Teacher Emotions in the Context of Educational Reforms

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The ever-expanding field of teacher change informs us that reform in schools is about conflict, unpredictability, resistance, and some loss in self-image. Teachers are considered by most policymakers, curriculum developers, and school change experts to be instrumental in the process of educational change (Datnow, 2000; Fullan, 1998; Hargreaves & Fullan, 1998; Hargreaves, Earl, & Ryan, 1996; McLaughlin, 1998). Yet teachers respond to school reforms in a variety of ways: Some teachers are happy to support and sustain reform efforts, whereas others feel fear, frustration, or loss and resist such efforts (Datnow, 1998; Datnow & Castellano, 2000; Hargreaves, 1994, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 2004, 2005; Lasky, 2005; Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006; Van Veen, Sleegers, & van de Ven, 2005; Zembylas & Barker, 2007). However, reform efforts rarely address the emotions of change for teachers and the implications of educational reforms on teachers' emotional well-being (Hargreaves, 2004; Van Veen & Lasky, 2005).

Over the last few years, two reviews of research on teachers' meanings regarding educational practice (van den Berg, 2002) and policy implementation and cognition (Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002), and a special issue on emotions, identity, and change of *Teaching and Teacher Education* (Van Veen & Lasky, 2005), have brought attention to the emotional impact of reform efforts on teachers. Both of these reviews, as well as the articles published in the special issue of *Teaching and Teacher Education*, emphasize the need for research that pays attention to the emotional aspects of teacher practice and reform initiatives and moves beyond a "dispassionate cognitive perspective" (Spillane et al., 2002, p. 401) of teacher sense-making. Spillane and his colleagues state specifically that emotions are an "overlooked and understudied aspect of the social sense-making with respect to reform" (p. 411); similarly, Van Veen and Lasky (2005) assert that the ways teachers experience reform is fundamentally emotionally laden, and thus research on these issues can inform change theory and professional development.

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In this chapter, I offer a critical synthesis and analysis of contemporary work on the importance of teacher emotions in relation to educational change. My purpose is not to provide a comprehensive review of current literature on teacher emotions and educational reforms but rather to engage in a discussion of contemporary work, focusing on what seem to me two major issues that run through recent research on teacher emotions and educational change. These issues are: (1) space and time as sources of social and emotional support for teachers in reform contexts; (2) the interplay among teacher emotions, identity, and politics. My discussion is informed by and contextualized in my own research in the area for the last 10 years, and my goal is to make a contribution to the ongoing conceptual analysis of investigations on teacher emotions in the context of educational reform. This chapter also explores the implications for practice and policy from the development of spaces for teachers to process their feelings about change. While more work is being done in the area of teacher emotions and the impact of high-stakes accountability and stress-inducing reforms (e.g. Troman & Woods, 2000; Vandenberghe & Huberman, 1999), research on teachers' emotional efforts in the context of reforms has not been the subject of extensive research and thus requires more in-depth analysis (Day, 2002). In a world of unrelenting and even repetitive change (Abrahamson, 2004), understanding the emotional aspects of educational change is essential, if reform efforts are to be more meaningful and successful.

Emotionality and Educational Reform: An Overview

Emotion and change are closely linked (Hargreaves, 2004). Teachers' emotional responses toward change are the result of the ways teachers perceive, interpret, and evaluate their relationship with the changing environment (Blase, 1986; Troman & Woods, 2001). When teachers resist reform efforts, it is often because it threatens their self-image, their sense of identity, and their emotional bonds with students and colleagues by overloading the curriculum and intensifying teachers' work and control from the outside (Hargreaves, 1994, 2005; Nias, 1999a, 1999b; van den Berg, 2002; Zembylas, 2005b). Teachers' resistance to change has often been attributed to stubbornness, lack of imagination, and laziness. However, teachers grasp the negative consequences the reform agenda – often imposed from the outside – will have on them and their students; therefore, teachers resist reforms when the rhetoric of change does not match with the reality of their everyday classroom practices (Bailey, 2000; Schmidt & Datnow, 2005). Emotional disappointment with reform arises not only because of the unwanted imposition of reform demands, but also because of the cumulative effects of the repetitive and contradictory nature of such demands (Little, 1996, 2000). Van Veen et al. (2005) and Van Veen and Sleegers (2006) extend the work of Little and further show that even when teachers subscribe to the reform agenda, the working conditions under which the reform has to be implemented elicit more negative emotions than one would expect on the basis

of the teachers' (cognitive) assent. It is not surprising, then, that attempts for educational change may be unsuccessful not only because they may exclude rather than include teachers, but also because these attempts may have predominantly negative emotional implications for teachers (Hargreaves, 2004).

There are many models of school reform that are based on the idea that change is a problem to be solved through appropriate needs assessment, followed by the implementation of appropriate strategies. Such perspectives on school reform are based on the idea that change is primarily a "rational" and "technical" process. The difficulty with such models of reform is that they overemphasize the rational and consequently do not take into account the complexity, ambiguity, and uncertainty acknowledged to be part of change in schools (Hargreaves, 1994, 2000, 2005; Nias, 1999a, 1999b). Rationality is often the driving force behind reform initiatives. In such circumstances, teachers' emotional responses to change are often seen less important.

However, change does not only occur as a result of outlining a set of problems to diagnose and solve (Vince & Broussine, 1996). It can also be approached through identifying the emotions (e.g., anxiety and loss) and relations of collegiality and trust that challenge the ways in which teachers think and feel about themselves and others. In the last two decades, educational reformers have emphasized the importance of collegial relations, collaborative networks, and trust among teachers in enriching the school organizational climate while also providing teachers powerful opportunities for self-renewal (Alfonso & Goldsberry, 1982; Hargreaves & Dawe, 1990; Little, 1990; Marlow & Nass-Fukai, 2000; Sergiovanni, 1992; Wallace, 1998). True collegiality, according to Marlow and Nass-Fukai (2000), involves ongoing professional interaction and trust; in these interactions there is validation of colleagues as equals. Despite the conceptual vagueness of the terms "collegiality" and "trust," professional collegial relationships are suggested as one way to reduce isolation and develop greater coherence and integration to the work of teaching (Little, 1990).

Several authors acknowledge the advantages of social and emotional support in teachers' efforts to cope with change (Hargreaves, 1994, 2001a, 2001b, 2004; Nias, 1998, 1999a, 1999b; Van Veen & Lasky, 2005). For example, Nias (1999a) argues that collegial relations appear to strengthen the moral perspectives and values of teachers. "Collegial" or "collaborative" teacher cultures (Nias, 1989) are characterized by mutual support and caring, in which

> individuals feel able to express their emotions, negative and positive, to admit to failure and weakness, to voice resentment and frustration, to demonstrate affection. By contrast, a culture of individualism tends to increase emotional stress for its members by fostering an illusion that others are coping and that one's own fears are born of a unique incompetence; by requiring individuals to pretend to feelings they do not own; by failing to promote the habit of day-to-day communication so that small interpersonal or professional differences build up into major problems. (Nias, 1999a, p. 235)

Nias (1998) also emphasizes that teachers who have the time or subject matter relatedness value talking and listening as a means of sharing emotional experiences – especially, in times of frustration or despair such as during stressful reform efforts. The benefits of this kind of teacher talk are important: First, teachers get to

know one another much better, both personally and professionally; second, teacher talk builds trusting relationships and mutual openness; and third, teachers develop a shared language that contributes to the success of what they do (Nias, 1998). Interpersonal relationships among teachers contribute to the emotional health of the staff group; these relationships have added benefits such as improved cooperation, communication, and emotional commitment (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Leithwood, Menzies, Jantzi, & Leithwood, 1999). Hence, trust and emotional support among teachers seems to facilitate effective and meaningful collaborative working relationships.

Increasingly, change theorists acknowledge that resistance to change is part of the process – in fact, it has a modifying influence – and that the ambivalence and confusion teachers have toward change can be understood on the basis of how individuals respond to change and why they change. To accept reform costs teachers some loss in self-image and vulnerability (Hargreaves, 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Nias, 1999a, 1999b). This threat to self-esteem and the resulting vulnerability can work against reform efforts (Lasky, 2005; Kelchtermans, 2005). There needs to be acknowledged, of course, that sometimes reform is needed, even conceding that it will be emotionally destructive for some teachers who are involved. Nevertheless, as Blackmore (1996, 1998a, 1998b) argues, the issue is not so much about the rational vs. emotional views of reform, but it is about issues of commitment to certain values and certain types of social relationships. That is, Blackmore asserts, change theorists still fail to consider how individuals' emotions intersect with the politics of change. Thus, any attempt to understand school reform needs to take into consideration both the individual and the collective coping practices of teachers. Evans (1996) suggests that change has emotional investment which cannot be altered by rational explanation or technical approach alone; change is part of the context of specific relationships with friends, colleagues, family and how change impacts on such relationships. Thus social, emotional, and material support for teachers during times of reform is necessary for the emotional well-being of teachers, as well as for the successful implementation of reform efforts (Hargreaves, Earl, Moore, & Manning, 2001; Van Veen et al., 2005).

Finally, in my own work, I have used the metaphorical term *spaces for coping* with change (Zembylas, 2005a; Zembylas & Barker, 2007) to identify the spatiality and politics of emotional relations and understandings of teachers' responses to educational reform. Space may sound like a vague metaphor until we realize that it describes experiences of everyday life (Palmer, 1993). We know what it means to experience a sunrise; we know what it means to be on a crowded rush-hour bus. In teaching, teachers know best what it is to be pressed, their space diminished by the urgency of demands, especially in the context of reform efforts that may exclude them. Needless to say, there is ample evidence of the chances of innovations when teachers feel some ownership of the change process (Fink & Stoll, 1996; Fullan, 1993; Sarason, 1990). But regardless of whether teachers feel ownership of the change process or not, they somehow have to make an affective meaning of change and move on. The term "spaces for coping" is used precisely to describe this notion: the literal and metaphorical spaces that teachers create to cope with change

and make sense of their feelings about the change processes; thus teacher emotions are unavoidably social and political.

The notion of "space" and its political implications are important because their relevance is seen as central to school reform efforts (Baker & Foote, 2006; Hargreaves, 2001b, 2004, 2005). The idea of "spaces for coping" may be utilized as an overarching concept, because it helps us identify the intersection between individual experiences and social power relations (Beatty & Brew, 2004; hooks, 1991) or structural and cultural working conditions (Kelchtermans, 2005). In other words, spaces for coping are places where it is possible to explore how teachers' emotional responses are socially and politically contextualized (Zembylas, 2005a). Thus, spaces for coping imply defenses or resistances that may have to be breached for change to occur. But the creation of spaces of coping may also imply resisting those tendencies to clutter up a renewed consciousness about teaching; it is then that possibilities are opened up for real change.

Space and Time as Sources of Social and Emotional Support for Teachers in Reform Contexts

A key idea of spatial theorists is that space is fundamental to social life; social spaces are produced and transformed by our practices (Harvey, 1989; Rose, 1993). There is a co-constructive relationship among individuals, groups, and their environments; in other words, our social space is producing and is produced by us. Space is conceptualized as an arena of social, historical, and political relations that imply certain assertions about social interaction, race, class, gender, identity formation, and power (Soja, 1989, 1996). According to this conception, our being-in-the-world is simultaneously historical, social, political, and spatial; social acting, then, has to be understood within spatial contexts. The field of geography has contributed significantly to our understanding of the role of spatiality in human relations, although more often than not space has been theorized in ways that have been complicit to the exploitation of individuals (Rose, 1993).

What seems to be an important contribution of spatial theories to the discussion here is the notion that spatial aspects create emotional experiences in teaching. Spatial aspects such as physical closeness, social relations, moral values, professional ideas, and power relations are characteristics of schools. Hargreaves (2001a, 2001b) has utilized the term *emotional geographies* to emphasize the spatial and experiential patterns of closeness and/or distance in human interactions or relationships within schools. He identifies five key emotional geographies of teaching: sociocultural, moral, professional, political, and physical distance. It is important to reiterate the three caveats that Hargreaves (2001a) suggests regarding emotional geographies of teaching. The first one is that there are no "universal" rules of emotional geography in teaching, meaning that there is no ideal closeness or distance between teachers and others that is culture free. The second caveat is that emotions have imaginary geographies of psychological closeness as well as physical ones.

And the third caveat is that distance and closeness are not just structural or cultural conditions that shape teachers' interactions but active accomplishments by teachers who make or remake the emotional geographies of their interactions.

In addition to the social and political understanding of space, time also constitutes human experience and thus change over time has to be examined in relation to the spaces in which it acquires meaning (Louis, 2006). Again, Hargreaves' contribution is important here because as it is shown through his work, the issue of time is significant in understanding the emotions of change. For example, the sustainability of change is part of the social and emotional geography of a school (Goodson, Moore, & Hargreaves, 2006) and teachers' age and career stages are inextricable aspects of spaces of change (Hargreaves, 2005). Teachers' emotional responses to educational change, then, are as much a matter of spatial politics of reform as it is a historical matter of teachers' concerns. Time and space are inevitably interpreted through teachers' emotions and identities and thus the historical organization of spaces of reform is a constitutive element in teachers' professional development (Baker & Foote, 2006).

A similar term by Spillane (1999), *teachers' zones of enactment*, refers to the social and political spaces in which reform initiatives are encountered within the worlds of practitioners; it is within these zones that "teachers notice, construe, construct, and operationalize the instructional ideas advocated by reformers" (p. 144). Both Hargreaves' "emotional geographies" and Spillane's "zones of enactment" offer important contributions to discourses on educational reform: they emphasize the (positive or negative) "emotional labor" (Hochschild, 1983) involved in teachers' efforts to cope with change as well as the need that teachers' emotional responses must be considered when reform efforts are undertaken. More recently, Beatty and Brew (2004) have also examined how *emotional epistemologies* address the power of connecting with self and others in emotional meaning-making, which may very well underlie "emotional geographies" and "zones of enactment."

In my own work, I have built on these ideas and conceptualized a term that captures more specifically the collection of teachers' efforts and practices to deal with the emotional aspects of educational reform. For this purpose, I suggested the term *spaces for coping* to theorize space by bringing together the various kinds of modalities – emotional, political, cultural, and social – that produce an active (not a passive) locus of interactions and relationships among teachers (Zembylas & Barker, 2007). This term articulates a conceptualization of space as a *product* (Lefebvre, 1991) that contains (1) the social relations among teachers, students, and parents, along with the specific organization of the school; and (2) the emotional labor – positive and negative – of teachers as a result of their involvement in reform efforts. Spaces for coping are products of physical, social, moral, professional, and political processes enacted by teachers in the context of educational reform.

By spaces for coping, I mean those spaces emergent through the enactment of practices that attempt to deal with educational reform in terms of awareness, thinking, feeling, and relating. This term does not merely represent a metaphorical conceptualization of space but an understanding of coping in terms of signifying practices and processes. In other words, the term "spaces for coping" captures

the inseparable components of the dynamics of spatial production. The concept of spaces for coping explores how efforts to attend to and through processes and practices can work to extend rather than diminish the emotional field in which teachers move. This extension is facilitated by a deepening of the analysis of teachers' emotional entanglements with change. Therefore, the emphasis is on how spaces for coping with change provide contexts through which to apprehend issues of emotionality and educational reform.

For example, in many of the studies cited so far investigating teacher emotions and educational reform as well as in my own research, it is shown how teachers strive to balance their personal goals for reform, their emotional responses, and the external pressures. Opportunities like time and space set aside for conversations with their colleagues or for planning or practicing ideas provide teachers with sources of social and emotional support in their efforts to deal with change. Each teacher's understanding of the reform effort is clearly very different from that of other teachers within the same school. In a sense, then, teachers' struggles with the reform efforts constitute highly individual tales. Teachers embrace or reject reform for quite different reasons; they bring to the reform efforts certain commitments and have particular emotional responses that effectively undermine or support the proposed changes (Schmidt & Datnow, 2005). On the one hand, teachers, who are against the reform effort, may find ways to "adjust" the reform to their own needs and beliefs; on the other hand, others who embrace the reform efforts, value time and space opportunities so that they can be more successful in implementing the reform (see Zembylas & Barker, 2007). As it is shown through existing research, teachers who are in an environment of uncertainty use time and space in their own ways to create practices of coping with the reform efforts.

What I want to suggest here, then, is that sensitivity to teachers' needs for emotional and social support is essential to reform efforts. Creating networks of support that strengthen collegiality and trust can gradually make space for the feelings that help weave community and cultivate relationships. There are always the mixed feelings of excitement and anxiety teachers have at the outset of a new reform effort. Opportunities for time and space as sources of emotional and social support may work well for teachers, especially for those who resist change. On the one hand, having such opportunities might create opportunities for the future transformations of those teachers who initially resist change. On the other hand, it should not be ignored that such opportunities may in fact subvert reform efforts, despite the fact that "oppositional" teachers find their much-needed support to cope with change (see Zembylas & Barker, 2007).

Teacher collegiality and trust are based not only on contextual factors (e.g., time, subject matter relatedness), but also on personal moral values (Hargreaves, 1994; Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006). Teachers' moral values contribute to the school emotional culture and subcultures and affect teachers' emotional practices in school reform efforts. Often, some teachers' coping practices with reform efforts have damaging consequences for their effectiveness in the classroom and for their capacity to connect with students (Hargreaves, 2000; Woods, Jeffrey, Troman, & Boyle, 1997), because external reform efforts can work against the moral values and beliefs held

by these teachers. In addition to the fact that the personal self-image and identity of teachers is usually at stake, teachers' efforts result in the adoption of often insufficient coping practices such as retreatism or downshifting (Troman & Woods, 2000). Thus, change for some teachers can invoke a sense of powerlessness (Smylie, 1999) and vulnerability (Kelchtermans, 1996, 2005; Lasky, 2005), when teachers evaluate their capacities, values, and will to respond to change as incompatible. Inevitably, then, teacher emotions are interwoven with issues of power, identity, and resistance in the context of educational reform (Zembylas, 2005a, 2005b).

The Interplay Among Teacher Emotions, Identity, and Politics

Recent research on teacher emotions and educational change also shows the multiple links among teacher emotions, identity, and politics (e.g. see Hargreaves, 2005; Kelchtermans, 2005; Van Veen & Lasky, 2005; Zembylas, 2003, 2005a, 2005b). This line of work provides evidence about the ways in which teacher emotions and identity formation play a central role in the circuits of power that constitute teacher-selves. The critical understanding of this process in contexts of educational reform is crucial, if we are also to explore the possibility of creating new forms of teacher-selves that escape normative responses to change. For example, it is shown that teacher identity is not fixed but is constantly becoming in spaces that are embedded in the interplay between emotions and actions, on the one hand, and the political conditions within a school, on the other; this interplay mediates the emotionally laden interpretation of reform policies (Zembylas, 2005b). This line of thinking – which is grounded on a poststructuralist theorization of emotions, identity, and power in education (Boler, 1999; Zembylas, 2005a) – provides a different lens than the usual sociocultural framework that has been used to understand teacher emotions and identity in school reform efforts (e.g., see Hargreaves, 1998a, 2000, 2005; Lasky, 2005; Van Veen & Sleegers, 2005). Most sociological studies on this subject emphasize how teacher emotions are socially constructed but often assume a givenness to teacher-self and identity – the processes of social construction pertain only to how social situations shape the *expression* and *experience* of teachers' emotional states (Zembylas, 2005a). On the other hand, the approaches that are based on feminist and poststructuralist perspectives examine the transaction among larger social forces and the inner psychic aspects and highlight how teachers participate in emotional practices by adopting or resisting – *in action* – particular emotion discourses. The advantage of feminist and poststructuralist approaches compared to other approaches is that feminist and poststructuralist approaches focus on the role of emotional and social practices of teachers and avoid privileging self-consciousness, that is, they reject the assumption that one's awareness of being is separate from the socially constructed world (Boler, 1999).

In particular, feminist and poststructuralist approaches draw attention to a deeper and more complex understanding of the role of power relations in the context of educational change. As Abu-Lughod and Lutz argue, power is an integral part of

emotions, identity politics, and change, because "power relations determine what can, cannot, or must be said about self and emotion, what is taken to be true or false about them, and what only some individuals can say about them. [. . .] . . . [This idea] show[s] how emotion discourses establish, assert, challenge, or reinforce power or status differences" (p. 14). By recognizing the role power relations play in constructing emotions of change, a better understanding of the personal, cultural, political, and historical aspects of teacher identity formation might be gained. For this reason, I have termed this work *genealogies of emotions in teaching* (Zembylas, 2005a, 2005b). Following Foucault's genealogical method (1983a, 1983b, 1984), I have argued that constructing genealogies of emotions in teaching casts light on how emotions are located and represented in teachers' pedagogies and on teachers' personal and professional development. In particular, genealogies of teacher emotions in contexts of educational reforms describe events, objects, persons, and their relationships that are present or absent in the realization of the emotions related to change, and the ways that these emotions are experienced in relation to teacher-self (individual reality), others (social interactions), and school politics and culture (sociopolitical context). For example, it has been shown that analysis of identity politics and power relations in the context of school reform enriches our understanding of the *fear* and *suspicion* that teachers often feel when they are faced with change (Zembylas & Barker, 2007).

The existing research on teacher emotions, identity, and politics in the context of reform highlights two important issues. First, it is valuable to gain an understanding of the constitution of teacher subjectivities within a historical and spatial framework of how meaning intersects with emotional experiences of change. Only by interrogating the temporal and spatial contexts from which questions of identity are posed can we trace how teacher identity is subjected to the social and emotional practices of change. As Bauman (1991, 2004) argues, identities in contemporary world are undergoing a process of continual transformation and emotional ambivalence is a compelling notion of understanding the changing nature of social life and personal experience. This kind of analysis problematizes the "emotional regulation" that is often demanded from teachers and highlights the process with which *emotional rules* are constructed in relation to change, that is, how power relations and identity politics shape the expression of emotions by permitting teachers to feel some emotions and by prohibiting them to feel others. This lesson turns our attention to the view that emotions are essentially embedded in identity politics and power relations; thus, emotional regulation is not only an individual process (which is how it is usually presented by psychologically grounded literature; see, e.g., Sutton & Wheatley, 2003) but also a political one. By understanding how emotional rules and expectations are historically contingent, teachers and teacher educators may begin to deconstruct the power relations and identity politics that seek to "regulate" teachers' lives.

The second issue has to do with the importance of the emotional aspects of the negotiation of change in the context of school reforms and the role of self-discipline, self-esteem, and professional norms in teaching. Professional values and norms, as Kelchtermans (2005) points out, ought to be conceptualized as inextricable aspects

of teacher identity and the cultural and structural working conditions; these norms are continually (re)constructed and/or reproduced through interactions of domination and resistance. For example, it is shown in various studies that a teacher's relation to oneself is marked by self-policing of emotional conduct according to the demands of a particular educational reform (Hargreaves, 2005; Lasky, 2005). Thus, there is a lot to be gained from developing accounts that are suspicious of appeals to emotional well-being tied to rationalizations and instrumental goals of educational reforms. Such appeals to emotional well-being tied to rationalizations need to be examined in terms of how they shape the meaning and drive the direction, goals, emotional conduct, and motivation of teachers involved in reform efforts. New theoretical frameworks, such as those of feminist theories and poststructuralism, can be helpful in identifying how problematic are some of the underlying assumptions of reform and show that power and resistance can be productive in efforts to subvert normalizing practices (see Zembylas, 2005a).

Clearly, then, emotions in the context of educational reforms are not only a private matter but also a political space, in which students and teachers interact with implications in larger political and cultural struggles (Albrecht-Crane & Slack, 2003; Zembylas, 2005a, 2005b). The notion of "politics" here refers to "a process of determining who must repress as illegitimate, who must foreground as valuable, the feelings and desires that come up for them in given contexts and relationships" (Reddy, 1997, p. 335). That is to say, power is located in emotional expression (Campbell, 1997) – in who gets to express and who must repress various emotions. The *politics of emotions*, therefore, is the analysis that challenges the cultural and historical emotion norms with respect to what emotions are, how they are expressed, who gets to express them, and under what circumstances. It is in this sense that it may be argued that there is always something political in which teachers and students are caught up as they relate emotionally to one another in contexts of reform, because power relations are essentially unavoidable; there are always some norms influencing emotion discourses and emotional expressions during reform efforts. A careful analysis of the interplay among teacher emotions, identity, and politics provides openings for a critical intervention in a much larger debate about professional subjectivities in schools. The need for a deeper conceptualization of this interplay among teacher emotions, identity, and politics can guide future efforts to understand the power and the limitations of the political merits or demerits of any emotional regime within the space of educational reform efforts.

Implications

Overall, the findings from research on teacher emotions in the context of educational reforms highlight two issues: First, how schools structure teacher interactions in ways that hinder or promote the processing of teacher emotions; and, second, how teachers respond emotionally to professional expectations and norms (Ball & Cohen, 1996; Hargreaves, 2000; Kelchtermans, 2005; Spillane, 1999). My

analysis in this chapter has emphasized that a teacher's emotional development in the context of educational reform efforts is profoundly influenced by his or her participation in particular forms of discursive and emotional practices at school. By analyzing this idea in such terms, I wish to avoid a suggestion that subordinates the individual to the social and loses sight of the reciprocal relation between the two. As I have indicated, existing research shows that there is a great deal at stake in the emotional regimes of schools under reform. However, teacher communities are able to constitute spaces that have the potential to subvert disciplinary mechanisms and practices.

My analysis here also identifies an idea that is found in previous studies about teachers' responses to educational change. That is, it is shown how teachers differ in fundamental emotional ways with regard to how they create spaces for coping with reform efforts. Yet, more recent studies indicate that these differences are not idiosyncratic ones but are related to the sociopolitical culture of school. These findings suggest that working conditions, social relations, and moral/personal values and concerns engage teachers emotionally with the reform effort and signify what is at stake for them, regardless of whether teachers support or object the reform initiatives (see also Hargreaves, 2004, 2005). Educational change, then, is inevitably a deeply emotional sense-making experience for teachers. Consequently, allowing emerging feelings to be dealt with is not about helping teachers to feel "better" about reform pressures, but is a valuable contribution to teachers because it helps them practically to find ways of integrating and/or reconciling opposing or conflicting feelings about reform. On the one hand, teachers must understand that in the process of educational change, conflict, tensions, and disturbance to long-held beliefs are not to be feared; on the other hand, teachers also need the emotional and social support to take reasonable risks to cope with reform (Schmidt & Datnow, 2005).

However, it is often assumed that all or most teachers will produce a uniform set of responses to reform – that is, they will want to teach and behave in the manner expected of them (Hargreaves, 1994). Such demand for uniformity highlights the power relations involved in reform efforts and seeks to limit teachers' role to that of a technician. Therefore, an implication of this finding is that reformers have to acknowledge the significance of emotional diversity and provide opportunities for teachers to create their own spaces of coping with change. Change is not about forcing all teachers to subscribe enthusiastically to new ideas; a reform process needs to allow teachers to carve out spaces for themselves in order to work individually and collaboratively and find ways to reflect on their practices. Teachers need space and time to make sense of change and to make reform efforts part of their own teaching. In their own classroom, teachers hold the power for the success or failure of school reform efforts (Sarason, 1996).

The findings of existing studies in this area add support to the research which suggests that teacher emotions, identity politics, and power relations have substantial effects on classroom practice and reform efforts (Beatty & Brew, 2004; Hargreaves, 2001a, 2001b; Little, 1996, 2000; Nias, 1999a, 1999b). These findings are not so unusual; however, it seems that these issues need to be directly addressed in schools undergoing reform, because stressed and unhappy teachers can subvert

reform efforts in unexpected ways (Datnow, 1998; Datnow & Castellano, 2000). In some respects, the success of reform efforts that are based on collaborations among teachers is directly related to the relationships that these teachers develop. Not surprisingly, then, teacher collegiality and trust create distinctive emotional geographies that influence reform efforts in two ways. First, teacher collegiality that is also based on friendship and trust may intensely compete with interests for a successful reform effort; and second, teacher collegiality that is based on politeness and avoidance of conflict may end up subverting the reform effort because the real issues are not addressed (Zembylas & Barker, 2007). The contribution of existing studies lies in the finding that while social sharing and collegial relationships create important spaces for teachers to cope with change in a nonthreatening environment, it is also possible that these spaces may simultaneously undermine the reform effort.

In an increasingly changing educational environment, it has never been more necessary to develop an in-depth understanding of teacher emotions in the context of reform. Building a better emotional understanding of educational reform expectations, teachers, administrators, and reformers will become able to form more productive alliances (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1998), and redefine the emotional geographies of their relationships to make them more effective in dealing with the emotional risks of change. Better emotional understanding, as Hargreaves (2001b) argues, implies a reversal in many educational policies and policy processes. Such policies must seriously consider the emotional implications of reforms that demand teachers to implement content and learning standards, to limit teachers' time out of class to interact with others, and to standardize teachers' interactions with those around them. Future research in this area needs to further clarify how different policies may enable productive spaces of dealing with change, while exposing the constraints of any taken-for-granted assumptions about educational reforms.

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