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Emotions and Teacher Identity: a poststructural perspective

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ABSTRACT *This article illustrates the significance of teachers' emotions in the construction of teacher identity by invoking a poststructuralist lens in discussing the place of emotion in identity formation. In suggesting a poststructuralist perspective of emotions and teacher identity, it is argued that teacher identity is constantly becoming in a context embedded in power relations, ideology, and culture. In theorizing about teacher identity two ideas are developed: first, that the construction of teacher identity is at bottom affective, and is dependent upon power and agency, i.e., power is understood as forming the identity and providing the very condition of its trajectory; and second, that an investigation of the emotional components of teacher identity yields a richer understanding of the teacher self. This discussion is motivated by a desire to develop analyses that investigate how teachers' emotions can become sites of resistance and self-transformation. The emphasis on understanding the teacher-self through an exploration of emotion opens possibilities for the care and the self-knowledge of teachers and provides spaces for their transformation.*

Introduction

Recently there has been an increased interest among educators for the role of emotions [1] in teaching (Nias, 1989, 1993, 1996; Acker, 1992, 1999; Blackmore, 1996; Golby, 1996; Hargreaves, 1998a, 1998b, 2000a, 2000b; Jeffrey & Woods, 1996; Kelchtermans, 1996; Little, 1996, 2000; Boler, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1999; Lasky, 2000; Schmidt, 2000; Zembylas, 2001). These authors have constructed accounts about teachers' negative and positive emotions and their role in teachers' professional and personal development. Whatever the emotions, voiced are the meanings of identity, of how the *teacher self* is constructed and re-constructed through the social interactions that teachers have in a particular socio-cultural, historical, and institutional context. The search for understanding teacher identity requires the connection of emotion with self-knowledge. This way of looking at emotion and teacher identity reflects an emerging concern with the role of emotion in identity formation and change. It also reflects an interest in how social constructs such as individual and group identity in teaching create and maintain certain ideas about teachers' emotions (Zembylas, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b).

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Issues of emotions and teacher identity inform each other and construct interpretations of each other both on a conceptual and on a personal level.

My goal in this article is to develop two ideas. First, that the construction of teacher identity is at bottom affective, and is dependent upon *power* and *agency* (i.e. I understand power as forming the identity and providing the very condition of its trajectory). Second, that an investigation of the emotional components of teacher identity yields a richer understanding of the teacher self. This discussion is motivated by my desire to develop analyses that investigate how teachers' emotions can become sites of resistance and self-transformation. Most important, my argument suggests greater attention to both the multiplicities and the complexities of teacher identity through an understanding of the situatedness of teachers' emotions. This 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. On another level, I also want to challenge the assumption that there is a singular 'teacher self' and an essential 'teacher identity' as implied in popular cultural myths about teaching—such as the idea that the teacher is the expert or that the teacher is self-made (Britzman, 1986, 1991). An emphasis on the connection between teachers' emotions and teacher identity from a poststructuralist perspective can subvert the presumed essentialism of 'teacher identity' as well as traditional dichotomies between private–public in ways that other views on identity avoid to do.

In this article, I first discuss the use of narrative research as a methodology of exploring emotion and teacher identity, and I describe the perspective on teachers' emotions that provides my orientation. Then I describe three general views of identity formation (developmental research, socio-cultural approaches and post-structuralist approaches); within each view, I discuss the assigned place of emotion. Finally, I extend the discourse on emotions in education by invoking a discussion of the significance of emotions in teacher identity formation and the role of power and agency in this process. I conclude with considering some implications of the place of emotion in teacher identity formation for the self-transformation of teachers.

The Use of Narrative Research: searching for teacher identity

Making connections between emotions and teacher identity involves a great deal of interpretive activity. The study of teachers' narratives—that is, stories of teachers' own experiences—is increasingly being seen as crucial to the study of teachers' thinking, culture, and behavior (Connelly & Clandinin, 1987, 1999; Carter, 1993; Clandinin & Connelly, 1995, 1998; Feuerverger, 1997). Connelly & Clandinin note that 'Narrative is concerned with specific, concrete events in a person's life and is concerned to give an account of a person. Furthermore, through the construction of personal philosophies, images and narratives unities, narrative method offers an interpretive reconstruction of parts of a person's life' (1987, p. 134). Narrative research has become an important means for understanding teachers' culture; that is, teachers as knowers of themselves, of their situations,

of children, of subject matter, of teaching, and of learning (Clandinin & Connelly, 1998). If we are to understand emotion and teacher identity, then narrative research is a powerful tool to document the way discursive environments provide the construction of teacher identity. Taken together, social, cultural, and institutional discourses set the 'conditions of possibility' (Foucault, 1979) for who and what a teacher might be.

Various scholars take a step further and suggest that our lives are storied (Bruner, 1986, 1990; Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992; McAdams, 1993). Not only is there a story of the self, but the self, itself, is narratively constructed (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000); in other words, identity can be understood as a story with narrative constructs typically found in stories such as themes, plots, and characters. These stories are important both as means through which individuals understand themselves as well as tools for taking action. Social commentary and research are increasingly pointing to the narrative quality of lives, showing how the storying of the self is constantly being constructed. Narrative analysis, then, analyzes the discursive environments that effect the process by which experiences and meanings are assembled into identities. As Holstein and Gubrium point out, 'Considering the self in terms of narrative practice allows us to analyze the relation between the *hows* and *whats* of storytelling; analysis centers on storytellers engaged in the work of constructing identities and on the circumstances of narration, respectively' (2000, p. 104; original authors). Trinh (1992) also suggests that this approach of researching identity is moving away from traditional questions of *who* one is to new questions of *when*, *where*, and *how* one is.

Narrative research at the service of educators alerts us to explore teacher identity formation as articulated through talk, social interaction, and self-presentation. It does this by highlighting the situatedness of self; if narratives are built up through communication, this takes place in response to situations, practices, and available resources. One such resource for crafting teacher identity is *emotion*. As Hochschild reminds us: 'It is from feelings that we learn the self-relevance of what we see, remember, or imagine' (1983, p. 196). Emotions are the beacons of our true selves, Hochschild argues, because they provide us with an inner perspective for interpreting and responding to experience. Therefore, educational researchers can study teacher identity in classroom and school settings where teachers are *emotionally* engaged in forming their identities; explore the personal, social, and cultural/historical aspects for teacher identity formation; and examine the role of power relations and teachers' agency for teacher identity formation. In the next section, I begin theorizing about teacher identities using teachers' emotions as the point of departure.

A Perspective on Teachers' Emotions

Recent theoretical and research perspectives in various disciplines have emphasized the role of emotions in helping human beings to survive and adapt, to motivate their learning, and to communicate with others (Hyson, 1996). Research in psychology (for example, Lazarus, 1991), sociology (for example, Kemper,

1993), psychobiology (for example, Damasio, 1994, 1999), philosophy (for example, Stocker, 1996), anthropology (for example, Rosaldo, 1984), cultural studies (Lutz & Abu-Lughod, 1990), and feminist studies (for example, Campbell, 1994, 1997) emphasize the role that emotions play in the ways we know the world, the values we have, and the relationships we develop with others. In education, the emotions of teaching is by no means new terrain for researchers and educators; however, there seems to be a renewed interest in the emotions of teaching, the emotional politics of teacher development and educational reform, and the implications for teacher education.

Boler (1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 1999) combines cultural, ethical, political, multicultural and feminist analyses to explore how emotions have been disciplined, suppressed and ignored at all levels of education. Nias (1989, 1993, 1996) identifies the need to study teachers' emotional experiences because teaching is not just a technical enterprise, but is inextricably linked to teachers' personal lives. Nias observes that teachers invest their *selves* in their work and so they closely merge their sense of personal and professional identity. They invest in the values that they believe their teaching represents. Consequently, she adds, their teaching and their classroom become a main source for their self-esteem and fulfillment as well as their vulnerability. Andy Hargreaves (1998a, 1998b) discusses the emotional politics of teaching and calls for the creation of *emotional geographies of schooling* (Hargreaves, 2000a, 2000b) emphasizing the spatial and experiential patterns of closeness and/or distance in human interactions or relationships within the school, especially in the context of educational reforms. Similarly, Judith Little (1996, 2000) uses the term *heightened emotionality* to describe the emotional facets of teaching in ordinary and reform contexts.

Since it is impossible to analyze every account on emotion in the space available, I have chosen to focus briefly on two ideas that describe my orientation on teachers' emotions. First of all, my approach to emotion conceives them not only as matters of personal (private) dispositions or psychological qualities, but also as social and political experiences that are constructed by how one's work (in this case, the teaching) is organized and led. Central to this perspective is the idea of the social construction on emotions; that is, the notion that 'the experience and expression of emotions is dependent on learned convictions or rules and that, to the extent that cultures differ in the way they talk about and conceptualize emotions, how they are experienced and expressed will differ in different cultures as well' (Cornelius, 1996, p. 188). The literature that views emotion as socially constructed provides a counter-discourse to the theorization of emotion as a psychological phenomenon that is 'located' in the individual. The emotions that teachers experience and express, for example, are not just matters of personal dispositions but are constructed in social relationships and systems of values in their families, cultures, and school situations. These relationships and values profoundly influence how and when particular emotions are constructed, expressed, and communicated. Feminist theories of emotion (for example, Campbell, 1994; Boler, 1999), in particular, focus on understanding emotions in relation to power and culture, and offer approaches in re-thinking emotions as collabora-

tively constructed and historically situated, rather than simply as personal, psychological and individual phenomena.

Second, my analysis of emotion resonates with efforts to deconstruct the traditional dichotomies of public/private and reason/emotion, and to develop 'histories of emotions' in one's life. Various thinkers (for example, Rosaldo, 1984; Greenspan, 1988; Griffiths, 1988; Bartky, 1990; Laslett, 1990; Lutz & Abu-Lughod, 1990; Campbell, 1994; Code, 1996; Game & Metcalfe, 1996; Boler, 1999) reject the dichotomy between emotion and rationality (or cognition), and consequently the dogmatic position that emotional response is irrational. Feminist writing, in particular, challenges that emotions, feelings, and bodies are in opposition to cognition, rationality, and the mind. Feminist and socio-cultural approaches (although not monolithic) question the political motivation behind such dichotomies and the hierarchical control they imply. These approaches are unified by the notion that power seems to be an integral part of all discourses about emotions 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 […] The real innovation is in showing how emotion discourses establish, assert, challenge, or reinforce power or status differences. (Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990, p. 14)

Jaggar (1989) also argues that 'rather than repressing emotion in epistemology it is necessary to rethink the relation between knowledge and emotion and construct a conceptual model that demonstrates the mutually constitutive rather than oppositional relation between reason and emotion' (p. 141.) Emotion and reason are interdependent because reason presupposes emotion—what is rational depends on emotional preferences—and emotion presupposes reason—our emotions require rational interpretation if they are to come above ground (Fricker, 1991). Therefore, Fricker suggests that: 'Given this possibility for the nurturance of new emotions which are not yet sanctioned and codified by accepted rationality, and given that the status quo relies on our emotional as well as rational acquiescence, then emotions can emerge as a potentially subversive force' (1991, p. 18). If we cease to think of emotions as irrational, then we can view them as 'instruments of freedom rather than as tools of self-oppression' (de Sousa, 1980, p. 446). In a similar tone, Damasio (1994, 1999), who comes from a neurobiological perspective, offers an understanding of emotions and feelings as an intricate part of cognition: 'Feelings have a say on how the rest of the brain and cognition go about their business. Their influence is immense' (Damasio, 1994, p. 160). Damasio develops this idea through what he calls the 'somatic-marker hypothesis'. This hypothesis and subsequent theory explain that effective social behavior is dependent on feelings and emotions just as much as on the objective ability to reason. In fact, what we understand to be the process of decision-making actually has a lot to do with emotions.

These two views, in my approach on emotions, raise a number of issues related to identity. If emotions are social constructions occurring within a particular social

and cultural context embedded in power relations, then the following questions arise: To what extent is identity formed as an individual project, to what extent is it a function of socialization in socio-cultural contexts, and to what extent is a combination of both? Also, how do these processes take place, especially socially, given the power relations involved?

These questions have been debated in the social sciences for half a century (Schwartz, 2001), and various theorists and researchers have tackled them from different angles establishing a variety of traditions of identity theory. My purpose here is not to trace all these traditions, but to discuss three views of identity formation that have been instrumental in the development of current ideas about teacher identity. Most importantly, however, my discussion focuses on the place of emotion in these views as a social, cultural, political, and historical resource for identity formation. The value of this exploration lies in the fact that it identifies the possibilities and impossibilities of emotion as a resource for teacher identity formation. This task yields a richer understanding of teachers' emotions as empowering and sometimes constraining resources for action and change in teaching.

Three Views of Identity Formation and the Place of Emotion

The three views that I look at in this section are: (1) developmental research on identity formation, especially Ericksonian and neo-Ericksonian identity theory and research; (2) a socio-cultural approach on identity formation based on Vygotsky's work and its applications in education by Wertsch and others; and (3) a poststructural view of identity based on the work of such theorists as Foucault, Butler, and Bhaba. The first two views point to two familiar traditions in the discourse of identity: the psychological/philosophical tradition of identity as the process centered on the individual and his/her self-reflections in the mirror of human nature; and the sociological/anthropological view of the difference of identity as located in the interaction between an individual and the culture. The third view, the poststructural perspective, interrogates the discursive and disciplinary places from which questions of identity are posed, and insists that it is impossible to claim an origin of identity within a tradition that views identity as a psychological or a sociological issue.

In what follows, I examine the contributions of these views to a multidimensional understanding of identity and I analyze the place of emotion in each view. What is obvious from such a figurative analysis is that each view either logically requires, or implies, particular ideas on the portrayal of emotion, such that the view of emotion and the view of identity support each other. To analyze in detail each of these views is not the purpose of this article; instead, through a comparison of the differences and similarities of these views in the ways emotion is perceived, I argue that identity formation involves how the social operation of power and agency influences the discourses about emotion and identity and *vice versa*. In other words, I discuss how emotion discourses establish, reinforce or challenge power relations and identity formation. One can imagine the implications of this idea in the context of teaching; this is the task of the next section.

Ericksonian and Neo-Ericksonian Views of Identity Formation

Erickson (1958, 1963, 1964, 1968) was one of the classic theorists who established a strong and influential tradition in identity theory (others include W. James, Charles Horton Cooley and G. H. Mead). Erickson's (1968) definition of identity included both individual and social-contextual dimensions, and emphasized the notion of identity as 'a subjective sense of an invigorating sameness and continuity' (p. 19) oriented toward a self-chosen future. Empirical research that has been conducted using the Ericksonian conception of identity (for example, Marcia, 1966, 1980, 1988; Waterman, 1988) and other neo-Ericksonian identity models that have been introduced more recently (for example, Berzonsky & Adams, 1999) have operationalized Erickson's concepts in largely psychological terms.

The empirical exploration of the place of emotions in this kind of research and theory on identity formation often occurs in categorical, classification approaches (Haviland & Kahlbaugh, 1993). In fact, when criticism has been raised against this kind of identity research (for example, Côté & Levine, 1988), it has focused on the notion of compartmentalized identity constructions that are promoted, and the lack of attention for socio-cultural aspects. In other words, Ericksonian and neo-Ericksonian approaches seem to give *analytic primacy* (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995)—that is, the employment of a starting point that directs attention to certain phenomena and away from others—to the *individual* to create and maintain a dynamic conception of oneself as a coherent whole. Côté and Levine (1988), for example, have criticized some neo-Ericksonian research on identity status for emphasizing too much the role of the isolated individual in identity construction. These researchers (for example, Côté & Levine, 1988; Penuel & Wertsch, 1995), however, point out that Erickson himself gave considerably more weight to socio-cultural processes of identity formation than has been commonly assumed.

However, the important issue here is that this distinction between personal and social identity in Ericksonian and neo-Ericksonian approaches implies a notion of compartmentalized identity construction and a view of identity as a set of relatively independent, interacting factors. According to these approaches it is up to the individual to adapt and fit to particular life situations. Also, identity is viewed as a fairly flexible and pragmatic affair, allowing the individual the opportunity to adapt to different situational or person-oriented contexts that arise concurrently or developmentally (Haviland & Kahlbaugh, 1993). In this sense, one gains insight into identity by examining how people describe themselves in the various compartments of their lives (e.g. the Ericksonian domains of fidelity, ideology and work; see Erickson, 1964). In this framework of identity theories, as Haviland and Kahlbaugh (1993) argue, a person is a combination of the 'self-made' and 'environmentally responsive', but emotional processes have little explicit role in the formation, maintenance, or development of the compartmentalized identity. In other words, although Ericksonian and neo-Ericksonian approaches do incorporate emotional items, they do so in a way that undermines the notion of emotion as a social construction and there is no mention about the role of power relations in the socio-cultural context in which one is situated.

A Vygotskian Approach to Identity Formation

Vygotsky (1978, 1986), on the other hand, gives analytic primacy to socio-cultural processes as primary influences on development. Although he was not concerned with identity and did not use the term in his writings (Penuel & Wertsch, 1995), Vygotsky was concerned with individual development. In that way, argue Penuel and Wertsch, his views provide a useful framework in understanding some of the developmental processes of identity formation. In Vygotsky's views, individual mental functioning can be understood only by going outside the individual and examining the social and cultural processes from which one is constructed. In fact, he makes the much stronger claim that the specific structures and processes of *intramental* (individual) functioning can be traced to the developmental precursors on the *intermental* (group) plane (Wertsch *et al.*, 1993). Therefore, the focus is on human action and on speech (as a form of action) that is mediated by tools and signs. For Vygotsky these tools and signs are not only representational systems, but also resources that empower, constrain, or transform action (Wertsch, 1995).

By taking human action as the starting point for identity, it is possible to make several claims about identity and the role of emotions. Although Vygotsky did not develop a theory of emotions and identity, he emphasized ideas that were useful in theorizing emotions as socio-cultural constructions. For example, Vygotsky's opinion about verbal expression of thoughts is analogous to the non-verbal expression of emotion. He states: 'Experience teaches us that thought does not express itself in words, but rather realizes itself in them' (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 251). In other words, there is not an innate, pre-existent articulated thought or proposition that is then translated into language and expressed, but instead speaking (or writing) formulates thinking. Similarly, argues Parkinson (1995), emotions are constructed in real-time encounters via the medium of non-verbal (or verbal) gestures and actions. This idea views mental functioning—I would add an integrated *mental/emotional* functioning—as a kind of action that may be carried out by individuals or groups. This view is one that considers mind, cognition, and emotion as 'extending beyond the skin' (Bateson, 1972), as functions that are carried out both individually and interpersonally.

Vygotsky referred to his theory as 'cultural-historical', emphasizing that what determines one's activity is produced by the historical development of the culture. His focus on action implies that identity formation involves an encounter between individual choices and cultural tools employed in a particular institutional context. Identity is the ordered sum of all these: relationship skills, emotions, physical abilities, and so forth. These traits are associated with the actions one performs, including relationships, career, ideology, producing an amalgamated identity. However, the role of power relations in mediating these encounters has not received much attention. The following last view on identity integrates Erickson's focus on individual choices in identity formation with Vygotsky's socio-cultural approach from a cultural and political perspective, instead of from a social psychological one.

A Poststructuralist View on Identity

Poststructuralist theorists (for example, Foucault, 1983, 1984; Bhaba, 1987; Alcoff, 1988; Butler, 1997, 1999) challenge two major ideas that are implied in both Ericksonian and Vygotskian views of identity formation: first, the idea of identity formation as either an individual or a social phenomenon unrelated to the political context in which one's actions take place; and second, the notion of a unified identity. Foucault (1984) argues that we need to trace the constitution of the self within a historical framework of how meaning intersects with experience. He suggests that the self should be seen as both an object and a subject of experience; in other words, the focus of analysis of the self and one's experiences is the *discourse* of experience rather than the experience 'itself'. The experience itself does not solely constitute self-knowledge. It is the interrogation of the discursive place from which questions of identity are posed that trace identity as subjected to the social and historical context of practices and discourses (Bhaba, 1987). As discursive practices shift, so do identities (Britzman, 1993). A poststructuralist view opens up a space between self-consciousness, and the interrogation of the discursive and affective conditions of a claim to identity (Bhaba, 1987). Identity is formed in this shifting space where narratives of subjectivity meet the narratives of culture.

Therefore, such a contextual perspective to identity emphasizes the impossibility of an origin for the self (i.e., a 'fixed' self) and is concerned with how identities are constantly *becoming*, to use Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) term (i.e. how they are continuously re-defined). Above all, the use of becoming suggests the incompleteness of identity and a dynamic identity construction, one that involves a non-linear, unstable process (i.e. new features emerge constantly) by which an individual confirms or problematizes who she/he is/becomes. A becoming is not a correspondence between relations or identity components (as implied by some Ericksonian and neo-Ericksonian views), but neither it is a resemblance, an imitation, or identification. 'To become is not to progress or regress along a series […] Becoming is a verb with a consistency all its own; it does not reduce to, or lead back to, "appearing", "being", "equaling", or "producing" ' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 238–239). The use of 'becoming' to describe identity construction turns our attention to the dynamic character of identity.

In a poststructuralist approach to identity, identity is a dynamic process of intersubjective discourses, experiences, and emotions: all of these change over time as discourses change, constantly providing new configurations. Even 'small events' within a particular cultural and political context are significant in constructing social meanings as they are subjected to discursive practices. As Britzman writes: 'As each of us struggles in the process of coming to know, we struggle not as autonomous beings we single-handedly perform singular fates, but as vulnerable social subjects who produce and are being produced by culture' (1993, p. 28). In other words, identity is constantly contested and under transforming shifts.

Recent work in poststructuralist theory and ethnography (for example, Denzin,

1997; Richardson, 1997; Boler, 1999; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; Porter, 2000; Gubrium & Holstein, 2001) acknowledges implicitly or explicitly how emotions play a primary role in identity formation. Such work creates spaces for multiple voices, and the power of emotional experiences provides narrative accounts for dynamic interpersonal identity constructions that blur the boundaries between the personal versus social character of identity formation. Important are the cultural determinants of social and individual. Also, gender, and specifically political contents of identity formation are central. The important issue here concerns how an integrated 'personal' and 'social' identity evolve largely out of the history of how emotions have been socially constructed within a context that is shaped by and shapes certain power relations. This is precisely the contribution of a post-structuralist approach in identity formation and the acknowledgement of the place of emotion: it emphasizes the socio-political context that confounds the meanings and interpretations of knowledge and identity. There are, of course, other theorists/researchers (for example, see Kemper, 1978, 1990, 1993; Oatley, 1992), not poststructuralist, who explore the relationship between power and emotion. However, recently the relationship between power and emotion examined from a poststructuralist perspective (for example, see Boler, 1999; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000) has been given more attention.

In addition, this dynamic process of identity formation emphasizes its affective character. In other words, emotions connect people's thoughts, judgments, and beliefs, and it can be said that emotions are the 'glue of identity', as Haviland and Kahlbaugh (1993) write, by providing meaning to experiences. People organize their worlds partly in terms of the emotions experienced in events, and show enormous variability in their propensity to experience specific emotions. The same emotion may be associated with different events, and different emotions may be associated with the same event in different situations. Thus, not only is emotion central to the construction of identity, but our understanding of its role is complicated by the multiplicity of emotions likely to be experienced in any one event, and by the complex nature of the relationship between emotion and other aspects of one's identity.

A dynamic identity construction does not preclude the existence of particular traits in a person. On the contrary, it turns our attention to explore how different emotions may interact and produce emotional behavior that is quite different from what would be normally predicted. That is to say, this approach on identity formation opens up many possibilities for self-transformation and acknowledges the identity politics involved in the sense that a dynamic notion of identity can focus on aspects of change. This notion of identity formation that appears in postructuralist accounts of emotion and identity lends insights into challenging the approaches suggesting that identities are 'located' in a specific 'site' alone. The underlying idea of these accounts lies in the notion that the singularity (i.e. unity), predictability, and stability of identity are illusions. Poststructuralist thinking has opened the door to considering the importance of the socio-political context in how identities evolve largely out of the history of how emotions, thoughts, judgments and beliefs are constructed.

To summarize my argument so far, I have considered three views of identity formation and the place of emotion, and I have discussed the benefits of exploring identity formation through a poststucturalist lens. Specifically, by taking a post-structuralist view of identity formation, it is possible to make several claims about identity and the place of emotion that draw on various aspects of other accounts on identity research (e.g. Ericksonian and Vygotskian). Theorizing identity formation from a poststructuralist perspective names simultaneously cultural and discursive dimensions of experience, but does not neglect that these experiences are felt and embodied. Three basic points may be drawn for a poststructuralist view to identity: (a) the use of a poststructuralist lens draws attention to the importance of studying identity in cultural and political contexts where forming identities are constantly at stake; (b) an integrated notion of identity rather than a dichotomy between individual functioning or socio-cultural processes provides an approach that refuses the singularity of each 'component' of identity formation; and (c) the use of a poststructuralist analysis of identity formation creates spaces for individuals to develop a sense of agency in their lives and to construct strategies of power and resistance.

In the next section of this article, I build on these views and I discuss how teachers' emotions are inextricably linked with teachers' perceptions of self-identity; also, I explore the role of power and agency, and the possibility of self-transformation. In the final section of this article, I argue how teachers may *use* their emotions to care about and transform their identity, especially when rules of ethics and perception define the centrality or marginality of teacher identity.

Teacher Identity Formation and the Role of Emotions: power and agency

Identity formation and emotion are inextricably linked, informing each other and re-defining interpretations of each other; the search for identity requires the connection of emotion with self-knowledge (see Epstein, 1993; Lewis, 1999). As I emphasized in the previous section, it is impossible to discuss identity construction without considering the meanings of our experiences. As each of us struggles in the process of becoming, we realize that our lived experiences might have antagonistic, multiple meanings (Britzman, 1993). Emotions and their communication through expressions are born in a *dialogue* as a living rejoinder of our experiences, and they are shaped in dialogic interaction with other emotions that are constantly becoming. For example, it is all the more remarkable how many discourses of emotions do happen every day between teachers and students in a classroom. Emotions find expressions in a series of multiple features, and they encounter other emotions and expressions that profoundly influence most aspects of a teacher's professional life and growth. Teacher identity is largely a constituted outcome of this *continuing* dialog with students, parents, and colleagues.

Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogicality helps to make the point that identity is linked to the recognition by others, therefore, if teachers are denied recognition, this may cause them to internalize a demeaning image of themselves. The interaction with other people is precisely what defines our subjectivity, because

without this moment of otherness we could not talk of recognition and mutuality, but only of a re-duplication of the self (Turski, 1994). For example, looking at the desire of teachers for recognition as one constitutive moment of their identities, one aspect that figures centrally in research on teachers' emotions is that of self-esteem (see Kelchtermans, 1996; Troman & Woods, 2000).

To theorize about teacher identity, then, we need to consider how discursive experiences inscribe the teacher self. Are there any grounds to assume that teacher identity is self-identical, persisting through time as the same, unified and internally coherent? More importantly, how are assumptions about teacher identity informed by emotion discourses? If we accept a poststructuralist view of identity formation then the answer to the former question is no, and a response to the second one demands a more serious exploration. For example, a Foucaultian perspective would argue that teacher identity formation is a by-product of power/knowledge within a context of normalized institutional codes. On the other hand, a sociological and socio-cultural approach (e.g. a neo-Marxist standpoint) would seek to understand teacher identity formation in terms of an agency that is at the center and claims ontological priority to the various roles and functions through which it assumes meaning and creates resistive actions.

The question of what constitutes teacher identity within socio-cultural accounts seems to center on the issue of what feature(s) establish the continuity of teacher identity through time (including the role of emotional experiences and their impact on teacher identity), while poststucturalist accounts refuse any humanist foundations for agency; that is, they refuse to assign any ontological priority to teacher agency and instead emphasize discursive practice and power (including the role of emotion discourses) in forming teacher identity. Such emotion discourses, would argue Butler (1997, 1999), constitute yet not determine teacher self—that is, constitute is not the same as 'cause'. Therefore, to paraphrase Butler's (1999) question, the interesting issue here is: To what extent is teacher identity a normative ideal rather than a descriptive feature of experience? And how do the regulatory practices that govern teacher identity also govern notions of teachers' emotions? In other words, the 'unity' and 'continuity' of teacher identity are not analytic features, but rather socially constructed and maintained norms. Teacher identity, then, is an effect of discursive practices, and since emotion discourses are a paramount component of such practices, teacher identity formation is informed by discourses on teachers' emotions.

Teacher Identity, Emotion Discourses, and Agency

In this section, I examine some of the current research on teachers' emotions in relation to teacher identity, and I argue that based on such literature the connection between emotion and teacher identity can be largely associated with the viability of teacher *agency*. Agency is usually defined as the capacity for intentional acts (see Bandura, 1997) or reflexive mediation. The most basic underlying assumption in Western psychology (e.g. Ericksonian theories) and philosophy (e.g. the modern notion of freedom, as the ability to act on one's own) is that

agency is a *property* of the individual. Socio-cultural approaches to agency (Vygotskian theories; for example, Wertsch *et al.*, 1993) do not attribute agency to the isolated individual; instead, they understand agency as socially distributed or shared, and they emphasize the involvement of *mediational means*. In other words, according to Wertsch *et al*. (1993), an individual's action continues to be socio-culturally situated because it is embedded in 'intermental' (Vygotsky, 1978) functioning and because the mediational means employed are positioned in a certain cultural, historical, and institutional context. Poststructuralist views move a step further trying to understand agency in its cultural and political context, given that agency cannot be isolated from the dynamics of power from which is constructed. According to this view, teacher identity is both the *effect* of prior power as well as the *condition of possibility* for a radically conditioned form of agency (see Butler, 1997).

Historically, in the US and in England, the elementary school teacher teaches in a context that encourages individualism, isolation, a belief in one's own autonomy and the investment of personal resources (see Nias, 1989). There exists a significant body of research related to teacher isolation (Lortie, 1975; McTaggart, 1989; Hargreaves, 1994). Teachers learn to internalize and enact roles and norms assigned to them by the school culture through what are considered 'appropriate' expressions and silences. It is inevitable, of course, that a teacher's attitudes and actions are rooted in the ways that he/she perceives the world and life in general (Lortie, 1975). Clearly, the school organizational structure shapes teachers' perceptions of emotional propriety, of what ought to be felt in pre-defined classroom settings, but it is not certain to what extent do these prescriptions about what to express and what to feel actually affect teachers' emotional conducts.

The central argument of the socio-cultural research that explores the role of emotions in teaching during the past few decades can be summoned in Osborn's (1996) statement that 'effective teaching and learning is necessarily affective, that is involves human interaction, and that the quality of teacher-pupil relationships is vitally important to the learning process' (p. 455). Jersild's (1955) work on 'the strivings, satisfactions, hopes, and heartaches that pervade the teacher's life and work' (p. 1), Gabriel's (1957) analysis of the 'emotional problems' (frustration, strain, annoyance, elation and depression) of the teacher in the classroom, Salzberger-Wittenberg *et al.*'s (1983) study on the emotional factors that enter into the process of learning and teaching, and Nias' (1989, 1993, 1996) findings that teaching calls for a massive investment of the self all provide important accounts of the relation between teacher identity and teachers' emotions.

Many teachers, Nias (1996) asserts, invest their personal identity in their work, erasing boundaries between their personal and their professional lives; therefore, the changing times with the radical social, economic and legislative changes create a sense of loss that makes teachers feel 'bereaved'. In Nias' work, this sense of loss is strongly related to the emotion of caring that teachers feel about children expressed in loving children, protecting their self-esteem, teaching well, and accepting the need for self-improvement. Nias contends that to be a primary school teacher in England means to live and work with paradox because the

teachers must be both egocentric and selfless, valuing themselves and caring for children. The demands from the government, the parents and the children are more often than not contradictory to their perception of themselves. Osborn (1996) suggests that the emotions of teaching identified in Nias' work (commitment, enjoyment, pride in teaching, affection, satisfaction, perfectionism, conscientiousness, and even loss and bereavement) 'are likely to continue to play an important part to a greater or lesser degree in teachers' work and careers in the future' (p. 460).

In my own research on an elementary teacher's emotions in her science teaching (Zembylas, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a, 2003b), I analyze how her emotions are embedded in school culture, ideology and power relations, and how certain *emotional rules* are constructed, making some of her emotions present and others absent. Following Foucault (1980), I suggest that teacher identity and emotion discourses are formed within specific school political arrangements, in relation to certain expectations and requirements, ones that presume a teacher should conform to particular emotional rules (e.g. teachers should leave their emotions 'outside' the classroom, if they want to be objective and professional in their job). Foucault reminds us that discursive environments set the conditions of possibility for the construction of identity. Teachers, for example, must present themselves in terms of familiar identities or they risk being seen as eccentric, if not outrageous. In calling for an overthrow of such discursive environments, I am not calling for the release of a repressed emotional subjectivity, but rather for a radical making of emotional subjectivity formed in and against the historical hegemony that wants teachers to have a certain, totalized identity.

The question of locating teacher agency, then, is associated with either the existence of a stable pre-discursive teacher self prior to the cultural construction of teacher identity or with the processes of discursive practices (e.g. emotion discourses) that refuse to accept a free-willing agency. According to the former view, teacher agency is ultimately located 'within' the individual; on the latter view, teacher agency is the constituted effect of emotion discourses (as well as other discourses)—bound up in practices—that inscribe the body. As Butler (1999) asserts, the subject is a result of rule-governed discourses that govern the invocation of identity.

Within some socio-cultural approaches, the question of agency is answered through recourse to a pre-discursive self, and the enabling conditions for this are provided by rules that regulate *roles* and *functions*. Consider, for example, Parkinson's (1995) claims:

> In effect, the identity claims involved in getting emotional are based on *role commitments* and derive at least partly from the individual's position in pre-existing interpersonal social networks. Transactions with others are often shaped by predefined communication channels that are provided by the social institutions and groups to which we belong or to which we lend our services. (p. 199; original emphasis)

While it is true that school institutional roles of what it means to be a teacher

shape teachers' emotional experiences, it is problematic to take teacher identity for granted, as if teacher identity is simply an aftermath of classroom experiences and pedagogical knowledge and skills. Teacher identity is not synonymous with the teacher's role and function; role speaks to function whereas identity voices investments; that is, function refers to what one should do, and investments refer to what one feels (Britzman, 1993). 'In actuality', writes Britzman, 'role and function are not synonymous with identity; whereas role can be assigned, the taking up of an identity is a constant social negotiation' (1993, p. 24). In other words, the culturally and politically constructed teacher self negotiates its discursive constructions. It is this presence of social and political negotiations within discourses that poststructuralism takes up and explores. This is also what other analyses of identity formation lack; that is, the ethical and epistemological character of discourses that impose criteria by which certain teachers are assigned 'deviant', and others 'normal'.

In this analysis, notions of rational, autonomous intentions assumed in liberal traditions are challenged by the contingency and fragmentation of teacher identity because of the multiple, contesting discourses to which each teacher is subjected. The ultimate problem, of course, given such a theorization of teacher agency, is the following: Is there any hope of subverting the 'oppressive' discursive practices and of reconstructing new identities? Refusing an originary agency of teacher identity (as arguments usually run in Foucaultian/Butlerian mode)—that is, defining it as a contingent by-product of discourse—does not preclude the possibility for self-transformation. 'Paradoxically', writes Butler:

> the reconceptualization of identity as an *effect*, that is as *produced* or *generated*, opens up possibilities of 'agency' that are insidiously foreclosed by positions that take identity categories as foundational or fixed […] Construction is not opposed to agency; it is the necessary scene of agency, the very terms in which agency is articulated and becomes culturally intelligible (1999, p. 187; original emphasis).

Butler invokes a notion of identity as *performative*; that is, one that is constructed through a sustained set of acts posited through the social, psychic, corporeal, and temporal stylization of the body. That identity is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts that constitute its reality. The displacement of a political and discursive character of identity onto a psychological 'core' (as in psychological theories of identity formation) precludes an analysis of the political constitution of identity. The possibilities of transformation, then, using the notion of performativity, are to be found in the discontinuity of acts, in the possibility of a failure to repeat the expected (the norm). This discontinuity becomes the most promising site of agency and results from both the unpredictability of events and from the spaces that open due to the lack of systematicity in the repetition of acts.

Obviously, emotion is a significant part of the inscription of the body and of the possibility of self-transformation (which I talk about in the next section). To illustrate the inscriptive role of emotions in this process, I refer to an example of

an emotion that many teachers experience: a sense of vulnerability and powerlessness in their work. Bartky (1990) uses the term *shame* to mark the pervasive sense of powerlessness and personal inadequacy. In some respects, shame is not so much an emotion, as Bartky argues, although it involves specific feelings and emotions. 'Shame can be characterized as a species of psychic distress occasioned by a self or a state of the self apprehended as inferior, defective, or in some way diminished' (Bartky, 1990, p. 85). A response to feeling shame is a tendency to hide and an inability to get away. Shame can be a devastating experience characterized by many negative evaluations of one's self, and by a sense of worthlessness, dismissability and powerlessness (Tangney, 1991). As Campbell writes:

> [W]hen our feelings are trivialized, ignored, systematically criticized, or extremely constrained by the poverty of our expressive resources, this situation can lead to a very serious kind of dismissal—the dismissal of the significance to a person of his or her own life, in a way that reaches down deeply into what the significance of a life can be to the person whose life it is. (1997, p. 188)

Shame has been a profound affective attunement in teachers' careers because teachers are constantly exposed as having some kinds of flaws. In this sense, Bartky's view of shame as 'profound mode of disclosure both of self and situation' is valuable in understanding the role of emotions in teachers' practices. Teachers experience shame before children, colleagues, administrators, and themselves. What are perceived as their deficiencies are paraded, and an internalized audience with the capacity to judge them is created. In Rawl's (1971) view, self-esteem is rooted in the beliefs that one's ideas are worthy and that one has the abilities and the talents to pursue such ideas. Teachers' feeling of shame is the recognition that they lack these abilities or that their aims are not worthy. The normative expectation, of course, is that teachers should assimilate into pre-determined roles and expectations. Teachers' silence and isolation is a direct outcome of this feeling of shame.

My reference to shame reaffirms the need Bartky expressed a decade ago that—in the schools of today—'we need […] a political phenomenology of the emotions—an examination of the role of emotion, most particularly of the emotions of self-assessment both in the constitution of subjectivity and in the perpetuation of subjection' (1990, p. 98). With few exceptions, emotions in education are dismissed and their political roots are ignored. In as much as politics and emotions in education are so neatly dichotomized and the relationship to oppression is concealed, shame and the painful experiences associated with it will sadly be perpetuated. Teachers have to take profound personal and professional risks in their everyday teaching practices, and they need to construct defense and support mechanisms to continuously re-construct and re-affirm their identities. Feeling inadequate may color a teacher's entire emotional life.

My argument here has been that we can theorize teacher identity in an anti-foundational way such that agency is found in the discursive practices of

teachers as something constituted. This theorization avoids placing the teacher at the center (as posited by some psychological or sociological accounts of identity) as a subject evolving through the course of history; instead, the emphasis is on the constitution of teacher identity as a result of discourses. This does not preclude the possibility of self-transformation; in fact, the critical task is to locate strategies that contest and subvert normative constructions of teacher identity. In the final part of this article, I discuss how a poststructuralist perspective on teacher identity and the place of emotions open possibilities and provide spaces for transformation and care of the teacher self.

Implications for Teacher Self-Transformation

A poststructuralist account on teacher identity might give us a promising route for teachers' efforts to construct ways to empower themselves and overcome the feeling of personal inadequacy and powerlessness in teaching. Identity transformation occurs when the emotional salience or power of one's experiences changes. Identity, I have argued, is not about fixity; the construction of identity exposes the struggles and negotiations between different discourses. Each discourse is embedded in particular images of knowledge, history, power, and agency. To theorize about teacher identity and teachers' emotions is to describe how teachers experience these discourses, how they struggle to reject normative discourses, and how they find their own voice.

First of all, a poststructuralist account of emotions and teacher identity brings to teachers' attention the relationship between emotion, identity and power, and moves teachers to engage in self-transformation through a richer understanding of their situatedness—the recognition that their emotions have powerful epistemological and affective qualities that generate resistance. This move toward the care of the teacher self is perhaps the most challenging to accomplish, because it demands an analysis of teachers' positioning as emotional subjects. And this is where the poststructuralist account of emotions might provoke insights into the negotiations of new positions in teachers' professional lives. Beyond a critical reflection on the social and political meanings of constructing emotions, a poststructuralist perspective encourages teachers to try to think differently, to ask themselves not only how discourses on emotions and the various norms in their schools have shielded them from their desires, but also how it has installed those desires as what they presume themselves to be.

The challenging thing is to re-formulate the notion that self-disclosure that takes the form of reflecting on the *reasons* why a teacher feels in rational or irrational ways constitutes a knowing of his/her self. From eye movement and voice modulation, to emotional displays, posture, and so on, we apprehend the body as a very revealing practical surface for communicating identity. Informed by the work of Foucault (1979, 1980, 1983, 1984), Butler (1997, 1999) and others, many now view body and mind as alternative surfaces for signifying identity. While much of teachers' embodied experiences in schools are deeply embedded in

norms and rules, a poststructuralist account of emotions provides teachers spaces to question and re-construct themselves and their relations with others.

In addition, by getting in touch with the social and political nature of emotions, teachers can potentially re-capture some aspects of identification with others. By exploring the development of emotions, acts, practices and thoughts, teachers can return to emotional experiences that have been 'forgotten' within themselves. The goal, however, is not self-preservation in any sense, but the willingness to be vulnerable in empathizing with others and to exercise openness and flexibility in acting to transform these emotions, acts, practices and thoughts. One of the advantages of a poststructuralist account of emotions and teacher identity is that it exposes the marginalized, the excluded, the ignored emotions from one's present histories and it traces their genealogies to past histories. This is precisely why empathy allows us to understand the emotions of other individuals. For it is the presence of our emotions that we bring in mind as we try to understand others' emotions.

A discussion on the implications of a poststructuralist account on emotions and teacher identity is right at the center of responding to teachers' emotional needs. The very practice of teachers to construct and use such an account can be interpreted as an exercise of responsibility to themselves and to otherness. It is a practice that is profoundly revealing of the roles of school culture, norms and ideologies, and opens possibilities for interrogating these roles and re-formulating the visions about what teachers can become. As I have shown earlier in this article, teaching may become a main source of teachers' self-esteem and fulfillment as well as of their vulnerability. Studying teachers' emotions and acknowledging that they are socially constructed and have a dynamic character has the potential of linking teachers' personal experiences with broader institutional forms of school organization. These experiences may work dialectically to maintain, confirm, or change this very structure (Franks & Gecas, 1992) and transform the teacher self. The transformation can be initiated because a poststructuralist account of emotion enables teachers to perceive themselves as sites of agency, a notion that forces a reconsideration of identity politics. Foucault's (1983, 1984) ideas on agency, power, and resistance fit nicely to this account of emotion and illuminate the process of *becoming* a teacher by encouraging teachers to move away from being normalized.

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. Strategies to increase awareness about the role of emotions in teaching and create collective resistances through the power of emotion include: the development of mentoring relationships among teachers; the establishment of teacher-teams as forums for creating emotional and professional bonding; and the encouragement of teachers to engage in (action) research on their own practices and on the emotional aspects of the self that are inextricably related to practice. To challenge dominant views that treat teachers simply as rational agents, the reflexive teacher

needs to connect to, or create with others, 'resistances' in communities whose reflexive self-strategies aim at re-defining the normalized identities of teachers. For such strategies to have any possibility of being effective they need to be collective.

Kelchtermans (1996) argues that there are political and moral dimensions in teachers' emotional experiences of their work. Teachers' emotions are inseparable from issues of power and politics because they indicate teachers' capacity to achieve what they feel is good teaching. Teachers are emotionally and personally committed to their work: this, holds Nias (1996), is not de-professionalization of teaching, but it is ultimately to safeguard children's education. Emotions in teaching are unavoidably linked to matters of interests (political dimension) and values (moral dimension); therefore, coping with the sense of vulnerability teachers often feel, means that they need to engage in political action to regain the social recognition of their professional self and restore the conditions that ensure their good job performance. Therefore, identifying and exploring these dimensions is crucial for the development of successful strategies of power and resistance. Kelchtermans (1996) suggests that autobiographical reflection and story telling can effectively contribute to successful coping with the sense of vulnerability, because they engage teachers meaningfully with ideas, materials and colleagues, and it opens up possibilities for teachers to view their experiences from alternative perspectives.

Similarly, Noddings (1996) suggests that the use of story telling in teacher education can 'both induce feeling and help us to understand what we are feeling' (p. 435). Building a repertoire of stories, argues Noddings, can enhance human relations and help to connect what we study to a wider picture. Sharing these stories, teachers may achieve 'greater cognitive insight into and enriched theoretical discussions of teaching' (Nias, 1996, p. 304), and identify and reflect on different perspectives. The advantage of this process for both teachers and students is the establishment of a rich emotional flexibility that allows them to look at one story in the light of another. Only then may emotions become a true *political force* (Fricker, 1991) for changing the ways teachers interpret educational matters, and for constructing strategies of resistance and self-formation. According to Nias (1996), teachers' stories about their emotions, thinking and doing can empower them, 'for the affect revealed in the making and telling of stories can become a productive starting point for collective action' (p. 305).

In this sense, then, teachers' emotions and their relation to teacher identity expose issues that have profound political dimensions—if classical theorists such as Erickson and Vygotsky paid attention to other important aspects of identity formation, they overlooked the political aspects of identity formation. Once teachers recognize the politics of identity, they may engage in a political process of gaining control over how their emotional expressions are interpreted and of changing the meaning of these expressions through participation in practices associated with *new* meanings. In other words, teachers may become better able to theorize about their own struggles in the complex process of becoming. A poststructuralist account of emotions and teacher identity emphasizes a re-

interpretation of the social meanings of experiences with the creation of positive affective meanings that can be liberatory. The real challenge is to create the space for these meanings to emerge and give rise to new affects that are more personally meaningful and evocative.

Emotions are 'located' in educational histories (of institutions and individuals) in visible or invisible ways (Boler, 1999). I believe it is important that teachers identify how their emotions inform the ways that their emotions expand or limit possibilities in their teaching, and how these emotions enable them to think and act differently. Obviously, reflecting on one's emotions represents a considerable risk of vulnerability, yet teachers are constantly challenged in their professional lives to deal with visible of invisible pain and powerlessness. Jean Baker Miller (1986) expresses her regret at the 'long tradition of trying to dispense with, or at least to control or neutralize, emotionality, rather than valuing, embracing, and cultivating its contributing strengths' (p. 38). Beck and Kosnik (1995) add, 'if we don't express them [emotions] … we will not learn *how* to have them. We need *practice* in being affectionate, fearful, and angry at appropriate times' (p. 163; original emphasis).

Developing and reflecting on a poststructuralist account of emotions and teacher identity can be a powerful tool to achieve *boarder crossing* (Giroux, 1992) and to overcome the traditional dichotomies between emotion and reason, or body and mind. Holstein and Gubrium (2000) remind us that Lyotard's 'postmodern condition' locates the self at 'crossroads' or 'nodal points' of discourses. This means that identity construction takes place in relation to diverse discourses, sometimes competing ones. While this complicates the identity construction process, explain Holstein and Gubrium (2000), it also provides conditions that are ripe for creating strategies of resistance that are empowering. Following Lyotard, Foucault and Butler, we find that such conditions require the assertion of individual agency to deal with the competing discourses. Therefore, it is essentially 'impossible for social actors [e.g., teachers] to be "powerless" in the face of discursive or moral imperatives, since such forces must always be played out in and through their local and particular applications—through discursive practice' (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 229).

Ultimately, unraveling the different aspects of a poststructuralist account of emotions and teacher identity may help educators obtain a richer understanding of the formation of teacher identity. By seeking ways to encourage teachers to explore their own emotional experiences in teaching, they can develop 'philosophies and histories of emotions' (Woodward, 1991; Rousmaniere *et al.*, 1997) to inform their pedagogies. Moreover, 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 inservice teachers. For example, the value of even having certain emotions (the Stoics' concern) or how possible is to alter some emotions (the Existentialists' concern) is at the center of concern about the *education* of emotions.

In suggesting a poststructuralist account of emotions and teacher identity, I

want to emphasize the notion of their ongoing *becoming* in a context embedded in power relations, ideology and culture. Such a view implies an individual who is an embodied agent with multiple and contextualized identities, and suggests that identity formation based on an essentialist singling out of a 'fixed' identity will not successfully empower teachers. I believe it is important to recognize that teacher identity is constructed across *difference* that subverts the tradition that conceives identity as a totalizing object of vision. What makes identity possible is the 'politics of difference' (Hall, 1987)—the fact that every identity is placed, positioned in a culture and a history. As Mouffe writes, 'the condition of existence of every identity is the affirmation of a difference' (1993, p. 2). The cultural myths about teacher identity—for example, the teacher is an expert, the teacher is highly professional (i.e. unemotional), and so on—aim at creating a totalizing object of teacher identity that leaves little room for 'abnormal' identities.

In this article, I have sought to show how a poststructuralist discourse can generate possibilities for care and transformation of the teacher self. Within this discourse of theorizing about the construction and transformation of teacher identity and the role of teachers' emotions, teachers may come to discover empowering tools to know their teaching, themselves, and others. This requires the establishment of what I call *emotional affinities* with others; in other words, connections or bonding based on coalitions and friendships. An attempt to theorize a poststructuralist teacher identity politics and the place of teacher emotion may encourage educators to ask such questions as: What are the different ways teachers might create emotional affinities? What might motivate teachers as individuals and as groups to engage in such coalitions? What might teachers (both as individuals and as groups) gain and lose by creating emotional affinities in their workplace? How might possibilities of reform in the schools and in the teachers' workplace change as a result of these emotional affinities? All of these and more are crucial questions to ask, if educators take seriously the role of emotion in creating individual and collective teacher identities.

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Note

[1] I prefer using the term *emotion*, rather than *feeling* or *affect*, because I wish to make the distinction from 'feeling' that in psychological scholarly circles refers to the bodily and sensational experiences of an emotion (feelings *of*, feelings *for*). Neurologist and philosopher Antonio Damasio has much to offer this issue. Through his book *Descartes' Error*, Damasio (1994) discusses recent neurological findings on emotions and feelings in relation to reason and decision-making, with special attention paid to social interactions. Damasio offers an understanding of emotion as 'the combination of a *mental evaluative process*, simple or complex, with *dispositional responses to that process*, mostly *toward the body proper*, resulting in an emotional body state, but also *toward the brain itself* (neurotransmitter nuclei in brain stem), resulting in additional mental changes' (1994, p. 139; original emphasis). Damasio reserves the term *feeling* for the experience of those changes.

As he writes: 'The process of continuous monitoring, that experience of your body is doing *while* thoughts about specific contents roll by, is the essence of what I call a feeling' (Damasio, 1994, p. 145; original emphasis). Consequently, some feelings relate to emotions, but there are many that do not. All emotions generate feelings if you are aware and alert, according to Damasio, but not all feelings originate in emotions. In the next few pages, I present a more elaborated exposition of some of the theories that inform my understanding of emotion.

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