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“We are human beings, not robots”: On the psychology of affect in education

Abstract: Teachers’ perceptions of their own classroom experiences and the way they are reflected upon and interpreted constitute a significant factor in the evolution and re-structuring of teachers’ initial beliefs about teaching and learning. One of the dimensions teachers emphasize as particularly significant is their own and their learners’ affectivity. This paper is about teacher emotions, emotion management and the emotion labor of (EFL) teachers. Firstly, the text introduces the construct of emotion and affective processing in the brain, which is illustrated with an overview of selected studies on teacher affectivity. Secondly, the paper discusses the narrative text as research tool used in (applied) psycholinguistic research, and more precisely its use in investigating affectivity in the educational context. The third part of the article, which is empirical, reports on a small scale narrative study of pre-service EFL teachers’ approach to their own affectivity at the initial stage of their professional development.

Keywords: teacher emotions, affectivity, emotion labor, emotion management, narratives

1. Introduction: Why study teacher emotions?

A large number of studies in education focus on research on teaching and learning processes from applied linguistics’ perspective, whereas sociolinguistic studies investigate the complexity of classroom interaction between the teacher and his/her learners and between learners themselves. Of course one can find multiple studies of teacher personality and career development, including the burn-out stage as a commonly shared experience of many teachers. Much less concern, however, is demonstrated in researching the obviously wide range of teacher emotions and affectively-driven states (Frenzel, 2014). This might come as a surprise as affectivity is the primary driving force of human actions and, undoubtedly, the teaching profession is one of the most affectively-grounded

by its very nature, as success in teaching depends very much on the successful interaction of a teacher with his/her learners.

As MacIntyre (2013) states, “We are emotional creatures who can be rational,” pointing out that emotions have a neural basis, which is expressed by certain physio-anatomical symptoms involving bodily behavior and reactions. The way the human brain works demonstrates highly coordinated activity between the two systems:

System 1: The older “lizard” and “limbic” brain: Innate, spontaneous, physical system, rapid subcortical processing for survival

System 2: The newer thinking brain: learned, deliberative, cognitive system, slower processing cortex. (2013)

The use of neuroimaging techniques has allowed scientists to observe that there are specific areas of the brain responsible for forming and processing emotions—the amygdala (a part of the limbic system) and separate ones responsible for cognitive functions, for example, the prefrontal cortex. What is observed is interaction between “the two brains,” with the information entering the brain received first by the emotional brain and filtered through it. So it may be assumed that any behavior or any action is emotionally-driven due to the innate interaction between cognitive and affective processing, and the primacy of the latter (Schumann, 1997). And if there is any behavior or action which is emotionally-driven, it is teaching, as was clearly intimated by my pre-service EFL teachers: “We are human beings not robots” (Magda), and by another trainee who said:

One can argue that teaching means only thinking, analyzing, organizing, conducting lessons, and problem solving. However, teacher’s emotions and feelings are also of great importance. They are an inevitable part of our profession which should not be neglected and under-estimated. (Anna)

2. Emotions, emotion management, emotion labor, and defense mechanisms

When defining emotions, MacIntyre (2013) describes them as “coordinated reaction in 4 areas: subjective (feelings), biological (physical reactions), purposive (goal directed), social (emotional expression).” What is more, emotions are complex: “emotion is more than the sum of these parts, emotions motivate

actions, emotions are reactions” (2013). Emotions are motivated functionally, which means they fluctuate according to situation and context. In his examples of negative emotions MacIntyre sees them as performing well-defined functions: “fear (protection), anger (smash obstacles), sadness (reunion) and disgust (reject bad food)” (2013). The same mechanism operates in the case of positive emotions: “joy (play), interest (explore), pride (share) and love (mix, bond)” (2013). Thus, it can be stated that both positive and negative emotions are not the opposing forms of the same affect, but, as exemplified above, they perform different functions. Negative emotions allow us to focus our attention and predict future contextualized actions, which may lead to avoidance of a certain action or situation (avoidance approach), whereas positive emotions assist us in broadening attention and building “future resources” leading to openness and approach attitude to a certain action or situation (2013).

The importance of emotionality in our evaluation of a given situation leads us to the realization that knowing our emotions and their influence on our actions is fundamental to using them to our advantage:

Knowing our emotions and the circumstances in which they are generated may [...] have a positive as well as negative implications, but ignorance [...] is not the remedy for coping with the negative implications. [...] Emotional knowledge, and even labeling the emotions, usually increase our ability to regulate them. [...] This knowledge enables us to reduce the frequency and intensity of negative emotions and intensify positive emotions. (Ben-Ze’ev, 2000, p. 533)

Following earlier theories of Freud and Goffman, one of the most prominent sociologists, Arlie Hochschild (1979) introduced the concepts fundamental to studying affectivity such as *emotion management* and *emotion labor/work*. In her understanding, emotions can be consciously used and managed to lead to the most desirable effects in various, mainly professional, contexts by combining explicit rules (studied by sociology) and inner self (a psychological concept) to be able to consciously manipulate our emotionality by monitoring and assessing emotions according to social norms and rules in a given situation. The concept of emotion management is seen by Hochschild (1979) as expressed by:

- cognitive strategies seen as “the attempt to change images, ideas, or thoughts in the service of changing the feelings associated with them” (1979, p. 562);
- bodily strategies consisting in changing physical and somatic symptoms of emotions, such as controlling one’s breathing and thus, heart beat;
- expressive strategies of changing non-verbal, gestural indication of a feeling/emotion, for example smiling to become more positive.

Hochschild (1979) sees *emotion work* as carried out either by *evocation* consisting in creating emotions that are desirable in a given situation or by *suppression*, when undesired emotions are to be eliminated. Our behavior is determined by emotions based on the feeling rules, which are based on our judgment of appropriacy in a given situation. This means that we often feel what we think we should not feel. This might entail that there is a conflict between what we feel and what we should feel, which is labeled by Hochschild as *surface acting* which agrees with rules but not necessarily with what we feel in our *deep acting*:

Surface acting involves changing one's demeanor so as to appear to have feelings that comport with the feeling rules of a particular context. People routinely pretend to share the mandated emotions of that context by displaying them outwardly while inwardly experiencing divergent ones [...] (there is) a dichotomy between real and manufactured feelings as well as a split between internal feelings and external expression of them. (Benesch, 2014, in press)

Emotion management is directly determined by the way one responds to a given situation. It results from the need to defend oneself in a variety of ways. It will make good use of one's self-efficacy beliefs to overcome existing anxieties caused by situational factors. Defense mechanisms serve the purpose of self-protection in situations of stress and uncontrolled anxiety. They either distort or deny reality as it objectively manifests itself. Banyard and Hayes (1994) describe them as one's "methods of coping with the situation" through *rationalization, repression, projection, displacement, suppression, and denial* (Table 1).

Table 1. Defence mechanisms (based on Banyard & Hayes, 1994, p. 101 in Gabryś-Barker 2012, p. 141)

Mechanism	Description
Rationalization	involves justifying, making excuses or talking down a goal in order to limit feelings of responsibility or disappointment
Repression	is an unconscious mechanism that keeps thoughts that might provoke anxiety out of our unconscious mind
Projection	is an unconscious process that involves us attributing our own unacceptable behaviours, thoughts or feelings to others
Displacement	involves redirecting negative feelings and actions away from their source to a safer target
Suppression	is conscious effort to avoid thinking about stressful things
Denial	involves escaping from stress by ignoring it or trying to explain it away

Mollon (2000, p. 57) suggests that defense mechanisms exert a significant influence upon our actions:

[...] unacceptable or frightening contents of the mind (wishes, thoughts, perceptions) are banished from conscious awareness, but continue to exert an influence, either by pushing to re-emerge into consciousness or by finding displaced and disguised expression through psychological symptoms, dreams, slips of tongue or somatic disorders (physical illness).

The use of these defensive mechanisms and experience of failure in the past may lead in the long term to a state of learned helplessness, understood as passivity and the inability to improve one's situation by action. Learned helplessness comes from past experience in which one failed due to external factors (independent of oneself) and, as a result, it creates the belief that no behavior (for example an action) will have any influence on the outcome and the person will believe that he/she has no control over events (2000). But on the other hand:

[...] we believe we are capable of achieving—they [beliefs] are all about the idea that we can act positively in a given situation. These beliefs, in turn, influence our perception, motivation, and performance. Beliefs about our own abilities and about qualities such as intelligence have been shown to have a direct influence on how both children and adults interact with their worlds, and therefore how they go about learning from them. (Baynard & Hayes, 1994, p. 115)

The nature of the above-mentioned constructs of defense mechanism, learned helplessness and self-efficacy beliefs are strongly motivated in the mental dimension of one's functioning.

This mental dimension has a powerful affective aspect: feelings and their intentionality. According to Ben-Ze'ev (2000, p. 79):

[...] we consider intentionality and feeling as the two basic mental dimensions. [...] I characterize an affective phenomenon as having an inherent positive or negative evaluation (this is the typical intentional feature) and a significant feeling component. The combination of the valenced aspect, namely, an inherent evaluation, with a significant feeling component is what distinguishes affective phenomenon from non-affective ones.

One of the features of teacher affectivity which strongly influences their ability to identify and furthermore interpret their experiences is anxiety, as it has a direct bearing on their performance. According to cognitive interference theory, "worry

diverts attentional resources from task processing to task-irrelevant information, with a consequent decrement in performance” (Wells & Matthews, 1994, p. 129). A certain situation will be anxiety-provoking when:

1. The situation is seen as difficult, challenging, and threatening.
2. The individual sees himself/herself as ineffective, or inadequate, in handling the task at hand.
3. The individual focuses on the undesirable consequences of personal inadequacy.
4. Self-deprecatory preoccupations are strong and interfere or compete with task-relevant activity.
5. The individual expects and anticipates failure and loss of regard by others. (Sarason et al. 1990, p. 2, as cited in Wells & Matthews, 1994, p. 134)

3. Studying teacher emotions

3.1 Approaches to emotion research

Approaches to studying emotions in educational contexts display varied emphasis on individual and contextual factors involved in discussion of teacher affectivity. A psychological approach places value on personality features of a teacher and his/her emotional intelligence level as decisive in emotion management and emotion labor, not disregarding cognitive styles and the ability to cope with stress in teaching and life contexts. On the other hand, a sociological perspective sees that teacher emotions are constructed socially and derived from cultural and social norms imposed by the work context (such as school). It is often based on theories of emotion labor and management.

Within the framework of emotion labor and management, structural approaches are involved in studying teacher job satisfaction, burn-out, and emotion labor strategies (Zhang & Zhu, 2008; Gaan, 2012). This research perspective also places value on making use of identity research in relation to teacher affective experiences, gender, and race (Harlow, 2003). It derives from *the identity theory* understood as “connections among a person’s behavior, conception of self, and interactions with others” (Benesch, 2014, in press). It also relates to *the affect control theory*, which sees emotions as indicators of the appropriacy of events, warning of something being wrong in the case of one’s doubts about identity (Benesch, 2014).

The post-structural perspective on studying teacher emotions approaches it as dynamic and multidimensional, demonstrating “an interplay of knowledge,

power and discursive practices" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 59) and thus emphasizing that teacher emotions are grounded socially and politically. They are seen as operating on the intrapersonal level (a teacher's perceptions of his/her own emotions) and at the interpersonal/intergroup level (expressing a teacher's perceptions of learners' emotions, awareness of school emotion rules, etc.). The outcomes of post-structural studies clearly have a pragmatic intention, seeking to "challenge unfavorable conditions in schools" (Benesch, 2014, in press).

The post-structural perspective of studying teacher emotions demonstrates how research in this area can inform educational practices and teacher development paradigms/programs. What should also be emphasized is teacher emotion labor's dynamic character. Teaching is learning and it consists in revising knowledge, beliefs, and emotions in the course of teaching. It is a constantly evolving process influenced by a person (persons) involved in a teaching/learning situation, by task characteristics, by the context in which it takes place, and importantly by continuous individual assessment and reflection on teaching/learning and its results. The situation and context, as well as the person's appraisals of novelty of the situation, intrinsic pleasantness or perceived coping potential, are significant variables in this evolution (Efklides & Volet, 2005).

3.2 "The emotional practice of teaching": Selected studies on teacher emotions

The term "emotional practice of teaching" was coined by Zembylas to express his strong belief about the vital role affectivity plays in teaching. He therefore advocates very forcefully the need to study teacher affectivity (Zembylas, 2002a; 2002b). The same attitude was earlier expressed by Nias (1996), Little (2000), Hargreaves (2000), and Lasky (2000). The function of teacher affectivity is very well discussed by Boler (1999) as a phenomenon grounded in cultural, ethical, and political contexts and constrained by them. Also, teaching and the emotionality of a teacher involved in it are presented as having a direct relation to his/her personal life (Nias, 1996). The interesting construct of emotional geographies of schooling was introduced to teacher research by Hargreaves (2000) to investigate patterns of closeness and distance in human relations at school. The facets of teaching seen as heightened emotionality are discussed by Little (2000) and emphasized by Zembylas (2005) as not permanently set but developmental and evolving. Studying it via ethnography (that is longitudinally) can offer interesting in-depth insights. The most recent developments in this area of research are presented by Benesch (2012; 2014). She emphasizes the importance of emotion labor and emotion management, well-known topics in other areas of study (e.g. sociology), now also in applied psycholinguistic and educational research. Table 2 presents an overview of a selection of other studies on teacher emotions in various contexts and with varied focus.

Table 2. Sample studies on emotions in a teaching/learning context

Study	Focus	Results
Scherer, 1984	Cognitive and motivational aspects of emotions	Subjective and idiosyncratic qualities of emotions
Brophy & Good, 1986	Teacher-centered instruction	Negative effects on emotional and affective aspects of learning
Hattie, 1992	Self-concept	Negative expectations in relation to achievement create anxiety
Slavin, 1995	Cooperative learning	Positive influence on learning achievement
Boekaerts, Pintrich, & Zeidner, 2000	Emotions in self-regulation processes in learning	Self-regulation creates positive emotions versus negative ones which originate in external regulation
Diener, 2000	Cognitive and emotional evaluation of a learning context (school experiences)	Positive evaluation correlates with school achievement
Hidi, Berndorff & Ainley, 2002	Role of interest in a learning task	Emotions are domain specific
Pekrun et al., 2002	Information processing	Emotions influence significantly information processing at each stage
Glaser-Zikuda & Mayring, 2003	Appraisal systems	Value systems influence an appraisal type, the role of pleasure and interest in task performance
Hascher, 2003	Didactic competences of teachers, one's achievement and interest, social interaction at school	Significant influence on feelings of one's well-being
Gabryś-Barker, 2013	Affectivity of multilingual language learner	Positive affectivity and attitude to language, target language community and language status as decisive factors in learner success in learning
Gabryś-Barker, 2014	Pre-service teachers' enthusiasm	Direct influence of teacher enthusiasm on learner motivation and thus, indirect influence on learner achievement

4. Research instruments in studying teacher emotions: Narratives

4.1 On the nature of narration

Brodkey (1987, p. 47) emphasizes the human need to narrate experiences by telling stories:

One studies stories not because they are true [...] but for the same reason that people tell them, in order to learn about the terms on which others make sense of their lives: what they take into account and what they do not; what they consider worth contemplating and what they do not; what they are and are not willing to raise and discuss as problematic and unresolved in life.

Following Dewey’s philosophy, Richards (2002, p. 4) argues that “we are all knowers who reflect on experience, confront the unknown, make sense of it, and take action [...]” What is more, our understanding of what we experience is “achieved through the stories we tell” (2002). These stories are contextualized socially, culturally, and historically. As such, narratives are central to teacher education in being a tool of inquiry, as “the teacher’s life itself is a narrative of experience” (Vazir, 2006, p. 445). Narrative enquiry is thus:

[...] systematic exploration that is conducted *by* teachers and *for* teachers through their own stories and language. We believe that narrative enquiry, conducted by teachers individually or collaboratively, tells the stories of teachers’ professional development within their own professional worlds. Such inquiry is driven by teachers’ inner desire to understand that experience, to reconcile what is known with that which is hidden, to confirm and affirm, and to construct and reconstruct understandings of themselves as teachers and of their own teaching. What teachers choose to inquire about emerges from their personalities, their emotions, their ethics, their contexts, and their overwhelming concern for their students. (Richards, 2002, p. 6)

In other words, the value of a narrative is in its reconstructive and dynamic character demonstrating “how humans make meaning of experience by endlessly telling and retelling stories about themselves that both refigure the past and create purposes in the future” (Vazir, 2006, p. 445). In characterizing a narrative as a form of inquiry, Craig (2009, p. 106) points to its:

- “multi-layered and many stranded” nature;
- focus on human experience;
- reflective character (“inward and outward, backward and forward”);
- living and re-living experiences;
- fluid and not static;
- complexity of interpretation;
- interactivity (“the personal and social”);
- time continuity of the past, present, and future.

At the same time, however, a narrative is a subjective story by virtue of its being a personal account of experiences:

Narratives by their very nature are not meant to describe phenomena objectively, but rather to connect phenomena and infuse them with interpretation. Narratives situate and relate factors to one another, and the essence of “truth” is *how* phenomena are connected and interpreted. Thus, narratives are holistic and cannot be reduced to isolated facts without losing the truth that is being conveyed. Since narratives are social, relational and culturally bound, they gain their meaning from our collective social histories and cannot be separated from the sociocultural and sociohistorical contexts from which they emerged. (Golombek & Johnson, 2004, p. 308)

Such a perspective on narrative as a form of inquiry follows both Vygotskyan sociocultural theory, in which teaching is interpreted as “a socially mediated activity” (2004, p. 309), and Dewey’s understanding of experience and its role in one’s development through inquiry, understood as:

Observation of the detailed makeup of the situation; analysis into its diverse factors, clarification of what is obscure; discounting of the more insistent and vivid traits, tracing the consequences of the various modes of action that suggest themselves; regarding the decision reached as hypothetical and tentative until the anticipated or supposed consequences which led to its adoption have been squared with actual consequences. (Dewey, 1920/1962, p. 164)

Applied research these days, apart from the traditional approach of emphasizing the need to formally acquire expert knowledge, sees it as development of personal inquiry skills and reflectivity:

I have personally realised that the best tool at my disposal to help me reflect on my experiences is narrative writing [...]. I believe that while writing about my experiences and reflecting on them I am engaged in a form of constructivism. While writing, I construct meanings, interpretations, new knowledge and understandings. I also test and modify constructions in the light of new experiences and new writings. (Attard, 2008, p. 308)

Writing is fundamental to reflection as “a tool for understanding,” as it results in a particular form of a conversation with oneself, which exposes one’s “vulnerabilities, conflicts, choices, and values [...] uncertainties, our mixed emotions, and the multiple layers of our experience” (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, p. 748). It is also a thinking-through process on the cognitive level allowing us to verbalize or, in other words, to label experiences and thus to become more aware of them. This awareness of phenomena described in terms of the cause and effect con-

tinuum, thus making the connections between variables, constitutes a discovery process constructing and reconstructing meanings and giving context to them. This written verbalization allows the writer (such as a teacher) to gain a perspective on his/her own understanding of the phenomena at a given point of time, but through reflection, also in relation to past experiences, and in this way contributes to his/her development/learning. The thinking involved in journaling is not only cognitive in nature, as it uncovers the variables involved and the connections existing between them, but it also comprises metacognitive skills. These skills of thinking about thinking involve the planning and monitoring of the thinking process as well as its assessment (Gabryś-Barker, 2012). Qualley (1997, p. 31) believes that:

Short answer responses and extended, analytical forms of writing as opposed to note taking, comprehension questions, or summaries seem to increase students’ knowledge of the topic under consideration and encourage students to reconceptualize the information and integrate it with their own knowledge. Analytic writing enables students to manipulate a smaller amount of information in more ways, process it in more depth, and remember it for a longer period of time.

4.2 Sample narrative studies

Numerous narrative studies are represented by personal biographies and literary texts, where language experiences are recorded and narrated (Table 3).

Table 3. Narratives as research tools (sample studies)

Focus	Titles	Author(s)
Teacher and educator recollection of their experiences	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>On Becoming a Language Educator.</i> 2. <i>Stories from the Heart.</i> 3. <i>Living Rhetoric and Composition.</i> 4. <i>Narration as Knowledge.</i> 	Casanave & Schecter, 1997 Meyer, 1996 Roen et al., 1999 Trimmer, 1997
Language specialists and non-language professionals as L2 learners (first-person reflections)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Onna Rashiku (Like a Woman).</i> 2. <i>The Multilingual Self.</i> 3. <i>Lost in Translation.</i> 4. <i>Two Years in the melting Pot.</i> 	Ogulnick, 1998 Lvovich, 1997 Hoffman, 1989 Liu, 1984

Teacher and learner diaries, just like journals and logs, are forms of narration used in educational research. Table 4 presents a selection of studies on teaching and learning by theme, in which narrative texts used as research tools take the form of a teacher and/or learner diary/journal.

Table 4. Themes of diary studies

Number	Theme	Author(s)
1.	Diary as a general reflection on lesson effectiveness (planning and management).	Loughran, 1996
2.	Diary thematic concerns as focus for reflection.	Loughran, 1996
3.	Diary as a self-assessment tool of one’s ability to reflect on one’s teaching experiences.	Samuels & Betts, 2007
4.	Diary writing and the importance of feedback as a factor conducive to development of reflectivity.	Bain, Ballantyne, Packer & Mills, 1999; 2002; Sutton, Townend & Wright, 2007
5.	Diary as expression of emotional and cognitive dissonance in teacher development.	Golombek & Johnson, 2004; Verity, 2000
6.	Diary representing stages of teacher development.	Apple, 1995
7.	Diary writing as a way of developing reflective thinking.	Richards & Ho, 1998
8.	Diary as expression of affectivity in language learning experiences.	Schmidt & Frota, 1985
9.	Diary as a tool for development of teacher learning and student learning.	Herndon, 2002
10.	Pre-service teachers’ perceptions on diary writing.	Loughran, 1996; Gabryś-Barker, 2009a
11.	Identifying’ critical incidents in trainee teachers school placement activities.	Gabryś-Barker, 2012

4.3 Analyzing narrative texts: Qualitative content analysis (QCA)

Narrative texts as data source are primarily used in research which is more interested in interpretative frameworks of analysis (qualitative research) and not the quantification of results (qualitative research). This is, however, not to say that quantitative analysis may not be used as complimentary to qualitative analysis. Cassell and Symon (1994, p. 7) characterized the nature of qualitative research as having:

a focus on interpretation rather than quantification; an emphasis on subjectivity rather than objectivity; flexibility in the process of conducting research; an orientation towards process rather than outcome; a concern with context—regarding behaviour and situation as inextricably linked in forming experience.

Zhang and Wildemuth (2009) offer an overview of definitions of qualitative content analysis:

[A] research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns. (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278)

[An] approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytic rules and step by step models, without rash quantification. (Mayring, 2000, p. 2)

[A]ny qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings. (Patton, 2002, p. 453)

In discussing qualitative versus quantitative research, Mayring (2000) points to three major characteristics that distinguish these two types of research:

- the origins of qualitative analysis: not sciences (quantitative research) but social sciences (anthropology, sociology, and psychology), interpreting messages, not measuring them statistically;
- qualitative content analysis is primarily inductive, focuses on raw data, not necessarily confirming or creating theories (as is the case with quantitative analysis);
- no random sampling or probabilistic approaches for validity of statistical inference (quantitative), but selection of materials relevant to the questions asked;
- quantitative studies aim at descriptions, establishing typologies and tendencies, emphasize the role of subject reflection, and not statistical significance;
- the selection of topics is unique and focuses on phenomena and constructs that actually occur in data.

However, as has been pointed out by numerous scholars (and pointed out earlier here), qualitative content analysis does not exclude quantitative analysis and they are best used in a mixed method (Smith, 1975; Weber, 1990, as cited in Mayring, 2000).

The key concepts in qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000) are content analytical units and categories of analysis: inductive and deductive categories. According to Mayring (2000) inductive category development

[...] would be of central interest, to develop the aspects of interpretation, the categories, as near as possible to the material, to formulate them in terms of the material. [...] The main idea of the procedure is, to formulate a criterion of definition, derived from theoretical background and research question, which determines the aspects of the textual material taken into account. Following this criterion the material is worked through and categories are tentative and step by step deduced. Within a feedback loop those categories are revised, eventually reduced to main categories and checked in respect to their reliability.

At the same time, deductive category application

[...] works with prior formulated, theoretical derived aspects of analysis, bringing them in connection with the text. The qualitative step of analysis consists in a methodological controlled assignment of the category to a passage of text (2000).

In other words, procedures involved in qualitative content analysis embrace:

- *inductive category development*, which is based on the research question and the input data, gradually refined in the analysis of the data. The sequence is:
a research question → a narrative text → category formulation → category definition → refinement in the course of analysis → application to the text (a feedback loop);
- *deductive category application*, which consists in employing pre-existing categories (based on theory) to the data. The sequence is:
a research question → categories pre-defined by theory → application to the text (i.e. the category is expressed by the definition of a construct based on theory, finding examples of it in the text and coding it).

Deductive and inductive categories analysis can be complemented by quantitative analysis of the categories occurrence in the sample text(s) to demonstrate patterns, tendencies, or just frequencies.

5. A sample narrative study on pre-service teachers' emotions

5.1 Background: The reasons for the study, context, and subjects

A small-scale study described here demonstrates how narratives can be used in investigating the affectivity of pre-service teachers as perceived by them and the degree of their awareness of the significance of their emotionality in their professional contexts. Taking into account what trainee teachers see as inhibiting their classroom performance, that is their emotions, it is necessary to make them more aware of what these emotions are, how they affect their performance and relations with their learners, but also how able they are to cope with them successfully. This illustrates the need for emotion labor and emotion management as a significant part of teacher training. It can be assumed that pre-service teachers, still students themselves, can find a valuable resource in their experiences as learners and novice teachers when reflecting on their affectivity.

Also taking into account the focus on development of reflection and autonomy in educational contexts as the main objectives of present day training programs for future teachers, it seems necessary to introduce tools that will allow trainers to monitor this development and the trainees to become more autonomous in their professional development. One such tool can be reflection through narrative writing. Reflective narratives are yet another form of experiential learning for future teachers and a valid source of information for us as teacher trainers.

This small-scale study was carried out on a group of twenty two pre-service teachers of EFL in their fourth year of study at the university following the foreign language teacher training program of studies. The students were either actively involved in teaching practice at different levels of schools (primary, secondary, and language schools) or taught as novices a limited number of English lessons a week on a regular basis. They also gave private tutorials to school learners. All of them were instructed in TEFL methodology and completed a course in psycho-pedagogy. At the moment of data collection, they were also involved in individual action research diploma projects required for the completion of their M.A. degrees in TEFL.

The subjects in this study were asked to write a 350-words narrative text on their affectivity as pre-service teachers and their emotion management. The questions to be answered in the analysis were:

Do trainees acknowledge their emotions?

Are they conscious of both the positive and negative emotions that they experience?

Do trainees have effective coping strategies (emotion labor and management)?

5.2 Results and discussion

5.2.1 Trainees' comments on their affectivity (narrative data)

The deductive (based on the research questions) and the inductive categories (derived from the raw narrative data) were defined as:

- acknowledgment of emotions and their importance for a trainee teacher;
- positive versus negative emotions identified;
- discrete emotions felt by the trainees;
- occurrence of coping strategies (emotion management), their types, and difficulties in coping with one's emotions;
- the time/experience factor in coping with one's affectivity.

The above categories are exemplified in short excerpts from the subjects' narratives (Table 5).

Table 5. Sample excerpts from trainee narratives

Focus (category)	Narrative sample
Acknowledgement of teacher emotions	<p><i>I believe that it is natural for a human being to experience thousands of emotions a day. (Aleksandra)</i></p> <p><i>One can argue that teaching means only thinking, analysing, organizing, conducting lessons, and problem solving. However, teacher's emotions and feelings are also of great importance. They are an inevitable part of our profession which should not be neglected and underestimated. (Anna)</i></p> <p><i>[...] every teacher encounters situations which stir up emotions—either positive or negative. What is more, teachers have the right to feel anger and disappointment or happiness and enthusiasm. (Agata)</i></p> <p><i>To my surprise, I discovered that affectivity plays a very important role in my teaching. [...] since I realized that the affective side of teaching is a very powerful one, I paid more attention to it. (Martyna)</i></p>
Emotions felt	<p><i>Before my first teaching experience I could hardly overcome tension connected with confrontation with students. I was stressed to such an extent that I perceived the whole class as a group of monsters. (Anna)</i></p> <p><i>At the beginning, I was anxious about my lessons. I was avoiding eye-contact with students and I was using humor to lower the stress. Now I am less stressed and always prepared for my lessons. I show a positive attitude towards students to reduce negative emotions. (Kamila)</i></p>
Emotion management (coping strategies)	<p><i>I had to cope with my feelings, I tried to keep calm, which was hard, because I treated all my mistakes, even the minor ones, as a disaster. (Magda)</i></p> <p><i>[...] professionalism in any job requires tactfulness and the ability to control one's emotions. [...] it is important to show students positive emotions and teaching enthusiasm. (Agata)</i></p> <p><i>Now I can say I am more self-aware and keep my emotions under control. I do not allow my mood fluctuation to influence my lessons to such an extent as it happened before. In addition, I am trying to manage them better and turn them into positive ones. (Martyna)</i></p> <p><i>What is very important is that a teacher should act not only as a tutor, assessor or controller but also as a supporter and the source of help for students. We must remember, though, that the balance of all these roles is the key to be a successful teacher. (Daria)</i></p>
Difficulties with coping	<p><i>I feel uncertain because I can never predict their uncontrollable behavior, but what is stronger than uncertainty is enthusiasm, because I know that each lesson is a new adventure for me and for the learners. (Agnieszka)</i></p>

5.2.2 Discussion

The trainees acknowledge quite forcefully—sometimes to their own surprise (Martyna)—teachers'/learners' positive and negative emotions and their significance. Emotions are seen as indispensable in teaching. The trainees see the need to control their emotions and see emotion management as a sign of professionalism. Their approach towards emotions is expressed as the necessity of leaving emotions outside the classroom, keeping a distance from one's emotions and avoiding overreacting in stressful and anxiety-evoking situations. In other words, emotions are important but they should be either eliminated (an impossible task) or fully controlled (which can be worked on). What is important is that the trainees believe emotions need to be manipulated for the good of the learners. They believe that for example a teacher should hide negative emotions such as his/her annoyance to demonstrate his/her positive attitude to a learner. Furthermore, the trainees believe that negative emotions should be turned into positive ones. The students are aware of their urgent need to develop a set of strategies to deal with one's emotions, for example, becoming aware how emotions arise and how they can be controlled, even at the brain level by the use of specific techniques. The emotion management strategies implemented by them now are for instance smiling to relieve tension and negative emotionality, controlling one's physical symptoms of anger by taking a deep breath and making a joke or generally demonstrating a sense of humor to get rid of negativity. At the same time, the students are fully conscious that these strategies are not always effective.

The trainees perceive emotions as extremely important facets of teaching and teacher presence in the classroom and see emotions as motivating and as establishing an appropriate rapport between the teacher and learners. In their understanding, admitting to emotions in front of the learners can help to clarify misunderstandings resulting from them. Hiding emotions may lead to an acceleration of misunderstanding and even to conflict. In addition, some emotions, such as a demonstration of teacher enthusiasm, may help create an appropriate classroom climate leading to positive emotions or help to respond to risks and challenges. The trainees emphasize the significance of positive emotions, though they themselves admit to a lot of negative emotions they have to control. This demonstrates a clear need for development of some kind of emotion management training program as a part of teacher training based on trainees' obligation to recognize, and consequent ability to control, their emotionality.

6. Conclusions

Acknowledging the power of emotions as a part of teacher self-identity and thus a significant dimension of teacher presence in the classroom (and beyond), as well as focusing on their dynamic character monitored by the teacher himself/herself means that awareness of affective areas of teaching would add to the knowledge, self-confidence and security of both teachers and learners. The awareness of teacher's (but also learners') affectivity is shown to be an important factor in being effective teachers. It makes manipulation of affectivity (emotion labor and management) possible (Hochschild, 1979; Benesch, 2012). According to Benesch (2014, in press) emotion labor should be based on negotiable feeling rules, feelings being acknowledged and self-monitored by their adjustment.

Gregersen and MacIntyre (2014) emphasize the importance of learner emotionality and discuss teacher's role in acknowledging learner emotions. However, what they affirm applies equally well to teacher emotions, as teacher and learner emotions constitute an interacting dynamic system. Teachers by acknowledging learner emotions also partly acknowledge their own affectivity. In their focus on emotions, Gregersen and MacIntyre (2014) emphasize both the importance of dealing with negative feelings and encouraging positive ones by using the power of imagination. In their recent book *Capitalizing on Language Learners' Individuality. From Premise to Practice* (2014), they suggest activities which promote thinking about one's affectivity in terms of anticipated emotions ("How will I feel if...?"), past emotions ("How did I feel when...?") and conscious strategies of making use of positive and eliminating negative affectivity.

To recapitulate, the first stage in developing emotion labor and emotion management in a teacher is the recognition of emotions as they occur in the teacher's daily classroom practice (and beyond) and also awareness of learner emotions, as teacher and learner emotions interact and constitute a dynamic continuum which is personally and contextually-grounded. This conscious recognition of one's emotions is a starting point in taking care of one's affectivity. Secondly, focusing on positive emotions and the transfer of successful strategies that have led to positive affectivity in the past can be a good way of taking more control of one's feelings (Gregersen & MacIntyre, 2014). As negative emotions figured more profoundly in the subjects' comments on their affectivity recall in the narratives in this study (but also elsewhere, see Gabryś-Barker, 2012), it appears that the development of a variety of trainees' coping strategies has become a priority and should become an important area of focus of teacher training programs. Therefore, as teacher trainers, we need to rethink our emphases in training future teachers to give future teachers the tools to cope on their own in their future classrooms, not only in terms of the cognitive aspects of teaching (methods and

techniques) but also (and equally importantly) to perform the emotion labor and emotion management indispensable to both professional and personal fulfillment.

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„Jesteśmy ludźmi, a nie robotami”

O psychologii emocji w kontekście edukacyjnym

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest jednemu z najważniejszych wymiarów funkcjonowania człowieka, jakim jest jego sfera emocjonalna. W części teoretycznej autorka przedstawia pojęcie emocji w psychologii oraz dokonuje przeglądu badań z zakresu emocji w kontekście nauczania i samego nauczyciela. Natomiast w części empirycznej zaprezentowane i omówione zostają percepcje nauczycieli początkujących, dotyczące ich własnych emocji podczas nauczania w klasie czy też kontaktu z uczniem oraz sposobów radzenia sobie z tymi emocjami (ang. *emotion labor*, *emotion management*). Percepcja własnych doświadczeń i refleksja nad nimi stanowią ważny czynnik w rozwoju zawodowym nauczyciela. Zastosowany w badaniu tekst narracyjny stanowić może istotny instrument w rozwoju refleksyjności nauczyciela.

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**„Wir sind Menschen und keine Roboter“
Zur Psychologie der Emotionen im Bildungskontext**

Zusammenfassung

Der Beitrag ist einem der wichtigsten Bereiche der menschlichen Existenz, nämlich der emotionalen Sphäre gewidmet. In seinem theoretischen Teil erläutert die Verfasserin den Begriff „Emotion“ in der Psychologie und analysiert die über Emotionen im Zusammenhang mit dem Bildungsprozess und dem Lehrer selbst durchgeführten Forschungen. Im empirischen Teil des Beitrags dagegen werden die Wahrnehmungen von angehenden Lehrern über deren eigene Emotionen während des Unterrichts im Klassenzimmer, bei Kontakten mit den Schülern und über ihre Methoden des Zurechtkommens mit den Emotionen (eng.: *emotion labour, emotion mangement*) geschildert und erörtert. Die Wahrnehmung von eigenen Erfahrungen und Nachdenken darüber sind ein wichtiger Faktor der Berufsentwicklung des Lehrers. Die bei der Untersuchung ausgenutzten narrativen Berichte der Lehrer können sich als ein wichtiges Instrument zur Entwicklung der Nachdenklichkeit des Lehrers darstellen.