critical view of this, it could be argued that Alexandra's 'licence' to discuss her feelings was in part to do with the fact that she was considered a 'good' teacher and therefore was not a cause for concern.

Alexandra understood that having an emotionally-intelligent reviewer was not consistent among her peers, and seemed aware that many were not 'allowed' the opportunity to discuss their feelings or have a voice in the follow up discussions and often felt nervous and anxious about the whole process. Similarly, she felt these people would also generally not go to management on a day-to-day basis if they felt upset with anything. Alexandra had recalled that for her, even as a confident teacher, there were high expectations that sometimes prevented her from really saying how she felt:

I don't think there is any place at all for them that if you're getting really stressed out, unless you have a 'friend' at school, that you have an opportunity to say I just can't cope, this is too much. There is almost a thing, probably in all jobs, where you don't want to be a failure, to go and say to someone I just can't do this, its too much, is almost admitting it's too much. In fact when I had that class last year and they were tough, it's only because the head happened to walk in and I had my head in my hands thinking 'oh god'. I just didn't know where to go. I had tried all my normal strategies but what it needed was someone else in the room. I almost didn't want to go and ask for someone

to help as it meant I can't teach but it ended up with 2 adults. I don't know who, right now I would go to [colleague] but I may go to [head] now because now I have crossed that, she has been very supportive but it's that first initial 'Can I talk about this to...'

Alexandra suggested that this 'restriction' on expressing feelings was not only caused by a lack of opportunities to air them but also a culture of high expectation that meant that teachers did not want to be seen showing their weaknesses. Because of this, it was rare that people showed how they were really feeling:

I think it's to do with a fear of failing. You have very high expectations of yourself that you should just be able to cope. People go off with stress and I think that's because rather than asking early on, and say 'Could you give me extra help or time?', they let it build, build and build and then you can't cope with anything. I think people don't want others to think you can't do it...[pause] There is a lot of expectation. There are high expectations...[pause] I rarely, inside or outside, ask for help. I just get on with it.

For Alexandra this description of 'self expectation' seemed to be an extension of organisational expectation regarding emotion. However, this seems more choice than suppression, as Alexandra's story offers examples where she says she is able to express her emotions, but also examples where she chooses to hide them.

Despite the fact that Alexandra described herself as confident, and generally had positive experiences herself, she seemed very aware that this was not the case for all her colleagues. She also offered that a preconception based on positive or negative experiences could taint a reviewer's perception of a teacher and would determine how much 'room' was given to acknowledging emotion and being sensitive to teachers' emotions:

I think it depends on the relationship that you have with management and a lot of that can be dictated on experience, PM things, things you have done previously. If you have done badly for example in a performance management and then you are not coping and behind with your work, I think it would be very unlikely that you would go 'Actually I can't cope' to management because then not only have you done bad in PM, you are then admitting you have done badly with your work load and they start looking at you as a failure and then that's when you have people start going off because they think 'I can't cope with work'.

For Alexandra, the role of emotion in PM, and her every day teaching, was ‘very important’ and therefore there needed to be a ‘general awareness’ on the part of senior members:

I think they [emotions] are very important because it really changes the way you deal with the children. If I am in a bad mood I really need to bite my tongue. If you say to a child ‘Can you stop doing that please’, they will stop doing it, but if you say ‘What are you doing? Rah rah rah’ it escalates the whole thing out of control and all you needed to do was say it nicely but because you have come in in a bad mood it makes the day much worse and the children don’t deserve it. They have done nothing wrong and just because you have had a row with someone at home or whatever, you come in and think everything about children annoys me today. Even when you are tired it can really impact your feelings. It goes back to your teaching, unless you are going to make a real effort...[pause] you have to leave it at home.

The level of expectation, by management, of the mood she felt she needed to show was also obvious:

I can drive to work and feel really ill and tired etc. Then, I go into the room and I know I have to be a performing monkey otherwise the children aren’t interested. They don’t care if I am not feeling very well. I try to be really fun and engaging in the classroom but it wears me out so when I get home I am exhausted. The first thing I want to do is say nothing at all for the first half hour. Just have a bit of chill out time because I have had to be happy all day. Even when you see a parent at the end of the day you think go away but you have to be ‘Hiya’ [said happily]. A, I am paid to do it and secondly the children deserve it...[pause] There is an expectation that you should be of a certain jovial person in class.

Although Alexandra saw this element of emotional labour as important, and knew she was ‘expected to be a happy teacher’, she felt that PM should be an opportunity to have open and honest discussion about how they were feeling in their teaching without the prospect that this may have an impact on the perceptions of the reviewer. The language used, she suggested, was something that needed to be considered and offered that it was important to have positive aspects to the feedback, even if that lesson had not gone well:

I think its important that they try and do the positive stuff first and its all out weighed greatly to the negative. So they say you did this and you did this [pause] But then you get but you need to this. Someone else, who has had some negative feedback, has come to me really upset and gone home all weekend and thought about it and then gone back and spoken to their reviewer about it as they felt they had been almost bullied or threatened. Language used was something like ‘The senior management would be very

disappointed'. Actually that's not very beneficial and that doesn't take into account at all the person's feelings because everyone is trying their hardest. And if everyone is trying their hardest, there can be criticism but it needs to be a positive criticism. You need guidance rather than a pure slating of a person.

Alexandra felt that incidents like this could cause a great deal of damage that teachers might not recover from. This, she said, was the type of incident that did not allow the teachers to grow in confidence, but could make them feel really demoralised. She recounted that had it not been for her supportive reviewer, she too may not have developed the confidence she described of herself. Reflecting on how she would have felt in this circumstance described above, she offered:

I would cry if this happened to me! I probably wouldn't say anything at all in the meeting and then I would go home and cry about it. Would I go and confront them? Probably not. I'd probably just stay cross at them for ages.

An interesting area that Alexandra seemed certain about was the nature of the relationship with the reviewer. For her, she suggested there needed to be a balance between having a supportive reviewer, who you could express your feelings to, but also one that was demanding enough that ensured standards were met. This relationship, she offered, also had to have an element of disparity in status so that it did not becoming too 'pally':

Yes, you can be open but there will be a point where people might not do their job and then SLT [Senior Leadership Team] will need to say 'You haven't done well in this observation' you've done all the nicely nicely, but this is going to happen and it goes into much more formal. If you have gone too much on the 'equalness', you would never be able to do that. You would never be able to claw it back. Once you have crossed that line where you are almost matey, then it is really difficult to discipline when he's your mate.

Alexandra suggested that PM was only useful if primarily it aimed to develop the teacher, build confidence, allow for reflection and discussion of personal feelings but also ensured standards. By offering these ideas, Alexandra intimated that this needed to be a more thoroughly thought out process. Within this, Alexandra reiterated why it was that feelings mattered so much. Knowing she always wanted to do the best for the children, she offered that by being told she was not doing well would make her feel she was not giving the children what they deserve, which would ultimately make her feel low and demoralised.

I like to do things well. If I haven't done it perfectly, I feel really bad about it. I think I am letting the children down. Perhaps if you were less of a perfectionist you might not feel it. But do you then feel it doesn't really matter? That would concern me that it doesn't really matter. That doesn't sit well with me.

The 'public' image of a teacher: in everyday lessons, in observations, with parents, was something that Alexandra seemed quite certain was acceptable and was what you should do as a teacher. In fact, the notion of 'playing the game' was something Alexandra felt that should not be done, not because it was a 'pretence', but that these expectations were simply good practice and should be done all the time anyway.

In observations there is like a game to play of what they're looking for but actually that is what makes good practice, what they are looking for. Yes, what an ideal teacher should look like, they should do certain things in the classroom and in a lesson at all times which I think it's fair enough.

This is an interesting perspective on 'playing the game' as this term is often referenced with negative connotations. Alexandra seemed to feel that the aspects people 'put on' for the sake of observation are actually important parts of a lesson and therefore should become part of daily practice. This perspective on observation expectations appeared to give a sense of control and confidence to Alexandra by suggesting that for her they were not a cause for concern. Far from 'following a recipe' being seen as a sign of inauthenticity, Alexandra offered that it was essentially the basis of a good lesson.

One way to express feelings about practice, which her school had adopted, was to have peer observations. For Alexandra, this was a move away from PM just being seen as assessment, but also as development. The shift to peer observation, had meant that discussion had become more meaningful and ways to develop became much more of a dialogue than a criticism. Within this dialogue there was space to talk about feelings about certain approaches, initiatives, children and difficulties:

Now we have gone towards, in this school, slightly more informal peer observations, which I think are brilliant and definitely the way forward. I think before when people came in and you just got a grade, that was essentially paper pushing but having a peer observation is beneficial to everybody. I do think that's how it should be. It should be that you have time to go away and reflect on something and if you want to re-discuss something you should be able to go back and do it. There is opportunity to discuss but until we get rid of that it is assessment on you, people are going to think they cant say stuff, or some people.

Alexandra's understanding of the role of emotion in a performance driven culture seemed to continually link to that of confidence and control. Because of her own self-perception as a teacher, it appears that she has been 'allowed' to share her emotions with out any negative repercussions. This theme was something that became a focus of the second interview. Before interviewing Alexandra for the second time, like the others, I asked her to read the narrative from the first interview. She felt that it reflected what she had said and reiterated this was most definitely to do with positive relationships she had had with senior management. This became the main focus of the second interview.

During the second interview, Alexandra explained that at the beginning of her career, quite naturally she was not that confident in her teaching but felt she was of a generally strong character. Despite that, she did not feel confident enough to ask management for any help. As she put it, '*There was not anyone I would have been able to cry on*'. Fundamentally she felt this was to do with the nature of relationships in the school at the time:

The head was having a breakdown himself and so didn't really care about any of his teachers. The deputy head was very intimidating and threatened people. So they were not the sort of people that you went to.

Alexandra offered that this did little to develop her or assure her that she could turn to others when she needed some emotional support. In the early days she would go home and cry because she had terrible days but felt this should not have happened and she should have really had a colleague to turn to. Alexandra believed that had she had neither option, to feel upset at home or in school, she would have ended up internalising her feelings, which she believed was the worst thing to happen as this would lead to huge amounts of stress. In an ideal world she felt it was important for every teacher to have a someone to turn to share their feelings.

It was not until she met a senior leader at her current school, that Alexandra felt she really started to develop in her abilities as a teacher, build her confidence and gain 'the licence' to express her feelings. This she felt was evolved from a two-way relationship and involved a number of different ingredients to make it happen. To start, Alexandra felt that the value of PM and the culture of good teaching was recognised as worthy of being given significant time and attention. Rather than a tick box exercise, she believed the support given both at review time and throughout the year was hugely significant. Due to the nature of the very detailed and highly relevant feedback, Alexandra started to build confidence in her teaching abilities. Part of this was the opportunity to take risks and try different strategies. Often, she said these were coupled with frustration and disheartenment, but, unlike her first school, she was able to share

this with her supervisor. Over time, seeking advice and being given time from an empathetic colleague, Alexandra felt comfortable enough that, had she needed to, she would be able to turn to someone if she was experiencing negative emotions. Alexandra felt that her experience was the opposite of the vicious cycle she explained in her first interview, that others experienced.

This became a challenging area to explore with Alexandra as we discussed what it was that allowed her to express her feelings and have them recognised by seemingly emotional intelligent people, whilst others in the same school seemed to have a different experience. Although reticent to say there was any kind of favouritism, she suggested that there might be preferences for certain teachers. Although requiring improvement in her teaching when she started, and still building her confidence, Alexandra offered that it was possibly her drive to be good that was the other ingredient in being ‘allowed’ an emotional voice:

However, I know it is not the case for all people. Not that he has favourites but like with all management, they know who their better teachers and the less best teachers are. I know some people who would never go as they feel like they are always being watched and feel negative about going to people. Some can't do it as they feel like it is going to be a judgement on yourself. You have to have a base line of confidence in order to go. Otherwise you just think they are going to see me as a failure.

This ‘baseline’ in confidence seemed a significant factor for Alexandra, and gave her a degree of agency that allowed her to ‘transform’ as a teacher and have some control over her emotional expression.

Another aspect to Alexandra’s professional journey that could be influential in her emotional agency is her acceptance of certain styles and strategies. That is not to say that she has followed everything without question, but that she has learned to teach in accepted and expected ways. Interestingly Alexandra did not feel restricted by these, but, in fact, endorsed them as good ways of teaching:

I think I have been programmed to work in a certain way and I don't think there is anything wrong with that. In my last school that was in special measures, we had observations all the time and I got used to them. I realised that they were looking for certain things, which I don't think are bad, and did those. These make you a good teacher. Overtime that's how I know how to teach. If you only do it for an ob it is strange. Overtime I have been ‘trained’ to be a good teacher.

This 'programming' for Alexandra did not give a sense of 'playing the game'. Reiterating the point she made in the first interview, she felt that learning the 'rules of teaching' did not constitute playing a game but rather learning the ways of being a good teacher and becoming confident in what you do. Interestingly, she also pointed out that she had also developed the confidence over the years to not accept every strategy. *'I take from the system what is important and discard the rest'*. This also gives a sense of agency to Alexandra's teaching experiences.

On asking Alexandra to reflect on her career and the fact that she had described it in a positive light professionally, and had been given the freedom and support to express her feelings, she again reiterated the importance of the relationships with key members of staff. She felt in a more stressful education system than ever before, with performance now being linked more formally to pay, all teachers needed to have some kind outlet to share their feelings:

The whole system has become so much more judgemental. That sheet you get with everyone's data on it means you compare yourself to everyone. When you see the colour red you think you have failed and this is so much more important now it is linked to performance related pay. So it will become more and more stressful and personal. Rather than thinking about the children, you'll start thinking about the impact on yourself.

As such:

Relationships amongst staff are key. There can be negative vibes. It is important to build teams. It is not easy for particular people to simply say 'Come to me if you're upset'. There could be a mentor/counsellor type person. You need to be able to build a community where they can express their feelings without it being a moaning culture. PM linked to pay could be quite soul destroying for low confidence people, as it will affect personal lives of people.

Summary

Alexandra's experience highlights a number of significant factors for discussion. Firstly, the emphasis she pays to having a 'baseline' in confidence This seems important as it could be recognised as being both a mechanism for coping with negative feelings but also a means to be given a 'licence' to have an emotional voice. Secondly, the emotional awareness and the relationship built with a significant other person seems to have given Alexandra the means to share feelings in times of stress as well as developing professionally. Finally, Alexandra's acceptance and alignment with current educational policies seems she is able to 'navigate' her

working life more smoothly than perhaps someone who is at odds with it. These areas will be explored further in the discussion section.

Louise's Story: 'In our school, to survive, you took what they said, you nodded and then cried with two friends'

During her career Louise had noticed a significant shift in PM in the last three years and saw further emphasis on it in the last year. She began by summarising the purpose of PM as '*wanting to make sure that you are doing what you are supposed to be doing*', with no reference to professional development and support. For her, the process of PM had moved significantly from being a timetabled assessment system, to something that had become ingrained in the school culture on a daily basis:

You lose sight, because they are constantly looking at your books, they are constantly looking your planning, they're constantly asking you questions; how are you making them improve? They would constantly come in in literacy and would ask right what are you doing for this child, and you find yourself saying I'm doing this and this and this and this...[continuation]

For Louise, the biggest concern for her was the nature and content of feedback to staff and her stories of experiences, both personal and with other member of staff, seemed to be something she wanted others to know. A marking point for Louise, and one of the reasons she, and other members of staff left this particular school, was the first day of the new academic year. Despite having just received an 'outstanding' from Ofsted, Louise noticed a change in emphasis:

The classic was we went back in September for my last year at that school and we were greeted with a very quick hello and the head teacher started to talk about Ofsted and the fact that we had done so well, so you started to feel a bit 'Yeh we did do well', and then she crushes you a few seconds later by saying 'If you're sat here and you're not 'good' well you don't need to be in my school, you don't belong in my school.

Retelling the events following this, Louise described her experiences, which seemed less stressful than others, because, she said she '*had learnt to do what they asked*'. When asked to talk about this, she explained that first she had to think positively about observations and imagine they would be helpful so that she could get through them:

For me I haven't woken up in a sweat worrying about it, obviously your obs are another...[pause] nice ... [pause] I have to see them as a good thing. They are coming in and they are going to tell me how to be a better teacher [raised shoulders]

However, this, she said, was a means to an end as more often than not she did not find the feedback useful and it was often at odds with previous advice:

In PM [Performance Management], sometimes they would say something that you didn't agree with but you would just smile. I wasn't often gutted from what they said but was often confused because it contradicted what they had said before.

Just smiling, was something Louise said she had learnt to do a lot of, as the repercussions of challenging were not worth the effort. Elaborating on this, Louise began to use a number of examples to explain what she meant. Through her own early experience and through discussion with other colleagues, Louise explained that personal feelings and emotions regarding their own development did not really seem to matter:

If the head gave negative feedback and you got upset, she didn't understand. She doesn't see the link. As teachers we are pushing everyone to do their very best and if you feel that if you are letting your children down it hurts, it affects you. You want to do the best for your children.

Furthermore:

The people who come back and say I don't agree with that because all the children were learning, would get her [the head teacher's] back up because well if I had stayed and she said something to me I didn't agree with, I just don't think I would say anything. It would just be too much. It was just too personal with her. She looked at you and if you said something she would take it on board and you were still you but she would somehow use it against you. I toe the line pretty well but I have seen other people...[pause]

Learning from this, Louise said that knowing early on it was 'her [the headteacher's] way or the high-way', she began to do and say exactly what was asked. However, for many of her colleagues this was not the case. On one occasion she remembers wanting to tell her colleague to 'shut up' for fear that they would make their working life difficult for themselves by saying how they felt. This, she said, is what subsequently happened, and that teacher left.

If I was really upset I wouldn't have shared the fact, I would keep it within me and show a different exterior. I would like to show it so they know you needed support but that didn't happen. Is it a weakness for them to show that they give a shit. I have seen the head rip a strip off someone and they didn't say anything back. We have learnt to listen and then do. We don't show emotion. She doesn't get upset so why should we. We lost a phase leader because she refused to lead like her.

Louise explained that within the eighteen months prior to her leaving, twelve people had left the school because of this approach. When asking Louise to reflect on what she thought PM should look like, she was certain that it was not by delivering a 'shit sandwich' or by making some one too scared to express their feelings. She said she had felt worn out by both watching her colleagues upset and by managing her own emotions:

It can have a very negative effect. I have sat and watched my friends crumble because they have worked really hard and done what they think is a brilliant lesson, what we think is, if they talk about it, and then it is ripped to shreds by giving a shit sandwich. Why can't they start with something positive? 'I liked the way you did that...[and so on]' Give me something where I can go, I did that well but I know I need to work on that.

During the interview Louise said she had begun to question and reflect on her colleagues experiences compared to hers and 'worried' whether these were down to the personality of the teacher. It concerned her that by 'asking for nothing', and by showing no emotion, she was able to get along much better. She also worried that she felt this might also be the same at the new school she was about to start, as conversation with new colleagues intimated a similar approach:

But I sometimes wonder, every time I am told to do something I will do it, I take it on board, you might not like what they are saying but you say fine that's not going to make me a better teacher. But one thing that she [my colleague] did was question back. My biggest worry about PM is personalities. Because I am very much yes that's fine, that's fine, do I get on better with them? Whereas this other teacher was very much I don't understand or I don't feel that's true. That's just, when you try and explain the difference you have to start asking is it something to do with personalities. I don't know.

At first appearance Louise seems to have a sense of control as she understands 'the game' and plays it to her advantage. However, it could be argued whether this is real choice. Despite 'toeing the line', Louise explained that she had still anticipated confrontation if she was not doing the right thing. On regular 'drop-ins' Louise recounted feeling anxious that she was saying the wrong

thing. It panicked her to think of the head teacher's reaction if she did not like something that was being done. She recalled that *'as long as you explained it well, she was happy'*.

However, Louise suggested that by showing any emotion and expressing their feelings, teachers would find themselves in a difficult position.

When I think of other teachers, there was another one who was told by Ofsted that he was outstanding. But the six months leading up to Ofsted you'd have thought he was rubbish. He sticks up for what he thinks but he had a really tough time from this and our school has a reputation that if you don't improve within a certain period you're out. Does that have a connection?

Louise was certain that PM needed to more of a 'human touch'.

You have to do it in layers...[pause] You can't go in all guns blazing saying that was crap, that was shit, what are you doing, that was rubbish oh but you're display was nice. You have to give it a human touch. I was quite lucky because most of my feedback was from N and the feedback they gave me was pretty easy. It wasn't teaching, it was, 'Nobody went to your challenge area. You need to show that so they know where it is so encourage someone to go over'. So I did, and the next time they came in and saw that they thought brilliant. If I'd had negative, I wouldn't have been able to stop crying. I know what I am like. I know we are trying to improve standards and we have to be reflective, we have to be critical but there are some ways of going about it. There must be a better way of saying 'Look this isn't what we want but this is what we are going to do'.

For Louise, the whole role of being a teacher was attached to emotions, both managed but also ones worthy of acknowledging:

But for us it's a bit more personal. You do hide a lot of feelings from the children. If some thing's not gone quite right, you don't let them know. It's not their fault. And when you open the door, you are on stage a little bit and all the parents want to see that you are a happy smiley person and if you're having a bad day, they don't need to know and they don't so you keep a lot of emotions to yourself.

But conversely:

She [the head] is so aggressive when she speaks, and I think emotions are so...[pause] they have to run hand in hand because you are not a machine. You don't say ok I did that wrong – its

personal, you think I have to get that better. To me they have to run hand in hand and management need to know when they're telling you, it's like telling a child. Can you imagine telling a child that was shit? You would never do that to a child, you would say "Oh I love all those, but what did you forget?" They have got to remember we are big children. They have to put our feelings into it otherwise people are just going to start walking out on jobs, its just going to be too much. Too much stress.

In the 'debrief' of the first interview with Louise, I asked her to reflect briefly of what she had said about her experiences at her previous school. Although during the interview she had appeared uncertain about her own role in having a more successful PM than her colleagues, at this point Louise seemed more assured. This was evident when she said '*I was the best game player of them all*'.

I decided to interview Louise again a few months after the initial interview (by which time she had changed schools), with the view to exploring her understanding of 'playing the game' and her experiences in her new school. Before doing this, I asked her to reflect on the narrative I had written and sent to her following the first interview. This was done for a number of reasons. The first was to check that she felt it reflected her story accurately and therefore addressed the importance of reliability and validity by checking the 'truthfulness' her story. The second was to remind herself of what she had said to help her reflect on this now and make any comparisons.

Louise confirmed that she had said everything that was in my interpretation and believed it had depicted what she had felt at the time. However, she acknowledged that she had not quite grasped how unhappy she had become but it made her feel reassured that she had done the right thing by leaving and going to a new school. Concerned that this portrayal was more negative than she intended, I asked her whether there were elements she wanted to change. She assured me there was not and knew this was how she had felt at the time. In particular, she felt it portrayed accurately how unforgiving the school had been when things were not done in the way they expected. To elaborate on this I asked Louise to remember particular instances where she had felt that no consideration was taken towards her emotions. She offered:

I just felt so overwhelmed [with the additional responsibility] but I just didn't show it. The expectation was mammoth, but they didn't worry about that because that is what they wanted. The extra pressure on us to stay outstanding didn't make us outstanding it just made us tired and 'niggly'. When I look back on myself then I was so miserable. I have the same amount of workload now but I just don't feel as stressed and worried.

In order to explore a particular area of interest for this research, I reminded Louise of the quote she had used to sum up her time at her last school: ‘*I was the best game player of them all*’. Without hesitation, she replied, ‘*Oh yes, I was fabulous!*’ This seemed to mark a shift in Louise’s thinking moving from a lack of certainty about her ‘survival’ of the PM system to a certainty of how she ‘navigated’ it to limit its emotional impact. To give an example of this she said:

You never showed...[pause] you kept a straight face. They asked you to do something, stuff you didn’t have time for, but they would never know that. I would simply say ‘That’s fine’. My own worries would go back to my classroom, took a few moments, wiped a few tears away and got on with it. I also learnt to do things that were considered more important.

This learning of the areas that were held up as more important was part of ‘playing the game’ for Louise. For her this involved not doing some lessons that were deemed pointless, such as music, in order to be one step in front with the right amounts of writing or maths. Part of this understanding of following certain expected ways was to avoid ‘*being watched like a hawk*’. Louise offered that it was important that everyone stood up to the test of coping and surviving rather than showing any signs of weakness:

I was the best game player because when everyone walked past my room, my planning was there; marking was great; children were all on task; if they introduced a new system, [clicked fingers] it was in place. If they wanted something as a focus, it was in place. Why? Because you look then how they want you to look and then they leave you alone.

On asking Louise to reflect on whether she actively went out of her way to do more things to show herself in a good light, she was fairly certain she had not for the fear of making other people look bad but was certain in her set routines of making sure everything possible was up-to-date for the ‘weekly inspection’.

Although protective of the judgements on the other teachers, Louise seemed very aware of how she was perceived in comparison to the other staff. She believed that she was amongst three teachers who ‘*never raised our heads above the parapet*’. This involved making it visible how hard they were working and avoiding any controversial conversation. By doing this Louise felt she remained off the radar of the head. She said:

I just learnt how to survive. I still felt upset, don’t get me wrong but I rarely went home in tears, like lots of other people. I learnt to prioritise what was on show: class assemblies, displays. It was competition. Everyone wanted to do their best. If your class

assembly went wrong, [whistles and rolls eyes], she [head] would have been so angry.

On asking Louise whether ‘playing the game’ had helped her with the pressures and lack of empathy, she seemed convinced that she had worked out what was ‘*on their list*’ in order to cope. Picking up on the emphasis on the visual aspects, she had understood that many of the judgments being made were on what they could see without looking any further:

I left no stone unturned, I looked at the whole package and that’s why they became so stressful. You looked from your displays to your pencil pots to your challenge area. If your drawers were neat, I’m pretty sure they would have picked up on something. Whenever they came in they would take everything in. I probably put it upon myself, but in the end I wanted her to come in and not be able to come back later and talk to me about something.

Not only at a classroom level, Louise offered that the head teacher’s ‘*watch*’ could be felt within the school so even when she was not seen, her presence could be felt. However, when she was not in the building, the whole place had ‘*a more human feel*’. Although Louise understood that it was the job of the head teacher to make sure the school was running smoothly, she felt this was done by instilling fear and worry.

At this point I was interested to understand more about what Louise had meant by ‘*whole package*’ and that her emphasis had been much more on the day-to-day performative pressures, not only PM. A response to this was that she had changed, moulded and developed into the person she thought the school wanted her to be and was doing it again now in her new school, albeit into a more realistic role, ‘*like a commodity*’. Louise said that she had become very good at learning what a school wants and adapting and changing to this in order to fit the required expectation. Interestingly, she felt her new school was much easier to adapt to, despite other colleagues feeling the pressure. This, she suspected, was because of her understanding of how to ‘play the game’.

Coming from a school like I did, I have found it very hard not to go over and above what is needed. My books are always marked, displays are always done. Although the school isn’t as firm on that, may be that’s just the way I work now. I now get rewarded for the stuff that I thought I was supposed to do anyway.

Despite the move to another school, which seemed less pressurised, she seemed certain that she was still ‘playing the game’ and that it had probably become part of who she was as a teacher. For her, she was aware that there seemed to always be a culture of being seen as doing your best

all the times. What had also happened for Louise was she had learnt that she disliked not being the best.

I am really bad at being bad. I hate being told that I am doing something wrong, that I am letting the school down or my children down. I hate being told that something isn't good enough. I really can't stand it. So I went into this school and did really long hours and it has been recognised that I am a really hard worker. I like that. I like them to know that I give a shit. I do work hard because I want to be the best. What I want is that if Ofsted come in next week, they [the school] don't need to worry about me. I want to be seen as a good teacher.

For Louise, the feeling was that if she did not do this any longer she would feel that she would not be doing her job properly. Part of understanding what was considered important by the school, was a big part of this. Training herself to find this out was deemed an important part of being a good teacher.

*Maybe I am no longer playing the game but following the line.
Maybe it's just second nature to me now.*

However, the big change for her had been the ability to express her feelings and not feel that would be held against her. She also seemed aware that the management structure within her new school was much more aware of the emotional needs of the teachers, despite the fact that school was in need of improvement. This had come as a shock to Louise due to a lack of concern in her previous school. I asked Louise whether she could explain why an outstanding school, which had effectively proven how good their school was, was so poor at recognising the emotional needs of the teachers, whilst a school requiring significant changes seemed to have an understanding of teachers' feelings. She offered the following:

It feels like it was all about her. It's her outstanding school and we were part of her outstanding school. And she would do anything to make sure we were outstanding. And I don't think she gave two hoots on stepping on anyone to make sure it was outstanding. She would get rid of people, and no one would disagree with her.

Conversely, at her new school she felt that it was much more like a team rather than one person's school. For her now, feeling valued was obvious by describing that there were opportunities to sit down and talk to the head about any concerns or worries, which Louise had stated would have been impossible in her last school. In fact for Louise, the hope was that her new school would never become outstanding, as this had meant nothing but unhappiness.

Summary

Louise's narrative raises point of discussion around her understanding and knowledge of playing the game, and what this provides for her. Whilst she would prefer that she has an emotional voice, she accepts that she does not, and navigates the system in order to find the best possible scenario. Louise seems to have reflected herself on what it is that affords her this '*better place*' when she has seen so many colleagues in difficult situations, and recognises that she goes out of her way to protect herself of the criticism which brings with it emotional strain. Like Alexandra, Louise sets a high standard for herself and this seems to be strictly adhered to, even to the detriment of an emotional voice.

Teresa's story: '*I just toed the line and did what was expected*'

Teresa entered teaching relatively late and had been teaching at her current school about four and half years when I interviewed her, and after only a few weeks of a change in management. Like that of the others, she had seen a marked change in the PM system in the school and in a more performative culture generally in the last couple of years. She recalled that it was not until two years ago that there had been any awareness of a formal PM process, and it was not until very recently it had been anything constructive and useful. Up until this point she described the atmosphere of the school as '*very regimental*', with PM as sporadic and a heavy emphasis on outcomes.

On asking Teresa to recount her experience of PM and working in a performative culture, she was very clear that in the past it had the potential to be a highly stressful process and working environment:

There was a lot more tension. Partly from myself but also brought on by other members of staff. When the word observations were used everyone was in quite a high state and was really anxious. Personally I try not to and just try to see if as a positive. If you don't like what I am doing, tell me and I'll do it differently.

However, the high self-expectation to do well and be recognised meant that Teresa tried, regardless of the tense environment, to turn the experience in to something helpful, even though at the time and she felt the support given was not that helpful:

The one done six months ago under previous management was quite predictable and not very personal. It was like these are the percentage targets you have to hit. It was very prescriptive. It didn't seem like it was going to enhance me at all.

Teresa offers that her experience at this time was very objectively driven, which gave little room for her to talk about her feelings towards her work. This she said was a problem when a time came when she was given some support in her teaching. Because of the lack of dialogue about the reasons behind the additional mentoring, Teresa recalled that she spent a long time questioning her abilities and feeling concerned about the purpose of the support:

Support was introduced, but the way it was introduced made it feel like I was inferior as opposed to just been given help and it took me quite a while to think 'Right this is not here because I am no good at what I am doing but because I need help in this area'. This was because of the way I was told I would get it rather than why.

Teresa, like Louise and Alexandra, had, what she believed was a quite a positive relationship with the management but despite this, this did not seemingly give her the emotional voice that she thought was important:

I think they thought they were leadership and we were below. I tried to get on with them but that caused awkwardness. I felt I generally couldn't chat to people about things, as I would be judged on being on one side or the other depending on what I said. I had to make a conscious decision to not be drawn in to what was going on with other people who weren't happy.

Teresa remembers that whilst she was not in an ideal situation, she knew that others, who were more vocal, were experiencing a very difficult time. *'Like I said, I tried to get on with them and I was mostly ok but I know others have told me since they have left that they had an horrendous time'*.

During this period of time Teresa said she tried to rationalise the way they had been asked to work by saying that she did not want to go to any one senior person with her thoughts or feelings about something as she believed they had more stress than she did and so would not want to listen. Teresa believed the only exception where she might have spoken her feelings was when it concerned a child, however she also recognised that the nurturing element to teaching had also been devalued in the last few years:

I don't think I would have gone along with it if it was detrimental to a child. I would have stepped up. I am aware of certain things that were said and done that I didn't think were appropriate but I

tried to justify in my head why it had been done. Ok so they are clearly under a lot of pressure and they have to get it across to us. May be they are finding it hard to deal with. I have been spoken to in a way that I don't agree but I think there is a reason.

Teresa's justification for being spoken to in a way that gave very little regard for feelings was that they were her superiors and she tried to believe that they knew what needed to be done. Wanting to avoid confrontation with management was also something Teresa was aware of, as she had seen the effects of other people airing their feelings.

In my eyes, leadership, they're my boss. I do what I am told to do. I follow the line. I think I just toed the line and did what was expected from that particular member of staff. And that's why I think I avoided problems.

Toeing the line for Teresa seemed a far better alternative than the repercussions of expressing her feelings. She felt that although she was not 'free' to say what she felt and thought, she was able to maintain a safer working relationship, almost to the extent that others perceived her as 'one of them'. On reflection, Teresa had learnt about herself that she liked to please others, even to the extent of accepting the blame for an incident. On one occasion Teresa recalled that she felt a huge amount of shame and guilt after not completing a piece of paperwork with data that had to be submitted by a certain date. Being new to the year group, she believed that she should have been advised this was due; however, she instead felt that she was at fault:

There was one time where I hadn't done some paperwork, because I didn't know it needed to be done. But I felt really guilty because she [the head teacher] had been left in this awful position. I felt like I had to apologise. I still felt bad because she had to do some things but I couldn't have done it because I didn't know, but I didn't say that. I knew in my heart of hearts I shouldn't have been apologising but ...[pause]

However, she offered that she was still proactive in trying to place herself in a positive light, despite often feeling powerless:

We were all called into a meeting and basically given a telling off. We all felt like children. We were told 'you haven't done this, you haven't done that'. But I went in afterwards and said I haven't done this and that but I want to be part of the solution not the problem. I know other people just moaned to each other. I know we shouldn't have been spoken to like that, it was out of order, but I felt they were under a lot of pressure to talk to us like that and they were finding it hard to cope. I did want to speak to someone but I didn't know who.

One occasion that Teresa still feels angry about today was following the death of someone close to her. Teresa had wanted to attend the funeral but was ‘advised’ not to attend due to a visit the school were having and the importance of being in work. Teresa recalls that she felt powerless to resist against this due to the repercussions she might experience. Looking back, she offered that that episode completely reflected the culture of the school at the time where the targets of the school were always put before the needs of the staff.

Despite this frustration, Teresa continued on with attempting to stay positive and showing that she was not resistant to the management’s suggestions. Like Louise, it seemed Teresa had learned that by behaving in a certain way, she experienced a less stressful time than those that chose not to:

You had to wear the right clothes, look a certain way. You had to have your classroom a certain way. It was very official, very professional and very business like. I understand that, because we are professionals but when you have comparisons to ‘You are a professional you need to dress like one’ But I would think business people don’t get down on their knees for a child who has just been sick. It went from one extreme to the other. Children would even have to sit in silence eating their dinner as they were making too much noise. It was like being the police as we had to stand over tables.

Teresa believed that by ‘making her face fit’ she had made the best out of the difficult working culture. Although she did not feel able to express her thoughts and feelings and behave in a natural way, it avoided being seen negatively by management. On asking her what this involved, she said:

Toeing the line, fitting the mould, doing what was expected, being stern on the outside, being straight faced and straight laced in the public sphere.

‘Doing what was expected’ seemed to be a choice that Teresa had decided to take in order to ‘not get told off’. For her, the fear of ‘not being liked’ and wanting to be seen as doing well, meant that her voice, both professionally and emotionally was somewhat muted. However, Teresa did try to find room to display her true self; ‘In the classroom I still tried to be fun’. As a result of this emotional labour, Teresa was able to maintain a positive relationship with the management:

I was a golden girl as I did what I was asked. I don’t want to make mistakes. It sounds really cheesy but I like to please. Maybe I apologised for some things I didn’t need to but I don’t like conflict.

I also find it really hard if I think I have done something well and no one notices. I did my duty, I did my days and gave out sanctions. I didn't want to get told off. I was aware that some people weren't being treated that well and I didn't want that. I wouldn't have coped with being not liked. I did what the boss asked me to do.

On change of leadership in the school, Teresa almost instantly noticed a stark contrast to the working culture of the school. She recalls that within weeks of a change in management the staff felt differently about how they were perceived. *'Now it feels like we are all respected and supported and we are all one. We are all seen as equal and before it was definitely the case of them and us'*. Teresa said that before the change, management's understanding of the staff's emotions seemed divisive, in that there was always a sense that someone was upset as they had not been listened to. The emotional intelligence of the management seemed to have a dramatic impact on how she and everyone else felt: *'Now I think most people would agree that they would be listened to.'* This for Teresa seemed to be both evident in the everyday running of the school and in the implementation of a more constructive PM process.

The one I had recently, I felt like it was the first time it was my decisions about where I wanted to improve and my career to go and also I was also able to reflect on it and change it with no issue. Now I have got lots of things to work towards, whereas before it was just data targets.

Describing the change in the school culture, Teresa explained that whilst she knew there were still targets and pressure on the school, everyone was supported and felt more like themselves. Teresa explained that the process of being assessed was now much less stressful as the management were *'always around'*. Intrigued by this point, in the light of the literature on the panoptic gaze (Foucault, 1975), I asked how this could be achieved. Teresa seemed clear that there was no longer any pretence. The management, by coming into lessons and talking to the children, gained a greater understanding of the teaching going on:

I put that down to that fact that senior leaders walk around. You don't have to do that all-singing all-dancing lesson because they are going to be in once. They come in they talk to the children and they talk to you, and it feels like we are all in together.

In contrast to the past, she no longer felt afraid to say what she felt about something and had received the emotional support she had asked for:

I found it really hard to express whether I thought something was going in the right direction or there was a problem somewhere. I just used to think that they have a million and one other things to think about so I didn't want to add to the pile. I think I dealt with a lot of things that it wasn't my place to deal with. I think they should have come in. Lots of people came to me complaining about the way they had been spoken to by leadership and didn't agree but didn't have the confidence to say anything. I felt pleased that I was trusted but I knew something needed to be done. I did try to speak for them. It was upsetting that most people couldn't say what they thought

Summary

Teresa's 'toeing of the line' seems to entail large amounts emotional labour which gives her no emotional voice. Like Louise, she seems to make great efforts to protect herself from the emotional strain others incur by aligning herself as much as possible with the leadership. A changing culture demonstrates an environment where it seems to be possible to make accountability still important but also provides working relationships that value an emotional voice.

Tina's story: 'You almost have to enter a different zone'

Tina's entry into teaching had been turbulent. Coming in to teaching ten years ago, she felt that she had taken a big risk, which was accompanied by a number of years in temporary, short-term posts that were not supported well. Right from her first placement, Tina felt, as an newly qualified teacher, she had never received consistent mentoring as this had always been interrupted by other people's absence or the end of her own contract. Although making reference to this period of time frequently, Tina chose to spend most of the interview discussing her time at the school she had now been working at for the last three years. Until last year, when she was given her first permanent contract, she had been working there under temporary arrangements, which she felt had contributed to how she saw herself as a teacher and others' perceptions of her. Asking her to reflect back on her journey as a teacher, she felt it had been '*unstable and disjointed*' and in the last few years had really knocked her confidence.

Like the others, Tina had noticed a considerable shift in PM over her time as a teacher, and particularly in the three years at her present school. When asked to describe the process of PM, like the others, she heavily focused on the aspect of data and target-setting for particular children. In her words she felt this was *'the bulk of it'*. In fact, when asked what her other targets were for the year just finishing, she said she could not remember. Tina discussed the process of how, at the start of the year, she would sit down with her assessor and discuss which children she needed to focus on more and what they needed to improve by. Because of this emphasis, Tina said she had become *'paranoid'* that she continually needed to show evidence that she was trying to progress the children and had taken strategies to make sure she knew who these children were in case another adult walked into the room and asked her about them. Reflecting about the first couple of years at this school, she said *'In some sense I learned from my mistakes'*, these being not knowing her data well enough and what her focus was.

For Tina, the journey to her current position, where she now feels more confident in her abilities, appeared to have many episodes of uncertainty and fear. During this time she felt less valued than the other members of staff and as such, made her feel vulnerable:

And it's been interesting. I don't feel I've had any of that credibility until this year. Even with all these children and their differences I have felt very credible. Which is madness isn't it.

By understanding some of the expectations of her teaching more clearly, Tina offered that she is now receiving better feedback. Until this point she believed that very little, if not any, consideration was made of how she was feeling about her abilities:

It felt like I was just someone over there. I'm just that teacher in that classroom and I don't think from that point of view there was that expectation. I felt very alone. Definitely. And looking back I don't think I should have felt, you know sometimes you think to yourself I'm just being silly, in that instance I don't think people had a lot of time for me...[pause] but it's not the sort of thing you can go around and say 'I'm not very good'. You can't go and talk to people about that. It's really...[long pause]

For Tina, others' understanding of her feelings about her performance as a teacher seemed to be lacking and it was not until a pivotal point that she thought that this changed:

I did feel on my own. I know um...[colleague] was brilliant but I think I almost had to get to that point where I was urghhh...[pause] a dribbling mess before anyone stepped in and thought hang on, this isn't right.

Following this point, Tina still felt that for a time there was still a lack of understanding of the place she was in. She remembered that the headteacher had provided her with a long list of things she needed to do. She recalled:

But [he said] 'You've got to choose it off your own back'. But I said I had chosen my target and this is what I've chosen to do. 'But you've got to do it off your own back'. 'Yes this is what I'm planning to do'. 'But you've got to do it quickly'. And I'm like 'Ok, so you want me to choose one at a time on that list but you want me to do it quickly'. It was like 'Oh my' [raised voice].

Although for Tina this was some recognition of her need for help, she explained:

I saw them as achievable and I understood them but it was just too many things. It was just like a list. These are all the things that you're not doing that you should be. It was like a guilt trip. That's how it felt because there were so many.

For Tina, only when someone came in and helped her through her areas of development, did she begin to feel that she had some sense of how to move forward.

Tina described the observation process like '*an out of body experience*'. Unable to fully explain why, although she offered it was probably a way of '*protecting her emotions*', Tina explained that she '*entered a different zone*' when people came in to watch her.

For her, although a possible 'survival tactic', it also seemed to be something that inhibited her own sense of reflectiveness:

I think I was on autopilot and I don't think, and genuinely when people said how do think that went, I'd think ['pfft?'], you tell me, I don't know. It was like a part of me wasn't there.

By 'transporting herself', Tina felt that she had not developed a natural style and this had made her much more rigid. Tina explained that she had even gone to the lengths of asking her children to help by telling them to do a certain thing when she was in the certain part of the room to make her feel better. At the time, Tina described this was the only way she could get through as the alternative was not an option:

I think most of them last year were like that. I can remember a number of times, especially earlier on, I'd be in tears beforehand and I'd really have to pull myself together. Really have to pull myself together. Because I thought, I'm gonna be out, I'm gonna be out. It's my job and I'm responsible for my family, I'm the only

breadwinner, and I'm thinking oh, and it really was, it felt that drastic.

Asking Tina to expand on what it was like to be in 'the zone', as she called it, she offered that:

It's part of me. But it can't be all of me. I have a clever brain and I could say and think on my feet. If all of me were there I wouldn't get so tied up if you know what I mean. I think it is part of me. It's weird. I can almost feel myself there now. It's not my feelings, but it's' almost like I'm behind that person's eyes and I'm moving across the classroom and I'm moving around the classroom and I'm...[pause] its really odd and really hard to explain.

Asking Tina about what part emotion played in her teaching, she was very sure that for her it was something that was an important aspect. However, the pressure she received during the difficult time described above, she felt lacked any empathy with how she might have been feeling:

So it was like actually I did nothing right, ok. And that was because you don't get praise in this job. No one says oh you've done a good job or that was really well done or brilliant, or I saw that, that was amazing. You don't get that. You don't hear it. But you do get all the rubbish. I say rubbish bit you know what I mean. You get all of this come back at you and you think, ok' what am I doing here? And it was that. Why am I doing this, if I'm that bad, I'm not doing anything right? Why am I doing this job?

During this period Tina also began to be concerned about other people's knowledge of her situation. She explained that still today she feels that everyone else seems to be able to do things better and quicker than her. This also made the whole process more difficult to deal with:

It was pretty rubbish. Yeh, pretty rubbish. Very inadequate. Very Very...[pause] I was horrendously paranoid. I thought everybody knew and everybody was talking about me. Really badly paranoid. I thought people were looking at me because they knew. They knew what I was doing in class wasn't good enough. It was absolutely horrendous. I know again a lot of it was in my head but...[pause].

Asking Tina to summarise this period, and to some extent the remnants of it she feels today, she offered that it was like 'being on unstable ground'. Her anxieties, which she felt were recognised very late, had a huge impact on her teaching. For Tina, there was also an element of disappointment. Although in a more positive place now, she recounted that the journey in her initial years of teaching had not fulfilled her dreams:

Well I wanted, when I decided I wanted to be teacher, I wanted to be a good teacher, I wanted to be a teacher that could help other teachers to be good teachers and that was my intention. That would support and coach and help other teachers and be like an expert teacher. I wanted other people to come in and say oh yes, that's really... [pause] I didn't need to be like oh wow, bells and whistles and everything. I wanted to be trusted and respected and that sort of thing. I didn't need to be innovative and being on the tele, you know what I mean. I didn't need to be all of that. But people just respecting your judgement and respecting your advice. Coming in and being oh that's really good. That sort of thing. That's the teacher I wanted to be. And I didn't live up to my own expectations. I felt like that at the time.

For Tina, that recognition, at that 'pivotal point' where she began to be offered help, marked another start in her career. Despite the fact that her 'confidence is there but it does still does this [up and down motion] and I get knocked quite easily' Tina felt that she was now in a much better place with clearer aims and more emotional support:

And I know I want to carry on working towards that. I would like to have done it quicker. I would liked to have been there right from the start. Because it was all so promising at university and I was so wonderful, you know what I mean [laughter] and then you think oh what's happened?

As Tina's was the longest first interview completed, and one where she expressed very strong emotions, which was often shown in her body language, I contacted her a day after the interview to check on her well-being. Whilst she said the process had reminded her of feelings back then, she had in fact found it very 'therapeutic'. Following this, Tina was contacted a few months later to do a follow-up interview. Before this, she read the first narrative for accuracy and she felt it reflected her story. The areas of interest for this research that were returned to in the second interview were Tina's feelings of vulnerability and her 'performative acts' during observations.

Returning to the time when she felt most weak, Tina continually questioned her ability to do well, especially as she felt she was never recognised and little attention was paid to how people were getting on. Tina felt that before receiving help she had reached a place where she could barely see herself in a positive way:

When you go through the observation, you go through not in a right state. So in feedback your then you're in a negative place. So in some ways it's hard to give feedback to a negative person. I think. It's, you could have sat there and told me 10 things, 5 negative and 5 positive. And I would of heard 7 negative and 2 positive, if that's where I am. You almost don't believe it when you hear it because you're so focused in, you feel so bad anyway.

And you know its not gone well and you feel so bad. You know that happened and you think yer. So I think a lot of it is...[pause]

Tina believed that she never felt confident enough to question her teaching and try new things that might improve her practice. She recalls that she would work from her lesson plans verbatim and was unable to deviate for fear of doing something wrong, even when she knew the lesson was not going well. She believes it is what lead to situations where ‘entered a different zone’. Reflecting on this feeling again, Tina said:

It was almost like a computer-generated instruction. And I think it froze you. If something doesn't go, you're like oh. Oh, and you do a bit of, 'Hang on what do I do now?'

that's for me, to protect myself from the emotion. I do think it's like a stress thing. This is something I have got to do. I've got to get through it. Right here I go and that it. Its not for, because I don't know they're there [pointing to where they might sit] I point to them, there they are [laughter] they're sat over there talking to my children. That's weird isn't it? Um, there they are sat at the back. Yes, I'm not necessarily aware but I'm thinking why are you talking to that person, what are you saying?

Whilst under pressure to perform, Tina's description of managing her emotions as a way of coping suggests a personal strategy to get by. However, whilst, for a time, it proved a way of getting through, Tina still knew she did not have full control over her feelings:

The nerves were there, but knotted and tightening me up, and keeping control. They were there; they hadn't gone.

The impact of not being helped early enough and given the emotional support she believes made her in to a person she barely recognised:

To where I was, its like what's gone on? And that isn't me. To be where I was last year, that's not me. It's not who I am as a person. Yeh, I get crisis but I don't...[pause] that's not who I am. I've had moments where I've found things difficult but I've never been in that position where I've been totally...[pause]

A cycle of continually negative feedback made her anxious about the consequences of not improving. Being the only wage earner in the house, she also struggled with the idea that she might be letting others down.

I didn't share. I think I did a bit with S. I think I did with S. I certainly didn't share it home. I was going home and smiling. Although he knew I was stressed. I thought I can't share this with you now because this is my job, this is what I left something for. I gave up. Which you know was an okay job, it wasn't brilliant, a bit boring but I gave that up because this is what I wanted to do. This was my calling, what I really wanted to do and now I'm really bad at it. It was like oh my god. And I thought well I can't do that and I can't do that, and I'm getting to 44 what do I do now? Its really hard because it's not like I'm 25 and you just do something else don't you. And you can just do something else. What do I do? I don't want to go back and work in an office, it's boring.

Summary

Tina's story could be said to reflect one that suggest how lack of attention to someone's emotional well-being can have a detrimental effect in the long-term. An on-going situation where she was unable to have an emotional voice, or at least her emotions acknowledge, leads Tina to feeling extremely vulnerable and unsure about her own practice. It is also impacts on her ability to self-reflect and make changes to her practice, leading to a vicious cycle and causing her to behave in ways that she does not recognise. The emotional labour here affords her no benefits at all, but rather seems to make her even more uncertain about her practice.

Vanessa's story: 'As an individual I'm not important'

Vanessa was the oldest of the participants interviewed and had been teaching the longest. Despite this, up until the past few years, her time as a teacher had been quite unsettled, caused by the birth of her children, which meant she spent a number of years out of the classroom, and by taking temporary posts and working as a supply teacher. Her recollection of PM was in line with that of the other participants, in that up until four years ago, there was very little emphasis on it within her day-to-day role as a teacher and now it was something she was acutely aware of.

Vanessa's story seems to reflect a definite belief that PM was not for her development, but for the school's success alone:

*It's to make sure that the school's data is good
And the school continues to make good progress...
[pause] and that's it. As an individual I'm not important.*

Vanessa's use of metaphors to understand her position within this arrangement sheds light on her experience and the meaning she gives to it. Early on in the interview, Vanessa described herself as 'a cog and instrument', which she elaborates as someone who is easily replaced because she is only one small part of the school. Her understanding of the PM system and performative culture made her feel that as long as she did what the school asked, she would not be replaced. This, however, made her feel vulnerable and was the cause of a great deal of anxiety as she offered that she had seen a number of people 'driven out' (a term she said she wanted to use deliberately), when they had not done exactly as the school had asked:

*I feel that I am very much someone who can easily be replaced
and I have seen it happen to a lot of staff this year.*

Vanessa chose to focus on the last six months in school, as a negative experience of PM during this time seemed to have left a lasting memory: one that she felt was still somewhat unresolved. She started by recalling the time when a close family relative had died and as a result she had become very ill herself through the grief and stress of funeral arrangements. During this time she recounted that there had been classroom observations, which had caused much anxiety due to her emotional and physical state:

*I struggled in, extremely ill and I had to have an observation
whilst running a really high temperature. I was really ill but
nothing changed. I was still expected to perform at the same
level.*

and

*I had to bottle everything up. When you are working, you
cannot give way to grief, so I had to bottle it all up.*

This perception of the need to carry on regardless seemed to be fuelled by an understanding that as long as she was performing at the desired level she would be all right. In fact, for Vanessa, the alternative was almost unmentionable as on more than one occasion, she left sentences unfinished of what might happen if she did not perform: 'Everyone has felt under intense pressure, and if you don't perform... yep!' For Vanessa, the pressure to perform and to achieve targets was not only about the repercussions for her personally but also a sense of letting the school down:

When you get 'satisfactory', which is fail really, you feel like you have let everyone down because I know I am part of the big ship sailing to outstanding.

The account of this event perhaps offers that Vanessa was so consumed by the final outcomes of her performance that she began to put aside her emotions:

I was still under intense pressure and very, very worried. We were looking at the data and knew we had to push and push and push. It wouldn't have made any difference if I was feeling low because I have to work. I cannot be ill. And if I am, I have to carry on. I have to achieve those targets

On the occasion of the observation following the bereavement, Vanessa had achieved satisfactory, to which she was very upset: 'My confidence was knocked and I felt a complete failure'. However, she recounts that her feelings were completely unacknowledged by her reviewer who simply told her that she needed to improve. Vanessa felt that this complete disregard for her feelings made the process even more stressful and was even more disappointed that no-one approached her to see if she needed some support. It was only when Vanessa approached the headteacher that they said support would be given. However, because Vanessa's end-of-year data turned out to be good, this support never transpired:

So it's been conceded as not necessary because it hasn't affected my performance and I have either met or exceeded all my targets for the children. So I'm all right at the moment.

Each time you get a good observation you think good, it's bought me a little bit more time. I feel that the results make me feel like I am ok for a while. But you're only ok until your next ob and data. I think if you were perceived to be not performing in a way that was required it would make no difference.

Within the process of PM, Vanessa felt that there was absolutely no room for emotion, describing it as 'inhuman and robotic'. This feeling was not only developed from the episode above but from the regular review meetings that accompany the observations. For these meetings she offered that 'There is no room for emotion. Absolutely none!' Instead, she felt that the whole process was prescribed and one-way. Rather than an opportunity for discussion and reflection (which is recommended for good PM - see Appendix G on PM policy), Vanessa suggested it is a series of checklist type questions with a focus on the data of the class results. As well as this, the shortness of the meetings meant that there was never the opportunity to discuss what she was feeling about her practice.

Eager to progress and develop, Vanessa recounted another episode where she felt her feelings were not heard. Prior to the satisfactory observation, Vanessa had been keen to move to the next pay scale, as time out of teaching and working contracts had meant she had remained on the same pay for several years. On approaching her manager, she was given a piece of paper, which listed the things she needed to do:

I was given a piece of paper and told this is what you have to achieve. I have asked again only last week and said look I am really desperate to do this, but I have just been told follow the sheet and basically that's it.

Episodes like this have left Vanessa frustrated about her future progression. On occasion she said that managers had offered support and help but nothing happened and most of the time she feels that she needs to 'push, push and push to get anything done'. This has left her feeling 'as though I am just drifting on my own'.

Vanessa's understanding of PM not only seemed to be in reference to the standardised review cycle, but also with regards to her own performance on a daily basis. To provide an example of this, Vanessa suggested that if people did not act or speak in accordance with school 'rules' then 'their cards would be marked'. During the last couple of years Vanessa said there had been a definite change in what and where you were allowed to talk. Where the staff room was once a place to share ideas, thoughts and feelings, it had now become a place where you needed to watch your words:

If they say something that is not in line with what management want or they say the wrong thing, so you have be careful what you say and if you say the wrong thing in anyway, even if you didn't mean it that way, it might be taken as critical, and if you're seen as someone not on the journey, then...[pause]

Being seen as a particular type of teacher, was also something Vanessa felt was considered to be important. Unreservedly, she seemed to have a sense of a 'perfect teacher' and how there was an incredible amount of pressure to conform to this: 'Not a single day passes that I don't feel under pressure'. This she felt usually came in the form of continual questions about what she was doing to improve the data but also she seemed acutely aware that the school valued teachers that were highly professional and who outwardly showed qualities that were business-like:

You've got to be someone who is keen to improve on every level and thus help the school to improve. They don't want people who just want to come in and do the job without wanting more.

Vanessa described a culture of ‘*us and them*’. The ‘us’ were the collective of teachers who were struggling and had the perception that management did not value them. The ‘them’ team were seen as the group of teachers who were ‘good or outstanding’ and received ‘*more public praise*’. Vanessa recalled the time, following the satisfactory observation, where another member of staff acknowledged her for the first time:

That observation I had that was satisfactory, another member of staff who had always been a bit off with me suddenly became friendly and said now you are one of the team. I think in the school there is a ‘them and us’.

Observations in themselves were reflected on as a point of anxiousness: ‘*It is just so draining, stressful and demoralising*’. In fact the prospect of a new round of observations in the coming term was already instilling Vanessa with dread. Like with her everyday practice, Vanessa was very aware of ‘*the expected performance*’ in an observation:

Well, teaching is like a performance and I suppose the feelings you have before an observation are just like stage fright. And it feels like a performance. You also don’t interact with the children the way you would normally because all of a sudden your brain feels different. All of a sudden you are hyper aware that everything you say, everything you do is being monitored and then you forget to do something you would of done if you were relaxed and you think oh my goodness. I find it very stressful.

Although Vanessa felt that the culture of the school did not seemingly allow for much emotion, she felt the person she had her PM with compounded this. For her, the nature and dynamics of this relationship felt very imbalanced to the extent that she had no voice. Recounting one situation where her manager had been annoyed at her for not being able to attend an after-school event, Vanessa said she had felt afraid when they met shortly afterwards for a review meeting:

It just made me feel very nervous. So I thought, don’t speak unless you’re asked so I didn’t say anything.

On reflecting what she felt this relationship ought to be like, she was certain that it needed to be more trusting and supportive.

Feelings are very personal, you’ve got to feel comfortable with the person you are with. And if you know that person isn’t

interested or is angry or whatever, you're not going to feel comfortable to talk about them.

Summary

The story told by Vanessa suggests she is implicitly asked to manage her emotions because the emphasis from the school is on performing well and making sure teachers are achieving their targets for the children's progress. For Vanessa, the sense of expectation on her acts as a means of control and stops her from conveying any personal thoughts and feelings. The sense of pressure to achieve good results appears to be a continual reminder to demonstrate that she is working hard to achieve this, although for Vanessa she feels this never really places her in a secure position or ever places her in a position where she has an emotional voice.

Elizabeth's Story: 'Maybe the lesson for me is that I need to shout a bit louder'

Elizabeth entered teaching quite late in her career and started it at a time when there was an increasing emphasis on using data to track pupil progress. Within her story, there is an air of resigned compliance and acceptance of an education system with an emphasis on targets. At the beginning of the interview she gave a largely positive picture of how she saw teaching and learning at the moment, but I could not help think she was depicting a picture that she felt was the one she was supposed to have:

I think the biggest change is the way that teaching is more focused these days. APP has helped to develop and focus on skills, on work. It helps us to find what the children need to know and then we plan so we meet the children's needs. More focus on AFL strategies. It's help to develop confidence, talking, um, that includes talking partners, talking tables where the children are encouraged more to talk, which also incorporates less teacher talk. So the children are busy more and less likely to switch off.

However, underneath, there was also a sense of cynicism relating to the ever-changing nature of education policy and what this looks like at the classroom level and perhaps to her experience of failed support she had had in the past.

Within the past five years, Elizabeth felt that there had been a general shift in education with everything becoming much more *'focused'* and everyone looking *'more closely'* at teaching. Elizabeth considered this to be a better situation than before as she was more likely to get the support she needed as targets were followed through more thoroughly. Exploring what impact this had on how she felt about her teaching, Elizabeth was very clear that that earlier targets, which had not been followed through, left her feeling irritated at not having the appropriate skills, which made her feel inferior to her colleagues. She thought:

I'll be able to use the whiteboard in the way many of our teachers can and who are brilliant at it. Then nothing happened. There's been an occasion where I have wanted to use the whiteboard and spent minutes mucking about with it in the classroom, can't do it, give up and then feel annoyed that I actually haven't had that help.

Exploring the feelings she had when she felt less supported in achieving her targets, Elizabeth described a context where she felt *'let down'* and annoyed that others, including children, seemed to have more skills than she did. On asking her whether she did anything about this, she offered that it had been mentioned in passing but, by and large, she *'muddled through'*. Elizabeth went on to offer that only by *'shouting loud enough'* would there have probably been any difference. Asking why she would need to do that, she suggested that most teachers *'just got on with it rather than asking for help'* and that mostly management allowed this to happen, and that by only making a fuss would they be listened to.

Another element that Elizabeth wanted to describe was the nature of the feedback in previous observations. She felt the way in which negative feedback was delivered was not as sensitive as it could have been. Recounting an episode where she had received feedback after a book scrutiny, Elizabeth felt that there been no acknowledgment of the good work she had done to improve the children's work through quality marking. Instead she felt it was a tick box exercise with some subjective comments, which were quite negative. Elizabeth, like the others, thought this was not a good situation as it could leave a lasting impact. Elizabeth offered: *'It can knock your confidence and make you actually question yourself if it's working properly'*

For Elizabeth, this time was a period where little concern was given to the emotions of the teachers and a lack of awareness at factors that could leave them feeling low. Describing observations at the time Elizabeth offered that:

Teachers' feelings are not kept in mind. This is not personal comment about any one person, but I think they look at it in a

very cold-hearted way. They want to come in and they want to see that, and that, and that. And if they don't see it they want to know why. Or you are told, you must do that, you must do that, you must do that. Which is fine but they need to understand we are teachers, we are working hard and it needs to be discussed in a way that we don't feel we're being criticised but we're being helped.

However, Elizabeth wanted to believe that things had improved and a recent meeting with her performance assessor had left her feeling that negative areas had been dealt with better and that proper agreed support was going to be put in place, although she was cautious in this view:

So those observations are good because the feedback you get isn't perfect but the way that was done I fully understand that and I'm going to try that. Next time, who knows?

Like the other teachers, the way the feedback was delivered was paramount to Elizabeth and she had felt that recent shifts in the way this was done and helped her feel better about her capabilities:

Um, observations are done thoroughly now. And as you know, the goal posts have changed and it's a higher level. They're more detailed. They're discussed more. More in depth. The positive things are pulled out so you don't actually come out thinking oh that was crap. Because you can do, if you're getting too many negatives. Even if you get some negatives. Even coming out satisfactory there may be some good and you have to focus on them. But they have been helpful. Absolutely no doubt what so ever. Because my latest observation was good. So they are useful but I think they have to be a little bit careful in how they word things. To make sure people's confidence isn't knocked, as that certainly isn't going help people perform better. It's hard to take criticism but if it's put to you in the right way, none of us mind it. We would never do that to the children.

Elizabeth's understanding of the wider elements of a performative culture was very evident and was described with a great degree of awareness, but also acceptance. Unlike the literature, Elizabeth's seemed to believe that this was 'normal' to the routines of a school. For her, it did not seem to be a mechanism to protect her from any negative consequences had she not followed school routines, but that it was part of what she believed teaching was about:

You are being assessed. If you're in assembly you're being watched. If you keep the children behaving. If you're in the playground, how you talk to the children. If you're in the corridor, how are your children walking up the corridor. If they walk past, how are your children behaving in the classroom. I

think we are being watched all the time and being assessed. How we speak to the children, if you have a good relationship with them.

However:

It doesn't bother me because what I do is what I do. And the way I act with children and how professional I am is the way I am. Outside work I'm a completely different person. And in this profession you have to be professional. The way you speak to children, adults, visitors, you should never stray from being professional. Personally I don't believe in calling kids mate, sweetheart and darling [laughter]. That's just me. May be it's my age that I am an older teacher.

Exploring how she might have achieved this, Elizabeth was able to recount occasions where she had expressed her feelings of dissatisfaction to management and this had not resulted in anything negative.

When I got my written feedback I was quite disappointed in the comments so I did actually go and speak about them. And it was agreed that the wording wasn't correct in it. So we discussed it and I understood what they meant in the end, but it just wasn't put in a nice way.

This seemed to give Elizabeth some agency in that there was not unreserved compliance as suggested but an element of control. Her teacher role also seemed to have less contrivance than all of the others in that she was able to maintain more of herself although she understood the role of a teacher:

I feel it comes more naturally. But I do think some of that is my age. Because I do see some of the younger teachers acting in a manner I wouldn't, it might be just that's the way it was when I was at school. That's the way we were brought up so that's the way I am. So I think that might be a generation thing. I know some teachers do call the kids babe and mate. They obviously think that's O.K. I think that's their personality. I don't think it's an act. I think it comes to them naturally. To me it wouldn't feel natural. So I don't do it because I suppose it doesn't feel natural. I know that a lot of this job is an act. But a lot of it is your personality. You can't go into a classroom and not bring your personality with you. If that were the case I would never smile all day, I would be this punch ball of a teacher and you can't be like that.

However, despite recent improvements for Elizabeth, and a working culture where she felt she had more of a voice, she was not immune from the emotional strains of the job:

I'm knackered. It is really, really stressful. From the minute you walk through the door to the minute you go home. There are 8 children in this class that I have to keep an eye on all the time. And it's sit down, don't do that, leave him alone, don't throw those things, don't use that language, why have you just said that, why have you done this. And it's just constant. The whole of the day, it's constant.

Nevertheless, Elizabeth did not feel she had to cope with this by herself. Asking her about the support she had received and whether she had told anyone about her feelings towards her class, she was very certain that she was able to express them, and that people listened, including senior managers. Elizabeth noted that this was different than in previous times where you had to 'shout loud' to be taken notice of. Previously, Elizabeth had felt unsupported and her feelings devalued:

Sometimes incidents were swept under the carpet and were not dealt with harshly enough. Writing a card to say sorry is not good enough. They need to be removed from the classroom. Support here is very good now.

Wondering how this had happened, particularly as Elizabeth struck me as confident person and someone who would feel able to express her thoughts and feelings in most circumstances, I asked her to identify what it was that now allowed for this. She felt that although teaching had become a lot more focused and there were clearer targets to work towards, a change in management had also brought with it an improved understanding of how teachers might feel as a result of their work and performance. Elizabeth believed that to some extent there was not an expectation of having to be 'jolly and bouncing all over the place all day' and that there was somewhat an acceptance that people were bound to have days where they were feeling less positive simply because of the nature of the job.

We all feel different everyday. Nobody can come in everyday bouncing around like Tigger. Being happy from the minute you walk in the door to the minute you leave. We all get off days. I think they accept that and there us usually somebody who will say it will be a better day tomorrow.

However, Elizabeth had also noticed, that despite being able to sometimes express less positive feelings, and that others were willing to listen and accept them, she felt that the pressures of targets and increasing accountability had meant there was not always the time to do so:

Now you don't have time to sit and talk to each other anymore. That's purely down to the workload. I don't have time to go and sit in the staff room.

Summary

Elizabeth's story seems to be one of improved personal gain and emotional voice in an increasing performative culture. What will be explored in the discussion is what factors make this possible, particularly in the light that Elizabeth does not seem to display the desire to be anything other than a class teacher, which she feels can often be frowned upon. Whilst Elizabeth displays a confident personality, this has not always enabled her to have an emotional voice and suggests something again about other factors that allow this to happen such as leadership's understanding of the importance of emotions.

Nicola's Story: *'I don't think I'm having to pretend so much anymore; I am starting to believe it that I can do it'*

When interviewed, Nicola had been teaching for twelve years. In that time she had experienced what she describes as *'some highs and lows'* and was currently experiencing a period of 'high' because she was feeling more secure, after some additional external support. Describing the presence of PM during this time, Nicola, like the others had seen a change over the course of this time, from something that was more of *'a tick box exercise'*, perhaps done on an ad hoc basis to a regular event that was much more focused on outcomes.

Nicola's story could be seen as running in complete opposition to that of Alexandra's, in that Nicola's low self-confidence, which seems to be perpetuated by a cycle of negative feedback, and perhaps preconceived perceptions of her as a teacher, has resulted in her finding it very hard to develop as a teacher. The early part of her career seemed to give her no opportunity to develop her confidence, and as such Nicola's perception of herself was that she *'always saw herself as a pretty pants teacher'*.

In describing the process of PM, whilst Nicola agreed that it had got better as a more meaningful exercise, she believed that she still had very little voice in it:

For a start I don't feel like I ever have much say in them. I'm always told what they are or there strongly suggested to may be what you should do. So I don't feel like I have ownership of

them. I do feel they fit in with what I need to improve on but I don't feel like I actually have a say in setting them. When it comes to setting the targets, I just do what I'm told.

For Nicola, this was something she felt made it hard to engage in the process as she found it hard to remember something that she did not offer. Furthermore, she felt that any targets set belonged to the senior leader who was doing the appraisal rather than her, and that they were very much directed to the school's needs, rather than her own professional needs. This seemed to be a significant aspect to the purpose and effectiveness for Nicola, but also seemed to be an aspect that for her was indicative of how she saw herself as a teacher; a teacher that was not useful to the school:

I just can't describe it. I felt I wasn't an asset to the school and that talking to any management about it would not of helped with that.

Nicola's relationships with leadership seemed to perpetuate this negative image rather than helping her to improve it and was depicted throughout her story as very much as 'us and them'. When describing who she felt she might have discussed any feelings with about her work, Nicola seemed adamant that it wouldn't be any member of the senior team, in fact:

I was very wary, well I'm not so much now, but I was very wary of SLT, especially the head and deputy. It would have been other teachers that I would have gone to talk to about it, not necessarily anyone higher up the management chain.

Rather than developing the confidence to explore her own teaching style, Nicola's story seems to depict one where she is stuck in a vicious cycle.

I felt I was looked down upon anyway. I don't think it would have helped, I think it would have almost added to that. I don't know [pause] That's my perception as I am the most paranoid person on the planet ever. But I didn't feel at the time I could have talked to management about it. I just felt it, again this is my feeling, that it wouldn't have been confidential and it wouldn't have helped things really.

Observations for Nicola seemed to be at the core of this perception and something she feared the most. Worryingly, bound up in her own self-perception, was also her belief that others only saw her in a certain light, based on previous observations and what they considered her to be like as a teacher more generally.

Well it's always a dread when you're told you're going to be observed, [laughter] but you kind of expect it obviously. I always look over my plans a bit more carefully and make sure the objectives do match what the children are doing. I do really, really try and it is well differentiated... [pause]

It never seems to be ever good enough when the actual observations happen. I go to pieces and blather on... [laughs] Just sometimes I think I've done ok and it's just really negative the feedback. Like last time, when there was a challenge in place, and I was basically told 'I'm really disappointed in you' in a patronising way – 'I'm really disappointed that you didn't push them on more.' But they had a challenge; they were pushed on more than the others anyway. I just feel sometimes, yeh it's not amazing, but I think the feedback could be a little bit more positive. I just think that sometimes in the feedback they think that you actually haven't tried. Put together at the last minute. I think sometimes that don't realise just how much work... [sigh] It's frustrating.

Another of example of this possible 'prejudgment' was an episode when Nicola and a teacher in the same year group delivered a lesson they had planned together to their respective classes. On receiving feedback, Nicola commented that there seemed to be no stark difference except for the overall grading:

In my last observation I did exactly the same lesson as another person. They'd done the same lesson a few weeks before. We'd had exactly the same feedback from the lesson in a conversation but her grading was a lot better than mine was but she had exactly the same feedback. Sometimes I feel, and it might just be me being paranoid, but I do feel sometimes just because it's me it's judged lower anyway. I don't know whether it's just my paranoia. Because I have had troubles in the past, I've struggled before. But I feel like I have come out the other side of that now. But I feel like I am still being judged on that.

Nicola was certain that the feelings she has had a result of this feedback were not recognised as she felt that those giving comments were either unaware of the consequences of the negative feedback they gave or that they didn't care. For her, this seemed to have a huge impact on her confidence, and for quite a while this had an effect on her day-to-day teaching. Nicola felt that attempts to challenge negative feedback became a pointless exercise and that any of her views of lessons were just 'brushed under the carpet':

I did say last time. I felt it went in one ear and out the other. So I feel a lot of the time it's just not worth saying anything to

them. So I just take it on the chin and [laughter]. It's just frustrating but yeh... [sigh]

Nicola described that in the past, her role as a teacher had felt very much like an act. Previously, when she was still unsure of her own capability, she tried hard to display being a professional and not showing any weakness. This she said had taken a serious toll on her:

Well I don't have to act so much any more, as I'm enjoying it more and I know what I'm doing more. But physically and mentally it is absolutely exhausting. If you feel really low and you're putting on this front of you know 'every things all right'. That is very, very exhausting both mentally and physically. But it is easier now that I know what I'm doing and I'm feeling better about my own ability to teach. There's not quite so much acting. [laughter]

This 'play acting', as she described it, was, she felt, about trying to convince herself that she was a good teacher, as this was something she had struggled with greatly, and to convince others. Exploring what this looked like, Nicola had been very aware that there was a distinguishable difference between 'Nicola' and 'Mrs Jones' (her surname). Part of this act she believed was behaving like a teacher. Asking her what this looked like, Nicola offered:

You know, more professional and you know, act like a teacher [laughs]. Don't take any rubbish [more laughter] because I'm not like that at all in every day life. But being a teacher, you have to be don't you? I try to be strict. Its is just an act to...[pause] However, you're feeling you still try to put on that act to seem confident in front of the children. You just kind of put those feelings aside and just do the job. I'm not Nicola anymore, I'm Mrs Jones.

Exploring further what helped Nicola to become more confident, she explained that through the implementation of some structured support, which involved mentoring and watching other teachers teach, she felt that for the first time she had been given the time and the support that she had never received before:

Actually, when I got to observe a few different teachers and things and conversations and the mentoring as well to be honest. It's actually given me confidence because normally you're just knocked down all the time. I don't ever get told anything positive and that is very much my experience of observations. It's always negative and there is nothing positive that I can ever remember being told about my lessons. It's just sometime you need someone to tell you 'That was good'. Need

to point this out to management. That makes a difference with confidence. If you're told you're rubbish all the time, you think what's the point?

For Nicola, this long awaited support made a significant impact to how she felt about her role as a teacher, which she felt was hugely beneficial, especially since the school's culture had shifted again and there were lots more 'drop-ins' to lessons:

I don't think I'm having to pretend so much anymore, I am starting to believe it that I can do it. I don't think I'm a rubbish teacher anymore. Um...[pause] I know I'm organised when I want to be. Again, it all comes down to confidence; it's just really that I believe now that I was really made to be a teacher and I'm not just playacting at it. It all comes down to when I was at uni and being told to stand in front of a mirror and just say over and over 'I am the teacher, I am the teacher [laughs], so yes, it just comes back to then really...[pause] um... [pause] I feel better about myself. I don't think I'm wasting my life anymore playacting at something [laughter]. I value myself more, I think, my self-esteem has gone up a lot.

Although Nicola had clearly appreciated the recognition that she was struggling, there remained a sense of vulnerability in her story and long-lasting feelings of paranoia. There was an element of preconception influenced by her previous performances that she believed would possibly still be considered in her performance; *'I don't feel it so much now but I feel that the history I have got and the struggles that I've had, that I am always judged linked to that'*. Despite the growth in confidence, Nicola's perception of what others thought of her still seemed to be influential the feelings about her own capabilities.

As result of this, Nicola described that she now knew that you had to *'sell yourself'*. This seemed to demonstrate an element of 'playing the game'. Asking what this looked like now, she offered *'Generally if I'm pleased with a piece of work I'll go around and find people to show it to. Before I wouldn't have thought it was worth doing that at all'*. However, she saw that a lot more was required; *'So I'm starting small, getting more confidence in year groups and may be I'll be able to speak out in staff meetings eventually'*.

Summary

In Nicola's story I couldn't help think that whilst there had been some encouraging changes, and Nicola's feelings about teaching were more positive, some of what she was describing was that she had learnt to show what others believed were signs of good teaching as opposed to feeling

that she was genuinely a good teacher. Furthermore, Nicola's experiences seemed to be very much influenced by a preconception based on past information, which seemed hard to remove.

Melissa's story: 'I think it would depend on who was doing the observation and who was giving the feedback as to how you are expected to feel'

Melissa was the youngest of the teachers interviewed and had been teaching the shortest time. In the three years of her career, she said she had seen a lot of changes, which had been mainly positive for her. As in nearly all the narratives, Melissa described the early part of her career as unsupportive with the colleagues not being in position to help her, either because they had not taught the phase she was teaching in or that they were not yet in a position themselves to support others. During this time Melissa felt the PM was not a helpful tool, and this frustrated her:

My first experience of PM, the whole process wasn't explained very well and in the beginning we were given targets rather than discussing them. Being early on in my career I found that quite difficult to challenge.

As well as this, the usefulness of this process did not seem meaningful:

It felt like it was forced upon us. Things like numerical targets didn't mean that much to me, as I didn't know what was being asked of me. That was very difficult the first time around. And then there was no review process. We were given targets and then nothing actually happened. They weren't used or anything, so that first experience was pretty rubbish.

As well as the targets, Melissa felt that there were 'Observations for an observation rather than an observation to lead towards something'. This, she feels, was also coupled with a lack of focus for them, and that an agenda had already been set before the reviewers had entered the classroom, which she was not aware of. She also felt that the follow up to the lesson was also not purposeful and that she was simply told what was good and what was not, with no room for dialogue.

However, this all changed for Melissa in her second year when there was a change in management, and as she describes it, 'there were clearer policies'. The biggest shift for her was that she was able to gain a voice in her teaching and say how she felt about certain targets or feedback from observations:

So it's talking about where you are in your career, which is really useful to get your mind into, so what have I done and what has been really successful? It's much more of a review of how the term and year has gone, picking up on positive things before

saying right this now needs to be looked at. Although there are targets to help with the SIP, the individual targets are not at all forced upon you and you are able to develop those and have a say in the wording of it as that can be... I don't know the word... ambiguous.

This was seen as a positive change for Melissa as during the previous year she had felt the experience lacked clarity and purpose. Formerly she had believed that targets had been made based on an assumption that if targets were in place then PM was being done, rather than a true understanding of its reason. Melissa noticed this shift when she found herself being allowed to comment and share her feelings about her targets:

This year we did have a review of the targets to see how we were getting on and to see if they were more appropriate. There was a whole process of talking through it, sharing them, before it was right sign this. This time it was I'll type this up and then you need to check if you are happy with it and then sign it together. That wasn't done before so it has been much more positive and much more reflective and much more approachable. Rather than this is the whole school target and this is what you are going to have to do and get on with it, it is what do you think? How do you feel?

However, Melissa also recognised that her growth in confidence may have also been part of the ability to discuss her feelings and challenge things she disagreed with. Asking her whether she felt this was an important part of being able to express her feelings and whether this subsequently had an effect on her teaching, she was certain that it did, and like Alexandra, she believed that lack of confidence could lead to negative situations that would be stressful.

Although Melissa had seen a marked change in PM and in the culture of the school generally, the growth in her own self-confidence meant that she did not feel under any great pressure when it came to observations, drop-ins and other forms of monitoring:

Things are picked up on a lot more now. I think before they could have been left. I think things are constantly under review. The type of teacher you are and how you are getting on is much more closely monitored and things are clocked a lot of the time. It depends on the type of person you are whether that is going to fluster you. It doesn't worry me now that people come in and out of my classroom, as I am confident they are going to see what they should see. If you are nervous, feeling negative or unconfident, that could be quite distressing

I was keen to establish with Melissa how this confidence had grown especially considering that she had had a difficult first year. Part of this, she felt, was attributed to being a fairly confident person to start with, but also that although she had not gained anything from previous PM

reviews, she had no significant negative feedback. She was certain that this built into perceptions by management and also prejudice:

I think judgements are made quite early on as to what sort of a teacher/classroom, things that that you are. It's almost been that you have to prove that wrong or right. I was very lucky in that I had a very positive first experience and now it's just expected that they would walk in and see good things going on. Sometimes I think they may see things in other areas that are good but will walk in the classroom only expecting it to be satisfactory. I think that might be what happens.

Melissa believed that elements of these perceptions dictated what sort of room was then given to discussions about performance:

Observations now I feel like I am asked first about how you think the session went and what went well and bringing out that positive first from you. That makes you really reflect on the session. I'm not particularly good at saying this was really good and this was really good. I am quite good at saying I think it was ok but this happened. And I think what our head now is really good at saying is, I don't want to know the buts, I want to know what you think went really well and if you are struggling, they will tell you then and say you did this really well and it is a much more positive feedback and in terms of PM it is much more linked now.

However, she believed that she did not think this was the case for everyone and that their previous experience influenced the nature of the dialogue which she understood to have much less acknowledgment of their feelings about their teaching:

I think you are expected to be professional and you just take things even if you are upset. I think people are surprised if you do get upset. I haven't had that experience myself but I have heard that from a few people in school. I think it would depend on who was doing the observation and who was giving the feedback as to how you are expected to feel. I think people like to think they acknowledge people who are upset or stressed and that is important and well being is important, but actually I don't think it is recognised very much.

Despite the growth in her confidence and an allowance to express her feelings and thoughts about her performance, Melissa was not immune from the pressures seemingly imposed by herself and the school. Melissa felt that sometimes the same pressure can be felt, but for entirely different reasons. In the beginning she felt it was all about proving herself, which she felt caused a degree of anxiety:

Certainly before I would get quite stressed and my voice goes really wobbly and I get very red. I see someone coming through the door and I automatically tense. That does happen very occasionally now, I don't know if it's because I am more confident now as a teacher, or because I have just been through so many, and I am just used to people being in here. Now I feel a lot more in control. At the beginning you are still proving yourself but actually I can do this although sometimes... it can be quite lonely can't it? And if someone hasn't been in for ages are you really doing a good job?

However, now she felt it was maintaining the level that was expected, both from the school and the standard she had set for herself:

I think the people coming in are expecting a good or outstanding lesson so I am standing at the front thinking it's got to be a good or outstanding lesson. That's more pressure because I don't want last times' to be outstanding and this time to only be good. Now I just teach in the same way and ask the same type of questions. I can normally tell now if it's gone well where as before it was quite hard to tell if it had gone well.

Exploring this further and what it meant in terms of being allowed an emotional voice, Melissa felt that previous history of performance was an influential factor in how you were treated. Melissa was cautious in offering this thought as she intimated that being perceived in a certain way was the outcome of how much effort had been made by the teachers:

I think maybe...[pause] I think other key stages had a reputation and I think if you were in a different key stage before that has had an impact. You had to prove yourself in a very different way than if you were in a different key stage. Conversations with colleagues have said to me, you're all right, as it's just expected that they will see good things when they come in to your classroom. It's not the same for everyone else and you feel for other people like that but then you think something must of happened for that to be the case. But you never know what's going on behind someone's classroom door unless you are actually in there. Perception and what's gone on before I think plays a part.

Melissa felt that although she had already proved herself and this gave her a more positive experience, she felt that she needed to continually do this in order to maintain this situation. She believed that doing what was expected of her was an important part of this. I wondered whether this meant 'playing the game' and posed this to her. Whilst she was unsure about this and questioned 'What game?', her answer somewhat reflected that she knew what behaviour would avoid negative situations:

Do you know what, I stand up from what I believe in, however, I do tend to keep my head down and get on with my job and I focus on myself and my close team. I don't get embroiled in politics or union matters, and things like that. I am not an aggressive person, and we have a few of those in school, and personalities may clash. I just feel like I want to be a teacher. That's what I joined the profession to do. I want to be in class, I want to make sure the children are happy, and that's what I am here for and that's what I do.

Summary

Melissa's story seems to reflect by and large a positive experience. Although acutely aware that not everyone was getting the same experience, she appeared to have found a place where she was 'quite happy' despite the increasing pressures upon the school. Relationships with other staff played a part in many of her experiences, knowing now that her current situation is influenced by the fact that 'I respect her as a teacher so I think that has impact'. Perception also appeared to be something that Melissa was acutely aware of, and for herself, continually tried to live up to.

Chapter 5 Discussion of narrative themes

Introduction

This chapter combines the literature in Chapter 2 with an analysis of the converging and differing results and themes from the narratives; navigation through relationships; perceptions; confidence; self-expectation and fear of failure; an understanding of the school's requirements and the emotional intelligence of management reviewers.

Analysis of the narratives showed that each teacher had experiences related to the lack of recognition of teachers' emotions. What is common amongst the stories is the emphasis on school targets as opposed to teacher professional development, with a general disregard of how the feelings of the teachers could play a significant role in how they felt about their own practice or performance. Whilst there is evidence, in my own research and the literature (Ball, 2003; 2012; Zembylas, 2003; 2005), that emotion is ranked low in comparison to other school priorities, there is evidence to suggest that the interplay between both personal factors and school dynamics for some means that they have different experiences and may manage this differently. These factors will now be discussed in turn.

Relationships

This research has found that the nature of relationships between the teacher, senior management and reviewers is one factor that is influential in whether there is room for emotion in teachers' practice. The more positive, although not ideal, relationships Alexandra, Louise, Melissa and Teresa have with their performance assessor seem to provide them with less stressful experiences. However, the reasons for this positivity seem to differ, and by-and-large seem to be conditional. In line with the findings of Isherwood (2007), Melisa and Alexandra's more positive relationships with senior management seem to be ones which have the most concern for their wellbeing and therefore some recognition of their emotions. They both acknowledge that they now have opportunities where they feel they are listened.

Nevertheless, in this research, there is a suggestion that this is an 'earned' situation and is not automatically given to all teachers; *'I know some people who would never go as they feel like*

they are always being watched' (Alexandra). This level of 'right' appears to come from an understanding the 'rules' of the school and both self-expectation and school expectation, and the extent to which they have performed successfully in the past. This somewhat corroborates the findings of Yariv (2013) who found that teachers that performed well seemed to have more emotional acknowledgement. However, my research does not support the idea that there is reticence in telling teachers negative aspects of their performance for the fear of upsetting them, as found in Yariv's research, but rather those negative elements are told, but seemingly with very little follow-up in how this may impact how the teacher is feeling. This will be explored further later.

The experiences of Louise and Teresa, while more positive than the others, reflect a different kind of relationship and one that does not factor in teacher emotion; *'I think they thought they were the leadership and we were below'* (Teresa). The kinds of relationships described by these teachers show the tension identified by Ball (1993; 2003; 2012 and Sachs, 2001), concerned with teachers becoming caught up in a system of self-regulation where there is a continual endeavour to show their usefulness and how they are working towards the school's targets. The positive element of their relationships comes from an effort to demonstrate their worth and to large extent 'navigate' through the school's expectations. It could also reflect, and Ball acknowledges, that there are new identities amongst teachers, some of which encompass and relish succeeding in a demanding culture. Although Louise and Teresa do not experience their emotions being recognised, it could be argued that they have developed an 'entrepreneurial identity' (Ball, 1993; 2003; 2012 and Sachs, 2001), which helps them cope with the demands on performance and therefore are less likely to become subject to negative emotions. These new teacher dispositions are not advocated by Sachs and Ball and from a poststructuralist position they could be seen as an outcome of the structures of power that exist to promote a particular teacher type. Louise and Teresa's relationships could be argued reflect a response to the 'matrix of power relations' that Ball suggests teachers need to work within, which control and define who they are. However, the level of awareness by Louise and Teresa in their deliberate decisions to 'embrace' their school's culture could be more indicative of individuals who have developed levels of autonomy although 'within the constraints and rigors of a market system and in relations to fixed indicators of performance' (Ball, 1993, p112). Whilst they both seem to recognise that this does not afford them an emotional voice, which they believe is important, it does seem to offer them safety from experiencing negative emotions. Similarly, these scenarios seem to intimate that Louise and Teresa's decision to actively work within the school's structures, although there is no room for emotion, are scenarios that Zembylas (2003) describes as creating room for agency. For both, they seem to be acutely aware of the expectations around having and airing feelings and use these to their advantage. Despite this, these scenarios seem to fall short of the 'ideal' that Zembylas describes in which emotion can be a site of resistance.

Louise and Teresa do not resist what the school requires, but understand it and work with in it, knowing that any opposition will create difficulties for them. The narratives also suggest though that they do not become immune from the effects of emotional regulation. Although not subject to negative interactions with management, they both feel that over time this can be wearing.

Tina, Vanessa, and Nicola's experiences and relationships with senior management give a differing picture to the others, perhaps influenced by how their way into teaching began; for all three there are elements that meant their careers did not start easily. Their narratives reflect issues around vulnerability, which Kelchtermans (2005) argues is of great significance to how teachers see themselves and how it impacts on their emotions. It could be argued that for these three teachers, the nature of the relationships that exist between themselves and the senior management, who assess them, leads to feeling vulnerable about their own capabilities and security in their job and that these kind of relationships give no room for emotional acknowledgement.

The evidence from the narratives of these three teachers show cultures of performativity described by Ball (2001; 2003; 2010; 2012) which give rise to levels of uncertainty. The structures of surveillance that Ball describes are at the centre of this. Perceptions by SLT, is one element of this surveillance, and was a factor in the experiences of Tina, Vanessa and Nicola. Vanessa's description of 'camps' suggests that there are structures at work that change the nature of the relationships and are based on power over and between individuals, influencing the emotional voice they have. Vanessa's understanding of when and when not to share her feelings reflects Zembylas's (2003) argument that there are 'emotional rules' at place in schools which dictate which emotions are allowed to be shown in particular circumstances, such as PM. Vanessa's statement that she has 'learnt to watch her words' shows that she is working within this. What is interesting here, is that whilst Vanessa has learnt to hide her emotions and bite her tongue, she does not get the praise she describes of the 'golden people' in her narrative and the 'protection' that Louise, Alexandra and Teresa get from following the expected way of working. Exploring this further, Vanessa was aware that there could be a history of past information that may cloud the judgments of SLT. Her understanding of 'having her cards marked' meant that she consciously changed her behaviour so that she avoided negative experiences, although she felt more positive experiences had not really happened, despite having good observations. Interestingly, although Melissa and Alexandra did not experience negative situations themselves, they both seemed to be acutely aware that past history gave certain identities to certain teachers. For Nicola, the awareness of negative perceptions of teacher capability also seems to be a factor in the degree to which emotion is acknowledged. Although this was less about 'cards being marked' for expressing feelings and thoughts, and more about a history of past performance,

Nicola felt that she had somewhat been labelled as a poor teacher, which she was struggling to get rid of.

As mentioned earlier, the findings for these teachers are in a disagreement with research carried out by Yariv (2013), who found that poorer performing teachers were somewhat delivered a more positive picture about their performance in their feedback and did not feel particularly different from the other teachers. This was not the case for Vanessa, Nicola and Tina, who were aware of what the senior leaders felt about their performance, and this had a long-standing impact. Far from 'suppressing their negative feelings' (Yariv p.457, 2013), these teachers remarked of senior leaders' disappointment and lack of understanding.

One explanation for these differences in findings is the cultural context of these studies. Yariv's study, based in Israel, acknowledges the increasing pressure to get results but also notes the level of autonomy amongst the teachers and the lack of formality in the assessment system. However, as already highlighted in this study's literature, the performative culture of the UK seems to hold every employee to account, which are often externally audited by such agencies as Ofsted, local authorities or the DfE. Using the literature review on panopticism, it could be argued that senior managers in the UK are aware their own judgments are often judged to check on their capability of running a school and therefore there is a pressure to deliver the reality of the observations, whether that is emotionally difficult or not. One aspect of Yariv's research that is evident in this research is the notion of a vicious cycle (Yariv, p.457, 2009). For this research, rather than there being situations where there are untold truths, which leads to a continuation of poor practice, Vanessa, Tina and Nicola describe situations where their already low confidence is heightened by negative feedback unaccompanied by emotional support. This will be explored further later.

These stories reflect a scenario that is described by Fullan (2000) as 'The Inside Out Story'. That is, the everyday lives of schools, and teachers, have been radically altered by the external pressures of accountability. He argues that pressures from government policy to parents and community have emphasised performance. This is a useful explanation of some of the differing stories described above. Fullan argues that the nature of external forces '*do not come in helpful packages; they are an amalgam of complex and uncoordinated phenomena*' (Page 5). As a result schools interpret and create cultures that respond to these pressures. This is to make these scenarios better for the school as a whole, but it is potentially detrimental for the individual teacher. For the teachers described above, stories of school improvement are evident, but stories of individual development, which reflects teachers' emotional well-being are less consistent.

Elizabeth's story reflects a more cynical pragmatic approach to her role as a teacher and as such this appears to create a level of confidence that allows her to express her feelings about

something, and seemingly does not get a negative outcome from this. Her relationships with management is unlike that of the other seven teachers, in that she does not conform to school rules at the expense of her own emotions (Louise and Teresa), but does also not find herself feeling vulnerable (Tina and Vanessa). Her acceptance of a more performative culture also impacts on her experiences. This is somewhat in line with Kong's (2011) findings where new entrants to teaching were more open to a rational, target driven culture. Elizabeth's shorter time in teaching and previous career in industry could suggest she has become less expectant of an emotional voice. Nevertheless, she still demonstrates one on occasions, and this is received differently from the others.

This research recognises that there is a dearth of literature around the influences of past performance and management perception. By this I mean the extent to which past observations and assessments influence how management see individual teachers, and how this may guide their current judgments. Nearly all the teachers intimate how management perception is influential in their experiences. The findings show that those who have experienced a more positive PM process in the past, find themselves in a position where their emotions might be acknowledged. However, those who have had more negative situations in the past, there is evidence of preconceived ideas about present performance, which is also negative, and less acknowledgement of feelings.

Whilst no teacher explicitly made reference to the sex or gender of the management, it is important to recognise the influence this may have had in the teachers' experiences and their relationships. Certainly the descriptions offered by Louise and Teresa of their female performance reviewers suggest a more stereotypical masculine gender in that they appear to be more assertive and task orientated. However, since their gender and their sex was not a focus of the research, this was not explored further. Future research exploring these factors is certainly worth attention and will be discussed more in the conclusion.

Fear of failure

A theme that was evident amongst all the teachers interviewed was an underlying self-expectation; a desire to achieve and do well, and a fear of failure. This contributed to their sense of whether to challenge any negative situations by expressing their feelings about it, or whether to accept the status quo. For all, it seemed to be the latter.

Louise's story is particularly significant here, as her description of the culture of the school is

especially unforgiving, and her reasons for accepting a harsh approach to expectations of performance seems to suggest what Ball offers as a culture where it 'invites and incites us to make ourselves more effective' (Ball, 2010, p.125). For Louise, rather than contesting this, as some seem to, she actively tries to work within the system and is anxious not to get it wrong. A desire to do well seemed to gain precedence despite working in difficult conditions. Although concerned by the lack of emotional recognition in the school, this high expectation of herself and a desire to succeed helps Louise cope.

Louise's acceptance of a particular working culture and a desire to do well meant that she 'learnt how to survive'. This is an example of the 'empowering' nature of the education system that Ball describes (Ball, 2003). Louise identifies herself as 'playing the game' but her description suggests more than this. It appears to be not just about creating an impression but also has elements of taking some control over her life. Although it could be seen that Louise is a 'victim' of the 'technicians of behaviour' (Foucault, 1979) and is subject to the demands of a performative culture, it also appears that Louise realises the consequences of not conforming to the 'emotional rules' and other expectations of the performance of the school. It seems she manages to have a better experience because of this, being recognised as performing well, which is important to her. This could be argued is what Foucault later described as new 'practices of self' as Louise shows elements of resistance by 'strategically' altering the ways that she deals with the school's culture. Whilst structurally there is no allowance to express emotions, Louise tries to ensure that she has the best possible situation by creating a new kind of subjectivity that is free from the negative situations others find themselves in. What is difficult to ascertain here, is to what degree Louise truly controls this herself, or whether this high expectation and conforming is a consequence of her being 'normalised' as she 'internalises the panoptic gaze and become(s) self-disciplining' (Page, 2013, p.12).

Teresa too has a similar level of self-expectation which could be argued is also her reason for accepting a culture which does not seem to place great value in teacher's emotions. However, her position could be seen more like that described by Kong (2011). Although, like Louise, she is not happy with this, her aspiration to do well prevents her from challenging it. In order to be noticed as performing well, and 'toeing the line', Louise chooses to avoid airing her feelings and thoughts but rather actively tells management she supports whatever is being asked (p.89). This could be seen as a 'new generation' of teacher, who has had experience in other industries, and has joined the profession late, as Kong describes, and a Teresa seems to fit. It seems that whilst teachers like Teresa, and Louise, ultimately believe that their emotions are important, there is growing acceptance that this is not what they can expect from the current education system and therefore they work to survive in it. These stories suggest that potentially happiness and perhaps emotional strength can be gained from recognising and adhering to the rules.

If these are considered from a poststructuralist perspective, Louise and Teresa's experiences possibly suggest elements of agency that Wall (2007) describes. Rather than viewing it in a fatalistic way, Wall offers that if we understand agency not as complete freedom from power structures, but rather as an understanding of the discourse individuals find themselves within, it may give the potential to manipulate it and work more freely within it. Therefore it could be argued that, whilst Louise and Teresa are not free from a culture that emphasises a rational approach to working relationships, both of them demonstrate to management a support of school systems, which appears to afford them an easier time, and less emotional impact.

Melissa's experience also suggests she 'toes the line', and like Teresa and Louise, the expectation upon herself is very high. Melissa's avoidance of '*getting embroiled in politics*' and trying to maintain the standards observed in observations all the time, seems to suggest she is continually trying to live up to the expectations set by the school and set by herself. This she feels allows her some emotional freedom, and whilst she does not say what she feels in every circumstance, she believes that is acknowledged when it needs to be.

Alexandra's level of self-expectation also has an impact on the relationship she has with management and the extent to which she is seemingly allowed to express her feelings. For her, although she says that she has had opportunities to show her emotions, she generally felt that a culture of high expectation amongst teachers meant they did not want to show any weakness. Her belief was that most colleagues had hidden their feelings about the need for help, as they did not want to be identified as poorer performing teachers. This is an example of Ball's (2003) concerns that feelings are internalised and often left unattended, as they are deemed unimportant or even counter-productive in achieving targets, but also another factor that does not seem to be widely researched in this area.

Considering factors that 'allowed' for emotion in the first section of this chapter, Alexandra also has an understanding of how preconceptions, based on past performance could potentially impact how a teacher is treated. The findings of this research seem to suggest that an awareness of the impact of having a history of negative experiences by teachers, influences their decisions of whether to show emotions (Louise, Alexandra, Melissa, Elizabeth and Teresa) and conversely this history influences whether teachers seemingly have an emotional voice (Tina, Vanessa and Nicola). This is an interesting area to research further as it suggests that while better-performing teachers have more 'licence' to express their feelings, they choose not to for fear of developing a negative image, yet those most in need of exploring their feelings and having them acknowledged do not seem to have this freedom.

Tina and Vanessa exemplify this. For both, the level of emotional expression is linked to their fears of a negative outcome, which appear both professional and personal. As Vanessa describes,

expressing any negative feelings puts teachers in a vulnerable place and as she offers '*their cards are marked*' (Vanessa). Although Vanessa is keen to work to a high standard, and is disappointed when her reviews are less positive, the expectations upon herself seem to be more related to how she would cope personally as well as the disappointment in herself professionally. Holding her emotions seems a mechanism for avoiding a situation, where she is vulnerable to criticism and potentially dismissal. Vanessa was certain that sharing her feelings in the wrong forum could lead to being labelled in a negative way. As she recalled, she had seen people ousted out once they had become vocal and this is something she could ill afford. This is evidence of culture of fear as the consequences of expressing negative emotions and a situation that Kelchtermans (2005) describes as one that could have a significant impact in how teachers carry out their work. This seems to be a double-edged sword for Vanessa and Tina, as although they try to avoid situations that would make them feel vulnerable, this emotional management impacts on how they feel professionally about themselves.

On a professional level, the expectation upon Vanessa appears to be more to do with letting others down rather than herself. With the focus being on targets and outcomes, Vanessa is very aware of how she is part of the system of achieving this, and is very aware of others' reactions if she does not play her part. This is done at the expense of her personal feelings. There seems to be sense of maintaining harmony, which seems to avoid some stressful emotions, but the consequences of this for Vanessa are that she never seems to feel secure and safe in her work and feels under continual pressure to perform in certain ways. Using the notion of panopticism, it could be argued that a power is held over Vanessa in the form of uncertainty and accountability. She is aware there is continual monitoring and feels under pressure to show she is trying to achieve targets. However, unlike Louise, Teresa, Melissa and Alexandra, there is less of a choice and personal satisfaction from this. Whilst for Louise, Teresa, Melissa and Alexandra, there appears to be an element of agency that helps them 'navigate' through performative culture and gain some freedom from negative situations, for Vanessa, Tina and Nicola, this seems to be an ever-present monitoring that has an impact on how they behave and who they are.

Vanessa is aware of a continual surveillance that holds her to account almost on a daily basis, and, as such, it is something that influences her interactions with other people. This presents a different scenario to Louise, Alexandra and Teresa who gain personal satisfaction from their achievements rather than relief. However, as questioned in the previous section, it is unclear as to the level of agency involved in their choices, or whether, as Ball (2003) suggests they have simply become 'ventriloquists' of the current education system. For Tina, there is also a sense that the expectation of herself is driven more by the fear of what might happen if she does not succeed. Having gone into teaching after another career elsewhere, she suggested that there was

a great deal of pressure to do well as it had been a big change to her family. Although she felt the expectation from the school at the time was unclear, the pressure to make it work prevented her from sharing her feelings. The expectation of the teacher she had aspired to be also appeared to have an impact on the extent to which she felt she could share her feelings about her practice. Having wanted to be a teacher who others came to watch teach, she found herself being confused about who she was and how she had come to be in a difficult situation and this again has had an affect on how she managed her feelings. Financial security is a factor in Tina and Vanessa's decisions not to share their feelings. Both believe that by sharing their feelings, and showing any signs of weakness places them in vulnerable positions, which they cannot afford. Even when both find themselves at critical points in their career, the decision to withhold their feelings seems underpinned by financial concerns.

Nicola's story is one in which she is bound up in the perception of what she feels is the expectation on her. Believing there is very little expectation of her, Nicola experiences continual self-doubt, which she feels affects her ability to teach well. This in turn lowers her expectation on what she is able to achieve. Rather than attempting to challenge any judgements about her teaching, believing it would be a pointless exercise, Nicola accepts for a long time the feedback she receives, although it impacts on her wellbeing. This situation is in complete contrast to that of Alexandra and Melissa and reflects what Kelchtermans (2005) and Van Veen (2005) are concerned about when they argue that feelings of vulnerability, which Nicola shows, are a significant influence on how are teachers are able to change and adapt. Nicola's belief that '*It never seems to be ever good enough*' appears to suggest that she is resigned to the fact that she will never be a great teacher and for sometime, after feedback, she is concerned about how others view her.

Elizabeth's experience is more unique. Although she is certain that there are high expectations of her, and experiences negative situations, she manages to maintain an ability to express her feelings about her work, and also feels satisfied with the response. This is a very different situation to those who find themselves in a reasonably positive situation (Alexandra and Melissa), to those who feel that expressing their feelings would be detrimental (Louise, Vanessa and Teresa) and to those whose lack of emotional voice has impacted on their ability to teach (Nicola and Tina). Elizabeth, perhaps through her own level of confidence, and possibly more emotionally intelligent management, has less reservation in expressing her feelings and also no negative consequences.

Expectation in many forms is apparent in all the narratives and is a factor in the level of emotion that is displayed and accepted. One element in this area is that all believe that there is an

expectation of a particular teacher type. All seemed to have a clear picture of what this might look like. For some, Alexandra and Melissa, was a genuine acceptance of what this is and felt that this matched with their own beliefs and expectations. This appears to give them more 'freedom' to express their feelings, although quite often they choose not to. For Louise and Teresa, although accepting of school's requirements, there appeared to be a mismatch between their own ideas and those of the school, and this offers them a reasonably safe situation but with no emotional voice. Vanessa, Nicola and Tina seem to be more affected by the perception that there is a low expectation of them and suggest that they are given very little emotional voice because of this. Elizabeth, although aware of the expectations of her in terms of performance and her professional role, again seems to be able to navigate through this, especially with the change in management. The expectation upon herself to maintain her own sense of beliefs gives her the confidence to express her feelings.

Confidence.

Whilst there seems to be lack of literature connecting confidence with the recognition of teacher emotion, it is a theme that is evident across all the narratives told. There is very little to suggest how personal feelings around confidence and perception around the ability to do the job generally might be connected to the ability to express emotions. The literature alludes to this connection in research such as Yariv (2013) discussed earlier, but this does not directly pinpoint confidence as a factor in giving teachers more of an emotional voice.

My research suggests that those teachers with greater confidence, like Alexandra and Melissa, seem to experience less negative emotion, and potentially have opportunities to express their emotions. Those who acknowledged their confidence was low, albeit growing, like Tina and Nicola, seemed to experience more negative situations around emotion, and less emotional voice. Confidence amongst the teachers interviewed seems worthy of acknowledgment as it was a significant factor in how they experienced certain emotions and how they were acknowledged. Alexandra and Melissa's narratives both identify that confidence in their own abilities was a factor in how and why they experienced less stressful observations and day-to-day teaching. They each acknowledged that knowing their teaching was of the same standard whether it was a formal observation or a more commonplace 'drop in' meant that they did not find these situations particularly stressful. Similarly, Nicola and Tina's experience of times when they were unsure of their abilities seemed to be influential in more stressful situations.

Favourability towards teachers who appear more confident is also an area to consider here. Those teachers that felt sure about their practice appeared to have developed better relationships

with their managers, and had less requirement to improve their practice. As they were not showing 'neediness', opportunities to express their feelings about their performance were more available. Melissa and Nicola seem to be at opposite ends of this spectrum. Melissa seems to be very certain about her practice and for her personally there are opportunities to talk about her feelings related to her practice. Nicola, although developing, spent a significant amount of her career feeling paranoid and never certain her efforts were good enough, and experienced many occasions where she felt she had no emotional voice.

The significance of this for this research is how the acknowledgment of the teachers' emotions may have also been a factor impacting on the connection between stress and self-confidence. Both Melissa and Alexandra acknowledge that by being given the support they needed, both emotionally and pedagogically, they were able to develop as teachers. Conversely, Tina, Vanessa and Nicola's stories all intimate that by being given little emotional acknowledgment, their teaching, self-confidence and wellbeing suffered as a consequence.

Emotional rules

In all the narratives there does appear to be emotional labour influenced by organisational factors, however these do not always look like the rather negative picture Hochschild depicts. The findings also offer examples of managed emotions for other reasons than those of organisational goals. As offered in section one of this chapter, there appears to be many factors that influence the expression or repression of emotions; confidence, preconceptions, working relationships, self-expectation and fear of failure, not simply something that is imposed by school culture. The stories offer there may be some benefits and control. Louise, Teresa, Alexandra and Melissa are examples of this. Although initial interpretation of these stories could be that these four teachers are 'deep acting' (Hochschild, 1983), and have made attempts to match their internal feelings with their school's culture, an alternative reading could suggest that there is more autonomy in their emotional regulation than perhaps Hochschild would say is possible.

It is true to say that these four teachers seem to follow the emotional rules of the school, but what also seems evident is a sense of control in this. Rather than these being examples of emotional labour, which is alienating and damaging to the individual, as Hochschild argues, they could be seen as examples of 'Prescriptive and Pecuniary' emotional management as Bolton (2005) applies to work place emotional regulation. For Louise, Teresa, Melissa and Alexandra, there is an acute awareness of the regulation of their emotions, and an awareness of their true

self, which Hochschild argues employees may lose sight of. Whilst interpretation of the narratives suggest that the schools' expectations are clearly defined, and for these four teachers these do seem to influence their emotional behaviour, it does not automatically alienate them from their true feelings and beliefs. As Bolton and Boyd (2003) suggest, individuals do have the potential to show their real feelings when they believe something has gone beyond acceptability, and which Teresa remarks when she describes her own emotional management.

In the findings there are also cases of what Bolton and Boyd (2003) describe as 'Philanthropic' emotion management (chapter 2). In the case of Teresa, her decisions to withhold her feelings regarding an episode when she was spoken to about not producing a piece of work, despite not knowing she had to, could be an example of giving 'that little extra' (Bolton and Boyd, 2003), as she believed at the time that management were under even more pressure than she was. Vanessa too, appears to offer some examples of 'Philanthropic' emotion management. Although they are not as personal as Bolton and Boyd perhaps suggest, and as we see in Teresa's case, she is aware of managing herself for the sake of others. This appears to be more than emotional regulation for the organisation, but she is concerned about the impact on others, and at a more personal level.

Although Louise, Teresa, Melissa and Alexandra seem to display emotional regulation similar to that offered by Bolton and Boyd (2003), and demonstrate a level of agency in doing this, it is not to say that they do not suffer from negative consequences on occasion, which Hochschild argues is a result of emotional labour. What the findings of this research suggest is the extent to which this is problematic though. Whilst the experiences of Alexandra, and particularly Louise and Teresa, are not always overly positive, their ability to navigate through it means it is not always a fatalistic picture that Hochschild presents and is supported in the educational literature (Ball, 2003). Despite there being dissatisfaction on occasions by these teachers, it seems extreme to suggest that workplace emotional management is inevitably having an impact on the teacher's soul (Ball, 2003, p.217). Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) argue that emotions are much more genuine and might not require as much effort as others (Hochschild, 1983) suggest. Alexandra's story could be a reflection of this. Her expectations of her teaching seem to be most in line with that of the school, which often means that she does not experience negative effects. Furthermore, her more extrovert nature, supported by a greater confidence, may mean any effort to carry out emotional labour is minimised.

The experiences of these four teachers reflect some of the ideas explored in Grant's theoretical model. Although not a perfect scenario in which any feeling can be expressed, it seems that their ability to 'control', to some extent, their emotional labour '*has its benefits in ways that garner more favorable evaluations from managers*' (Grant, 2013, p1704). However, a developed

capacity to speak up more frequently, as Grant argues (p. 1707), does not seem particularly present here, especially in Louise and Teresa's case and as such, this research does not generally support the idea that the ability to surface act or deep act, will increase the likelihood of 'speaking up'. Grant's argument suggests that the ability to reappraise and refocus our emotions, particularly through deep acting will lead to an understanding of when to express emotions, how to and be able to predict the results of the managers, depending what mood they are in. For Alexandra, Louise, Teresa and Melissa, although confident in their own abilities and able to manage their emotions, and have a better knowledge of how to do it, none of them to any large extent, have increased their capability in speaking their tailored version of their feelings on a regular basis, and situations when they have done so seem very much dependent on context.

As indicated at the start of this chapter, the experiences of the eight teachers interviewed do seem to vary due to a number of differing factors and the findings suggest that those teachers who had developed less confidence in their abilities (Nicola, Tina, Vanessa) perhaps suffered more from the negative effects of emotional management than the others (Alexandra, Louise, Melissa). Tina's narrative, particularly her description of being 'in the zone' is an example of a more detrimental case of emotional management, perhaps looking more like Hochschild's 'surface acting'. The recollections of past observations Tina described seem to be examples of an individual who only adjusts the outer portrayal of emotions rather than adjusting their feelings and beliefs to be more in line with that of the school. The 'transportation' of herself to a place where she could survive an observation offered a version of what she believed was acceptable. However, as Hochschild argued, Tina feels the negative impact of this in the long term, unable to reflect about her practice and unsure of her own capabilities. Hochschild's concern over 'burnout' is something that it appears to happen to Tina, as the continual feelings of being overwhelmed and not supported take their toll (p.98)

The extent to which Tina manages her emotions and how she manages them differ from the more confident teachers interviewed, as described above, and the findings indicate her emotion regulation is less like the 'Prescriptive' and 'Pecuniary' emotional labour described by Bolton and Boyd (2003) which involved more agency, as at certain points she feels she has no emotional voice. Although it is argued above that the inevitability of negative outcomes of emotional labour can be questioned, the evidence suggests that certain circumstances make this more likely.

Vanessa too had experiences that show the limiting influence of her own agency in expressing her emotions, which again look less like Bolton and Boyd's (2003) typology and more like Hochschild's problematic emotional labour. Vanessa's emotional labour is born out of fear and organisational expectation rather than a choice, which is somewhat evident in Louise,

Alexandra, Melissa and Teresa's stories. It could be argued that Vanessa's depiction of emotional regulation is more like the 'deep acting' described by Hochschild, in that she attempts to find a more comfortable place for herself at work by choosing which emotions to express and which not to, knowing the consequences of doing so. 'Deep acting' depicts a level of understanding that runs deeper than 'surface acting', and Vanessa's position shows this. Choosing to 'watch her words' and 'bottle it all up' suggests an understanding about workplace emotions, although not necessarily agreeing with them. Despite this not being as Vanessa would want, as Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) offer, this is a more positive picture than surface acting, as the workers try to find the right workplace feeling to show. This could be said to be only partially true of Vanessa's experience, as she knows what is expected, unlike Tina, and understands her part in organisational goals. To a certain degree this affords her some benefits, in that she avoids some difficult situations that others find themselves in, however, this containment of emotions also has a detrimental impact on Vanessa, as predicted by Hochschild, 1983, p.119) in that she experiences a continual sense of vulnerability, pressure, and division.

Nicola's description of 'Nicola the teacher' appears to be another example of Hochschild's 'deep acting', which she identifies herself as 'play acting'. However, for Nicola, although she tries very hard to fit into the school's requirements, this also never quite provides her with a 'better place' as is offered by Hochschild. On the contrary, her perception of what others' opinions of her are, despite trying to act like a teacher and be professional, are continually exhausting, rather than after a period of time as suggested by Hochschild. This is perhaps another example of someone who is less confident in their abilities having to put in extra effort in order to satisfy external demands.

Elizabeth's story again reflects a very matter of fact understanding of emotional labour, which she by and large accepts is necessary, and which does not cause her particular issues. Seemingly positioned in an 'in between space', Elizabeth neither allies herself with the expectations of the school in a positive way or particularly suffers from this, but accepts it. It is perhaps her age, being older than the members of her SLT, that, on occasion, allows her to say how she feels with no negative consequences or no lasting repercussions. It also might be one example where Grant's (2013) belief that understanding the rules of emotional labour might allow for opportunities to 'speak up' now and again.

Like emotional recognition, there are a number of factors that appear to be at work which influence emotional labour. The findings suggest that there may be some evidence that indicates that individuals who feel less confident and have less self-belief, feel the burden of emotional labour more than those who feel more sure about their own capabilities. However, this also

appears to be an under-researched area, and would need further work to understand this possible connection.

School requirements

The literature tells us that ‘playing the game’ is a coping strategy of many teachers as it is way of minimising the negative impact of not following the expectation of a school culture, and it is here that performance may not only be the measure of competence but the act of performing to satisfy a certain criteria. However, what my research also found is the difficulty of ‘knowing the game’ in order to be able to play it. Some of the narratives suggest there is an emotional impact of not fully understanding the expectations of the school, and even more problematically, some teachers felt that even if it was known, it was hard to understand how to fulfil it.

Tina’s story is a particular example of this. Her reflections of her time as a teacher indicates that much of her emotional strain came from not understanding what was expected of her, and that there was very little expectation of her. What this means is that whilst there is little research advocating ‘playing the game’ as a truly meaningful tool (Turnley and Bolino 2001, Ball 2003), it offers at least some protection from a emotional strain as it helps to at least navigate through the school systems (Hogan et al. 1998, Down et al. 1999). Furthermore, situations like this seem to reflect the ‘localised complexity’ (Ball, 2003) in that teachers respond to policy in different ways. What my research indicates is that there is also an individualised complexity in that the teachers in this research, with similar school cultures, are able to develop mechanisms for coping.

Nicola’s experience tells us that she has also had experience in not fully understanding the expectations and therefore unable to work to them. For Nicola, the ‘recipe for success’ that Perryman (2006) describes is perceived by her as different from her colleagues. The result of this was that Nicola was left feeling demoralised and developed a sense of paranoia that these judgements were more about her as a person than her as a teacher. The difficult question to be asked about this experience is to what extent was Nicola’s performance deemed as attempting to ‘play the game’ by her managers, rather than genuinely engaging in the pedagogy of the school and whether Nicola’s interpretation of what was expected was truly what was being advocated. Conversely, considered with the notion of power in mind, this experience could be argued is a result of a school’s dissatisfaction with a teacher not being as ‘normalised’ as required for the school’s benefit. Is it that Nicola pays the price for only conforming when officially monitored, rather than adopting this role continually as Foucault argued could be the result of structures of

power or is it that she is genuinely not teaching as well, which also poses a problem for Nicola in understanding how to improve?

Vanessa's developing understanding of 'playing the game', which also involves 'watching your words' provides her with an increasingly better, but not ideal, existence as a teacher. Conforming to the expectations of the school, and having success because of this, Vanessa's story is another example of showing the 'complex arrangement of social forces that are exercised' (Ball, 2013, p.30) and how power is productive, for the school, but prohibitive for her. The subtleties and 'microphysics of power', increasingly understood by Vanessa, suggest that working out the rules of the game is beneficial to surviving within it.

In contrast to this, Louise's experience of 'playing the game' enabled her to thrive. Although emotionally not an ideal working environment, she conformed unreservedly to the expectations of the school, Louise is in position of being 'successful and fulfilled' (Ball 2013, p.30). Whilst there appears to be the same discourse evident in the schools of Tina, Nicola, Vanessa and Louise, the 'small points of control and minute specifications' (Ball, 2013, p.30), which influence the nature of relationships between people, give Louise an element of her own power. Describing herself as the 'best game player of them all' she finds a safe space away from the possible emotional tension which others are subjected to by not conforming. As indicated above, these subtleties may be to do with Louise's own personal characteristics. As Ball offers 'personal qualities, such as self-esteem and empowerment, as well as our hopes and dreams, fantasies and desires are artefacts of power' (Ball, 2013, p.125).

Alexandra's experience of 'playing the game' is a unique place that does not seem to be evident in the literature or elsewhere in the other narratives. Taking up her view that the elements that make up 'the game' are exactly what teachers should do generates two questions: is it that Alexandra is held in a questionable form of 'disciplined self management' (Ozga, 2009, p.152), which is a response to a modern, competitive, target driven education system, or is it possible that Alexandra has found some agency through the idea that:

Performative systems offer us the possibility of being better than we were or even being excellent, and better than others, in its own terms. Performativity is not in any simple sense a technology of oppression; it is also on of satisfactions and rewards, at least for some.

(Ball, 2013, p.140)

Alexandra's conviction in her narrative that what was expected of teachers was always correct, reflects the latter and interestingly there is also an acknowledgement that she knows she has taken on a certain model of teaching. Certainly for Alexandra, taking this position helps her

build confidence, which in turn, as outlined above, gives her a space relatively free from emotional strain, but this may be a sacrifice to her autonomy. In this experience, and Louise's, there is an element of agreement with the literature that 'playing the game' does provide some kind of protection for negative emotions and stress. My research extends the literature in that there are examples of 'playing the game', and even embracing it, that go beyond just performance reviews, which the literature focuses on (Hogan et al., 1998; Down et al., 1999 and Taylor-Webb, 2006), but also infiltrate everyday practice. It also suggests that 'playing the game' may, for some, may no longer be a game but an alignment with school expectations.

Teresa and Elizabeth's experience of 'playing the game', not only extends beyond PM reviews, but also well beyond the classroom and their teaching, and also performance as an act. In fact both were able to describe most aspects of their day where there was a requirement to be seen to do the right thing and enabled them to a degree of freedom of negative emotions. Despite this, for Elizabeth, the need for genuine professional development somewhat contradicts this position in that 'the easy option' is not taken when it comes to suggesting possible areas to develop, and is the lack of support here that causes her the most frustration.

The benefits of emotional recognition

The findings of the research reflect the ideas proposed by Day and Leitch (2001), that emotion is a key element of teaching and ought to be considered as it is a factor in teachers' learning and sense of self. This data tells us that those who feel that they have more emotional recognition have greater wellbeing and valued in their role.

Those participants that did feel that they personally had an emotional voice (Alexandra, Melissa and to a lesser degree Elizabeth) were able to comment on how this had contributed to their own professional learning and satisfaction in their work. Alexandra described a scenario where there was critical conversation about her practice but also a sense of acknowledgment about her own feelings towards her teaching. This in turn she believed built her confidence and made her a better teacher. However, as acknowledged earlier, a critical stance towards this situation could argue that there are certain power relations at work here, in that those performing within the school's culture, which Alexandra suggests she does, seem to be allowed some emotional voice and seems to echo the research of Yariv (2013, p.457). Nevertheless, my tensions with a poststructuralist lens, outlined in chapter 1, also allowed me to consider Alexandra's story in light of Wall's (2007) perspective on poststructuralism and power relations. Alexandra's confidence and understanding of others within the same context seem to allow her to work within certain discourses and maintain a level of agency. This suggests that it is not inevitable

that emotional voices go unheard and there is capacity for individuals to feel empowered enough to share their feelings and subsequently gain the benefits of this. However, as already outlined, the development of this seems to involve a number of complex factors.

Melissa's story also reflects that there are benefits to being given an emotional voice including developing her confidence, feeling valued and exploring her practice in a more constructive and less directed way. Like Alexandra, it was clear that the ability to be able to do this had had a significant impact on her practice including feeling less nervous during formal observations and developing her ability to become more critically reflective. The question of whom this benefit is for is also an aspect to Melissa's story that was evident in the themes. Although Melissa could be seen as 'playing the game' and being 'captured' by the culture of the school, which undoubtedly brings benefits to the school, Melissa's conviction about genuinely feeling listened to cannot be underestimated.

The experiences of Melissa and Alexandra, although not perfect, may be somewhat at odds with the literature (Ball, 1993; 2003; 2012, Forrester, 2011; Down, 1999; Sachs, 2001), in that their experiences do not seem to be completely defined by elements of performativity. What their experiences could suggest is that it is not the necessarily the presence of targets and accountability that is the issue, which is argued by the above writers, but the absence of an emotional voice. What the narratives of Melissa and Alexandra suggest is that it is possible to have both. Each teacher accepts the targets and feels that they are important part of the practice, but also offer that there needs to be opportunities for an emotional voice and this is an important part of teacher development.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the themes that were evident in the narratives and compared them with those found in the literature. It is apparent that there are a number of factors at work that give rise to an emotional voice, including self-expectation, relationships with senior staff, confidence, emotional rules and perception. It is apparent that although individual teachers may have more beneficial factors that give way to an emotional voice, they do not always choose to display this, perhaps aware of others' experiences if they do so. It is clear that there are benefits to having an emotional voice in that this an opportunity to talk about concerns and fears about their practice and allows for a more reflective approach. The next chapter will draw these ideas together more to answer the research question.

Chapter 6 Thesis conclusion.

Introduction

The research set out to explore whether teachers are able to express their emotions about their practice, both formally and on an every day basis and answer the following questions:

How are teachers in U.K primary schools able to express their feelings about their practice?

1. To what extent are teachers' emotions considered in their performance management, and every day performance, and is this important?
2. What impact does the acknowledgement of emotion have on teachers' views towards their profession?
3. How do theories around the regulation of emotion help us to understand how teachers experience emotion during performance management reviews and performance culture generally?
4. How can 'the performance game' protect teachers from more stressful emotions?

A number of significant factors emerged in the findings, which influenced the extent to which emotional expression, voice and acknowledgment, was allowed. These include:

- Self-expectation and fear of failure;
- Teacher confidence;
- Management with emotional intelligence;
- Positive relationships with management, possibly influenced by historical information and perceptions;
- Understanding school expectations and management style;
- Understanding emotional rules.

This research extends knowledge in that it recognises the multiplicity of factors at play in emotion and a performative culture. The findings to some extent suggest that individuals are influenced and 'controlled' not only by a performance culture, but also by the emotional relationships with others who are significant. The nature of a school culture itself cannot be said to result in how emotions are experienced and recognised but a number of key elements play are influential, which are both personal and structural.

Representing factors diagrammatically: 'Levels of Influence Web'

An attempt to demonstrate these different influences can be seen in the diagram below. It acknowledges that six more prominent factors seem to be at work and influence whether an emotional voice is possible or acknowledged. Whilst this research has taken a broadly poststructuralist perspective, it has done so with a critical stance, in that there is not an assumption that structural factors are deterministic. Scott (2000) argues that we should perhaps not approach educational research with dualisms such as structure and agency, but recognise the interplay between them. This diagram goes some way towards showing this. Whilst the cultures of the schools seem to have been very influential in acknowledging or managing emotions, so too have individual factors and experiences. This research does not dismiss the influence of power relations, but offers that perhaps we cannot take such a deterministic approach.

The participants (marked by their initials) have been placed on the diagram relating to the level they experience both structural and individual factors. Whilst not wanting to convert 'rich data' into a simplistic form, the representation on the diagram provides an opportunity to show how a variety of factors may need to be present to provide a more positive experience for an individual. From the narratives it seems that those that experienced a higher degree of each factor (in or nearer to the orange centre), appear to suggest that they have more on an emotional voice than those who experience less or understand less of each factor, who seem to have less of an emotional voice.

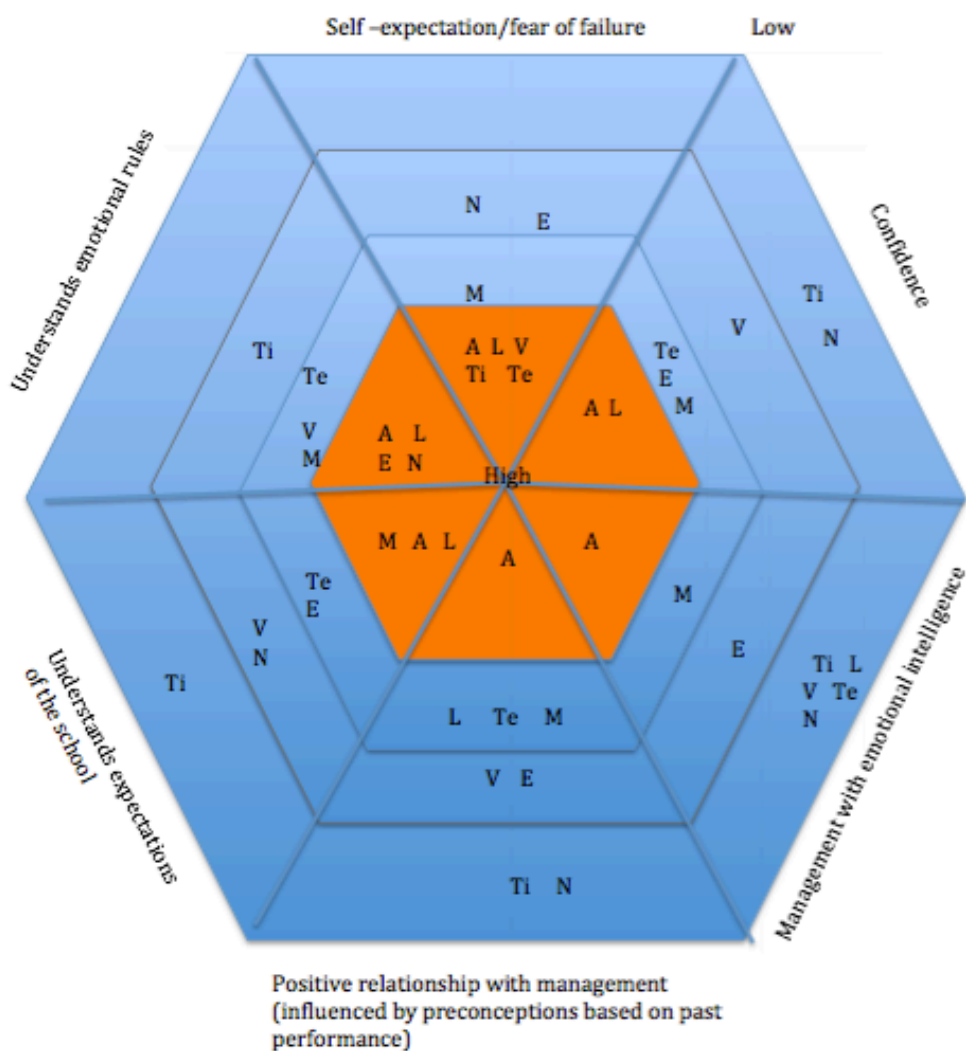


Figure 1

The themes surrounding the hexagon are those identified in the analysis, which as discussed earlier, was an iterative process. The positioning of the participants arose from both text searches using NVivo, to locate particular phrases used, and then from my interpretations of the degree to which they were experiencing a particular factor through their references to the impact it appeared to have.

There are some variances in these factors and between the individuals, Louise being a case in point. Louise's working environment reflects one in which not only a personal voice is restricted but also any kind of opinion. However, as shown on the diagram, Louise is influenced by a number of other factors, and has been placed in the orange centre four times and close to it once.

This does not mean or suggest that she has the ‘perfect’ working conditions, but the stronger influence of these other factors at least seem to help her to navigate school life, in spite of a very strict culture, and gain some immunity from negative emotions. This is an interesting insight as much of the literature reviewed (Ball, 2003; 2010; Fitzgerald et al., 2003; Forrester, 2011) has emphasised the nature of targets and audit being the defining factor in teachers’ experiences at present. This research offers that teachers’ experiences are far more complex than that.

As previously discussed, the position of analysing qualitative data is very much a subjective one and there remained a concern that the teachers’ detailed stories were simplified to diagrams. Following this concern, I asked the teachers to also place themselves on the web, having explained what each position meant. Louise’s own positioning reflected a very similar one to my own, which was backed up once again by her confirming that her understanding of the ‘rules’ enabled her to be successful and achieve what she wanted.

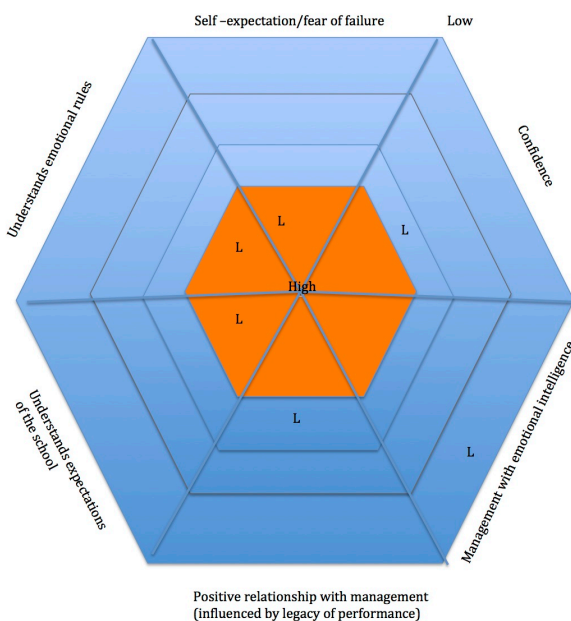


Figure 2

Each of the teachers' webs can be seen in (Appendix H) and reflect my interpretations. The placement of the teachers on the web gives rise to developing an argument that calls for a more 'holistic' view of teachers' performance in order to consider what other important influences could impact on how they view and feel about their teaching.

How are teachers in UK primary schools able to express their feelings about their practice in a performative culture?

The thematic analysis shows that structural influences are significant in defining whether an emotional voice is recognised but as outlined in chapter 5 and the diagram, individual factors also play their part. The nature of the school culture, particularly that of emotional 'rules' and collegial relationships is underpinned by some complex components. The interplay between management perceptions, influenced by previous performance, rigid school expectations and the emotional intelligence of management seem to be influential. The level to which teachers gain an emotional voice, and the value that is applied to it from the school, seems to be very much an localised response, potentially influenced by an even wider set of external factors, and worthy of future research. The data shows that what is evident in the experiences of the teachers is an imbalance of power. How this might be explained in poststructuralist terms is the nature of power is bound up in the relationships between teachers and management and is evident at several levels, including influences of preconception and a culture of expectations, informed by a performative culture. It appears the position of the teacher, influenced by whether they have developed confidence, understand the expectations of the school and have a supportive relationship with their manager seems to influence whether an emotional voice can be achieved.

A significant structural factor is the indication that an emotional voice is somewhat 'earned' through conforming to school expectations and unwritten rules, but also preconception about current performance based on previous performance, both as competency and a display of certain behaviours. From a professional development perspective this offers a 'deficit model' of self-improvement and reflects a culture in which no mistakes are possible. It also implies a lack of understanding between emotions and learning, something that has been argued is essential (Hargreaves, 1998; Zembylas, 2005). The personal relationships between teachers and management can also be viewed in terms of the power to 'allow' or 'disallow' an emotional voice depending on previous performance. Perception, based on prior performance, acts as a self-fulfilling prophecy, which subsequently appears to influence opportunities for emotional

expression. The outcomes of this can be both positive and negative, depending on history, and which seem hard to change, even if performance has improved. This also creates a divisive culture in which teachers become labelled as ‘someone over there’, ‘looked down upon’ or ‘we were below’. The data shows that those belonging to the ‘right group’, who demonstrate ‘good teaching’, and who fit with in desired teacher type, have a better chance of having an emotional voice, or at least being more immune from negative experiences that may have an emotional impact.

At a broader structural level, the expectation of a particular teacher type seemed to be clearly understood by all teachers, whether they were in agreement or not. Part of this expectation was an awareness of emotional rules, which extend beyond everyday protocols. The data for those participants that experienced very little or no emotional recognition reflects cultures in which a rational, measured approach has been adopted, which is highly performative. However, those that did have some emotional voice could also be viewed with caution. As Hartley (2004) questioned: is the acknowledgment and allowance of an emotional voice another mechanism to audit and measure teacher performance? Using the work of Foucault (1977), regardless of whether the teachers’ experiences were more positive or negative, all understood the ‘gaze’ that was explicit and implicit. However, those that had normalised required behaviour seemingly had more opportunities to have an emotional voice. Interestingly, the structural mechanisms controlling who is able to potentially have an emotional voice appear to be a reflection of the past knowledge and seem to be hard to change. However, as will be discussed below, individual behaviours reflect a concern for the present and suggest a belief that ‘you’re only as good as your last observation’. This generates feelings of vulnerability and reticence to show feelings that may be perceived as weakness.

The nature of individual factors can also be seen to be a significant influence on the capacity of teachers to express their emotions about their practice. Examples that arise from the data, and which appear to be particularly important, are self-expectation, navigating emotional rules and individual confidence. However, like other influences, it is not these alone that create opportunities for an emotional voice. Teachers in the research placed much importance on being successful, for a number of different reasons. Although some identified financial concerns as a factor in wanting to do well, it was evident in all the narratives that each teacher wanted to succeed, as this was a chosen career path. However, this also appeared to be a significant contributor to whether they felt that they could display emotions. Indicated by some as a sign of perceived weakness, the importance of showing that they could do the job well was often paramount in their choice of whether to share their feelings. Even when opportunities were more apparent, a sense of reservation remained for some teachers. These perceptions are likely to have

been influenced by cultural changes to the nature of the education system. It also places their current thoughts about emotional expression in the present and links to notions of vulnerability and ‘saving face’, in a highly accountable system.

This adds a different dimension to the literature on emotional recognition and voice in teaching in that it often underplays the role of agency in teachers’ roles. However, this research recognises the significant part that individual concerns can play. Specific examples from the data include personal home life situations, including finance; career expectations and what could be argued as a genuine belief in the culture of the school. Therefore, whilst the narratives suggest situations where certain power relations are at work, these are often mediated by individual decisions. This reflects the position offered by Wall (2007), that it is too deterministic to suggest structural influences are all determining and that we cannot recognise and work within those structures.

Another specific area that was influential in the ability to have an emotional voice was self-confidence, which appeared to provide some with an ‘inner-belief’ that they were good teachers. This position offers a contradictory situation in that these teachers have fewer experiences where they required emotional support, yet were often given opportunities to have an emotional voice, whilst those who were less confident often experienced the complete opposite. This research acknowledges that the building of confidence is a complex process over a period of time and to completely understand its influence would require a longitudinal study. Nevertheless, the teachers with more confidence, seemed to have some immunity from negative emotions. However, they also share other features; positive early experiences as a teacher, as well as having an opportunity to work with someone in a mentor or coach like role provides opportunities to raise confidence levels. This opportunity was also seen to be influential to those that had previously had negative experiences, who were now developing a more positive position.

This interplay between school demands and individual agency suggests that scenarios described by Wall (2007) are possible. The data has examples where the culture of the school has been particularly dominant, but also where individual response is used to navigate particular negative situations and emotions. As is argued:

“agency is never freedom from discursive constitution of self,”
but she also maintains that it is “the capacity to recognize that
constitution and to resist, subvert, and change the discourses
themselves through which one is being constituted”

(Davies, 2000, p.67 in Wall, 2007, p.45)

Whilst this research does not underplay the demanding and increasingly accountable education system, neither can it assume that because of this all teachers are held in subjugated roles. What appears to be more probable is the interplay between the factors identified and shown on the web, rather than a 'one size fits all' model of emotional recognition and education.

Limitations of research

Some contribution has been made to our understanding of emotion recognition in teaching. However, there are a number of limitations, and undoubtedly room for improvement.

The first limitation is the reliance of the sole use of one data collection method. Whilst there was insight into the teachers' experiences, and they were asked to check interpretations in the form of transcripts and webs, future research could consider triangulation through other methods such as diary writing or observations. A more longitudinal piece of research may also develop this further in that many of the teachers had identified in themselves changes that occurred over time. To gain a more accurate sense of how this was influential, interviewing them periodically would have given a picture of that particular time rather than a reflection on that time.

The method and focus of the research raises issues around self-censorship. It is important to acknowledge that for a number of reasons, teachers may have been reserved in the information they gave during the interviews. It is important to recognise that despite the fact that I felt I had built a good rapport with the participants, felt they trusted me, and was often surprised at the level of detail they were prepared to offer, it is certainly possible that teachers may have been reserved in providing information about their emotions.

The way in which the sample was chosen can also be considered to be a limitation. The fact the sample was selected with an element of self-selection raises questions around attracting certain types of teachers who are more willing to talk about their emotions and consider them to be important. This could lead to bias in the research in that only certain types of teachers are represented. However, as Norris (1997) offers, and which I believe I have attempted to do, there is a consideration of myself in the research and acknowledgement of elements which 'frames our interpretations of the world' (Norris, 1997, p.174). It is also true, that whilst the participants shared certain features, they also had varying experiences. They also varied in age, entry into teaching and type of school they worked at.

As previously stated, eight participants could be considered a relatively small sample size. As Crouch and McKenzie (2006) discuss, small sample sizes are often considered less acceptable as

they are less valid. However, they also argue that there are many justifiable reasons for a small sample size and it rests primarily the researcher's epistemological position. As this research was not seeking to generalise, but rather explore feelings, it was not deemed necessary to have a larger sample size. By conducting analysis of narratives, there was no intention of finding 'objective facts' (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006, p.485) but rather to gain insight into influences. This position recognises both sociological and subjective experiences, and reflects 'what' rather than 'how many' (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006, p.489). As shown in the research webs, this still provides the opportunity to cross reference themes identified across the interviews, but does not seek to generalise to the wider population. To enhance this research, and given the time, this position would have been further strengthened by interviewing all of the participants several times over a longer period of time rather than to interview more participants.

As outlined in chapter three, there are issues around narrative research itself such as transcription and interpretation, which could be said to be problematic. The nature of turning recorded data into a written format can change the nuances of the spoken language in itself. Although I believe I have addressed these in the transparency of this research, it is important to acknowledge these still. Nevertheless, it is true to say that with this kind of research, another reader could potentially interpret the data differently and identify different themes to the ones I identified. The research has gone some way to addressing these issues by ensuring the participants were able to read their narratives and create their own webs.

Future research

This research brings new insights into the many influences that may be factors in how emotion is expressed, managed and recognised. However, future, more longitudinal research would be useful to explore some of these factors further. This study recognises there is value in researching further some of the themes identified but also potential influences that were not explored.

The significance of gender and sex is worth further exploration. Whilst none of the teachers made reference to these factors being a reason for certain experiences, some teachers alluded to the characteristics of the managers, which may be indicative of taking on a perceived masculine gender. An exploration of leadership styles per se would be worthy of exploration. Furthermore, as 80% of primary teachers are female (DfE, 2012) and 65% of head teachers are female (O'Connor, 2015) there will questions around whether there are noticeable differences in the

acknowledgement of emotion between male run schools and female run schools. The composition of male and female teachers, within the school, is also worth consideration and so a comparison of schools with different a different make up of staff would be a useful focus of further research. A theme that can be seen within some of the narratives, but was not developed, is that of change. Kelchtermans (1996) explores the issue of vulnerability in times of change and that this is not often acknowledged. However, Alexander's, Teresa's, Elizabeth's, Melissa's, Louise's experience of change, whether instigated by themselves or the school, portray more positive experiences. These episodes of change are significant enough that they have seen a shift in the procedures of performance management or the expectation of them as teachers and so require further research. This exploration would be particularly beneficial to consider over a period of time, as there are questions around whether teacher's perceptions of improvement are sustained.

The role of confidence in being able to carry out emotional labour successfully or being given more an emotional voice, and whether there is an acceptance of more extrovert teachers, needs further development. Question to consider are whether teachers need to begin their careers with a certain level of confidence to be given any chance of an emotional voice? Is it that only good or better teachers, or those deemed to have potential get the emotional investment to develop their confidence? How do teachers such as Louise and Teresa maintain strong self-confidence when their working conditions impose such rigid emotional rules and little recognition? Some of the teachers in the research refer to a 'significant other' in their practice, whether that is a formal or informal arrangement. Those that had opportunities to reflect on their practice seemed to have more positive experiences. Research on the role of a mentor or coach as a continuous provision is worth exploring, and something that seems to be gaining more interest since my research started (Asset Skills, 2012). Finally, a consideration of the school size and structure is worth exploration. These facts were not included in this research to help maintain anonymity, but it could be an area of influence. Questions around whether smaller schools have more time to invest in their staff personally could be asked, whilst also considering the benefits of larger schools for more opportunities for collegiality.

As well as further research on the themes indicated above, different research approaches would enable further insight into the areas explored. A more ethnographic approach in the future would develop our understanding of the cultures of performativity that limit an emotional voice. This would give access to the voices of the leadership team, who are mentioned but not researched specifically. They are an important part in the experiences of the teachers. This approach would offer opportunities to use different methods such as observations, enabling a more developed picture to be established, and become more completely immersed in the culture of a school.

Developing my personal professional practice

The findings of this research have changed my practice over the past few years and in particular influenced my leadership style as I became a head teacher. Although I am acutely aware of my accountability, my heightened awareness of the role emotion plays has meant that I am also aware of this too.

I believe that the culture that has been created in my school is one in which people have an emotional voice. This has been achieved in a number of ways. First, I demonstrate using an emotional voice to the staff when I have expressed both joy, happiness and pride, but also disappointment, despair and anger. This is not to say that I wear my heart on my sleeve or that I am advocating that, but that I am modelling to staff how it is possible to be professional but also have an emotional voice. An open door policy allows for staff to also have this opportunity. More formally, I am also in a fortunate position to be able to offer staff the opportunity for coaching. As identified in the data, it was felt important for the teachers that they had someone to talk to. What is offered to my staff is not open to scrutiny or accountability but is an opportunity to express their feelings on a regular basis. Belonging to a federation of schools is also an opportunity to share my findings, which I am keen to do. This has already happened in the form of a workshop at a conference, but I am also hoping to share this in other forums.

Recommendations for practice, key messages and concluding remarks

The identified themes suggest that there are some recommendations for practice in order that the experiences of teachers are more positive. The first recommendation is that teachers should have opportunities to reflect and express feelings about their practice in a meaningful way, through such things as coaching, mentoring or small reflective groups. All of the participants referred to the significance of others in either being there to support or the absence of them, and the feeling of isolation. This recommendation also proposes that these are on-going practices for sustained development. The second recommendation would be that those who carry out performance reviews should have training that develops their skills in giving feedback. Having been both the receiver of feedback and given feedback it varies widely in depth and delivery. As the research offers, by and large there is an absence of the impact on teachers' emotions, and the opportunity for an emotional voice. Feedback needs to be developed as a recognised skill and significant driver in developing practice. Finally, schools should consider potential preconceptions about a teacher's performance and look at internal systems of moderating judgments and changing performance reviewers. The worrying reference to judgements made prior to observations suggests that the purpose of observations is not being used for its true

purpose of professional development. Developing a trusting purposeful relationship with an assessor is critical. This research's key message is that schools should now extend their understanding of the role of emotion and learning from pupils to teachers. For some time now we have understood the emotional 'readiness' of learning in children. We have the capacity to make some significant changes if we acknowledge this in adults too.

The research indicates that it may be possible to create cultures in which emotional voices are acknowledged. However, further research is required to ascertain whether this is true agency and what a culture that enables this looks like. Furthermore, it is also clear that the structural influences and macro pressures that become interpreted in each context play a significant role. Regardless of the level of emotional voice, every participant, even if not personally experienced, was able to identify a changing emphasis on targets and performance, which in many cases was held in higher regard than individual emotional voices. Where there is evidence of acknowledgment of emotion, teachers' experiences seem to be more positive. Mechanisms for coping, such as emotional labour and 'playing the game' are present, although these may not be as detrimental as literature suggests. It would seem an emotional voice is gained through a careful balance of structural and individual factors and a genuine acknowledgment of its influence on teachers' practice.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

EI: emotional intelligence

DfE: Department for Education (2010 – present)

DfEE: Department for Education and Employment (1995-2001)

DfES: Department for Education and Skills (2001-2007)

ICT: Information, communication, technology

Key Stage Two: is the legal term for the four years of schooling in maintained schools in England and Wales normally known as Year 3, Year 4, Year 5 and Year 6, when pupils are aged between 7 and 11

NFER: National Foundation for Educational Research

NUT: National Union of Teachers

Ofsted: is the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills. They inspect and regulate services that care for children and young people, and services providing education and skills for learners of all ages.

PM: Performance Management is a process by which managers and employees work together to plan, monitor and review an employee's work objectives and overall contribution to the organisation.

SIP: School Improvement Plan

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Levels of Influence Web for all participants

Figure 2: Levels of influence for Louise

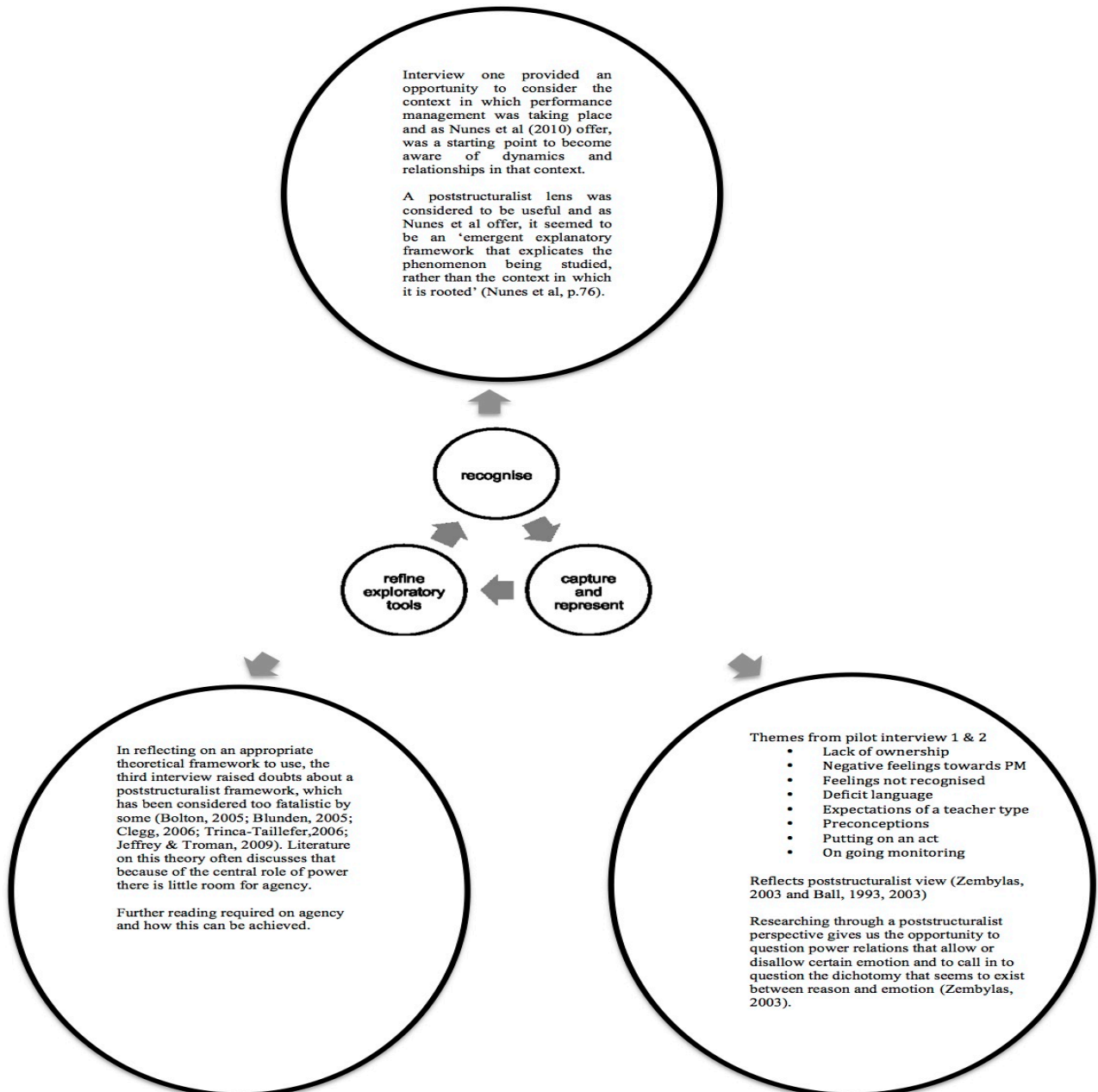
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Summary of themes from literature

Table 2: Key information about participants

APPENDICES

Appendix A 'Pilot studies' context-awareness cycle'



Appendix B Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Title of Research

Emotion in a Performance Driven Culture: Silenced Voices?

Invitation

Following our conversation, this is a formal invitation to take part in the above research study for my doctoral thesis at The University of the West of England. Below are further details about the study's purpose and what your involvement will mean. Please spend some time familiarising yourself with the information and the attached questions. If you have any questions or queries, please do not hesitate to ask me and we can discuss them. Please think carefully about whether you wish to take part. Thank you.

What is the purpose of the study?

In the last 10 years there has been a significant change to performance management of teachers. It is believed that since the arrival of performance management as a 'more formal process' in 2000, there has been a gradual move to systems that reflect review systems found in the private sector. In this research, I am interested to find out what impact, if any, the change has had upon the emotions of teachers. Furthermore, I am keen to learn whether emotions are considered important in the performance reviews of teachers and whether this is acknowledged.

The reason for choosing you

You have been asked to take part in this research, as you are a teacher working in the primary sector. You are also a female teacher. You are also amongst 1 of 8 teachers reflecting differing lengths of service to provide a means of comparison in your experiences.

Agreeing to take part

Taking part in this research is entirely up to you. If you do decide that you wish to participate, I will ask you to sign the attached consent form to say that you have agreed. However, this does not mean that you cannot change your mind. You are free, at any time, to withdraw from the project and you do not have to give any reason for doing so. There will be no consequences if you decide not to take part or to withdraw.

Taking part

If you have agreed to take part, you will need to sign the attached consent form. Once I am in receipt of this, I will contact you to arrange a convenient time for us to meet. You can also choose a place that you are comfortable with.

I anticipate that the first interview will take no more than an hour and will be conducted in a more conversational manner. Although I have provided you with an interview schedule, I do not expect pre prepared answers.

I believe that I may want to interview you again for the purpose of clarification or to get more information. I will let you know in plenty of time if this is the case and we will make an arrangement like before.

Confidentiality and Ethics

All the information that you give during this project will be confidential. Also, your name will not be disclosed but you will be given a pseudonym to maintain anonymity. The school in which you work will also not be disclosed and the region in which the schools are placed will be described as generally as possible to not identify them by location. All data collected will be stored on an external data storage device which will be password protected and stored in a locked cupboard. The project will adhere to the guidelines of the data protection act and to the ethical guidelines set out at <http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/Ethical%20Guidelines>.

Possible disadvantages of taking part

Whilst every step will be taken to make this as an enjoyable experience as possible, the potential risks in this project may involve you exploring and uncovering difficult emotions. This will be addressed by ensuring that you feel comfortable in the interview process and the structure of the interview does not probe for information that you show signs of not feeling comfortable with. I will continually take the position of having an 'ethical attitude' in that I will ensure consent is a revisited aspect of the process of the research. In the possible event that you feel like you would like to talk further with someone about feelings you have explored, details of support groups will be made available.

After the interview

Following the interviews, you will receive a written transcript of your interview and will be invited to make any changes you deem to be necessary. If you have any concerns, you can contact me at the address below or contact my supervisor.

Using the data

The data gathered in this research will be used in my Educational Doctorate thesis. It possibly may be used at conferences and in journals as well. Anonymity will be maintained wherever the data is used. A copy of the thesis will be available to you on request.

Funding of the project

I have funded the entirety of this project.

Contact details

jancsaunders@gmail.com

07796 998883

Appendix C Consent form

Consent form

Project title: Emotion in a Performance Driven Culture: Silenced Voices?

Please read the attached 'participant information sheet'. If you agree to participate in the study, please fill in the details below and sign.

Full name of participant:

Full address:

Home phone number:

Mobile number:

Email address:

I, _____, agree with the terms as described in the 'participant information sheet, and am a willing participant to take part in the 'Allocating Roles' project.

Signed:

Date:

Appendix D Interview schedule

Interview Schedule

Introductory questions:

1. Please can you tell me about your career so far in teaching?
2. How has performance management changed during the time you have been teaching?
3. What does a typical performance management cycle look like for you?

Research theme questions:

1. What are your thoughts and feelings towards performance management?
2. What is performance management for?
3. To what extent do your feelings matter in the performance review process?
4. To what extent have your feelings impacted on the performance review process?
5. What room is there for discussion about your feelings in the performance review process?
6. To what extent are your feelings important in your role as a teacher?
7. What would you like the PM process to look like?
8. Can you think of a time where you had to keep your feelings to yourself in the PM process?
9. How else does PM impact your daily practice?
10. To what extent do you think there is a 'desired teacher type'?
11. What persona do you think you have in school and in the PM process?
12. How does the school's performance goals influence you on a daily basis?

Ending questions:

- Considering the focus of my research, is there anything else we could have talked about?

Appendix E Extract from interview transcript

Emotional acknowledgment Benefits of EA Emotional labour Playing the game

I think most of them last year were like that. I can remember a number of times, especially earlier on, I'd be in tears before hand and I'd really have to pull myself together. Really have to pull myself together. Because I thought, I'm gonna be out, I'm gonna be out. Its my job and I'm responsible for my family, I'm the only breadwinner, and I'm thinking oh, and it really was, it felt that drastic

Seems like their issues of vulnerability and fear?

Me: and what does that involve, pulling yourself together? 14.30

deep breaths, just get on with it. You almost have to enter a different zone. For me, I know it's different for everybody. I have to take a step back and say c'mon lets just get on. Get on and do it. And what I found the last time I had an observation I said to the children if I go over to this board I am feeling really nervous and can you help me out by smiling at me. And they did and it was really good just by, but even then just by walking over I made myself feel better. It was really weird. It was that minute, you know when people walk into the room and you feel (hurh) you know?

Extreme emotional labour; having to plan and predict how you feel

Me: so that zone, I'm interested to know more about that zone. When you step into it, you've just given me one example, how do you become different from before or when you feel like oh my goodness you know.

early on, earlier on, when we were talking about feedback and how I'd got on I genuinely didn't know. I couldn't see it at all. Because I literally had transported myself. I don't know what I'd done, it was like an outer body experience. I'd taken myself out of it and I think that in some ways why I had become much more rigid. What's on my plan, oh, oh it was much more structured. Whereas I know when I'm relaxed I can do so much more, I can react to the children, I may not be the best ever but I know that I am much more fluid. Much more reactive to what is going on, um ,much more flexible. And generally I think a little bit more about what I am doing. When your tense, you think next thing, next thing and I think I was on autopilot and I don't think, and genuinely when people said how do think that went I'd think (pff) you tell me, I don't know. It was like a part of me wasn;t there.

This is beyond just hiding an emotion, this seem like she is actually being a different person

Me: so where did that part go?

I don't know. I really genuinely don't know. I don't know. But that's what it felt like and as I say that's why I was so rigid. You know when people say you noticed that wasn't working but you didn't do anything and I'd think because it wasn't on my plan (loud laughter)! And I'm sure it was like that but now I'm on them. I'll say come on let's do this, lets walk around the room. You know, all of that sort of stuff. Also you're not brave enough to do all of those sorts of things because you feel under pressure. You're not brave enough to take those risks as such. You should be.

Me: so you said you don't know where the nerves went to ?

Appendix F Diary extracts

8/7/13

It seems to me that the 'allowance' of emotions and the acknowledgement of emotions seems to be something to do with the nature of the individual teacher and their past-both personal and professional. Confidence in teachers' abilities and self-understanding seem to crop up and certainly have always been ways I reflect on my own practise. How and what is it that makes me want to improve my practice and be open to critical judgement whilst for others it is a huge emotional barrier? Also, what is it that makes me and some of my participants able to 'have their say' and express their dissatisfaction and upset when something is not right. I was intrigued by Alexandra's acceptance and advocacy that it is ok to 'put on a face' and present a positive approach which resonates with my own experiences and philosophy of professionalism, and with her sense that she did in fact 'own' this and this wasn't dictated upon her. Yet, while I believe this is the case, I am aware that this is not the case for all teachers. What lies between seems to be a legacy of bad experiences and an issue with their own abilities. Also there is a sense of the nature of the relationship with the assessor – a scenario that is more equitable seems to be more positive.

16/9/13

Narrative process seems closer to my understanding of post – structuralism after each reading. As I understand it, Post structuralism is concerned with the rejection of any fixed truths, identities, and beliefs about the world and more concerned with how we can see our selves and out environment as socially constructed. In this social construction, often power relations are dominant where certain groups may construct certain ideas for the benefit of themselves. This belief in an unfixed identity suggests we redefine ourselves continually.

Narrative also seem based on the idea of constructions – how we see our self in relation to others and context and is temporary. It seems that narrative is important to humans in how we make sense and understand the world, and which can be liberating. Is this the point at which post – structuralism doesn't have to be so fatalistic?

21/9/13

Thinking about narrative made me think about its connection to performance – that is narrative is making and doing. Narrative makes sense to me in the nature of it constructions and representations. I have believed for sometime that many parts of life are illusions – for our own sense of self or others. I have repeatedly been described in one way, because of my outward persona, which is in complete contrast to how I see myself.

LOVED THIS SENTENCE TODAY:

The core of Confucianism is humanism, or what the philosopher Herbert Fingarette calls "the secular as sacred". This, (admittedly extracted from Wikipedia after wanting to clarify its term used in Xu and Connelly's article), got me also thinking why I wanted to study the emotional aspect of performance management when my own experience was quite positive. It seemed obvious then those 3 years of working as a 'coach' has had some kind of

impact on me after listening to the stories of many disillusioned and unhappy teachers. It also dawned on me that I should reflect on this more often to add to my understanding.

'NJ seems to feel upset about the continual lack of clarity of what is expected but then be expected to work in a certain way. She remarks how the shift in school structure has somehow left her behind and she no longer knows what to do. This has caused great emotional upset and self-doubt.'

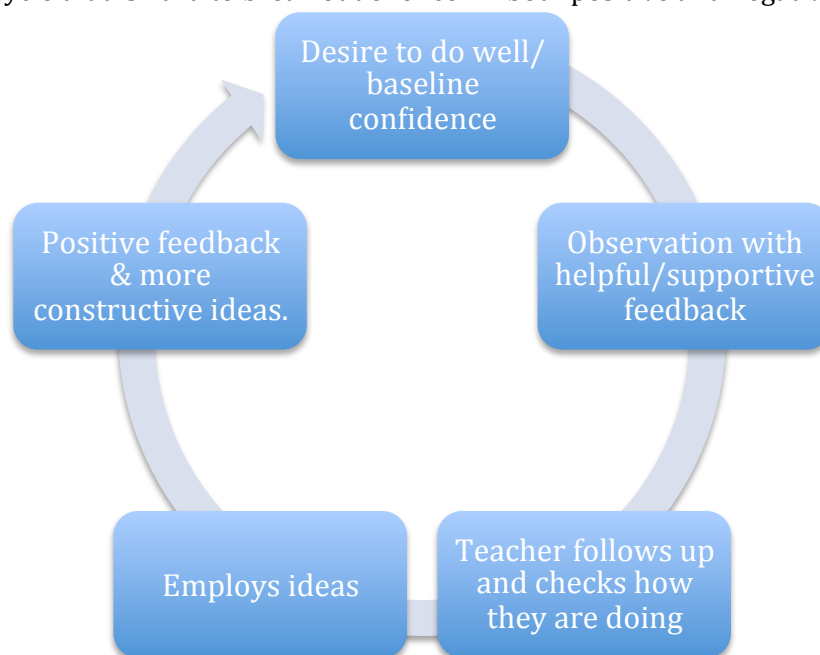
28/9/13

Some of the themes that are emerging indicate an idea of 'navigation' or being able to work around PM and the performative culture. This is either by conforming to school expectations or indeed aligning beliefs to school ones (like Hochschild's says happens in deep acting) Some seem so confident though (Alexandra and Louise) that I wonder if it is conforming or truly believing.

Is this navigation enabled by confidence? Being more confidence in your own abilities seems to give you the 'license' to express your feelings. However, although Alexandra gets this, Louise still didn't. Was that just a one off with a challenged head?

3/10/13

Is there a cycle that is hard to break out of once in- both positive and negative?



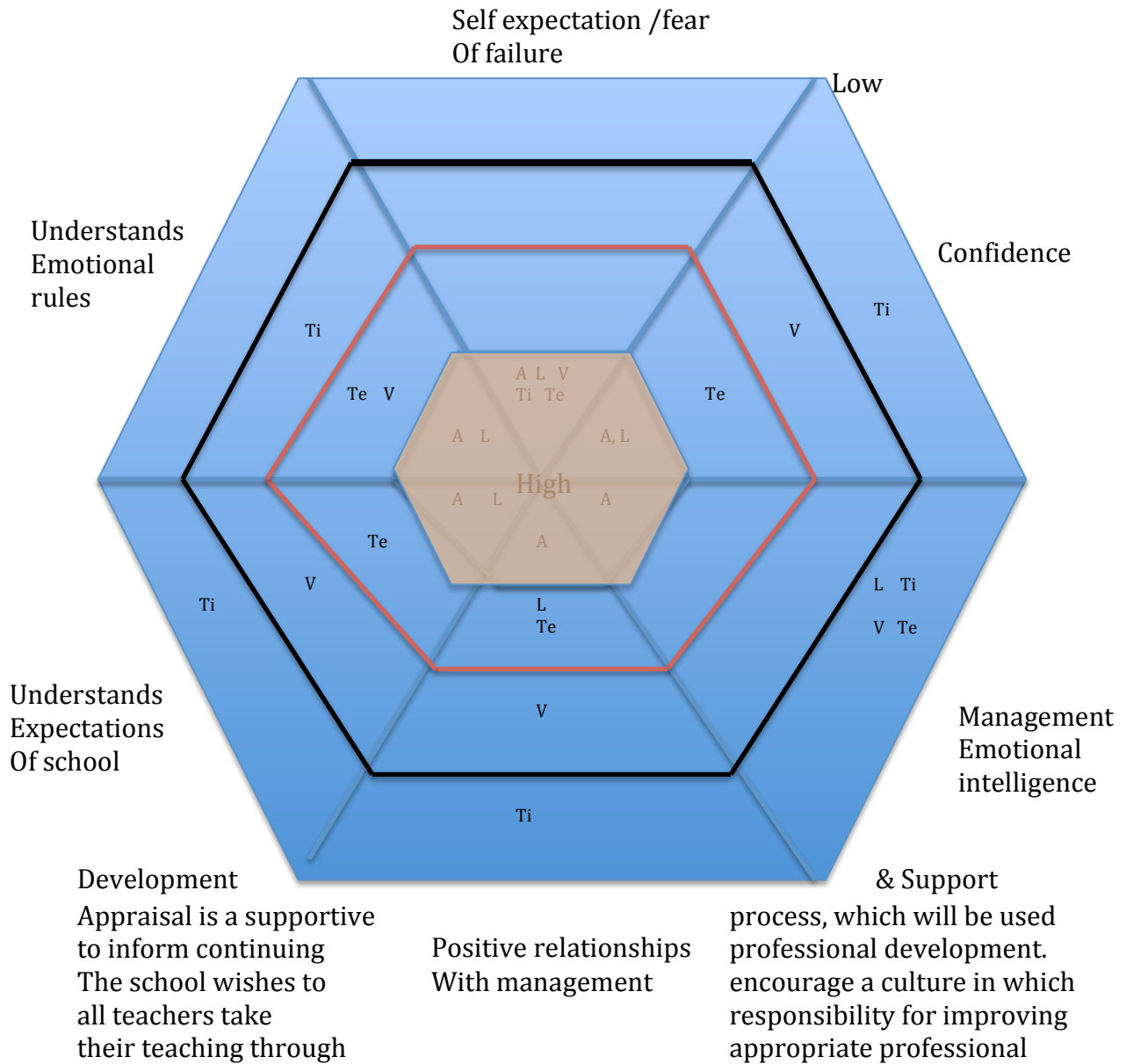
7/10/13

Is part of the practice of 'playing the game' not just what is seen in the classroom but how you demonstrate that you want to do well? Louise and Alexandra, either deliberately or out of a genuine desire to do well, shows to management that they want to their best. They ask questions, ask for people to come and see their work. This seems to at least give them an easier time than Tina and Vanessa who are less sure about themselves.

4/12/13

Like Louse and Alexanadra, Teresa also shows to management that she wants to achieve. Although this doesn't afford her emotional recognition, it seems to protect her from being perceived negatively. Is this choice? Is this her being in control? Or is this a reaction to surviving in a difficult culture. When is choice really choice?

6/1/14 - Combination of factors seem to lead to allowance of an emotional voice but also less inclined to feel the impact of difficult working environment



Appendix G Model performance management policy extract

Appraisal is a supportive process, which will be used to inform continuing professional development. The school wishes to encourage a culture in which all teachers take responsibility for improving their teaching through appropriate professional development. Professional development will be linked to school improvement priorities and to the ongoing professional development needs and priorities of individual teachers.

Feedback

Teachers will receive constructive feedback on their performance throughout the year and as soon as practicable after observation has taken place or other evidence has come to light. Feedback will highlight particular areas of strength as well as any areas that need attention. Where there are concerns about any aspects of the teacher's performance the appraiser will meet the teacher formally to:

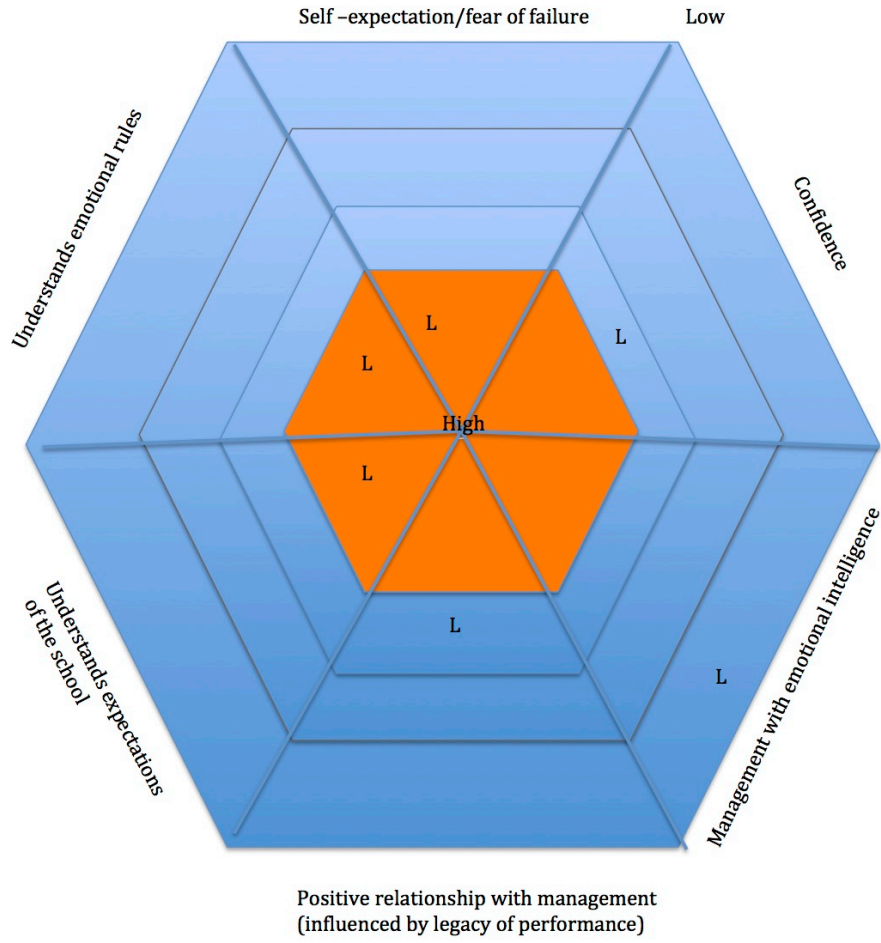
- give clear feedback to the teacher about the nature and seriousness of the concerns;
- give the teacher the opportunity to comment and discuss the concerns;
- agree any support (eg coaching, mentoring, structured observations), that will be provided to help address those specific concerns;
- make clear how, and by when, the appraiser will review progress (*it may be appropriate to revise objectives, and it will be necessary to allow sufficient time for improvement. The amount of time is up to the school but should reflect the seriousness of the concerns*);
- explain the implications and process if no – or insufficient – improvement is made.

When progress is reviewed, if the appraiser is satisfied that the teacher has made, or is making, sufficient improvement, the appraisal process will continue as normal, with any remaining issues continuing to be addressed through that process.

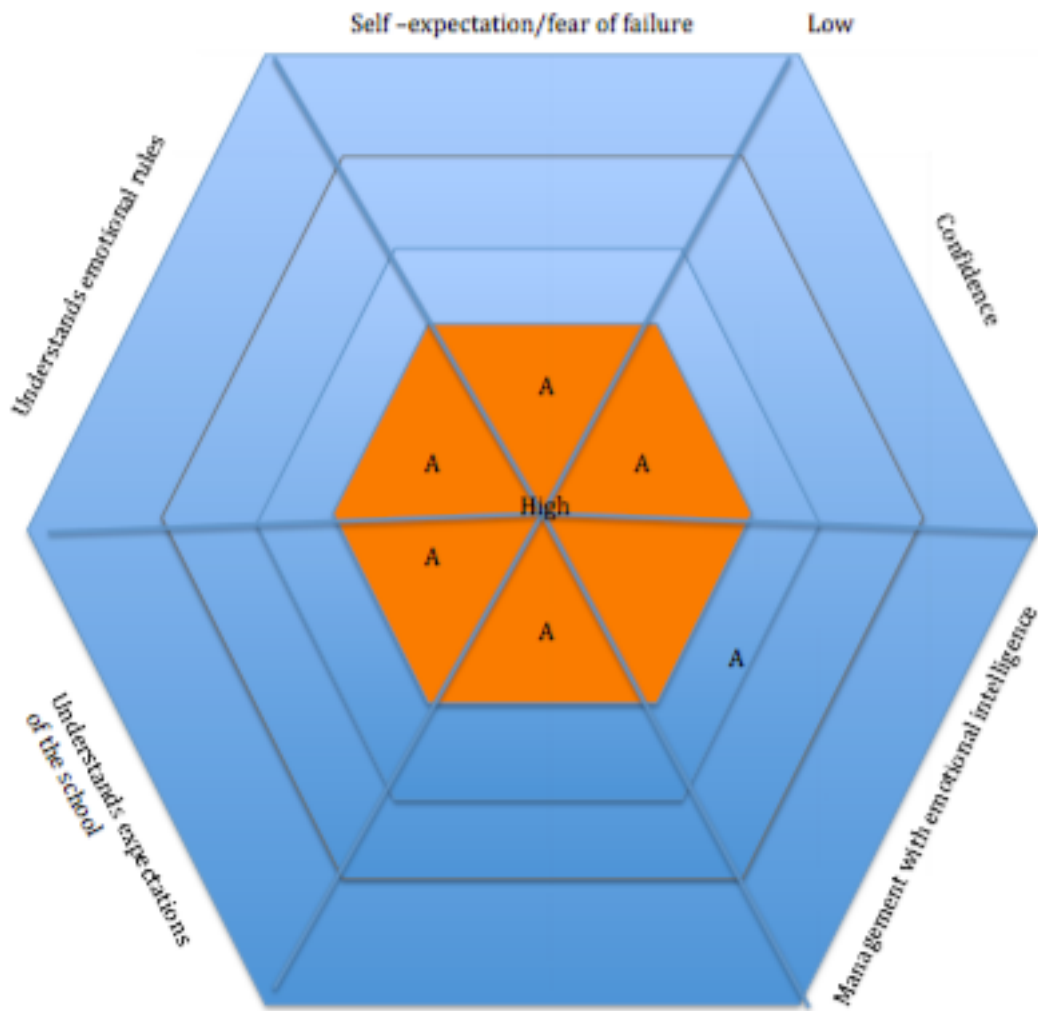
Source: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/teacher-appraisal-and-capability-model-policy>. [Accessed December 6th 2012]

Appendix H Individual theme webs

Louise

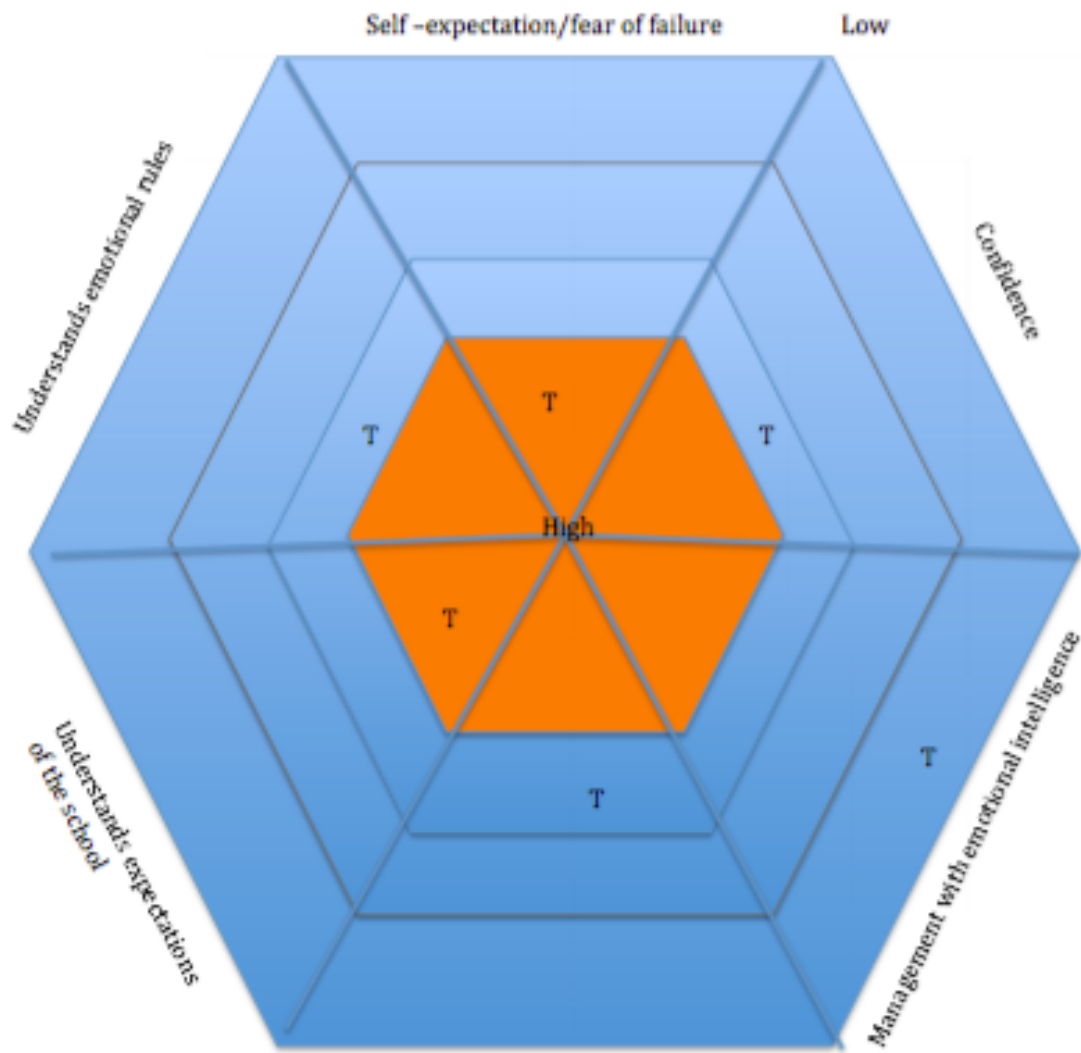


Alexandra



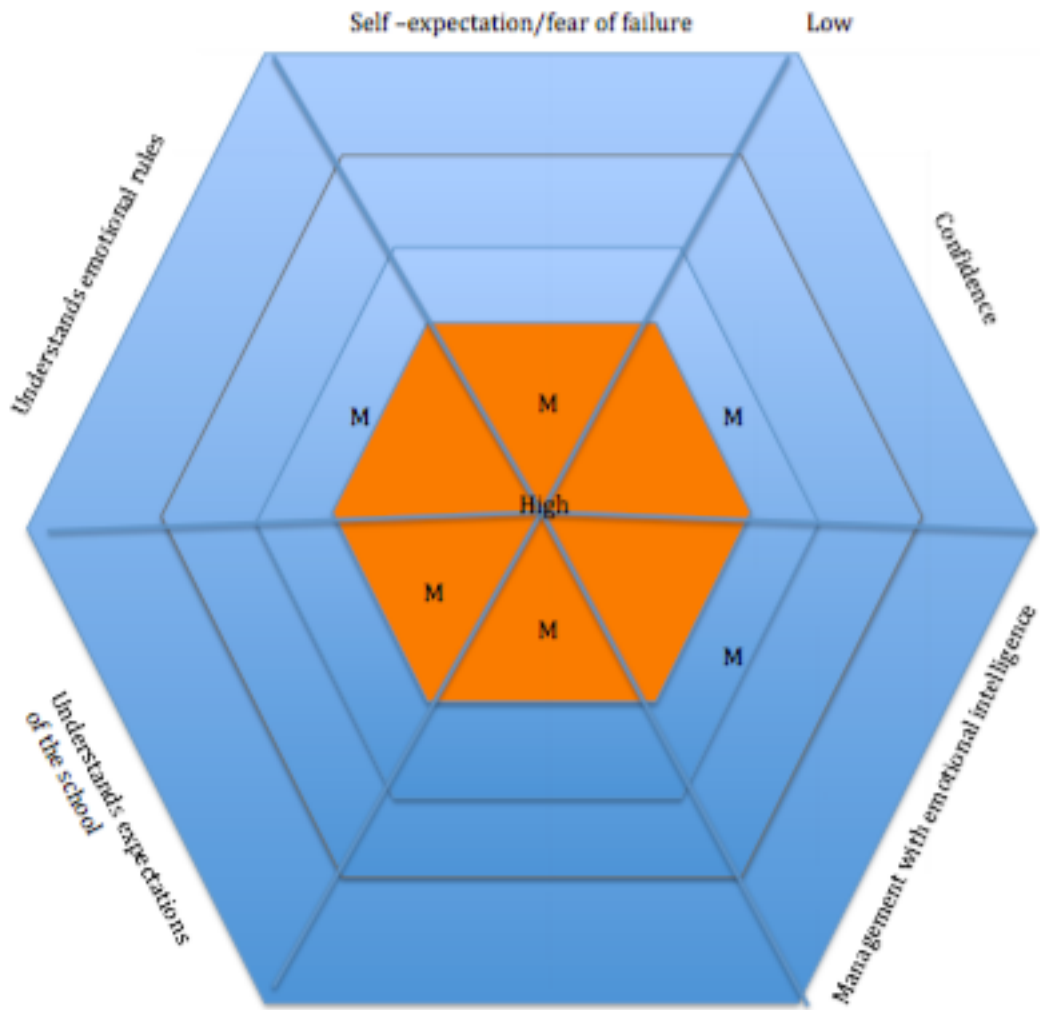
Positive relationship with management
(influenced by preconceptions based on past
performance)

Teresa

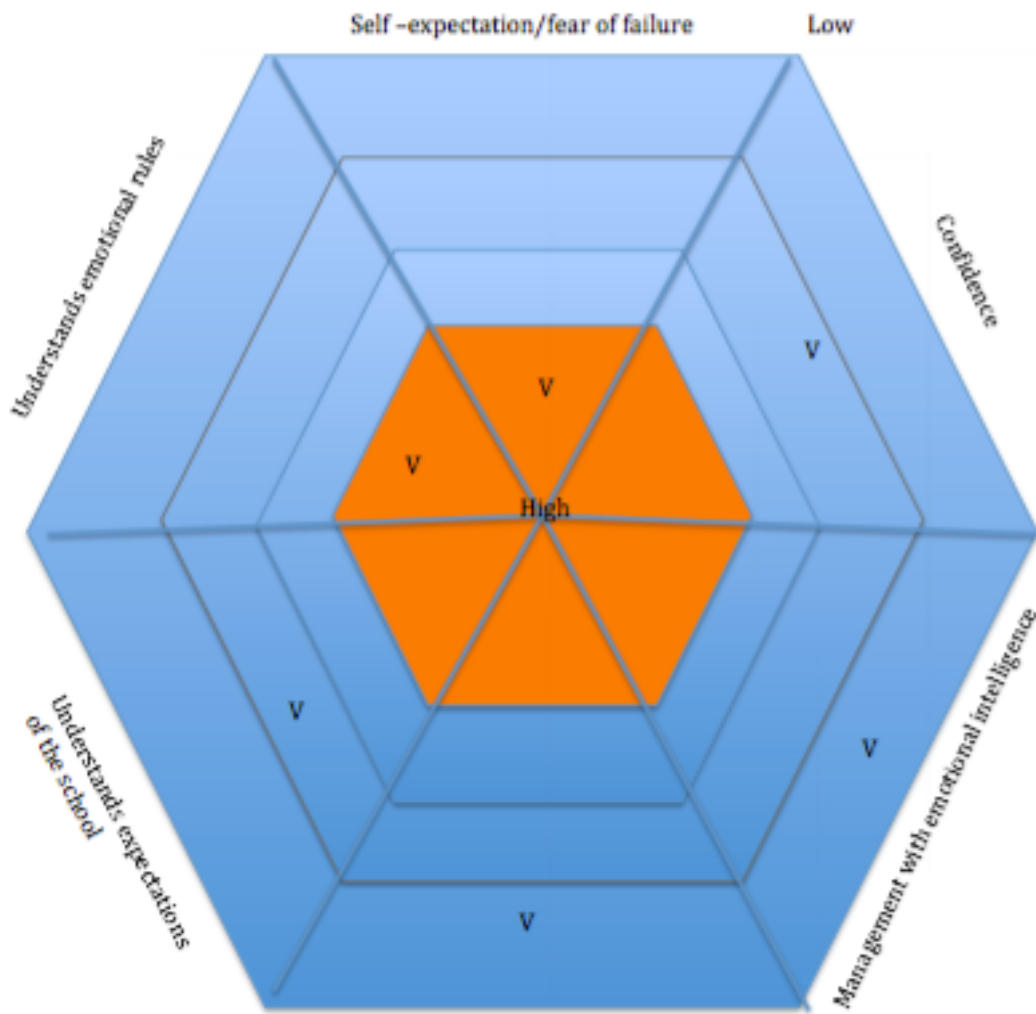


Positive relationship with management
(influenced by preconceptions based on past
performance)

Melissa

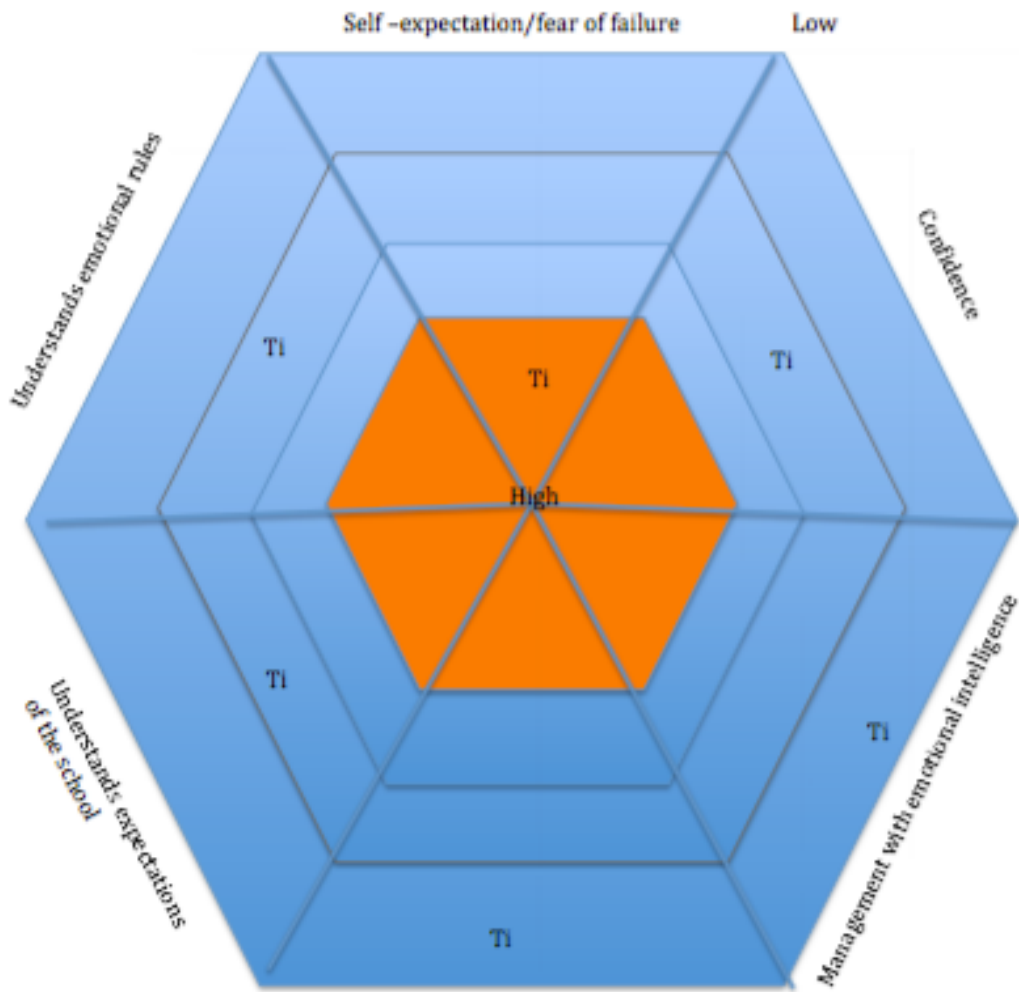


Positive relationship with management
(influenced by preconceptions based on past
performance)

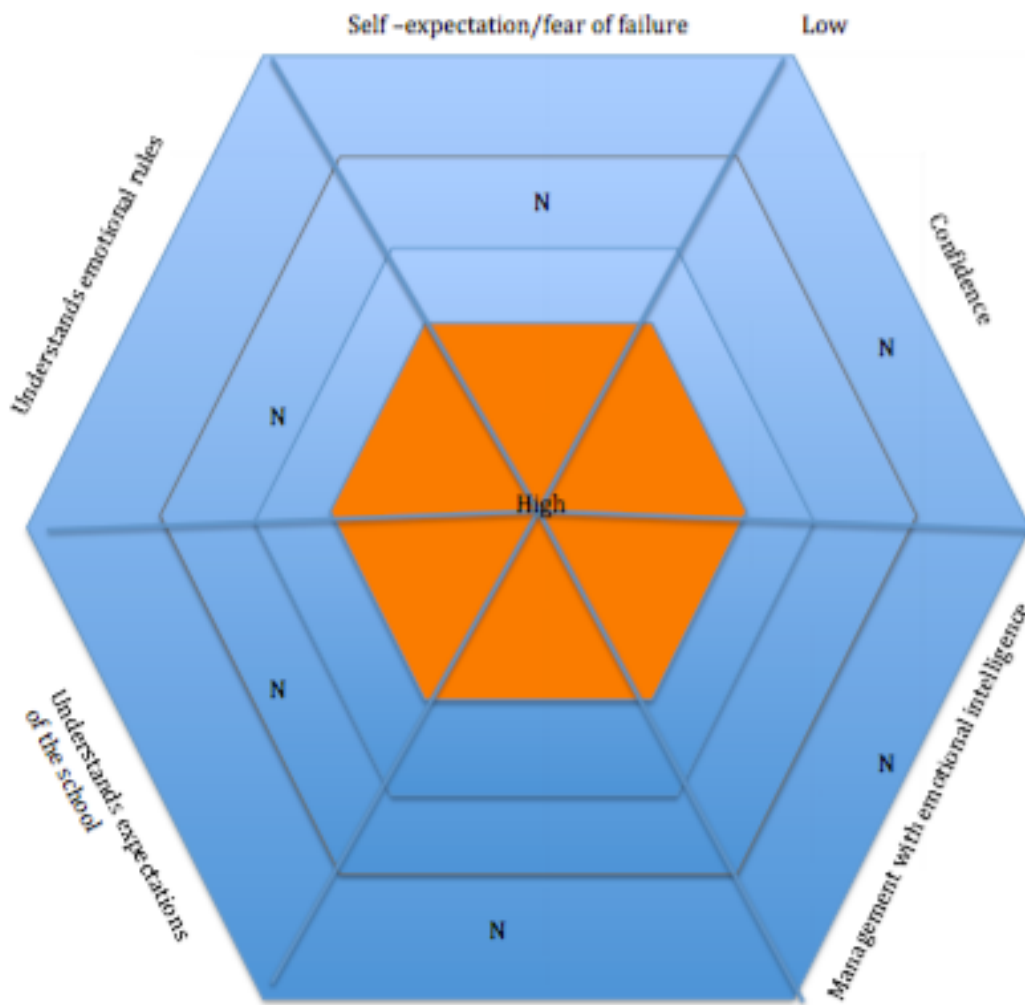


Positive relationship with management
(influenced by preconceptions based on past
performance)

Tina

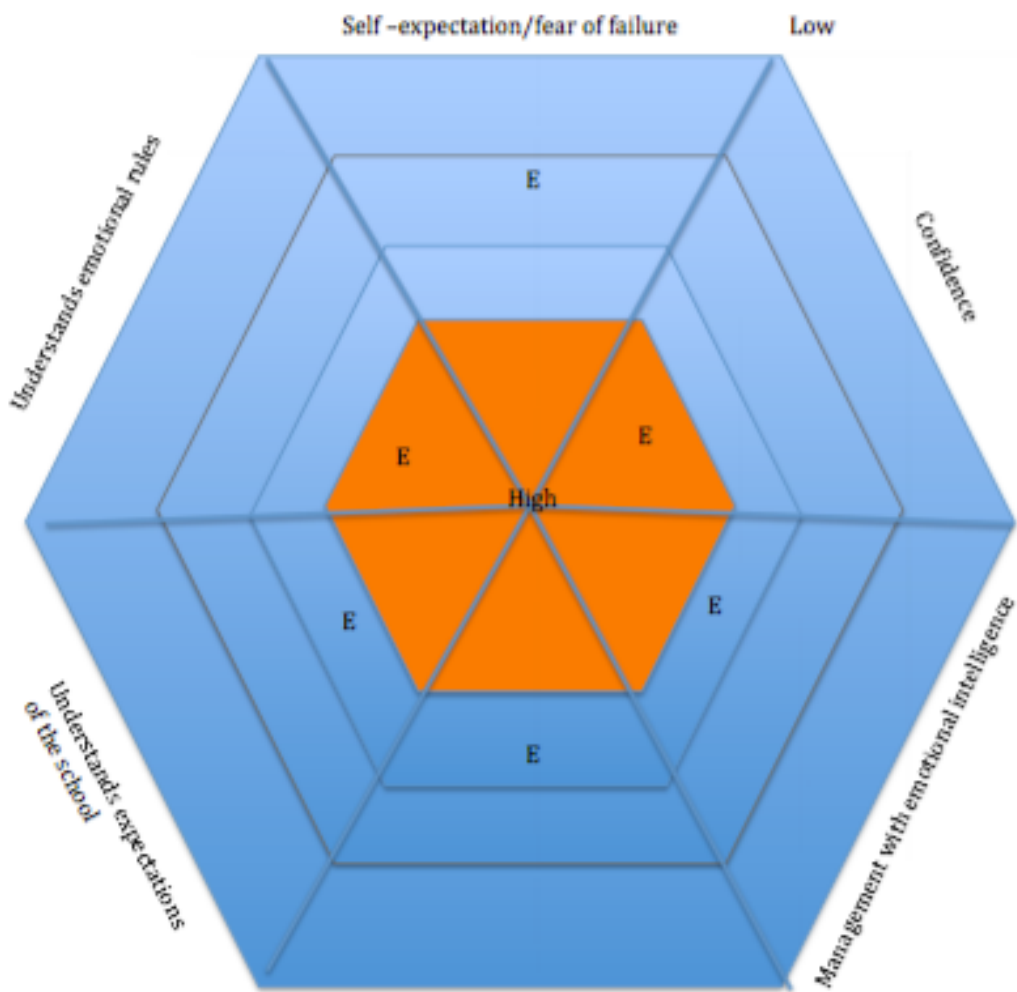


Positive relationship with management
(influenced by preconceptions based on past
performance)



Positive relationship with management
(influenced by preconceptions based on past
performance)

Elizabeth



Positive relationship with management
(influenced by preconceptions based on past
performance)

