Caring Teacher-Student Relationships and the Influence of Teachers' Identities: A Grounded Theory Approach

By

Anne-Marie Dooner

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine why teachers sometimes struggle to develop caring relationships with their students, despite their intention to do so. In order to do this, the notion of caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) is explored, as well as the influence of teachers' emotions on these dynamics. The study also examines environmental factors in schools that influence the development of caring teacher-student relationships.

In all, fourteen teachers with early, middle, and senior years teaching experience participated in two focus-groups each, and seven of these participants were subsequently interviewed individually. Because this study adopts a grounded theory approach, the coding of data is foundational to the ongoing data analysis. More specifically, *open coding* (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1978), followed by *focused* (Charmaz, 2006), and *selective coding* (Glaser, 1978) are used to not only identify the emergent categories in the collected data, but how they interrelate with each other. *Theoretical coding* (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1978) is then used to link emergent categories and sub-categories to extant literature to further develop the study's conceptualization.

The findings suggest that teachers' emotions and more specifically, fear, guilt, and shame, reflect the dissonance that they sometimes experience as they align their more idealized views of themselves with their roles in their daily teaching practices (McCall & Simmons, 1978). Building on earlier work by Beijaard (1995) and Nias (1989, 1996), the findings of this study suggest that teachers rely primarily on their students to gauge their success in their role and their identities as teachers. The findings also suggest that teachers' competitive relationships with their colleagues often reflect their unintentional attempts to protect their relationships with

students from the influences of other adults, so as to safeguard their students as their primary source of role support. This not only raises questions as to the caring nature of teachers' relationships with their students (Mayeroff, 1971), but it also underscores the fact that teachers' collaboration in schools is often limited and frequently superficial in quality. This study also suggests that teachers tend to isolate themselves in their classrooms and have little awareness of how their responses to their emotions in teaching influence their caring relationships with students. Finally, the findings indicate that school administrators can act as important role support for teachers as they develop caring relationships with their students.

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DEDICATION

To my dearest friend,

Peter Georg Obendoerfer

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1 Four Combinations of Teachers' Social and Pedagogical Authority…..……..…… 185

2 Summary of Findings for the First Set of Participants Leading to the Tentative Conceptualization …… 186

3 Conceptualization after Focus-Group Discussions with First Set of Participants.…..…...187

4 Conceptualization after Focus-Group Discussions and Individual Interviews with First Set of Participants……..... 188

5 Summary of Findings for the Second Set of Participants that Extended & Challenged the Tentative Conceptualization ..……189

6 Developments in the Conceptualization after First Focus-Group Discussion with Second Set of Participants ……..……..…….. 190

7 Developments in the Conceptualization after Second Focus-Group Discussion with Second Set of Participants…….…… 191

8 Developments in the Conceptualization after Individual Interviews with Second Set of Participants……..……..…….. 192

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

DEDICATION vi

LIST OF FIGURES vii

CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY..... 1

The Problem 1

Definitions of Teacher-Student Relationships 3

Importance of Caring Teacher-Student Relationships..... 6

Complexity of Caring Teacher-Student Relationships 9

School Context and Teacher-Student Relationships 11

An Introduction to the Research 12

Significance of the Study 14

Limitations of the Study 16

Overview of the Study 19

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 21

A Sociological Theory of Teachers' Care 21

A Social Psychological Conception of Relationships 21

Roles and Statuses 24

Role Strain 28

Identity Theory 30

Identity and Self..... 32

Role-Identities 35

Legitimation 37

Emotions 41

A Conception of Teachers' Professional Identities 45

Teachers' Identities 46

Teachers' Emotions 49

Teachers' Competitiveness..... 53

Teachers' Social and Pedagogical Authority 57

Summary 61

3. METHODOLOGY 65

Grounded Theory 65

Analysis of Data 67

Research Criteria 72

Focus-Group and Individual Interviews..... 76

First Set of Focus-Group Discussions and Interviews..... 79

Recruitment of Focus-Group and Individual Participants..... 79

Focus-Group and Individual Participants 81

Coding of the First Focus-Group Discussion..... 83

Coding of the Second Focus-Group Discussion..... 86

Coding of the Individual Interviews 90

Second Set of Focus-Group Discussions and Interviews 96

Recruitment of Focus-Group and Individual Participants 96

Focus-Group and Individual Participants. 97

Coding of the First Focus-Group Discussion 99

Coding of the Second Focus-Group Discussion 102

Coding of the Individual Interviews 104

Summary 105

4. FINDINGS 107

Strains and Stresses in Teachers' Roles 107

Teachers' Dyadic Relationships 112

Teachers' Identities 116

Teachers' Legitimation of their Roles..... 119

Teachers' Emotions 131

Teachers' Competitiveness 137

Teachers' Social and Pedagogical Authority 148

Summary 153

5. CONCLUSION..... 155

Summary of the Grounded Theory Methodology..... 155

Summary of the Study..... 157

Implications for Teaching 166

Implications for Educational Research..... 170

REFERENCES 175

APPENDIX A 193

APPENDIX B 194

APPENDIX C 197

APPENDIX D..... 200

APPENDIX E 203

APPENDIX F..... 206

APPENDIX G 209

APPENDIX H..... 212

APPENDIX I..... 216

APPENDIX J..... 220

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The Problem

Sarah, who is a participant in this study, narrates the following teaching experience:

> *After talking about bullying, a student came up and thanked me, and gave me a big hug. This was very strengthening to me because it signaled to me that it was a good move…. I feel successful as a teacher when kids feel this way. I'm coming to the realization that it's more about how students feel around me and how comfortable they are with me, than how competent they think I am.*

This teacher appears to be a very caring teacher. Her words indicate that she not only cares about her students' emotional well-being, but that she is willing to reflect on her teaching to strengthen her ability to meet what she perceives as her students' needs. This is important because Manitoba Education (2011) notes that all teachers need to develop caring relationships with their students, and for some very good reasons. They provide students with a "secure base" (p. 230) from which to develop (Ryan, Stiller, & Lynch, 1994), they foster engaged learning (Klem & Connell, 2004), and they support academic achievement (Hamre & Pianta, 2001). Furthermore, in a busy world where children sometimes spend limited time with their parents and even less time with extended family members, teacher-student relationships can "fill these gaps in support" (Bernstein-Yamashiro, 2004, p. 64).

What is meant by caring teacher-student relationships in the educational literature, however, is less evident. For example, Manitoba Education (2011) refers to them as an "intellectual partnership" (p. 9) between teachers and their students which is grounded in responsive learning goals based on students' individual needs. More specifically, though, they appear to consist of a

few concrete properties, such as “noncontingent positive reinforcements”, “effective communication”, and “verbal limits*”* (p. 10-11). Similarly, the literature also tends to list descriptors of teachers’ caring relationships with their students, such as their need to be socially and emotionally supportive (Wentzel, 1998), “close and confiding” (Fredrikson & Rhodes, 2004, p. 50), and “trusting” (Frymier & Houser, 2000, p. 217), in the attempt to provide a more concrete and likely, more helpful, understanding of caring relationships for teachers.

However, can teachers work diligently to enact all of these behavioural descriptors in their teaching, but still develop relationships with their students that are not caring? Wubbels and Brekelmans’ (2005) work suggests that teachers can, and likely often do, because of their need to manage the disquieting conflict that they experience as they strive to become what they envision as their ideal teachers. In fact, Day et al. (2006) maintain that teachers’ sense of success in their role is closely related to the quality of the relationships that they develop with their students. I wonder whether this might be reflected in Hargreaves’ (2000) work which describes the positive emotions that elementary teachers feel when they feel “loved” (p. 818) by their students or are told that they are their “favourite” (p. 818) teacher, or when secondary teachers are thanked, sometimes with gifts, for integrating an out-of-the-ordinary activity in their teaching. Moreover, I question whether Nias’ (1996) view that teachers’ emotional satisfaction as professionals is grounded in their relationships with their students, as well as Golby’s (1996) contention that teachers draw “emotional security” (p. 9) from their students, are mirrored in Murray and Murray’s (2004) concern that children with classroom challenges are more vulnerable to developing “negative relationships” (p. 759) with their teachers. Additionally, I wonder whether Goldstein and Lake’s (2000) view that caring teacher-student relationships “also benefit

teachers" (p. 862) reflects a similar concern. Regardless, all of these points underscore some degree of ambiguity in teachers' efforts to develop caring relationships with students.

With this in mind, this study is guided by the following four questions: (a) What is meant by caring teacher-student relationships in the educational literature? (b) To what extent do teachers experience ambiguity when developing caring relationships with their students? (c) What role do teachers' emotions play in the ambiguity that they experience as they develop caring relationships with their students? and (d) What role does the school environment play in the development of caring teacher-student relationships?

In the remaining part of this chapter, I examine these questions by first reviewing the definitions of teacher-student relationships, as well as their cognitive and psychosocial importance for students, with a specific focus on attachment theory and the emotional nature of teachers' relations with their students. The complex and potentially disorientating influence of teachers' idealized visions of themselves as they develop relationships with their students is then examined within the context of caring. Finally, I explore the influence of schools' social environment, and particularly school administrators and other teachers, in the development of teachers' caring relationships with their students. At the end of this chapter, I discuss the strengths and limitations of this study, and I provide a general overview of the dissertation. To begin the discussion, however, a common understanding of what is meant by teacher-student relationships needs to be established.

Definitions of Teacher-Student Relationships

Manitoba Education (2010) defines learning relationships as "networks of positive and mutually beneficial interactions" (p. 23) that occur in a context of learning. Frymier and Houser

(2000) define them as emerging when teachers and students are able to move away from their organizational roles and appreciate each other as individuals. Bernstein-Yamashiro (2004) defines teacher-student relationships as "connections" (p. 57) that surface when students and teachers interact in or outside of the classroom regarding assigned school work or their personal lives. For example, when secondary students were asked to describe strong teacher-student relationships, they often say that "It's like a friend", "Like a close uncle", "He's my stand-in dad", and like a "Teacher-friend" (p. 57). Moreover, one secondary teacher described her relationship with a student as being like an "on-site mom" (p. 57).

Although these last descriptors reflect a familial or parent-child orientation, not all notions of relationships are grounded in this perspective. For example, teacher-student relationships can reflect both a classical and learner-centered approach (Cornelius-White, 2007). The *classical approach* stems from Rogers' (1969) vision of education and is centered in students' need for agency within society. The personal dimension of teacher-student relationships creates learning that is characterized by critical thinking, empathy, flexibility, and "non-possessive caring" (p. 114). The pedagogical backdrop to this relationship includes an openness to varied teaching approaches, compromises with relevant others, interactions based on students' self-evaluations, and the application of learning to actual societal problems. The *learner-centered approach* is developed by an American Psychological Association's Task Force in response to the deterioration of national achievement scores in the United States during the 1990s. McCombs (2003) explains that it encompasses not only the cognitive, but the "metacognitive" elements of learning, as well as "motivational, affective, developmental, social, and individual" (p. 93). This approach prioritizes teacher-student relationships as a partnership, describing both participants as "co-learners" (p. 97).

However, my study views the notion of teacher-student relationships as extensions of parent-child relationships, which is a perspective anchored in attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969). In other words, these relationships are defined by reciprocity, tenderness, familiarity, care, trust, and motivation. Moreover, when students describe teachers who care, their depictions tend to be consistent with "dimensions of effective parenting" (Wentzel, 1997, p. 415), although they maintain that support from parents and teachers have separate influences in their lives and are more "additive than compensatory" (Wentzel, 1998, p. 207). For example, Kesner (2000) argues that the emotional security that stems from strong secondary relationships, such as those between children and their teachers, can counterbalance unstable relations between young children and their parents. Similarly, Fredriksen and Rhodes (2004) contend that strong relationships that develop between preschool children and their teachers can offset deficient "child-mother attachment relationships" (p. 46).

Another important aspect of relationships involves understanding how they differ from social interactions. Sigman (1991) explains that interactions are exchanges in communication between two or more people that are characterized by a definite beginning and end. This study, however, focuses on relationships which are broader, more continuous, and diffuse. For example, the beginning and end of an interaction does not necessarily signal the beginning and end of a relationship. In fact, the interruptions in interactions which are inherent in relationships make the concept unique because people's behaviour is shaped by these predicted interruptions (Sigman, 1998). More specifically, people *prospectively* prepare for the interruption in interaction, they *retrospectively* consider the interruption, and they *introspectively* behave in consideration of the relationship during the interruption. Being in a relationship, then, necessitates that participants consider each other, and be influenced by each other, in times of

physical absence. This issue of *continuity*, which is at the heart of what it means to be in a social relationship, requires people's investment of their cognitive and emotional energy. In fact, Manitoba Education's (2011) view of caring teacher-student relationships reflects a similar point because it maintains that teachers' energy must be invested in order to appreciate each student's "interests, strengths, needs, learning preferences, and personality" (p. 8).

Teachers' investment of cognitive and emotional energy into the development of caring relationships with their students is critical to understanding caring teacher-student relationships. Although this study focuses exclusively on teachers' perceptions of their relationships with their students, it is important to note that students' perceptions of "teachers who care" (p. 415) include teachers' ability to set rigorous learning expectations relative to the unique attributes of individual students, to provide thoughtful and constructive advice, to adopt an open and flexible interactional manner, and to demonstrate value in their own teaching (Wentzel, 1997). Klem and Connell (2004) echo a similar note when they state that positive classroom communities are created when caring teachers' expectations of learning reflect individual students' abilities and challenges. This means that contrary to the teacher's quote at the beginning of this chapter, the educational literature supports the view that caring teacher-student relationships are enmeshed in strong teaching and meaningful student learning, and more broadly, teachers' competencies. Additionally, their claim that caring teacher-student relationships promote personal growth and the achievement of learning outcomes must be examined further.

Importance of Caring Teacher-Student Relationships

Why are caring relationships with their teachers important for students? Klem and Connell (2004) examined the relationship between teacher support and student engagement, and also the

issue of engagement in relation to student success over a five year period. Teacher support was measured using items, such as "My teacher cares about how I do in school" and "My teacher thinks what I say is important." The study suggests that elementary students who believed that they were receiving little support from their teachers were two times more likely to be disengaged from school; moreover, 68% of middle years students who claimed to receive minimal teacher support were reported to be disengaged. On the other hand, middle school students were three times more apt to describe themselves as engaged when they were taught by supportive teachers while, under similar circumstances, 89% of elementary students reported themselves as engaged.

Hamre and Pianta's (2001) longitudinal study of 179 children from kindergarten to grade eight focused on how teachers' perceptions of their relationships with students influenced their learning outcomes. The researchers contend that the strength of the teacher-student relationship in early elementary education is a significant predictor of the students' behavioural and academic outcomes later on. Moreover, relational conflict between teachers and kindergarten students predicted their success with standardized tests and acquired grades, and a strong work ethic, throughout the early elementary grades. It later predicted students' success with behavioural outcomes that subsequently influenced their academic achievement as they progressed through later elementary grades and into middle years education. This is particularly true for children who struggle with behavioural issues, especially if those issues begin in the early elementary grades, and if the students are boys.

Furthermore, when teachers perceive their relationships with kindergarten students as conflicted and overly-dependent, these strained interactions are significantly correlated with the children's academic outcomes throughout their elementary and middle years experience (Pianta,

Steinberg, & Rollins, 1995). For example, Birch and Ladd (1997) maintain that conflicted teacher-student relationships in the elementary grades were positively correlated with absenteeism and negatively correlated with self-initiated, cooperative behaviour, and enjoyment in learning. In later years, students' tense relations with their teachers were linked with an increase in aggressive behaviour, as perceived by their classmates, as well as normative-defying behaviour (Hamre & Pianta, 2001).

Additionally, after surveying 80 American high schools, Crosnoe, Johnson, and Elder (2004) say that students who had stronger emotionally-based relationships with their teachers were more successful in school. Bernstein-Yamashiro (2004) explains that caring teacher-student relationships provide secondary students with a critical framework to interpret themselves both as individuals and in relation to others. From these ongoing interactions, students seek affirmations that they are unique and valued people, and that they can learn successfully if they are given the proper opportunities. Strong teacher-student relationships can provide students with valuable occasions in often large and formalized organizations to be acknowledged as people, and not "processed as students" (p. 64). It provides opportunities for students to develop their identities by testing assumptions about themselves and others, and by experimenting with ideas of who they may be and what they might become. Regardless, a critical point is that teacher-student relationships grounded in attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969) prioritize the "emotional quality" (p. 211) of teachers' relations with their students, and teachers' ability to respond to their students' needs (Davis, 2003).

Complexity of Caring Teacher-Student Relationships

This suggests, then, that students' emotional responses to teaching are significant in the perceived success of their teachers. In fact, Beijaard (1995) argues that the connection between teachers and their students is highly influential in teaching because students act as their teachers' "critical reality definers" (p. 283). This means that as teachers develop their lessons and consider their actions, their students' responses are largely helping teachers to gauge their success in their role and ultimately, their identity as teachers (Nias,1989, 1996). On the surface, this appears to reflect teachers' highly responsive orientation towards their students' needs which is, as I have argued, caring (Mayeroff, 1971; Noddings, 2002), but the educational literature suggests that this is not always the case.

Hammerness (2001, 2006) explains that teachers' visions of themselves guide their actions in teaching; they reflect the "deep aspirations and desires" (p. 516) that encompass their sense of purpose (De Ruyter & Conroy, 2002). However, teachers, similar to all other human beings, do not always act in full fruition of their ideals; for example, they sometimes fail at teaching and, at times, they achieve far less than what they had hoped. Hammerness (2001, 2006) explains that this gap between teachers' images of themselves in teaching and their actual work as teachers generates emotions of hope and elation, but also pain and discomfort. An example of this is Volkmann and Anderson's (1998) account of a first-year secondary teacher who, struggling extensively with the subject matter, chooses to alter her "fantasy image of teacher" (p. 300) who is respected for her mastery of content, to that of her students' "favourite teacher" (p. 305). This shift in her identity allows her to not only focus on the "care" that she provides to her students, which helps her to feel like a competent teacher, but it also gives her permission to excuse her shortcomings in the content area.

The problem is that it is not uncommon for teachers' perceptions of their relationships with their students to be far more consistent *with their ideals of themselves as teachers,* rather than with their students' accounts of the actual relationships (Festinger, 1957; Wubbels, Brekelmans, & Hooymayers, 1992). Similarly, Evers, Tomic, and Brouwers (2004) describe "a striking difference" (p. 145) between teachers' perceptions of their interactions with their students, and their students' views of these same dynamics. In short, teachers' accounts of their teaching often represent their "wishful thinking" (p. 20) about their teaching, rather than their actual actions as teachers (Wubbels & Brekelmans, 2005). This often unintentional bias in teachers' perceptions is intended to protect their self-esteem from the discrepancy between their idealized image of themselves and their actual teaching, and the often uncomfortable emotions that emerge (Wubbels, Brekelmans, & Hooymayers, 1992). Also, consistent with Volkmann and Anderson's (1998) account of the first-year secondary teacher mentioned above, teachers can also protect themselves against feeling disappointed by negatively biasing their perceptions of their teaching so that their image of themselves is less consistent with their ideals than the accounts of their students (Wubbels, Brekelmans, & Hooymayers, 1993).

In both these cases, the overriding influence on teachers' actions is their management of the "cognitive dissonance" (p. 20) that surfaces when they "fall short" of their vision of themselves as teachers, as opposed to the issue of addressing their students' needs (Wubbels & Brekelmans, 2005). This is further complicated by the fact that after 127 teachers were surveyed about their ideals, "students feeling valued" (p. 213) was deemed most important, followed by "students developing into autonomous adults" (p. 213) and then thirdly, by students being offered "all the possibilities to develop themselves" (p. 213). It is important to note that these two points are essential to both Mayeroff's (1971) and Noddings' (2002) notion of caring (de Ruyter & Kole,

2010). In the end, it is evident that teachers' emotions are profoundly interwoven with their visions of themselves as teachers (Hammerness, 2001, 2006; Nias, 1996), although their role within teachers' interpretive processes is not well-understood (Hargreaves, 2000). Ultimately, though, all of these points raise some serious questions about the caring nature of teachers' relationships with their students.

School Context and Teacher-Student Relationships

An important question remains regarding teachers' caring relationships with their students: Why do students play such an essential role in their teachers' sense of success that they are described as teachers' "critical reality definers" (Beijaard, 1995, p.283)? In effect, teachers do not work solely with their students; rather, schools are typically complex organizations that employ many adults in a number of roles, all of which collaborate with teachers. For example, Manitoba Education (2011) states that teachers' relationships within the broader school context, such as with other teachers, school administrators, and parents, strongly influence their caring relationships with their students. Although it does not specifically elaborate on how these factors influence each other, it does provide descriptors of ways that might facilitate the influence, such as for teachers to seek opportunities "to network" (p. 15) with other teachers, and for school administrators to support, but not usurp, teachers' authority with their students. Additionally, the educational literature also suggests a connection between teachers' caring relationships with their students and the broader school culture. Specifically, when students perceive the school culture as caring, they tend to perceive their relationships with teachers as caring (Fredriksen & Rhodes, 2004). Just as importantly, how students perceive the nature of teachers' relationships with their peers likely influences their own understanding of the relationships they have with teachers.

Also, students' sense of belonging in school tends to be expressed through their relationship with their teachers (Libbey, 2004).

There is no shortage of educational literature that explores ways in which caring teacher-student relationships can be supported in schools by school administrators. For example, many people suggest that reducing the number of students in classes to support more meaningful interactions with teachers and providing block scheduling of teaching time to increase teachers' time spent with their students are important in the creation of supportive teacher-student relationships (Fredriksen & Rhodes, 2004). What is also evident is that, regardless of opportunities made available for teachers to collaborate, their professional relationships tend to be defined by competition and isolation, which lead them to rely on "idiosyncratic coping strategies" (p. 229) in their teaching (Flores & Day, 2006; Nias, 2005). As de Ruyter and Kole (2010) maintain, this type of school environment is not conducive to the critical discussions that are necessary for teachers to examine, evaluate, and orient their visions of themselves as teachers to the more objective and externalized goals of their profession (de Ruyter & Kole, 2010). When this critical dialogue is absent from teachers' work in schools, I argue that they can become disoriented and ultimately, misdirected, in their attempts to meet their students' needs.

An Introduction to the Research

The initial intent of this grounded theory study was to collect data from teacher participants in two focus-group discussions that addressed both mine and the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) research group's questions regarding teacher authority, classroom assessment, teacher-student relationships, and student engagement. Between October 2011 and January 2012, eight teachers were recruited from the annual provincial Manitoba Middle Years

Association professional development day that is part of the Manitoba Teachers' Society's Special Area Groups of Educators (SAGE) provincial conference. Adopting a combination of both Charmaz's (1995, 2006) and Glaser's (1978, 1992) perspective on data analysis, the emergent categories that surfaced from these two initial focus-group discussions redirected the focus of this study from classroom assessment and student engagement, to issues of caring teacher-student relationships, teacher identities, the role of emotions, and the influence of school environments.

To develop the tentative conceptualization that emerged from the initial data analysis (Charmaz, 2006, Glasser, 1978), four selected participants from the first two focus-group discussions were interviewed individually. Then in October 2012, six additional teacher participants were recruited from the same annual provincial Manitoba Middle Years Association professional development day to participate in a second set of focus-group discussions that took place between December 2012 and January 2013. Following this, three teachers were asked to participate in individual interviews. The findings that emerged from these four periods of data collection have been interpreted relative to the initial conceptualization that emerged from the first two focus-group discussions. However, because grounded theory's *constant comparative method* (Charmaz, 2006) in data analysis encourages the rethinking and reshaping of the developing theory, the core categories, which are the common themes that emerged from the analysis of data, and the subsequent theoretical connections to extant literature have been critically examined and modified throughout.

Significance of the Study

This study makes a number of theoretical contributions to the educational literature. In linking Hammerness' (2001, 2006) notion of teachers' idealized visions with Wubbels, Brekelmans, and Hoomayers' (1992, 1993) work on teachers' perception biases relative to their ideals, a theoretical connection is made between teachers' identities and identity theory, which has, to this date, been unexplored in educational research. This theoretical work will, I think, contribute significantly to teaching in two ways. Firstly, this study will provide a more holistic conceptualization of identity, which is a departure from the more contrived distinction of "personal and professional" identities (Beijaard, 1995; Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000; Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006). This theory will then provide teachers with a more integrated understanding of how their "whole person" influences their teaching. Secondly, this study provides a more in-depth understanding of people's fluctuating identities within the context of their social environments. Although it is common in the educational literature to examine the notion of teachers' identities as an entity that exists *within the person*, which, in turn, is influenced as people interact in their environment (Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005; Kelchtermans, 2005; Latsky, 2005), identity theory views the development of identity as occurring as *people interact* with their environment. This latter perspective will result in a better understanding of how teachers' interactions within their schools are part of their identity formation.

On a related note, by theoretically connecting teachers' identities and identity theory, a stronger understanding of the role of teachers' emotions emerges, particularly in relation to feelings of fear, guilt, and shame. More specifically this study will not only reinforce what the literature already says about how teachers emotionally respond to social factors in their

environments (Darby, 2005; Hargreaves, 2005; Jeffrey & Woods, 1996) and how these emotions influence the development of teachers' identities, but it will also extend our understanding of the role that shame plays in teaching. Not only is the role of emotions not presently well understood in the educational literature, but teachers' experiences of shame have only been documented in terms of their collaborative work with colleagues (Hargreaves, 2000). I believe that this study both extends our understanding of teachers' experiences of shame as they collaborate with other teachers, and it also examines the influence of teachers' experiences of shame on the caring relationships that they develop with their students, which I believe has yet to be explored in the educational literature.

Just as importantly, this study will help to further develop an understanding of teachers' interactions with their school environments. Because identity theory maintains that people's identities develop as they interact with their social surroundings, the development of a more in-depth understanding of teachers' identities will also provide deeper insight into the reasons why teachers compete with, and work in relative isolation from, each other (Flores & Day, 2006; Nias, 2005). More broadly, the study will also help to develop a better understanding of what other factors within school environments are important in the development of teachers' identities, with a particular emphasis on the role of school administrators.

This study also extends the educational literature's understanding of what is meant by teachers' caring relationships with their students, beyond the tendency to list descriptors, such as "intellectual partnerships" (Manitoba Education, 2011, p. 9) and emotionally supportive interactions (Wentzel, 1998) and the inclusion of concrete properties, such as "effective communication" (Manitoba Education, 2011, p. 10) and trust (Frymier & Houser, 2000). By extending the notion of caring to include how teachers' perceptions and interpretations of their

interactions with significant others in their school organizations influence teachers' interactions with their students, the caring nature of teacher-student relationships can be examined more thoroughly.

Finally, although this study's findings are important in understanding the influence of teachers' identities in the school environment, they might also be relevant to other professions, such as Nursing, Medicine, and Social Work, that also rely on relationships grounded in attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969). The question of relevancy, however, would depend on the convergence of a number of contextual factors specific to their work environments, which is beyond the scope of this study. This being said, along with the many contributions that this study makes to literature, there are also a number of limitations.

Limitations of the Study

There are two theoretical limitations in this study. This first of these involves the nature of the data being collected. Some might question the validity of teachers' recollections of past events, as well as their shared interpretations of their use of authority with students. The symbolic interactionist perspective, which is foundational to identity theory and provides the broader theoretical context for this study, purports that an independent reality does not exist outside of people's perceptions of events, situations, and other people's actions (Blumer, 1980). For this reason, reality is comprised of the meanings that stem from people's interpretations of their perceptions. When people's interpretations of their experiences change, the experience changes as well. In this light, the narratives shared by teachers are valuable expressions of their interpretations of experiences.

A second limitation involves the lack of a meaningful shared definition of teacher-student relationships (Bernstein-Yamashiro, 2004; Fredrikson & Rhodes, 2004; Frymier & Houser, 2000; Manitoba Education, 2010; Wentzel, 1998). Because the initial focus-group questions examined the relationship between authority, learning relationships, assessment, and student engagement, the notion of the teacher-student relationship was described for participants as grounded in the reciprocal dynamic between teachers and students. Moreover, the definitions of social and pedagogical authority that were provided in their assigned reading (Dooner et al., 2010) were also connected to the notion of teacher-student relationships during the discussion. Although the notion of teacher-student relationships was central in both focus-group discussions, the nebulousness of the concepts of relationship and authority influenced my interpretation of the data. For example, I do not have a strong sense of how my understanding of these concepts aligns with those of the teacher-participants, other than through the brief definitions provided.

Beyond the theoretical concerns, this study has three methodological limitations. The first relates to the lack of member-checking (Creswell, 2007) of the categories and conceptualization of the coded data from the focus-group discussions. In fact, this issue exists because of the nature of the data being coded. More specifically, as teacher-participants discussed their use of authority in the classroom and shared experiences of critical incidents in schools, patterns emerged in their dialogue that extended beyond the content intentionally being shared. For example, when they talked about the strengths and challenges to their classroom authority, the teachers consistently appeared to gauge their success with students in relation to their colleagues' efforts. My point is that this tendency may have been unintentional on the part of the participants, but it was significant in terms of data analysis because it occurred consistently throughout both discussions and, to varying degrees, across all participants. In other words, they

individually contributed to the pattern that exists at the group level, although they were likely unaware that the pattern existed. For this reason, member-checking my interpretation of the data analysis from the focus-group discussions may be redundant. However, member-checking will be integrated into the data analysis from the individual participant's interviews.

Moreover, this methodological issue influences the fourth limitation. Because I am only introducing extant theories into this study's data analysis once my theoretical coding is well underway, the emergent categories and how they interrelate reflect my interpretation of the collected data. The lack of member-checking of the data analysis of focus-group discussions further underscores the significance of this point. To address this issue, I have met on several occasions with my advisor to review the transcribed focus-group discussions and their subsequent coding, as well as with the teacher-candidate who took field notes during the first set of focus-group discussions. Furthermore, five members of the Manitoba Middle Years Association research group have also submitted their interpretations of the first focus-group transcripts to me. The data collected from the first set of focus-group discussions was foundational to the eventual conceptualization that emerged from this study.

The final methodological limitation relates to Albas and Albas' (1988) research on impression management and more specifically, people's "strategies of revelation" (p. 290). They argue that people's interactions with each other are different, depending on whether they are perceived to all be successful in their roles as teachers, or whether some, or all, are perceived as struggling. For example, "Aces", or those successful in their roles, tend to celebrate their accomplishments with other Aces while their exchanges with "Bombers", or those that have struggled, tend to centre on expressions of sympathy and the introduction of face-saving strategies for the dejected. Although the issue of impression management is a significant influence in this study's focus-

group discussions and individual interviews, I do not know how successful these teachers actually are in their role as teachers. In this sense, although they all appear highly committed to the role of teacher, I do not know whether they are, in fact, Aces, Bombers, or "Middle of the Roaders", in their day-to-day teaching practices. For this reason, I am unable to appreciate, in any real depth, what impression management strategies individual participants might be employing throughout this study.

In the end, these five limitations should be taken into account as this study unfolds in the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

Overview of the Study

As previously mentioned in this first chapter, this study examines the meaning of caring teacher-student relationships in the educational literature and why teachers appear to become disoriented in their attempts to care for their students by meeting their needs. Furthermore, it explores the role that emotions play in the development of caring teacher-student relationships, as well as the influence of the school environment on these relations.

The purpose of Chapter 2 is to examine the sociological theory of teachers' care by first exploring the social psychological conception of relationships. In this first section, Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring is examined relative to the concepts of role and status, and role strain. The notion of identities will be examined using identity theory, which will also include the role of emotions. In the second section of this chapter, a conception of teachers' professional identities is examined, and the related concepts of teachers' emotions, as well as their competitiveness with their colleagues and their use of social and pedagogical authority in their classroom teaching will be discussed.

In Chapter 3, a brief history of grounded theory is explored before discussing in greater detail this study's process of analyzing the collected data. The research criteria and the focus-group and individual interview questions will then be outlined. The recruitment and professional backgrounds of the participants from first set of focus-group discussions and individual interviews will be discussed, followed by the coding of the data which led to the development of this study's tentative conceptualization. This process will then be repeated for the second set of focus-group discussions and individual interviews, which served to challenge and extend the initial conceptualization.

In Chapter 4, the data collected from the 14 teachers who participated in this study' focus-group discussions and individual interviews is analyzed to examine why teachers sometimes get disoriented in their efforts to develop caring relationships with their students. To do this, the strains and stresses in the teachers' role are examined, as well as teachers' sense of identities. The teachers' legitimation (McCall & Simmons, 1978) of their role is explored within the context of their students, school administrators, their colleagues, and their students' parents, which then introduces the role of the teachers' emotions as a critical factor in this dynamic. The teachers' sense of competitiveness with their colleagues in schools is also examined as it relates to their attempts to legitimate their role as teachers and to develop caring relationships with their students. Finally, these notions are related to the teachers' use of authority in their classrooms and the factors within schools that influence their caring relationships with their students.

Finally, Chapter 5 begins with a brief summary of this study's grounded theory methodology before summarizing this study's findings. From this discussion, the implications for teaching are explored. This chapter concludes by examining some significant implications for future educational research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY OF TEACHERS' CARE

The purpose of this chapter is to present the theoretical perspectives that support a sociological understanding of teachers' efforts to care for their students in schools. The first section focuses on the broader social psychological conception of relationships. I begin by exploring three of Mayeroff's (1971) essential tenets that underpin the notion of caring, which include *being with another*, *being there for another*, and *being for another*. I then examine the concepts that include role and status, identities, and emotions, and the related notions of role strain, the idealized and situated selves, and the legitimation of roles. In the second section, I relate these broad concepts to teachers' professional identities. This is done by examining teachers' emotions, their competitiveness with their colleagues, and the social and pedagogical authority they develop in their teaching. The chapter ends with a summary of the relevant concepts that are needed to better understand the findings of the study presented in Chapter 4, which illustrates the complexity of the caring relationships that teachers develop with their students.

A Social Psychological Conception of Relationships

Mayeroff (1971) and Noddings (2002) offer academic perspectives which are foundational to the notion of caring (Katz, 2007). In fact, both these theorists share some common beliefs; for example, they agree that caring for others and being cared for by others are essential to human growth. Helping others to strengthen themselves as people "in their own right" (Katz, 2007, p.

130) is inherent in the personal growth of the people caring. Furthermore, the care offered to others must be responsive to the needs of the people being cared for, and that these commitments to each other exist over time. As well, there are some differences between them. One of the most significant differences is that although both view caring as a responsive interaction between people, Mayeroff demands less responsiveness from the cared for than does Noddings. Essentially, the latter's conceptualization of caring is grounded in individuals' recognition of being cared for by others, and the critical awareness that then emerges which shapes the actions of the people doing the caring (Katz, 2007; Noddings, 2002). Because this study focuses on teachers' experiences as they care for their students, which excludes both students' responses to their efforts as well as teachers' perceptions of their students' responses, I have used Mayeroff's notion of caring, rather than Noddings'.

Katz (2007) refers to Mayeroff's (1971) "major ingredients of caring" (p. 9), such as humility, alternating rhythms, and constancy of the other, as virtues of the people caring. However, they can also be understood as the necessary elements of a caring relationship. These elements can successfully describe the ways that people's perceptions and interpretations of situations influence their caring actions. For example, *humility* requires that people caring do not over-emphasize their own importance in the act of caring while de-emphasizing the influences of others, which also necessitates that they remain respectful of the many factors in the life of the cared for upon which they have little or even no control. The need for *alternating rhythms* requires that people caring examine the results of their actions, learn from their accomplishments and mistakes, and respond by either maintaining or changing their caring actions, depending on the fluctuating needs of the cared for. Finally, the *constancy of the other* means that people caring be constant influences in the lives of the cared for because caring is a "developmental

process" (p. 24). Mayeroff's ingredients of caring are important because of how they influence people's caring or uncaring social interactions with others, not because they are important in themselves.

More specifically, when Mayeroff (1971) speaks of caring social interactions, he is referring to people providing support for the personal growth of others being cared for; in other words, it involves others' personal growth and self-actualization. His view of caring is centered on three primary tenets that include "being with another", "being there for another", and "being for another" (p. 129). For example, *being with another* involves understanding their experiences and helping them from inside their own world. It involves understanding how individuals perceive relevant issues from the context of their own lives, while still maintaining their own sense of identity (Katz, 2007; Mayeroff, 1971). The act of *being there for another* demands that caring people reprioritize their personal needs to respond to others during times of turmoil. Finally, *being for another* is described as possibly the most challenging of the qualities of caring. It means that actions are always intended to help, but also to strengthen, the individuals who are being cared for. This necessitates that the people caring for others help them without also trying to meet their own psychosocial needs by being overly possessive or by limiting occasions for others to self-actualize. For example, to be overly protective or to "care too much" about students is not caring because it is responding to personal needs rather than to students' needs. In a caring relationship, then, the person being cared for becomes both an extended part of the person caring, yet still remains a person who exists independently "as a separate entity" (Katz, 2007, p. 130).

Although Mayeroff (1971) is a philosopher, he provides a valuable sociological perspective on the notion of caring. This is, in part, because the influence of individuals' identities is central

to his view of caring and the tenets of symbolic interactionism are foundational to the development of individuals' identities (Mead, 1934; Stone, 1962; Stryker, 1980, 2004). In brief, his views on caring are generally consistent with the tenets of symbolic interactionism. Fundamentally, Mead (1934) argues that the mind develops as it is stimulated by, and creates meaning from, social objects, and that people's social acts are the by-product of the synergy created through their interaction with their social environment. Cooley (1902) contends that people socially interact with others based largely on how they exist for them in their minds or rather, their "personal idea" (p. 118) of others, and that this becomes each individuals' "immediate social reality" (p. 119). Central to these arguments are the concepts of "emergence" (Mead, 1934, p. 198) and communication (Cooley, 1902), which are not only consistent with Mayeroff's (1971) notion of *alternating rhythms*, which reflects the belief that individuals' interpretations, in interaction within their social setting, create meaning that then influences their actions, but also to his more generalized view of the reciprocity that exists between people in caring relationships. Moreover, his *ingredients of caring*, such as honesty and patience, represent people's possible "tendencies" or "attitudes" (Blumer, 1969), in combination with their social environment, which influence their actions. In other words, "while… the concept of attitude is not necessary to do this, its use as a means of facilitating role-taking is in order and may be helpful" (p. 99). To develop this point further, the sociological concept of roles and statuses are helpful.

Roles and Statuses

In Goffman's (1961) view, the roles that are relevant in any situation depict the actions assumed by individuals in response to the normative expectations inherent in social positions or

statuses. As such, the notion of *role enactment* refers to the role performances that occur in relation to *relevant audiences* that, together, create a *role set* (Merton, 1957). For example, the role set of a teacher typically includes students, administrators, parents, superintendents, and other teachers. By extension, *status* refers to a social position with a particular set of entitlements, obligations, and expectations embedded in a specific social position. It follows, then, that because people must perform a variety of different roles in different situations, they learn to enact certain roles while de-emphasizing others. In fact, the degree of *role embracement* and *role distancing* experienced by individuals during role enactments reflects the degree of engagement in or detachment from the role (Goffman, 1961). Importantly, Turner (1978) refers to these variations in role enactments as people's attempts to express their genuine selves while remaining immersed in their more formalized roles.

More specifically, Turner (1956, 1962) describes these variations in role enactment within the context of *role-making* and *role-taking*; moreover, although the processes are intertwined, role-taking is required for role-making to occur. Essentially, a role must exist in relation to other-roles or counter-roles; moreover, *role reciprocity* refers to the fact that an adjustment in an adopted role is in response to a perceived change in a counter-role. This point underscores the notion that social interaction is embedded in people's need to "test" (p. 23) their perceptions of counter-roles, with the goal of either steadying or altering their own role enactment. This, then, describes the role-taking process. It is the *reflexive process* of conceiving of a role enactment relative to perceived counter-roles. As such, role-making involves *selecting behaviours* that align with the evaluation rendered through the role-taking process.

Simply put, a role serves as a "point of reference" (Turner, 1962, p. 24) from which individuals can interpret and align their actions to the demands of a specific situation, as well as

the demands that surface through role reciprocity. However, the extent to which role-taking and role-making occur within a formal organization, such as a school, depends less on individuals' perceptions of counter-roles and more on the institutional expectations for conformity to prescribed roles and statuses. The degree of formalization, then, affects the extent of the ritualization of specific behaviours in the role reciprocity that occurs between individuals and relevant others. Furthermore, dyads, as opposed to triadic or even larger group arrangements, have specific and unique features that can strengthen a person's sense of self when enacting roles (McCall & Simmons, 1991). For this reason, the concept of dyadic relationships is important to understand.

By definition, dyadic relationships consist of two participants, although this can refer just as much to two groups, such as two families or two organizations. Simmel (1950) explains that a central attribute in a dyadic relationship is the knowledge by both people that the social structure resides solely with the two participants, and that the withdrawal of either party from the relationship would, by necessity, lead to the demise of the experience in its entirety. In other words, the relationship is perceived to be so uniquely meaningful that "consequently, the dyad is obsessed with its own mortality, an obsession that heightens the intrinsic sentimentalism… and encourages the establishment of all sorts of interpersonal bonds as glue to hold the relationships together" (McCall & Simmons, 1991, p. 70).

According to Simmel (1950), what engenders this powerful sense of uniqueness within the dyadic relationship are its essential characteristics of triviality and intimacy. Essential to these concepts is the point that because a dyadic relationship prevents any one person from being overruled by a group majority, the social structure inherently enables more individualization among its two participants. In this sense, *triviality* implies a rarity or a uniqueness of

interactional content that, if absent, is experienced as a loss. By its very nature, the dyadic relationship is grounded and likely strengthened by the notion that third-party disruptions to the participants' unique reciprocity will destroy their distinctive experience. The issue of *intimacy* extends beyond issues of valued reciprocity and the individualization of shared content because people, intentionally or otherwise, often share highly individualized information about themselves without experiencing any sense of intimacy. The notion of intimacy, then, relates more to the participants' perception of the uniqueness of the exchange more generally or rather, that what is shared between participants in a dyad is somehow different than what they share with others (Simmel, 1950). In this context, the characteristics of triviality and intimacy simply underscore the empowering nature of the dyad to the participants' sense of selves and the potentially resulting unease associated with third-party disruptions.

Moreover, Slater (1963) contends that in groups of three or more people, any one relationship is influenced by numerous other relationships, whereas the dyad consists solely of one relationship. Also, in other group formations, individuals must allot and disperse their energy to other members, while simultaneously being influenced by "many points of leverage" (p. 349) within the group. Again, the dyadic relationship offers a far more immediate, one-on-one interaction. He also argues that individuals' dyadic involvement is inversely related to their communal involvement; in other words, the more that people focus their energy on sustaining dyadic relationships, the more they withdraw their energy from the broader social setting. This prioritizing of certain valued role expectations at the expense of others is foundational to the concept of role strain, which will now be explored.

Role Strain

It is simply impossible for people to satisfy the expectations of every role they assume even in dyadic relationships, particularly given that different and conflicting expectations often occur at the same time. For this reason, decisions must be made as to which expectations will be prioritized at the expense of others, as well as how, given the inherent constraints of their social environments (Goode, 1960; Marks, 1977; McCall & Simmons, 1982). What, then, motivates people to prioritize and subsequently sustain some of their assumed roles at the expense of others?

In answering this question, Goode (1960), Slater (1963), and Coser (1974) adopt a "scarcity approach" when examining individuals' attempts to manage the many role-relationships in their lives. Essentially, Goode (1960) argues that given individuals' scarcity of personal resources, such as energy, time, and money, and the fact that they assume an overwhelming number of roles with competing and often, conflicting demands, individuals continually seek to fulfill role expectations as best they can while not overwhelming their personal resources. In fact, Coser's (1974) notion of "greedy institutions" (p. 4) refers to an organization's demand for absolute commitment to a given status, at the expense of individuals' loyalty to other competing roles. Marks (1977) contends, however, that central to this perspective is the individual's need to be diligent in determining the "cost-gain" ratio of assumed role performances because they inherently deplete a person's physiological resources. The resulting *role strain* leaves individuals struggling to fulfill their role obligations. Slater's (1963) principle of *libidinal diffusion* and *libidinal contraction* mirrors a similar tension described by Goode (1960); namely, that the emotional investment into certain role performances drains the resources that individuals can invest into other roles, given that they are working with a finite reserve of energy. Slater

(1963) also argues that individuals' retreat into dyadic relationships occur at the expense of the broader community because of their choice to redirect personal energy or *libido* from diffuse and indirect communal experiences, to more immediate and direct one-on-one social interactions.

Marks (1977), however, questions the universal nature of the "resource scarcity" principle, arguing that the literature suggests that although some individuals struggle with role strain and the allocation of scarce personal resources, others do not. For this reason, I focus on Marks' (1977) "expansion approach" in this study which suggests that although individuals can direct a profusion of personal energy into roles that they are committed to, they can also choose to limit their commitment to other roles. However, this occurs not because they are at risk of biologically depleting their already scarce reserve of resources (Coser, 1974; Goode, 1960; Slater, 1963), but rather because *their attitude* towards considered role relationships leave them choosing to commit more or less energy into certain roles relative to others. This means that depending on the nature of the individuals and their interactions within their social setting, people can potentially commit an almost indefinite amount of resources into selected role enactments. Just as importantly, the intense over-commitment to highly prized role enactments can ultimately expand people's reserve so that they have even more energy to invest. The popular saying that "if you want something done, give it to a busy person" captures this idea.

Regardless of individuals' high levels of commitment, however, they must sometimes limit the time and energy directed to certain roles. For example, when individuals consider equally valued role performances, the valence to commit is equally positive and so the only limits to their actions are from the role obligations that stem from other interests and other responsibilities in their lives. This means that people's tendencies to over-commit to equally valued roles are affected only minimally by their time and energy, yet these interactions tend to result in the

"expansion" (Marks, 1977, p. 931) of their personal sources of energy. Conversely, when role enactments are considered equally valueless, the negative valence to commit results in little to no expansion of personal energy, and the minimal time and energy committed to the role produces "diffuse apathy" (p. 931). The most common scenario, though, is when some role enactments are valued more than others which results in individuals' over-committing to some roles while under-committing to others. It is important to note that in this case, the valence to commit is positive for *both* commitments, only it is far greater for the more highly valued role enactments. For example, the introductory quote from one of this study's participants suggests that she has decided to invest more of her time and energy into prioritizing the emotional, rather than the cognitive, aspects of her relationships with students, although both dimensions appear to be important to her sense of identity as a teacher.

Marks (1977) maintains that enjoyment of the performance, allegiance to relevant role partners, as well as the anticipated rewards and punishments associated with the interaction combine to influence people's commitments to roles, although the extreme presence of one of these elements can be enough to sustain specific commitments. Furthermore, individuals' "identity strength" (p. 931) is more closely reliant on the successful fulfillment of their more valued and over-committed role enactments, rather than their valued but more under-committed ones. With this in mind, and because it is an important component of both role strain and social relationships, identity theory will be explored.

Identity Theory

Identity theory was developed from symbolic interactionism (McCall, 2003; Stets, 2006). In fact, Stryker and Burke (2000) maintain that since the conceptualization of human identity was

referred to as identity theory in 1966, it has been grounded as a central tenet of symbolic interactionism which involves the "reciprocity of society and self" (Stryker & Serpe, 1982, p. 205). Over time, however, the theory has diverged into two separate foci; Stryker and his associates emphasize the influence of social structure on the individual's identity while Burke and his colleagues examine the individual's influence on his or her own behaviour (Stets, 2006). Stryker and Serpe's (1994) perspective is fundamentally rooted in the notion of *identity schemas* as "cognitive generalizations" (p. 18) and individuals' tendencies to call forth certain identities across situations (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). For example, teachers' tendency to teach and evaluate their own children's understanding of their school subject matter might reflect the prominence of their teacher identities over their parent identities. As such, social identity theory examines human behaviour within the context of groups and, as much as possible, outside the realm of immediate situations and individual distinctiveness, which is more consistent with this study.

Because this perspective overlooks the importance of the individually-based processes in human behaviour, the second emphasis in identity theory emerged (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Burke's (1991, 2004) perspective claims that the meaning of individuals' identities that are associated with particular statuses and social positions influence not only their behaviour, but what the behaviour means. Therefore, it integrates the notion of roles and statuses. Essentially, then, identity control theory claims that when individuals control their behaviour by successfully aligning themselves with their social environment, they control their behaviour so that it is more consistent with their idealized identity (Burke, 1991). This theory is highly individualistic in focus and de-emphasizes the influence of people's social environments on their behaviour (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Furthermore, Stryker and Serpe (1994) contend that McCall and Simmons' (1978) work on role-identities extends the general understanding of the relationship between "role" and "identity" (p. 16) or rather, the self and the social environment, far beyond the work of Stryker (1968, 1980) and Burke (1991, 2004). For these reasons, I will now explore in greater detail McCall and Simmons' (1978) work in identity theory, focusing specifically on the notion of identity, followed by role-identities, idealized and situated selves, legitimation, and the mechanisms of legitimation.

Identity and Self

The concept of identity differs from the notion of self. Mead (1934) contends that our individual "self", as opposed to our physical body, can experience itself as a complete entity or rather, as an "object to itself" (p. 136). Similarly, Cooley (1902) believes that individuals' "self-idea" (p. 184) consist not only of how they imagine themselves as seen by others, but also how others are interpreting their being. These notions underscore the reflexive nature of human beings which does not refer to them being conscious of immediate experiences. For example, an individual's intense involvement in the immediate experience of teaching students or conversing with colleagues implies a degree of consciousness, not "self-consciousness" (Stets, 2006, p. 136). The notion of self-consciousness means that to act rationally or with reason requires that individuals are able to examine themselves interacting with others, just as they observe others interacting with them. In so doing, they are able to evaluate and align their own actions based on the behavioural responses of the relevant others involved in the situations. This, then, is what Mead (1934) refers to as self-consciousness. Integral to Cooley's (1902) notion of "self-idea" (p. 184) is the complex role of "self-feeling" (p. 170) in signaling to people how they will respond to

their reality. Embedded in both notions of self is that individuals in interaction with others can only really experience themselves as relevant others experience them, which is also a critical point in the notion of identity.

However, this process alone is not enough in developing the self. In addition to considering the immediate responses of others in relation to individuals' actions, they must also consider the behaviour of the group in relation to their views of the social groups to which they belong. In effect, individuals objectively consider their actions in relation to the responses from others within the group, while contemplating all of this in relation to the broader social groups in which they are members. Mead (1934), specifically, explains that it is this process of evaluating and organizing immediate interactions into the more "generalized other" (p. 154) social influences, that the individuals fully develop their senses of self. His assertion that people must belong to a community "to be a self" (p. 162) underscores not only the intensely social nature of the self but also the reflexive nature of people. Likewise, Cooley's (1902) notion of society is that it is a coming together of each person's thoughts and interpretations to create a collective interpretation of experience; in other words, "society… is life regarded from the point of view of personal intercourse" (p. 135).

Identity, then, is a "meaning of the self" (Stone, 1962, p. 93). It denotes a "situatedness" that results from the convergence of the individual's expressions of himself or herself, along with the expressions of the self reflected back by relevant others. Moreover, Stryker (1980) contends that upon entering a social situation, people categorize others and often themselves, in order to not only define the context, but to consider their lines of action. The process of "self-definition" (p. 59), then, relies strongly on socially agreed upon categories, mutually shared expectations embedded in social roles, and the "constructing and reconstructing" of these roles (McCall &

Simmons, 1991, p. 63). This means that just as a role is defined by its "counter-role", an identity, which is embedded in a role, is defined by its "counter-identity" (Burke, 1980, p. 19).

Although people can use their identities very broadly to refer to their culture (Stryker & Burke, 2000), when role expectations are internalized, the process occurs at the *social, situational,* and *personal levels*. Vryan, Adler and Adler (2003) maintain that social identities refer to the broader social groups that people belong to and identify with, such as being Canadian or being Liberals, and are grounded in both *in-groups* and *out-groups* that suggests varying degrees of homogeneity among people's perceptions and adopted lines of action (Stets, 2006). People's situational identities are more specific to the immediate context and refer to the identities that surface through interactions with relevant others (Vryan et al., 2003). Examples of situational identities, or what Stets (2006) refers to as role-based identities, include any identity that is associated with a counter-identity, such as the role of teacher in relation to the counter-role of student. Finally, personal identities integrate individuals' unique biographies and reflect their focus on distinctive personalities, such as being hard-working or caring people (Vryan et al., 2003).

Regardless of these theoretical distinctions, all three levels of identities, namely the social, the situational, and the personal, are simultaneously active in people (Stets, 2006; Vryan et al., 2003). For example, a caring teacher from Manitoba might also develop her identity from her sense of belonging to a Youth Crisis Centre. In other words, the influence of one level of identity cannot be separated from the others, although that identity is made more prominent by the teacher at a given time will influence which issues are perceived as more or less pertinent in the enactment of her role as a teacher. Because McCall and Simmons' (1978) theoretical work on role-identities deepens our understanding of the relationship between roles and identities, or

rather, the self and the social context (Stryker & Serpe, 1994), role-identities will now be examined.

Role-Identities

Individuals have as many role-identities as they have statuses within society (McCall & Simmons, 1978). For example, the identity of mother, daughter, and teacher are all associated with different statuses for a specific individual, although these identities are all interrelated. Regardless, role-identities are the ways in which individuals imagine themselves behaving in certain statuses, as they enact specific roles (McCall & Simmons, 1978, 1991). These imaginings tend to not only consist of people's detailed and idyllic role enactments that are unlikely to ever be attained in actuality, but also the imagined reactions of others who act as an audience to the considered behaviour. Essentially, then, role-identities provide the *principal content* from which individuals' possible "plans of action" (p. 67) are considered and then evaluated. Furthermore, the different meanings found within role-identities are both common, as well as distinctive in nature, and changing (Stets, 2006). Depending on individuals' oscillating goals and apprehensions, specific and imagined people will be incorporated into role-identities, as well as re-worked social contexts. The link to existing people and contexts, however, anchor individuals' musings to their actual contemplated action while simultaneously providing an imaginative "testing ground" for such things as their aspirations, questions and concerns.

Still, these imagined performances reflect individuals' situated desires and anxieties, and they take place within the context of their social roles. As described earlier, inherent in the content of role-identities is the understanding that people's interpretive processes are influenced by social forces that reflect cultural expectations embedded in social roles. Social roles, to a considerable

degree, provide true "guides to action" (McCall & Simmons, 1978, p. 64). In other words, they provide a structural yet flexible backdrop to the more individualized and specific interactions that occur among people (Maines, 1977). Furthermore, the degree to which an individual's role-identities intermingle depends largely on the degree of compatibility and flexibility of their interrelationship. Regardless, role-identities provide individuals with the idealized content that then influences their eventual role-enactments which can be understood more specifically through their idealized and situated selves.

In effect, specific role-identities are not just randomly called forth in given situations. This sophisticated network of identities is organized in a flexible order of priority which is referred to as the "ideal self" (McCall & Simmons, 1978, p. 74). This not only means that individuals are more likely to elicit identities that have greater value to them, but also that they are more likely to enact roles that are more supportive of their identities. Different factors intermingle to determine an identity's prominence that include the extent to which individuals support particular role enactments, the degree of garnered role support, the investment of personal resources, and the amount of internal gratification associated with specific role enactments. Essentially, though, individuals' idealized selves reflect their priorities in terms of their role-identities (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stets, 2006).

Just as the idealized self is more fixed and stable, the *situated self* is more fluid and changing (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stryker, 1968). In fact, it reflects people's actual behaviours in specific social contexts. Again, it reflects all of the above mentioned considerations of the idealized self, but also the potential for "profitable enactment" (p. 82) of the identity in a specific situation (McCall & Simmons, 1978). In other words, the situated self is the enactment of individuals' priorities reflected in their role-identities, given their specific social environments.

Just as importantly, though, is the realization that the enactment of any particular identity always occurs in reciprocity with the individual's perception of another's counter-identity, enacting a counter-role. As such, the need to align one's role enactment with a relevant other's enactment, and to negotiate role-identities throughout the interaction is critical, which raises the issue of legitimation.

Legitimation

Our imaginative and idyllic views of our behaviour encapsulated in our role-identities are just that; they are inspired and overreaching cognitive creations of how we wish to think of ourselves as we occupy particular statuses. McCall and Simmons (1978) explain that we also need to legitimate these views of ourselves through our role performance with others. Before this happens, however, an important aspect of *legitimation* is what was mentioned earlier; it is the individual's conceiving of a possible plan of action within the context of certain role-identities, as a "dry run" (p. 69) to the actual situation. This exercise is legitimizing because it is the individual's preliminary step in formulating an eventual and actual role-performance with an audience. This raises a second important aspect of the process of legitimation which is that once the role performance actually takes place, it must be supported by the audience, at least to the extent that it is "not disconfirmed" (p. 70).

This validation of an individual's role-performance by a relevant audience is what McCall and Simmons (1978) refer to as *role-support*. Although this notion certainly encompasses the rights, obligations, and status inherent in the individual's claim to act in a social position, the process of legitimation is more personal in nature. In essence, role support is, to varying degrees, an affirmation by relevant others of an individual's idealized view of himself that is

being "played out" through role enactment. For example, when the discrepancy between individuals' idealized and situated selves is low, the interaction tends to stabilize the relationship with relevant others, which typically legitimates individuals' sense of their idealized selves (Stets, 2006). When the discrepancy between the situated and idealized selves is more significant, however, disquieting emotions tend to alert individuals to the fact that their idealized view of themselves is not consistent with their role enactment in a particular social context. To this end, the audiences' responses, both deliberate and unintentional, are interpreted, judged, and then used to assess the person's actual role-performance in relation to her imagined and more idyllic view of her behaviour stemming from the role-identity. As McCall and Simmons (1978) explain:

the individual wants very much to be and to do as he imagines himself being and doing in a particular social position. As this congruence is seldom entirely possible, role-support… takes on considerable value to the person and may in fact become the major goal of a particular performance. (p. 73)

To reiterate, "non-normative" (p. 9) emotional responses are important because these emotions tend to magnify not only individuals' perceptions of the events that prompt the emotions, but also the ensuing actions (Stryker, 2004). It is, therefore, the atypical nature of emotions that makes them so important to individuals' interpretive processes because they *signal a discrepancy* between people's role-identities, role enactments, and the role-support received by relevant audiences (McCall & Simmons, 1978, 1991). This means that emotional experiences that are taken out of the average, routinized patterns of daily living have a significant influence on people's behaviours. And although I deal with emotions later in this chapter, McCall and Simmons (1978) do not directly address the notion of emotions in this process; however, they do

focus on individuals' use of mechanisms of legitimation in order to manage the discrepancy or rather, to "make things right" (p. 92). Furthermore, although they list a number of coping strategies that people employ once their primary mechanisms of legitimation fail, such as scapegoating or rationalizing inadequate role enactments, I will focus only on the primary mechanism of coping that include selective perception and interpretation because they shape individuals' accounts of their experiences in their social environments, as well as Burke's (1991) and Rosenberg's (1979) notion of comparators.

People's first means of coping with a perceived discrepancy is to be reasonable in assessing the threat to their role identities. McCall and Simmons (1978) explain that not only do individuals tend to acquire a certain degree of "short-term credit" (p. 92) that buffers the odd atypical role-enactment, but also they generally learn to be satisfied with role support that comes close to, but does not entirely satisfy, the expectations inherent in their role-identities. However, when this fails and a non-normative emotional experience occurs, two primary and more active mechanisms of legitimation tend to be used that include selective perception and selective interpretation. *Selective perception* means that based on the content of the role-identity being called forth, individuals focus more specifically on their actions that are most conducive to the content, as well as the reciprocal actions by others that are most supportive of the identity. For example, teachers who prioritize caring for their students' emotional well-being above all else will likely focus on their own acts to address their students' emotional needs, as well as their students' emotional responses to their actions, more than other elements of their teaching. However, a variation on selective perception is for individuals to focus specifically on aspects of the situation that would inhibit successful role enactments which then provide them with reasons to pre-emptively "withdraw from the race" (p. 93). The second primary mechanism of

legitimation is individuals' *selective interpretation* of the audiences' response, such as when individuals over-state their success in their role enactments. This form of coping is facilitated by ambiguous responses by relevant audiences or when they "nicefy" (p. 94) their reactions.

Not formally included in McCall and Simmons' (1978) mechanisms of legitimation is the use of other people as *comparators* (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979). This means that individuals use other people, such as their colleagues, to evaluate the success of their role enactments relative to their idealized view of themselves. For example, a person might feel validated in her role enactments when she realizes that she, and not her colleagues, was able to successfully complete a difficult task. The comparison of individuals' role enactments can be considered either *superior or inferior* relative to others, such as when they are evaluating issues of intelligence, kindness, and strength, or the *same or different*, which relates more to the adherence to normative expectations. The point is that comparing role enactments with others is a highly effective way of managing the perceived discrepancy between people's idealized and situated selves because by choosing who they are comparing themselves to, they, to a large extent, control the perceived success of their actions (McCall, 2003).

If these primary mechanisms of legitimation are exacerbated by a persistently threatening discrepancy between role-identity, role enactment, and role support, there are a number of other strategies that are used, depending on the nature of the individuals in question. For example, some people use *withdrawal, switching to another role-identity, or rejecting the audience that withholds role support* as ways to manage the uncomfortable discrepancy that surfaces through legitimation. In the end, though, it is important to note that all of these mechanisms are used in different combinations and with varying degrees of consciousness. Additionally, an essential point about role-identities is that people's most valued role-identities are, simultaneously, the

most susceptible to emotional injury, not only because of the significance of the role in their lives, but also because of the importance of the audience for them (McCall & Simmons, 1978). For this reason, a threatened role-identity can involve significant personal emotions, especially grief and angst, that can overwhelm people's mechanisms of legitimation, regardless of their attempts to manage their negative emotions. The use of any mechanisms of legitimation, which include the many coping strategies that people use once their primary mechanism of legitimation fails, are always intended to minimize the discomfort of people's perceived discrepancies in identities in comparison to their ideals, and to ultimately protect the self. Over time, however, there is a cost to this internal shift; for example, people become more cautious in their investment in role-identities and role enactments, and they often learn to live with "minimizing losses" (p. 98) rather than "maximizing gains" (p. 98). In effect, by committing wholly to highly valued role-identities and to then experience the personal grief associated with an identity threat can ultimately render individuals less committed to achieving their idealized selves. It can also lead to significant self-destructive behaviour. Underscoring all of these points, however, is that emotions are signals that reflect how individuals perceive their role enactments relative to their more idealized view of themselves. Because people's emotions are inherently intertwined with their identities, they will now be explored further.

Emotions

Although Mead's view of self does not include the role of emotion in any depth, Cooley's notion of "self-idea" (p. 184) not only involves how people imagine others as interpreting their being, but also the "self-feeling" (p. 184) that is associated with these imaginings, which is primarily grounded in pride and shame. Moreover, whether the individuals' emotions are disaffirming or affirming, their emotions and the perceived discrepancy between their idealized

and situated selves are closely inter-related. Although the socialization of emotion (Schott, 1979) and more specifically, the "feelings rules" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 119) that are inherently part of the emotion of caring whether people's behaviour aligns with social expectations are important, this study focuses more on the construction of emotion. Although individuals are influenced by both their internal and external circumstances, it is essentially their own interpretations of their lived experiences that define their emotions, and these emotions then influence their behaviour. Individuals' social environments that include their attempts at role-making and role-taking (Turner, 1956, 1962) provide the context in which people are continuously reinterpreting and redefining their experiences (Blumer, 1969; Hewitt, 2003). Although this study examines the meaning of the emotions that arise from teachers' interpretations of their classroom teaching as it relates to their identities, it is important to note that the socialization and the construction of emotion are interdependent processes. In other words, how people interpret and define particular emotions is significantly influenced by their understanding of what emotions are considered "most appropriate" (p. 1322) in certain social situations in light of other relevant social and individual influences (Shott, 1979).

Moreover, Shott (1979) contends that for certain emotions to occur, individuals are not only influenced by their social contexts, but they must also adopt the perspective of "the other." For example, feeling embarrassed is linked most directly to the actual interactions with relevant others, while feeling guilty tends to occur when people's self-evaluations of their role enactments are at odds with an accepted moral standard that is considered when adopting the perspective of the "generalized other"(Mead, 1934). This means that embarrassment is most tightly linked with individuals' actual interactions with others while guilt is associated more with a perceived failure of the role enactment relative to a standard they have set for themselves (Stryker &

Stratham, 1985). The experience of *shame* differs from that of embarrassment because while the latter is a negative response to people's evaluations of specific role enactments, the former is grounded in the nature of the person in question. Shame is an emotional response to people's perceived evaluations of their own *personal inadequacy* in their role enactments (Shott, 1979). Interestingly, Kemper (1978), Scheff (2003), and Weinberg (1968) say that although issues of perceived personal competence expose individuals to feelings of shame, people are typically more comfortable referring to these feelings as either guilt or embarrassment (Scheff, 2003). Regardless, "shame arises in an elemental situation in which there is a real or imagined threat to our bonds; it signals trouble in a relationship" (Scheff & Retzinger, 2003, p. 319).

Kemper (1978) adds that to understand the difficulties associated with certain emotions that include guilt and shame, issues of power and status within dyadic relationships need to be considered. This study focuses on the emotions that individuals experience when they perceive an insufficient use of power with others. Specifically, when individuals blame themselves for an insufficiency of power in their relationships with others, anxiety in the form of *fear* and *apprehension* (p. 33) are experienced. When they feel that others are responsible for their excess use of power, it tends to lead to feelings of *remorse* and *expiation* (p. 33).

Furthermore, "when an actor claims more competence than he has, or is offered and accepts more status than he deserves, he feels shame" (Kemper, 1978, p. 34). When individuals experience *shame* because they perceive themselves to be responsible for an excess of status, they tend to *withdraw* from the interactions. When they perceive others to be responsible for their perceived discrepancy in status, especially if the other exposed the discrepancy, then they tend to re-calibrate their perceptions of the status difference. Emotions grounded in depression occur when people feel that there is too little voluntary reward or acknowledgement given by

relevant others. That is, when people feel that they are responsible for their lack of status, a sense of *hopelessness* and *lack of self-worth* are often experienced. Conversely, when individuals feel that others are responsible for their lack of status, feelings of *anger* and *resentment* tend to occur. Fundamentally, these emotions reflect a belief that the discrepancy in status is unwarranted.

As previously mentioned, McCall and Simmons' (1978) earlier work only incorporates people's emotions indirectly as they describe the discrepancies that occur between their idealized and situated selves, and the subsequent lack of role-support, although they later acknowledge that embarrassment and shame stem from questionable role enactments (McCall & Simmons, 1982). Regardless, emotions are "signals" (p. 8) that permeate people's interpretive processes, which then influence their actions. More specifically, Stryker (2004) explains that "sentiments and emotions… are messages *from* the self but also *to* the self, informing persons… about the strength of their commitments, the relative salience of their identities, about who they really are" (p. 8). In this sense, people's identity claims can only be confirmed or refuted within their role relationships because the emotions generated both through the self and the other are essential in the process. In other words, the emotions that surface through individuals' role enactments and their perceived role support from others is crucial to their sense of identity.

Although people will generally seek out opportunities to enact roles that foster positive emotions, and avoid situations that foster negative feelings, extreme emotions associated with particular identities, either positive or negative, generally reflect greater saliency because the signals from the self are, through their intensity, more persistent and consuming. Furthermore, Stryker (2004) explains that if positive emotions produced through role relationships increase individuals' *commitment* to certain relationships, greater commitment to certain relationships can

produce more positive emotions. Consequently, intense emotional reactions, such as outbursts, tend to occur either when a salient identity is challenged, or when the opportunity to enact a salient identity through role behaviour is denied. Just as importantly, the more these emotional responses are experienced as "out of the ordinary" (p. 14) and "uncontrollable" (p. 14), the greater their influence on individuals' commitment. This point is particularly important in education where teachers' emotions often range from elation to despair as they teach their students (Kelchtermans, 1996; Sumsion, 2002; Zemblylas, 2005). For this reason, the sociological concepts discussed to this point will now be related to what was discussed in Chapter 1; that is, the development of teachers' caring relationships with their students.

A Conception of Teachers' Professional Identities

The role of teacher is not an easy one. Manitoba Education (2011) contends that caring relationships are essential for learning; however teachers' opportunities to do this are being increasingly constrained by the number of students in individual classrooms, and the growing complexity of their learning needs. The Manitoba Teachers' Society Task Force on Teacher Workload (2008), for example, states that teachers' conflicting role expectations regarding an ever-expanding provincial curriculum, the involvement in extra-curricular activities, the needs of English as Additional Language (EAL) students, and the inaccessibility of school clinicians due to workload issues result in considerable role strain that places teachers at risk for emotional depletion, or what is often referred to as "burn out" (Fernet, Guay, Senecal, & Austin, 2012). Just as importantly, teachers who initially entered the profession wanting to contribute meaningfully to their students' lives describe feeling increasingly "disillusioned" (Fredrikson & Rhodes, 2004, p. 51) with their work, while struggling to reconcile the perceived gap that exists

between their job expectations and how they envision themselves as teachers (Hammerness, 2001). The following section of this chapter examines the notion of how teachers' identities influence the caring relationships that they develop with both their students and their colleagues, as they navigate the complex role expectations inherent in their day-to-day teaching.

Teachers' Identities

The professional identities of teachers did not actually become a focus of educational research until 1988 to 2000 (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004) and a common feature of the literature since that time has been an interest in the relationship between teachers' personal lives and their roles as teachers (Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005; Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006; Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996). Whether researchers are exploring professional identity formation in teacher-candidates (Samuel & Stephens, 2000; Sugrue, 1997) or as in-service teachers in varying stages of their careers (Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000; Volkmann & Anderson, 1998), there is an underlying sense that there is a merging of both teachers' *personal* and *professional identities* (Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005; Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006) that is influenced by their personal biographies, time spent in the role of teacher, as well as the grade levels they have taught. For example, teachers, other than early years teachers, draw a significant portion of their professional identity from the subjects that they teach, as well as the status of the subject within the school (Beijaard, 1995; Beijaard, Verloop, & Vermunt, 2000) while primary teachers' "personal and professional identities" (p. 610) are more enmeshed in their all-consuming role as teachers of young children. Another example is Nias' (1989) and Day et al.'s (2006) contention that new teachers have little voice in the shaping of their professional identities. This distinction between personal and professional identities is made

even more confusing by educational researchers' nebulous understanding of what is considered "personal" rather than "professional" (Beijaard et al., 2004). In fact, when examining the concept of professional identity, Korthagen (2004) concludes that there is "no clear definition" (p. 82) in the educational literature. Regardless, any separation of these two identities is not consistent with identity theory (McCall & Simmons, 1978), nor is it consistent with the focus of this study.

Day et al. (2006), Nias (1985, 1989), as well S. Ball and Goodson (1985), offer a perspective on teachers' identities that diverges from the typical tendency of researchers to distinguish between personal and professional identities. Similar to McCall and Simmons' (1978) notion of idealized and situated selves, the educational literature also uses D. Ball's (1972) concepts of *substantive* and *situated identities* that reflect both people's more stable and likely, idealized, views of themselves, and their more fluid and situationally-based enactments of these views. In fact, Hammerness' (2006) research with teachers mirrors this conceptualization when she describes the "uneasy tension" (p. 5) that exists between teachers' idealized views of their role and the reality of their practice. She also explains that when teachers perceive the gap between their ideals and their actual teaching as too large, teachers often feel despairing, discouraged, and powerless, and consequently they question their self worth (Hammerness, 2003). As previously mentioned, emotions of despair and worthlessness are associated with shame while a sense of powerlessness is associated with guilt (Kemper, 1978).

Although Hammerness (2006) contends that teachers use their idealized view of their roles as a "measuring stick" (p. 7) to validate their teaching, surprisingly, she does not offer a theoretical framework to support this claim. This chapter, in fact, provides the framework she suggested but did not develop. Moreover, a significant limitation to the concepts of substantive and situated

identities (D. Ball, 1972) is that although their interrelatedness is implied, Ball offers no explanation as to *how* they interrelate. In this regard, McCall and Simmons' (1978) identity theory can contribute significantly to the educational literature on teachers' identities in part because it develops a theory that integrates the whole person when they consider the notion of identity, rather than attempting to compartmentalize the personal and the professional aspects of individuals. In this sense, role-identities and idealized and situated selves offer a far more in-depth understanding of what is meant by teachers' perceived gaps between their "visions" of teaching and their job realities (Hammerness, 2003, 2006) or the "enduring" and "transient" (p. 181) nature of teachers' substantial and situated identities (D. Ball, 1972). Underscoring this point is that McCall and Simmons' (1978) integration of legitimation as the tension that exists between the idealized and situated selves offers a theoretical understanding of the stress that exists between the substantive and situated identities of teachers which is missing in D. Ball's (1972) conceptualization. With this tension in mind, the following description of teacher identity is particularly helpful. As MacLure (1993) explains:

It argues that identity should not be seen as a stable entity… but as something that [teachers] use, to justify, explain and make sense of themselves in relation to other people, and to the contexts in which they operate. In other words, identity is a form of argument. (p. 312)

Because emotions act as signals to the discrepancy that teachers experience between their idealized and situated selves (McCall & Simmons, 1978), a greater understanding of teachers' emotions is necessary.

Teachers' Emotions

There is a high degree of consensus in the educational literature that emotions –and often extreme emotions- are not only inherently part of a perceived tension between teachers' ideals and role enactments (Hammerness, 2001, 2006), but they are also integral to their sense of identity (Beijaard, 1995; Hargreaves, 2000; Nias, 1989, 1996). Zembylas (2005) contends that teachers' emotions need to be understood as "socially organized" (p. 936) expressions that are influenced by expectations and obligations inherent in their social roles and the cultural norms, and the power and agency they have in schools. In fact, he argues that teachers' emotions play an important role in understanding how their identities are influenced by the constraining forces inherent in their social environments. Van Veen, Sleegers, and Van de Ven (2005) describe emotions as stemming from teachers' responses to their own goals and motives, and their evaluations of, and their ongoing interactions with students, other teachers, and administrators in their social environments. Underscoring these points is Hargreaves (2000) and Nias' (1996, 2005) contention that teachers' emotions and cognitions are reciprocally intertwined, both with each other, and with the cultural and societal influences within which they exist. Not only are they shaped by people's interpretations of past and present experiences, but they are influenced by the imagined possibilities of the future. In other words, they are influenced by teachers' "actual, remembered, and imagined" (p. 103) interactions with relevant others (Hargreaves, 2000) that include students, other teachers, parents, and administrators. As Nias (1996) explains, teachers' emotional experiences are profoundly interwoven with who they perceive themselves to be, as well as their perceptions of others.

Clearly, then, emotions play a crucial role in teachers' interpretation of their social environments. Similar to Stryker's (2004) view of emotions as "signals" (p. 8) to the self,

Hargreaves (2000) contends that teachers' emotions help to guide and ultimately limit the contemplated actions in their interpretive process in that they introduce the biased expression of an individual's values and beliefs. In this light, he argues that a "cognitive reflection" (p. 812) of experienced emotions, rather than emotional detachment, can ultimately support thoughtful deliberation and considered actions teachers have in their role as teachers, although unconstrained emotions often lead to misguided behaviour. Coldron and Smith (1999) concur, arguing that emotions are inherent in teachers' interpretation of events. For example, when teachers strive to create a certain type of classroom community, it, in part, must "feel right" based on the complex interaction of communal norms that have been created, sanctions that have been implemented, and values inherent in the ongoing decision-making process. Little (1996) describes the emotional turmoil experienced by teachers during periods of educational reform that stems from converging and conflicting contexts, such as school culture and individual biographies, and the complex and demanding array of relationships embedded in the role of teacher. Another example is found in Sumsion's (2002) account of a teacher who, after five years in the profession, questions her career choice because of her lack of emotional fulfillment.

Central to these examples is Schmidt and Datnow's (2005) explanation of the positive and negative emotions that are created when teachers are both able and unable to achieve their goals, which is a concept previously described as role strain (Marks, 1977). For example, feelings of guilt, powerlessness, resistance, despair, and elation are documented responses by teachers to the success, or lack of success, of their students (Kelchtermans, 1993; O'Connor, 2008; Nias, 1996; Zembylas; 2005). Moreover, teachers' statements, such as "I'm totally at fault… I am a lousy teacher" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 944) suggest feelings of shame, although this particular emotion

appears to only be directly addressed in the educational literature within the context of teachers' relationships with other teachers (Hargreaves, 2002), not with their students.

Regardless, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, Day et al. (2006) maintain that teachers' sense of success in their role is closely related to the quality of the relationships that they develop with their students. In fact, Beijaard (1995) contends that central to teachers' sense of identity is their students' perceptions of their day-to-day teaching. In other words, students act as the *primary reference group* for their teachers' emotions and identities (Nias, 1989; Riseborough, 1985). Moreover, there is often not only an expectation that teachers invest emotionally in their relationships with students, which are considered essential for learning, but they are also responsible for the emotional quality of the relationship (Nias, 1996). The classroom, then, becomes teachers' primary source of "self-esteem [identity] and fulfillment, and… vulnerability" (p. 5) and consequently, an important source of intense emotions, such as elation, joy, anger, guilt, and indeed, shame.

This last point is critical to understanding the interplay between teachers' emotions, their relationships with their students, and their identities. If teachers' emotions stem from the disparity between their idealized images of themselves in their role and their actual role enactments (Hammerness, 2001, 2006), and if their students serve as their primary reference group (Nias, 1989), would this dynamic not complicate teachers' caring relationships with their students? More to the point, is Mayeroff's (1971) notion of teachers' *being for another* (or rather, teachers caring for their students without also trying to meet their own psychosocial needs) consistent with students acting as teachers' primary source of professional self-worth? The educational literature suggests that there are no clear answers to this question, which is the question at the core of this study. For example, Zembylas (2005) describes an elementary

teacher's decision to focus exclusively on the sense of satisfaction provided through her relationships with her students after her collaborative attempts with her colleagues leave her feeling "like a failure" (p. 944). O'Connor (2008) depicts a similar scenario when a secondary teacher, frustrated with her hostile relationships with her colleagues, resolves to be more intentional about engaging emotionally with her students, and thus to derive her "integrity as a professional" (p. 123) from these relationships. In fact, Kelchtermans (1996) openly questions whether teachers' intense and often conflicting emotions towards their colleagues compel them to avoid interacting with them by focusing on their relationships with their students. In other words, students might be a more important *relevant other* for teachers than their colleagues.

As these examples suggest, teachers' decisions to focus on their relationships with students as sources of professional contentment influence their teaching and more specifically, their interactions with their students. For example, as previously mentioned in Chapter 1, Volkmann and Anderson (1998) recount the decision of a first-year secondary teacher who is plagued by mounting insecurities in her subject area, to alter her idealized image of herself as the students' "best teacher" (p. 305) to being the students' "favourite teacher" (p. 305), which then allows her to excuse her shortcomings in the content area she teaches them. As Golby (1996) examines the practices of two highly experienced teachers, he notices that as the teachers draw "emotional security" (p. 9) from their relationships with their students, they also become more protective and defensive of these relationships, especially in regard to their students' parents and other teachers. Moreover, Nias (1996) explains that teachers' perceptions of other adults' influences on their students as intrusive reflect their attempts at "self-preservation" (p. 9) because their emotional satisfaction as teachers is grounded in their relationships with their students. Jeffrey and Woods (1996), in turn, describe the negative emotions that teachers experience, such as anger and guilt,

when organizational issues related to school inspections and reform efforts, and angry parents, are perceived to interfere with their relationships with their students
(Kelchtermans, 1996; Little, 1996). In fact, Nias (1985) contends that the isolation that results when teachers retreat to the comfort of their relationships with their students for emotional fulfillment enables them to intentionally or unintentionally "use" their students' affirmation to underpin their teaching, often with little challenge from the other people they have role relationships with, specifically parents, other teachers, and school administrators.

Teachers' Competitiveness

This last point suggests that teachers' reliance on their students as their primary reference group encourages their isolation from other adults in the school warrants further examination (Beijaard, 1995; Nias, 1985, 1996). In fact, teachers often work hard to create collegial support within the school, although, at times, they find it easier to rely on the support provided by custodial and support staff. Nias (2005) explains that when teachers are not able to find professional support, they tend to withdraw from their colleagues which not only contributes to their "emotional isolationism" (p. 226), but also further nurtures their territorial stance in teaching, as well as their sense of "inter-adult competition" (p. 226). Regardless of teachers' internalized negative emotions, they generally find it more difficult to share stories of their accomplishments and challenges with their in-school colleagues. For this reason, teachers' professional support often involves family members and friends, although they sometimes find collegial support by attending conferences or university courses, or by seeking out friends who are teachers in *other* schools. However, Nias (1985) adds that the more teachers rely on supports outside of their schools, the more they tend to isolate themselves within the schools. Also,

regardless of the strength of the support outside of their schools, teachers prefer to have professional support in their schools, even if it only involves one other teacher.

Nevertheless, teachers in varying stages of their careers typically seek out *in-school reference groups*. Essentially, these reference groups, which can involve as little as two people, filter how information is perceived and interpreted, and the emotional responses that ensue. In fact, these collaborative relationships facilitate individuals' selective perception and selective interpretation which are the primary mechanism of legitimation (McCall & Simmons, 1978). Moreover, Nias (1985) contends that having this type of professional relationship with just one other colleague in the same school is often enough for teachers to feel validated in their teaching, and to feel less isolated professionally, especially since they tend to share personal friendships, as well as common educational values and beliefs. "Reference groups are then an important means of self-protection, for individuals supported by them can easily ignore or misinterpret messages from outside the group" (p. 46).

More specifically, teachers' reference groups support their more idealized identities in three ways: (a) they provide teachers with criteria for self-evaluation, (b) they provide a normative standard by which teachers assess their adopted values, and (c) they act as a collective "organizing device" (p. 107) that becomes the lens through which all their teaching situations are interpreted. In effect, teachers most commonly use reference groups to validate their own perspectives, but they often have difficulty finding groups that are conducive to critical debate and challenging dialogue (Nias, 2005). Moolenaar (2012) agrees, stating that teachers' collaborative relationships are heavily influenced by their sense of shared commonalities that are often grounded in issues of ethnicity, gender, and teaching philosophy.

This suggests, then, that teachers' reference groups typically provide the emotional support that strengthens their identities, although they also appear to limit teachers' opportunities to collaborate with most of their colleagues. However, when Johnson (2003) examined teachers' collaborative dynamics in four schools, he found that a large percentage of teachers did feel emotionally supported when they collaborated with their colleagues. He also found teachers to be "quite disparaging" (p. 347) of their colleagues who expressed discontent with the collaborative experience. Additionally, he found that groups of collaborating teachers in a few schools isolated themselves from each other, and also competed with, and defended themselves against, other teachers who were perceived as professionally threatening.

Additionally, Hargreaves (2002) contends that teachers' sense of betrayal by their colleagues is their primary source of negative emotions in schools. He defines betrayal as the "intentional or unintentional breach of trust" (p. 397) that often involves teachers' willingness to assume risks in their teaching and their dependence on their colleagues to recognize their positive qualities as professionals. Although teachers expressed a sense of betrayal when they perceived their colleagues as not meeting their professional work expectations, such as when they refused to become involved in committee work, their emotions were particularly powerful when these perceived inadequacies directly influenced their classroom teaching. Surprisingly, colleagues' tendency to gossip about each others' work to strengthen their own status within the school was a significant source of betrayal for teachers, especially if the person gossiping was generally respected by others. However, teachers' sense of shame, as well as their subsequent isolation from their colleagues, tended to occur when their professional competence was questioned, such as when it appeared to others that a teacher was struggling with classroom management problems. "Shame makes people feel naked, exposed, transparent and vulnerable in front of

others" (p. 401), and it is associated with feelings of *hopelessness* and *helplessness* among teachers. As previously mentioned, Hargreaves' (2002) description of teachers' experiences with shame are associated with their relationships with colleagues, but not surprisingly, also with their relationships with students.

When tension mounts in teachers' collaborative relationships, they either become adept at "impression management" (p. 229) so that they can simultaneously maintain their views while still preserving the collegial support within their school, or they avoid interacting with their colleagues altogether, sometimes even choosing to leave the school in which they teach (Nias, 2005). What is more, teachers also rely on *negative reference groups* to affirm their identity by identifying negative role-models or rather, the teachers that they do not want to be associated with, in their schools. According to McCall (2003), this tendency towards "identification and disidentification" (p. 12) with others is considered an important aspect of identity development and reminds us that teachers are strongly driven, intentionally and unintentionally, to maintain and actively protect their idealized identities through their role enactments in their teaching (Nias, 1998; Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006). This being said, and given the staggering complexity of teachers' collaborative relationships with their colleagues, it is not altogether surprising that teachers tend to retreat to the relative safety of their relationships with their students to legitimate their identities as teachers (Beijaard, 1995; Nias, 1996). Regardless, the negative emotions that teachers experience, especially those that are embedded in their relationships with their students, compel them to question the nature of their teaching and their use of authority in the classroom.

Teachers' Social and Pedagogical Authority

As previously mentioned, teachers' identities are related to the quality of the relationships they develop with their students (Day et al., 2006); moreover, these teacher-student relationships develop within the broader context of the teachers' day-to-day teaching. Just as teachers' identities rely heavily on their students' perceptions of their teaching (Beijaard, 1995), the issue of teachers' perceived legitimacy in the eyes of their students is grounded in the broader issue of the teachers' use of authority (Pace & Hemmings, 2007; Weber, 1947).

In Metz's (1978) ground-breaking research of two American desegregated junior high schools, she defines authority as a "formal and continuing relationship" (p. 27) that involves a reciprocity between teachers, students, and the values, beliefs, and conventions of a given society that are reflected in the more practical goals and cultural norms of school communities. By virtue of teachers' organizational status in schools, they have a certain degree of *bureaucratic authority* (Pace & Hemmings, 2007) or what Weber (1947) referred to as rational-legal authority, that affords them the right to make certain demands on students and necessitates that students, by and large, comply. Metz (1978) and Pace (2003) contend that if students believe that their teachers are working in good faith to support societal beliefs and conventions that the students themselves consider valuable, then they are more likely to grant their teachers legitimacy. The more the students' values are inconsistent with the beliefs underpinning their teachers' classroom teaching, the more teachers must rely on their more formalized bureaucratic authority (Pace & Hemmings, 2007) to ensure that students comply. This latter use of authority exists when individuals successfully carry out their will, regardless of whether others choose to comply or resist their directives.

These points underscore the fact that teachers' classroom pedagogy is an important influence in the development of their professional legitimacy in the eyes of their students. In fact, Blau (1968), and Pace and Hemmings (2007) refer to this notion as *professional authority*, which is described as the most significant source of legitimacy for teachers because it directly addresses their ability to help students fulfill their educational goals. Although it encompasses the requisite depth in subject matter and the varied pedagogical skills that are required for teachers to respond successfully to individual students' learning needs, it does not necessarily address the teachers' ability to acknowledge their students as individuals "in their own right" (Katz, 2007; p. 130) and to consider their students' unique interpretations of their school and classroom experiences. Moreover, Brown (2004) maintains that this more personal way of knowing people was regularly described by teachers as foundational to their students' academic success.

This, then, suggests a source of legitimacy that extends beyond teachers' development of teaching strategies and subject matter. It implies that there is another source of authority for teachers that influences students' perceptions of their teachers' pedagogical skills and knowledge of subject content. This being said, s*ocial authority*, (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, & Vermette, 2010), which reflects elements of what has previously been described as charismatic authority (Clifton & Roberts, 1993; Spady, 1977), is conveyed when teachers demonstrate genuine concern for the well-being of their students by showing interest in them as individuals and by being responsive to their individual needs. Students' granting legitimacy to their teachers stems from the fact that they feel acknowledged and cared for as individuals, rather than simply as members of large school bureaucracies, which then provides greater legitimacy to their teachers' pedagogical skills. *Pedagogical authority*, or expert authority (Clifton & Roberts, 1993; Spady, 1977), relates to the knowledge and

experiences that teachers draw on as practitioners as they decide on the "what" and the "how" of their teaching. Manitoba Education (2011) notes that these forms of teachers' authority are essential for the development of caring teacher-student relationships; furthermore, teachers obtain a strong sense of both social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010) when they develop caring relationships with their students that necessitate "being with another", "being there for another", and "being for another" (Mayeroff, 1971).

Having said this, there are four different combinations of both social and pedagogical authority presented in Dooner et al.'s (2010) conceptual framework that influences teachers' ability to develop caring relationships with their students. First, as Figure 1 illustrates, strong pedagogical and strong social authority (cell1) requires that teachers have an in-depth understanding of curriculum that is responsive to students' individual academic needs, an emphasis on relevant and contextualized learning activities that engages students in learning, and a personal connection that enables them to effectively address students' social and emotional needs. The combination of strong pedagogical and weak social authority (cell 2) shares similar features to what has just been described, except that teachers' weaker personal relationships with their students inhibit their ability to address their students' social and emotional needs, and to acknowledge them as individuals "in their own right" (Katz, 2007, p. 130). Moreover, when teachers have weak pedagogical authority yet strong social authority (cell 3), they tend to adopt a relatively generic and decontextualized approach to teaching that is unresponsive to students' individual academic needs, which leave teachers to rely predominantly on their strong personal connections with their students to ensure compliance. Finally, teachers with both weak pedagogical authority and weak social authority (cell 4) not only offer students a generic and inflexible approach to teaching, but their weak personal connections with their students foster

little compliance and generally leave students feeling unacknowledged as individuals and poorly-taught.

When applying the notions of social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010) to actual day-to-day teaching, however, two points need to be considered. Social authority, which refers to teachers showing genuine concern for the social and emotional well-being of their students, is described as having a strong influence on the perceived legitimacy of teachers' pedagogical authority. In other words, it is generally necessary that students perceive their teachers as caring about them, for them to succeed academically. In reality, though, the act of teaching and learning cannot be compartmentalized this succinctly. In other words, teachers' moment-to-moment decisions about "what" and "how" they are going to teach is based, in large part, on their understanding of their students as unique individuals. For example, when a teacher decides to postpone addressing a student's difficulties in understanding mathematics because of the child's anxiety related to his mother's cancer treatments or conversely, when a teacher decides to tackle a student's struggles in mathematics because of the child's mounting anxieties working with equations, they are considering the student as a person, both socially and pedagogically. The notions of social and pedagogical authority are helpful as a *general backdrop* to understanding teachers' actions and motivations in their classroom activities, day by day. Put differently, they are more helpful in exploring teachers' general orientations to their teaching rather than in examining their specific actions with their students or with their lessons.

On a related note, Ainsley and Luntley (2007) argue that limiting "pedagogical knowledge" (p. 1127) to the teaching of subject-oriented content fails to adequately address the knowledge that is required to effectively teach students (Day & Gu, 2010). In this sense, subject content is by nature, social. For example, Richardson's (2003) notion of *critical pedagogy* necessitates that

caring teachers consider the intended and unintended consequences of teaching of elements of the curriculum through dialogue, the respect for individuals' values and life experiences when considering subject content, the planned occasions for students to question, modify, and newly develop their understanding of the world, and students' development of a "meta-awareness" (p. 1626) of their unique learning processes. This notion of pedagogy is more helpful when examining the more specific elements of teaching, such as content matter; additionally, it is more conducive to the teacher-student reciprocity inherent in Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring and more superficially, the respect for the emergence of meaning in caring relationships. To summarize this discussion, the concepts of social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010) are helpful when examining teachers' classroom practices when they are applied to their general teaching stance, and to their teaching priorities.

Summary

In the first section, I contend that Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring offers a valuable sociological perspective because he views people's interactions with each other as how reality is created. Because of this, and also because he maintains that the act of caring for another can only occur through the emergent interaction of the people involved, I noted that his views align with symbolic interactionism, which is a perspective that is foundational to the notion of identity. Furthermore, one of the most significant aspects of Mayeroff's notion of caring is *being for another* which requires that the people caring for others help without also trying to meet their own psychosocial needs or by limiting occasions for others to self-actualize. Additionally, *being with another* involves helping people from inside their world while *being there for another* requires the reprioritizing of personal needs to help those that are cared for. These three tenets,

which are foundational to caring for others, are critical to this study's examination of caring teacher-student relationships in schools.

Furthermore, in exploring people's choices of actions, the notion of roles as reflecting normative expectations (Goffman, 1961) was explored, as well as how people then adapt their behaviour to express their selves through their role enactments, both through role embracement and role distancing. Because individuals' role enactments, which include role support from others, occur within the broader context of the entitlements, obligations, and expectations encompassed in status (Merton, 1957), the unique potential of dyadic relationships to empower its members' sense of selves was then explored (Simmel, 1950). Finally, Mark's (1977) expansion approach to role strain was adopted as a way to explain why individuals choose to commit to some roles over others.

The second section of this chapter began by explaining why McCall and Simmons' (1978) perspective on identity is best suited for this study's focus on teachers' interactions with their social environments. The highly social nature of identity was then discussed since it involves not only individuals' role enactments for their audiences, but also the audiences' reflections of their role enactments back as a form of valuation. This includes the notion of role-identities because it reflects their more idealized view of themselves and how they want to be perceived by others as they interact. In fact, this distinction was examined in greater detail through a discussion of the idealized and situated selves, and the legitimation of these two concepts. Although many strategies can help people to cope with the discrepancy between their idealized and situated selves, and the subsequent negative emotions that emerge, I have focused on the primary mechanisms of legitimation, which include selective perception and interpretation, as well as people's use of comparators (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979). The negative emotions generated

by the discrepancies are many, although this study focuses on expressions of guilt and shame (Kemper, 1978).

As an extension to what has already been discussed, this section then explored teachers' identities. I argued that although Hammerness (2001, 2006) empirically describes what McCall and Simmons (1978) refer to as the legitimation between the idealized and situated selves, her work lacks a theoretical explanation for why this occurs. Although D. Ball's (1972) theoretical conceptualization of substantive and situated identities has been integrated into educational research, it lacks the tension inherent in the legitimation (McCall & Simmons, 1978) between the two concepts, which is critical to understanding the role of teachers' emotions in teaching. Just as importantly, McCall and Simmons' (1978) conceptualization of identity fosters a greater understanding of teachers' reliance on students as their primary reference group (Nias, 1985, 1996), which nurtures their sense of protectionism towards their students and also leads teachers to seek out collegial support that validates their values in teaching. Although teachers do develop meaningful collaborative relationships with other teachers, their efforts often result in a sense of competitiveness and harsh judgment which often leads to feelings of shame and isolation from other teachers. All of these points raise questions regarding the nature of the caring relationships that teachers develop with their students, within the context of Mayeroff's (1971) tenets of *being with another, being there for another,* and *being for another.*

Because teachers' emotions tend to prompt them to question their teaching practices, the third and final section of this chapter examined teachers' use of authority. Social authority is conveyed when teachers demonstrate genuine concern for their students as unique individuals while pedagogical authority refers to the knowledge and experience that teachers draw on as they decide "how" and "what" to teach their students (Dooner et al., 2010). In effect, it is through

these forms of authority that teacher-student relationships are created. Although I suggested that there are some limitations to this conceptualization of authority, I maintained that it is still helpful in examining teachers' pedagogical stance and the underlying values in their teaching, within the context of their school environments.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

I begin this chapter by briefly exploring the history and development of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2008) and how Glaser (1978, 1992), Strauss (1987), and Charmaz (1995, 2006) have applied it to their research. Relying on Charmaz's and Glaser's perspectives in grounded theory, I will then describe the process of analyzing the data in this study, as well as its research criteria. Although the focus-group questions and individual interviews for this study's participants emerged during the analysis of data from the first set of participants, they will be outlined prior to the more detailed description of the coding of the data. As such, the recruitment and professional backgrounds of the participants from first set of focus-group discussions and individual interviews will be discussed, followed by the coding of the data which led to the development of this study's tentative conceptualization. This process will then be repeated for the second set of focus-group discussions and individual interviews, which served to challenge and extend the initial conceptualization.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory was developed in the 1960s by Glaser and Strauss when they studied the experiences of terminally ill patients in hospitals. This work led to the development of a highly systematic methodology, first outlined in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2008), which allows theory to develop inductively from data rather than deductively, through extant concepts and theories. Although the process can vary, the central tenets that continue to guide grounded theory today include: (a) collecting and analyzing data concurrently, (b) inductively developing categories from the data, (c) integrating the constant comparative

method throughout the data analysis, (d) memo-writing to develop relationships between categories and future needs in the collection of data, (e) developing theory throughout the research process, (f) sampling for the sake of theoretical development rather than "population representativeness" (p. 6), and (g) integrating a literature review only after relationships between categories have been established through the data analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2008).

In time, Glaser's and Strauss' perspectives diverged significantly over the issue of *theoretical sensitivity* or rather, the balance between allowing concepts to emerge from data (Glaser, 1978, 1992) and integrating a more formalized paradigm to guide theory development (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss, 1987). Although grounded theorists, such as Kelle (2005), and Walker & Myrick (2006) continue to debate this issue, Charmaz's (1995, 2006) perspective on grounded theory, which is foundational to this study, encourages researchers to be guided by the critical questions relating to process, relevant conditions, participants' behaviour and emotions, consequences, and changes that emerge throughout the data analysis. In fact, her argument that data is created through the interaction of the researcher with the participants differs sharply from Glaser and Strauss' (1967/2008), and Glaser's (1978) view that categories and concepts inherently exist in data, waiting to be uncovered. Charmaz's (1995, 2006) grounded theory perspective is anchored in her broader symbolic interactionist stance that views the meaning of data as constructed in the reciprocity between the researcher and the participants.

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to examine in detail the merits and challenges of both Glaser's (1978, 1992) and Strauss's (1987) perspectives on grounded theory, I use Glaser's (1978, 1992) less formalized approach during the coding of data which allows more flexibility during the data analysis. Thus, I rely somewhat more on Glaser's view of coding than

Charmaz's (1995, 2006), only because Glaser's (1978) more structured view of coding supports a more detailed understanding of the process, such as when he identifies a specific point in the coding process when extant literature can be introduced. Regardless, Charmaz's (1995, 2006) perspective has also guided this study, which specifically includes her suggestion that a researcher must remain flexible while focusing on the essential data, and to not become overly committed to particular "methodological rules, recipes, and requirements" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 9). With this in mind, the grounded theory process that was adopted in this study will now be discussed.

Analysis of Data

To begin the collection of data, I sent a letter to members of the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) after members of the research group, who are part of the association, became interested in the possible relationship between teachers' use of authority and classroom assessment, and how this might influence the development of teacher-student relationships and students' engagement in their learning. These questions surfaced after the publication of the group's first article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, & Vermette, 2010). As a member of both the MMYA and the research group, I noticed that the group's discussions increasingly focused on topics that were of interest to me; that is, how teachers' classroom practices and more specifically, how their assessment practices influence their use of classroom authority, and ultimately, the development of learning relationships with their students. Learning relationships exist when teachers challenge students based on their learning needs, while also providing the necessary support for the students to

succeed (Manitoba Education, 2010). However, once I began analyzing the data from the first focus-group discussion using grounded theory's coding processes (Charmaz, 1995, 2006; Glaser, 1978, 1992), it became very apparent that the teachers wanted to share stories about their challenges in developing caring relationships with students. These relationships appeared to be grounded more in the participants' sense of emotional connections that existed with certain students that they taught. In truth, the participants' apparent need to focus on their caring relationships with students rather than their assessment practices surprised me given the government of Manitoba's recent focus on school divisions' assessment policies and more specifically, teachers' reporting of student learning. Regardless, this redirected this study's focus towards teachers' identities and their caring relationships with students, and away from issues of teachers' use of classroom assessment, which is an important element in the development of learning relationships (Manitoba Education, 2010).

Thus, the analysis of the data began with *open coding* (Charmaz, 1995, 2006; Glaser, 1978, 1992; Strauss, 1987). Because this initial coding connects the data collected and leads to the eventual emergence of a theoretical conceptualization, one important step in this process involves reading quickly through the transcript while, line by line, recording the essential ideas or *incidents* in the data, which are referred to as *codes* (Charmaz, 2006). Simply put, codes are the words or phrases generated by the researcher during this process, such as "teacher emphasizes compliance" or "teacher feels disappointed with student's response", which capture the essence of what is communicated in each line of the transcript. Additionally, Charmaz (2006) encourages the use of gerunds rather than nouns during coding, such as using "state" rather than "statement" or "illustrate" rather than "illustration", to capture the sense of *action* and *sequence* (p. 49) inherent in the data. This refers to all coding, whether it involves the ideas that

participants convey in text, their expressions of emotions, or the researcher's interpretation of specific events. Another way to "stay close" (p. 49) to the data so that the codes accurately depict what the participants are expressing is by integrating their own words into the line-by-line coding, such as "feeling validated" and "felt like crap" (Charmaz, 2006).

Throughout this open coding process, I was *memo-writing* my understanding of what the participants were communicating, my own thoughts and impressions of the incidents they reported, and the possible future connections that this data might have to theoretical concepts, some of which have been outlined in Chapter 2. From this work, which took a considerable amount of time, the codes are tentatively grouped, based on their emerging patterns of similarities and differences. An example of this type of grouping, which Charmaz (1995, 2006) refers to as *focused coding*, is "when I raise my voice, they know the tone", "wearing a tie gives you a bit of authority", and "I wear high-heeled, clacking, loud shoes to feel more confident." Once this is done, emerging categories and their subcategories are identified from these groups of codes, which Glaser (1978) refers to as *selective coding*. For example, a group of codes that is tentatively entitled, "negative influence of admin" is clumped with a second group of codes that is labelled, "bad feelings when letting kids down", which become sub-categories to the broader category of "weakening influences on teachers." Ultimately, this process entails merging some of the originally established categories to focus on one core category and its relationship to identified sub-categories in order to develop the emergent conceptualization. Therefore, "as the evidence for the theory grows, becomes reduced, and increasingly works better for ordering a mass of qualitative data, the analyst becomes committed to it" (Glaser & Holton, 2004, 15).

At this point, the analysis of the data is extended into *theoretical coding* with the use of Glaser's (1978, p. 74-75) extensive list of *family codes* which are factors to be considered when

examining the interrelationship between categories. The 18 *family codes* include: (a) "Six Cs", which include *causes, contexts, contingencies, consequences, covariance, and conditions*, (b) *process*, (c) *degree*, (d) *dimension, (e) type, (f) strategy, (g) interactive, (h) indentity-self, (i) cutting point, (j) means-goal, (k) cultural, (l) consensus, (m) mainline, (n) theoretical, (o) ordering or elaboration, (p) unit, (q) reading, and (r)models* (see Appendix A). The "Six Cs" family code is different than the remaining codes because it provides a general model for the analysis when it interrelates such factors as cause, context, and consequences. The other family codes represent single factors that are suggested when analyzing data, such as how limit, range, intensity, and polarity need to be considered when applying the degree family code to the analysis of data. Thus, I used Glaser's "Six Cs" as the general framework for the visual depiction of this study's emerging conceptualization, which both he and Creswell (2007) consider a necessary element in grounded theory's analysis of data. I also adopted Charmaz's (2006) view that the use of Glaser's (1978) family codes should be guided by the data being examined, such as when one category or sub-category could be considered a dimension of another, and not imposed.

As *theoretical coding* progressed, I integrated Charmaz's (2006) and Glaser's (1978) stance that the interrelationships between emergent categories and sub-categories should be well developed in the analysis of data before they are linked to extant literature because essentially, the theory must support the data and not the other way around where the data is used to support pre-existing theory (Glaser & Holton, 2004). To this end, I continued to compare the theoretical conceptualization that emerged from the coding of the data to the extant literature while I documented and addressed the questions that surfaced during the analysis so that unearthed gaps in the analysis guided further data collection (Charmaz, 1995, 2006; Glaser, 1978, 1992; Glaser

& Strauss, 1967/2008). In this way, the theory unfolded as the data was coded and analyzed. Because the *constant comparative method*, which is considered a "defining component" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 5) of grounded theory, requires the comparing and possible rethinking of the categories and sub-categories throughout the analysis of the data, these categories were often modified and, at times, rejected. This process is at the core of what both Charmaz (2006) and Glaser (1978) refer to as *theoretical sensitivity*, which refers to the continuous need to critically compare codes and categories, pursue questions, and consider different perspectives as the conceptualization is being developed.

At some point, however, the processes of coding, interpreting, and comparing became redundant because the modifications based on newly collected data seemed to "fine-tune" rather than extend the emergent conceptualization in any significant way. I used Dey's (1999) notion of theoretical *sufficiency*, rather than the concept of *saturation* (Glaser, 1992), because grounded theory is only ever developed on partial coding, meaning that categories emerging through open, selective, and theoretical coding are more "suggestive" (Dey, 1999, p. 257) than saturated. Moreover, Charmaz (2006) adds that *saturation* occurs when new data no longer generates fresh insights or critical questions, which could imply a "closed" (p. 114) methodology that is inconsistent with the inductive and responsive nature of grounded theory. Regardless, the emergent nature of the conceptualization influenced the nature of *theoretical sufficiency* (Dey, 1999) in this study because emerging categories, guiding questions, and gaps in understanding only became evident after certain amounts of data had been collected and analyzed. This means that questions that surfaced through theoretical sampling could sometimes only be addressed by one means of data collection but not another, such as with the second set of participants but not the first, or through individual interviews but not focus-group discussions.

Finally, this study's initial conceptualization emerged primarily after the analysis of the data from the first set of participants. Thus, the data collected from the second set of participants was used to challenge and extend this study's proposed conceptualization. For this reason, the data analyzed from the first set of participants explicitly details the emergence of categories and sub-categories, and the tentative relationships between them. The analysis of the data from the second set of participants elaborates only on the data that either challenged or extended the initial conceptualization. To understand other influences on this study's data analysis, the research criteria will now be explored.

Research Criteria

Creswell (2007) evaluates the value of grounded theory research by examining the relationship between the data and the emerging theoretical concepts through the coding process, and then by establishing how these concepts interrelate to create core and sub-categories within a broader theoretical conceptualization. Furthermore, he argues that researchers need to be reflexive and intentionally transparent regarding their interpretive stance throughout the research process, and that their research ultimately develops the topic of inquiry by revealing future questions to be studied. Charmaz (2006) raises similar points, but develops the criteria even further. In terms of *credibility*, questions need to be asked regarding the strength of the link between data and categories, as well as theoretical development and the use of extant conceptualizations; in fact, this underscores Creswell's (2007) emphasis on the coding process. The issue of *resonance* refers to the need for the research to represent the completeness of the experience as much as possible while being forthright about categories that remain

underdeveloped and variable. Charmaz (2006) also questions whether the emergent theory resonates with the relevant participants, or what Creswell (2007) refers to as *member-checking*.

The issue of credibility and resonance (Charmaz, 2006) remained first and foremost on my mind throughout the coding process, largely because I was not using extant theories to guide my interpretation of data. This made me acutely aware that analysis of the data was occurring through my own interpretive lens. For this reason, I met with both my advisor and the teacher-candidate who had attended the first focus-group discussions individually after completing the open and focused coding of each focus-group transcript to compare interpretations of the data. I subsequently met with my advisor twice afterwards to discuss and compare our theoretical conceptualizations of the data. Furthermore, five members of the Manitoba Middle Years Association research group individually analyzed the 78 pages of focus-group transcripts and provided me with their written observations, interpretations, and questions related to the data. Beyond this, I consistently compared data in terms of category development, and I memo-wrote questions, as well as possible relationships in the data. Additionally, to support and challenge the initial coding of my first set of focus-group discussions, I conducted individual interviews with selected participants and then the entire process was repeated with a different set of teachers the following school year.

The credibility (Charmaz, 2006) of this study was further addressed when I related the data to the concepts from the extant literature that emerged from inductive coding. This means that once *open, focused, selective*, and *theoretical coding* and *sampling* (Glaser, 1978) were completed, and the connection of this study's findings to the extant literature were sufficiently strong for me and my committee members, I then ensured that the coding from both sets of focus-groups and the seven individual interviews were consistent with one another, and with the extant literature.

It should be noted that because this dissertation adopts a deductive stance, the initial inductive coding was re-categorized, using the specific concepts that emerged from the theoretical coding, which were discussed in Chapter 2. This provided yet another interpretive lens from which to understand my findings, by both supporting and challenging my initial inductive coding of data, which, I believe, strengthens this study's credibility and resonance (Creswell, 2007).

Charmaz's (2006) notion of credibility also raises issues about the "range, number, and depth" (p. 182) of the codes that emerged from the data. Because the initial conceptualization emerged primarily from the first two focus-group discussions, I also coded all of the findings from these two discussions by individual participants. This was important, especially as the conceptualization was being developed, because it provided some assurance that the findings did not only reflect the views of certain more outspoken group members, but also the more generalized patterns within the group.

The issue of credibility also relates to the issue of resonance, which Charmaz (2006) describes as the degree to which the emergent conceptualization is consistent with the ideas expressed in the data, and the extent to which the participants agree with the researcher's interpretation of the data. Although both she and Creswell (2007) encourage member-checking as a way to strengthen the resonance in an emerging conceptualization, it was not done for the data collected during focus-group discussions in this study. Because the categories that emerged in the analysis of the data were derived not only from the participants' individual contributions to the discussions, but also from the patterns of communication that emerged as a group, member-checking was not an appropriate option for focus-group discussions. However, member-checking aspects of particular participants' exchanges during focus-group discussions were done during individual interviews, which also provided opportunities to seek clarification and to evaluate the

significance of their communications. Furthermore, gauging the importance of the data from the first set of focus-group discussions was especially important because it was from this data that the tentative conceptualization initially emerged. For this reason, the entire process was repeated with a second set of participants, and the follow-up individual interviews after both sets of focus-group discussions were also used as ways to evaluate the consistency of the findings. Comparing the categories that emerged from the first set of focus-group participants with the second set further supported and challenged my initial interpretation of data, and addressed the potential for general trends to surface from data analysis (Charmaz, 2006).

Creswell (2007) contends that researchers who use grounded theory need to "self-disclose" (p. 217) their interpretive stance. Similarly, Charmaz (2006) contends that meaning does not exist objectively, but rather is created through researchers' interactions with participants. Because I realized that I have a stance that reflects both my personal and professional experiences in life, and that my stance did shape my interpretation of the data, I memo-wrote my thoughts and impressions throughout the coding process so that I remained aware of how I was interpreting the data. Also, by acknowledging the fact that we all position ourselves in unique ways, I continued to seek ways to extend my analysis and understanding of the data by discussing my interpretations with two other focus-group attendees that included my advisor and a teacher-candidate who agreed to take field notes, by comparing categories with five members of the Manitoba Middle Years research group, by individually interviewing focus-group participants, and then by recreating a second set of focus-group discussions and individual interviews.

Finally, both Creswell (2007) and Glaser (1978) require that an emergent theoretical conceptualization in grounded theory be represented visually to clarify the interrelationships

among categories and sub-categories. For this reason, a visual representation of this study's emergent conceptualization is provided at specific stages in the data analysis, using a variation of Glaser's (1978) "Six Cs" family code, which will be explained in further detail shortly.

As an aside, the focus-group questions, along with those asked during individual interviews, emerged with the development of the tentative conceptualization with the first set of participants. Because the data collected from the second set of participants was used to challenge and extend this study's initial conceptualization, the questions were repeated, with only minor adaptations. For the sake of brevity, I will now briefly outline the questions asked during both sets of focus-group discussions and individual interviews before specifically discussing both sets of participants and the coding of the collected data.

Focus-Group and Individual Interview Questions

The first focus-group discussion conducted separately with both the first and second set of participants began with the following questions, although the focus on assessment was eliminated for the second set of participants for reasons mentioned earlier (see p. 68). The questions were:

1. General impressions of the article:

(a) As a practicing teacher, what resonates with you?

(b) What did you struggle with? What questions do you have?

2. Relationship between authority and assessment:

(a) In what ways does a school and school division's organizational authority have an effect on individual teachers' approaches to assessment?

(b) In what ways does a teacher's own individual authority have an effect on their own approach to assessment?

(c) Is it possible that there could be a mismatch between a school and school division's approach to assessment and the individual teacher's? Have you ever experienced such a scenario? If so, tell us more?

3. Relationship between assessment and learning relationships:

(a) In what ways does a school and school division's approaches to assessment have an effect on how teachers develop learning relationships with their students?

(b) In what ways does an individual teacher's approach to assessment have an effect on how they develop learning relationships with their students?

(c) Do you think that individual and organizational authority influences the relationship between assessment and teacher/student learning?

4. Relationship between learning relationships and student engagement:

(a) In what ways is the connection between learning relationships and student engagement due first and foremost to the individual teacher's authority or to the school's organizational authority, or is it a combination of both?

(b) In what ways, if any, is the connection between learning relationships and student engagement due to broader cultural and organizational factors, beyond the influences of the individual teacher's authority?

(c) In what ways does a teacher's approach to assessment have an impact on the connection between learning relationships and student engagement?

The second focus-group discussion conducted with the first set of participants focused on the following: (a) participants were asked to share a critical incident from their teaching when they

responded by using their "default" or most common authority style, and (b) participants were asked to share a critical incident from their teaching when they responded in a way that was not consistent with their "default" or most common authority style. I was particularly interested in exploring: (a) the nature or dimensions of their relationships with their students, (b) the cues that triggered their shifting use of authority, (c) the changes in the expressions of their authority, and (d) how their responses to critical incidents affected their sense of professional and personal identity.

The second focus-group discussion conducted with the second set of participants revealed that they consistently referred to their need to "feel validated" in their teaching, which was defined by the participants as receiving or not receiving affirmation of their sense of self as teachers, relative to their actual role enactments in teaching. With this in mind, I asked the participants, individually, to share a critical incident from their teaching when: (a) they received validation for their work as a teacher and how that made them feel, and (b) they did not receive validation for their work as a teacher and how that made them feel.

Finally, the individual interview questions for both sets of participants were sent to participants a minimum of three days prior to the scheduled interviews. The questions included:

1. Teachers' Interactions within the School Context:

- What habits, customs, or "ways of doing things" within the school:
    - Strengthen your sense of identity as a teacher?
    - Weaken your sense of identity as a teacher?
    - What would make it better or worse?
- How do you see the role of administrators in the school? What might they do that:
    - Strengthens your sense of identity as a teacher?

- Weakens your sense of identity as a teacher?
- What would make it better or worse?

- How might your relationships with colleagues (generally, as well as learning support, resource, guidance, clinicians etc…):
  - Strengthen your sense of identity as a teacher?
  - Weaken your sense of identity as a teacher?
  - What would make it better or worse?
- How might your interactions with parents:
  - Strengthen your sense of identity as a teacher?
  - Weaken your sense of identity as a teacher?
  - What would make it better or worse?

2. Teachers' Interactions with Students:

- How do your students influence your sense of identity as a teacher?
  - What emotions might be commonly involved in the teacher-student relationship?

Although these questions emerged primarily from the coding of the data collected from the first set of participants, they were subsequently adapted in response to the coded data from the second set of participants. With this in mind, the recruitment of participants for the first set of focus-group discussions and individual interviews will now be discussed.

First Set of Focus-Group Discussions and Interviews

Recruitment of Focus-Group and Interview Participants.

On October 12, 2011, I addressed approximately 400 teachers attending the annual provincial Manitoba Middle Years Association professional development day that is part of the Manitoba

Teachers' Society's Special Area Groups of Educators (SAGE) provincial conference. After explaining the intent of the study and what would be required by the participants, 13 teachers expressed an interest in participating. Of this group, eight teachers agreed to participate in the first focus-group discussion in December, 2011 and seven of these teachers returned to participate in the second focus-group discussion in January, 2012. Of this group, four teachers were interviewed individually in the spring of 2012. Consent forms to participate in the focus-group discussions were obtained by the teacher participants, their school administrators, and their divisional superintendents and at the time, they also gave their consent for the data to be used in my doctoral research (see Appendix B, C, & D).

To select interview participants from the focus-group members, I reread the open, focused, selective and theoretical coding generated from the two focus-group discussions and selected the participants who I thought would best challenge my understanding and conceptualization of what I thought I was hearing from participants. I also used five of Glaser's (1978) family codes--degrees, dimensions, types, strategy, and interactive--to document which participants expressed various perspectives on particular points during the coding of the data. After receiving Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board Approval from the University of Manitoba in fall of 2012, I approached five of the seven participants from the second focus-group discussion about participating in the individual interviews. Of these five, four consented. When requesting these interviews, it was clearly stated that participants would receive the interview questions three days prior to the planned interview which was scheduled either before or after their work day in schools (see Appendix E, F, & G). The teachers knew that the interview would be audio taped and that a copy of the transcript would be provided to them for member checking prior to data analysis (Creswell, 2007).

Focus-Group and Interview Participants.

As mentioned, eight teachers participated in the first focus-group discussion that occurred on December 8, 2011. Of the eight participants, two were presently teaching grade eight in either an English or French immersion program, three were teaching grade seven in either an English or French immersion program, and one teacher was teaching both grade seven and eight in a French immersion program. Also, one teacher was teaching a grade four, five, and six multi-age class in an English program and one teacher was teaching grades nine, ten, eleven, and twelve in a French immersion program. Seven of the eight participants had between one to 12 years of middle years teaching experience, two had between one and six years of experience teaching in the elementary grades, and three teachers had between two and six years experience teaching in high school. One participant also had nine years of teaching experience at the post-secondary level. Combined, the average years of teaching experience for the first focus-group participants was 6.75 years. Three of the participants had professional experience in other careers prior to teaching: one was a social worker for three years, one was a journalist for twenty five years and a teacher at the post-secondary level for nine years, one worked as a member of the Canadian Forces for four years, and one worked as a professional comedian for two years. Finally, one participant had a Master's degree in Education, another had a Master's degree in Arts, and one teacher was presently a part-time student in a Master's in Education degree program.

In the second focus-group discussion, there were only two teachers who were teaching grade seven in either the English or French immersion program, leaving six of the seven participants having between one to twelve years of middle years experience and two teachers having between two to six years of high school experience. The average years of teaching for the participants in the second focus-group discussion was 6.29 years. Taking both focus-group discussions into

account, the teacher participants represented five urban school divisions in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Also, in attendance at both focus-group discussions was my doctoral advisor, who helped me to facilitate the discussions, to analyze the data, and to identify gaps in the data collection that led to follow-up questions for subsequent focus-group discussions and individual interviews. A teacher-candidate in his final year of the Middle Years After-Degree Program in Education at the University of Manitoba was also invited to attend in order to take field notes of both focus-group discussions and to subsequently meet with me to compare and critically examine the data collected.

Of the four teachers interviewed in the first set of participants, two had continued to teach grade 7 and grade 8, one had continued to teach in high school, and one had moved from middle years to teach in a private high school. The interviewees' teaching experience in the kindergarten to grade 12 provincial school system ranged from two to 13 years, with the group's average being 6.5 years, although one of these participants had taught in a local college for nine years. Of the four teachers interviewed, one had a Master's in Education and one was a graduate student in the Master's of Education program.

In Chapter 4, pseudonyms have been given to the participants in order to protect their anonymity. I have not associated any of the participants' professional backgrounds to their given pseudonym because this would allow for certain teachers to be identified. For example, there was only one elementary teacher, one high school teacher, and one participant in their first year of teaching in this first group of participants. Although it is true that the teachers shared their thoughts openly with each other throughout both focus-group discussions, their communications during individual interviews were shared exclusively with me, as the researcher. To associate any professional background information to the participants' given pseudonyms would enable

the teachers who participated in the focus-group discussions to identify the teachers who were later interviewed. This point has implications for the coding and sampling of the first set of focus-group discussions and interviews, which will now be briefly discussed. Moreover, Figure 2 provides a summary of the categories that emerged from the coding of data from the first set of participants.

Coding of the First Focus-Group Discussion.

The first focus-group discussion lasted two-and-a-half hours and resulted in 40 pages of transcribed data. Once I completed the *open coding* process of the transcript, I began grouping codes based on the similarities of shared properties that then created larger categories. Although Glaser (1978) developed 18 family codes to support theoretical coding, Charmaz (2006) believes that it is essential that they "earn their way" (p. 63) into the data analysis rather than being imposed onto the process. This being said, the family codes (Glaser, 1978) that were used during the analysis of the data are the "*Six Cs*", which include *causes, contexts, contingencies, consequences, covariances,* and *conditions*, as well as *process, degree, type, strategy, cultural*, and *ordering* (see Appendix A).

Based on the coding, four tentative categories emerged: (a) teachers prioritizing their relationships with students, (b) teachers struggling with their sense of identities, (c) teachers needing to be perceived as legitimate by their students, and (d) teachers' shifting use of authority. From this, I wondered if the core category was the teachers' fluctuating sense of identity because their need to prioritize their individual relationships with their students and to be perceived as legitimate in their eyes could be consequences of their fluctuating sense of identity.

Moreover, the "*Six Cs*" family code was helpful in developing tentative relationships between categories, although some of the individual elements within the framework did not support the analysis of data. For example, Charmaz (2006) explains that although earlier grounded theorists, such as Glaser, tended to focus on causal relations among categories, she considers them to be tentative relationships. For this reason, the notion of a pre-existing condition was used, which referred to the teachers' shifting use of authority, rather than a *cause* in Glaser's (1978) "*Six Cs*." Additionally, the notion of *covariance*, which is described as involving "connected variables without forcing the idea of cause" (p. 74), is unclear, as is the concept of *contingency*, which is not defined in the "*Six Cs*." In applying this model, however, I did notice that little data had been collected regarding the influence of the teachers' contexts which relates to the organizations in which they work. For example, what contextual factors influenced the core category, which was tentatively described as the teachers' fluctuating sense of identity, which might then prompt the teachers to prioritize their relationships with their students, was unknown at this time.

As theoretical sampling progressed, I wondered in what ways and to what degree do teachers prioritize their relationships with individual students? Moreover, was this tentative consequence related to the core category of teachers' fluctuating sense of identity? In other words, were teachers relying on their students to strengthen their sense of legitimacy? Regarding the pre-existing condition, what was the nature of teachers' shifting use of authority and how do they know when to shift and what to shift towards? Also, the *cultural* family code (Glaser, 1978), which refers to the social values and beliefs that create patterns of social behaviour or *culture* (Blumer, 1969) within an organization, was not explored in any depth in this focus-group discussion and should be considered in future data collection.

Based on these discussions, it was clear that although the teachers did eventually speak about their use of authority within the context of assessment and student engagement, they were intensely driven to discuss their use of authority in relation to the relationships they developed with their individual students. As previously mentioned, although I was surprised by this shift, I was curious to learn why the notion of teacher-student relationships was such a priority for these participants. Thus, I shifted the focus of the study to reflect the dimensions of the individual relationships that the teachers experienced with their students that included: (a) the psychological (e.g., the teacher and student as individuals), (b) the sociological (e.g., the teacher-student dynamics), (c) the cognitive (e.g., the teacher's metacognitive ability), (d) the affective (e.g., the teacher's feelings and emotions), and (e) the organizational-cultural (e.g., the teacher's interpretation of cultural norms).

Therefore, based on the *theoretical sampling*, the following questions guided the collection and analysis of data of the second focus-group discussion:

Pre-Existing Condition:

- How do teachers know when and how to shift their classroom authority?

Core Category:

- Is the core category related to teachers' fluctuating sense of identity?
- Is perceived legitimacy related to the notion of identity?

Consequences:

- Why are teachers prioritizing their relationships with students?
- How does this relate to the notion of caring?
- How is this related to the notion of identity?

Context:

- What factors in schools might influence teachers' sense of legitimacy and identity, and their ability to care for their students?

With these questions in mind, the data from the second focus-group discussion was collected and analyzed.

Coding of the Second Focus-Group Discussion.

As mentioned, the second focus-group discussion took place on January 26, 2012, exactly seven weeks after the first meeting; it lasted three-and-a-half hours and resulted in 38 pages of transcribed data. Seven of the eight original participants returned; one participant was not able to participate because of a scheduling conflict. As a general observation, a convivial atmosphere permeated the second focus-group discussion; in fact, many of the teachers described themselves as eagerly anticipating the second opportunity to discuss issues of authority with their colleagues. Moreover, although the discussion lasted three and a half hours, most of the participants stayed to informally talk with their colleagues afterwards.

As mentioned earlier, Glaser's (1978) family codes that included the "*Six Cs*", which were modified to include pre-existing condition, core category, consequences, and context after the data analysis of the first focus-group discussion, as well as *process, degree, type, strategy, cultural*, *mainline,* and *ordering* were used during the coding. From this, I suggested that the core category was the teachers' development of their sense of identity and possibly their need for legitimacy in the eyes of their students, depending on whether identity and legitimacy were conceptually related concepts. The possible consequences of the core category included: (a) the teachers' emphasis on their individual relationships with their students, as well as students as the

"generalized other", (b) their lack of acknowledgement of their students within a broader social setting, (c) their territorial stance in their relationships with their students, (d) their competitiveness with their colleagues, and (e) their need to cope with intense emotions in their interactions with students and colleagues. Glaser's (1978) *strategy* family code was significant because it made me wonder if teachers adopted specific actions to gauge and self-affirm their influence on their students that included: (a) narrating critical incidents to affirm their actions, (b) comparing their influence on their students with other relevant adults, and (c) re-framing their influence on their students using extreme terms.

Glaser's (1978) *degree* and *type* family codes were used throughout the data analysis as the nature, range, and intensity of the incidents, as well as the teachers' responses in their social settings, occurred to varying degrees. For example, the teachers compared their influence on their students with other relevant adults, they re-framed their influence on their students using extreme terms, and they communicated intense emotions more consistently and in greater numbers throughout the discussion. Also, they compared their influence on students in relation to other teachers far more consistently than to other career professionals. I found these emergent categories somewhat bewildering given the fact that the participants in both focus-group discussions were incredibly supportive of their colleagues as they shared their interpretations of their relationships with certain students. As mentioned, the *type* family code identified an important distinction between the tension that teachers expressed regarding their students, which was largely done through the expression of emotion, and the tension associated with their colleagues in schools, which was mostly expressed by describing the behaviour of their colleagues. Additionally, the teachers' tendency to protect their students seemed to dominate the focus-group discussions, which frequently seemed to blur with the teachers' need to compare

their influence on students to other relevant adults. Once again, I remained uncertain how to interpret the participants' tendencies to protect and to compare because it was inconsistent with their highly respectful and supportive conversations with their colleagues during these focus-group discussions.

Although the participants did not discuss their fluctuating use of social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010) in the second focus-group discussion, they did convey a deep sense of caring for their students. Using the *interactive* family code as a reference point (Glaser, 1978), I wondered how the teachers' tendency to emphasize their relationships with their students and to protect these relationships from the influences of other adults was consistent with Mayeroff's (1971, p. 129) notion of caring and more specifically, "*being with another*" and "*being for another*." For example, if teachers were unconsciously protecting their relationships with their students by limiting the influence of other adults, could they not be limiting the support that other adults could provide?

As a tentative conceptualization (see Figure 3), I suggested that the participants' teaching practices, which is the pre-existing condition, influenced and was influenced by their fluctuating sense of identity and possibly their need for legitimacy, which is the core category. This resulted in consequences that influence teachers' sense of identity and by extension, their ability to care (Mayeroff, 1971) for their students. It is possible that all of this is influenced by, and also influences, the *context* (Glaser, 1978). The *context*, which relates to school cultures, included: (a) the ever-changing and often conflicting role expectations of the provincial Ministry of Education, trustees and superintendents, school administrators, and the school community, (b) an organizational structure that inconsistently addresses the concerns of teachers, (c) the lack of meaningful collaborative experiences with colleagues, (d) the increasing expectation for

classroom teachers to address students' complex learning needs, and (e) the generally nebulous nature of learning and the lack of immediate evidence of success in teaching. However, the teachers did express a longing to talk more honestly about the challenges they experienced in their teaching.

The following questions, which surfaced throughout the *theoretical sampling*, guided a review of the extant literature and the emergent categories:

1. Pre-Existing Condition:

- How does the teachers' use of authority influence the core category?
- How does the core category influence the teachers' use of authority?
- How does the core category influence teachers' ability to care for their students?

2. Core Category:

- How is the teachers' sense of identity developed?
- How does the context interrelate with the teachers to influence their sense of identity?
- Is the teachers' sense of legitimacy related to their sense of identity?

3. Consequences:

- Why do teachers appear to need to protect their individual relationships with students from other relevant adults?
- Why do the teachers typically express their relationships with students in terms of a dyadic relationship?
- What are the properties of the dyadic relationship that might foster this tendency?
- Why are the teachers not acknowledging their students' belonging to a broader social context, such as the classroom or school community?
- How does this relate to the development of caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971)?

- How are the strategies, such as the teachers' use of comparisons, their need to reframe narratives using extreme terms, and their need to share intense and often, painful emotions related to the core category?
- How does this influence the teachers' use of authority in their teaching?
- How does this influence the teachers' ability to collaborate with colleagues?
- Are other strategies being used?

4. Context:

- In what ways does the context interrelate with the teachers to influence their sense of identity?
- Are there tensions within the organizational culture that foster teachers' apparent tendency towards a dyadic relationship?

These questions guided the collection and analysis of individual interview data, which will now be discussed.

Coding of the Individual Interviews.

After relating the tentative conceptualization to the extant literature, the four interviews focused on exploring the possible discrepancy between the participants' idealized and situated selves (McCall & Simmons, 1978) while using the teachers' own emotions as cues (Hargreaves, 2000; Schott, 1979; Stryker, 2004). As previously explained, the teachers' emotions in the interview questions, especially as they related to guilt and shame (Kemper, 1978; Schott, 1979), were now being used as signals to the discrepancy that existed between their idealized and situated selves (McCall & Simmons, 1978). The questions also challenged the tentative core category which involved the teachers' fluctuating sense of identity and their subsequent need for

legitimation, within the context of their idealized and situated selves (McCall & Simmons, 1978). The questions also explored the organizational factors that might influence the teachers' sense of identity, such as their interactions with school administrators, colleagues, parents, students, as well as any other factors relating to role strain (Goode, 1960; Slater, 1963). Finally, they examined the two primary consequences that emerged from the focus-group data that included: (a) teachers' possible reliance on their students as their primary reference group (Beijaard, 1995; Nias, 1985; 1996) and (b) teachers' possible tendency towards dyadic relationships (Simmel, 1950) with their students.

The individual interviews focused more on challenging and extending the core category, the consequences, and the consequences of the emergent conceptualization, and less on the pre-existing conditions, which related to their classroom practice and more specifically, their use of authority (see Figure 3). Using the *dimension* family code (Glaser, 1978), the participants described their teacher identity, which remained the core category, as involving both how they perceived themselves and how they perceived others as perceiving them. In fact, the participants expressed emotions of blame, guilt, and a personal sense of inadequacy, which related to the *indentity-self* family code (Glaser, 1978). Three of the four teachers described their experiences of guilt as relating to both a discrepancy in their teaching relative to a "given moral value" (Shott, 1979, p. 1325) and to their perceived inadequacy of the self, while one participant believed that it was always about his personal inadequacy. Although the participants expressed many positive emotions, the interview data, along with the *type* family code (Glaser, 1978), suggested that participants expressed: (a) a need to compensate for their inadequacies, (b) some degree of blame, (c) hypercriticism towards their colleagues, which might relate to teachers' competitiveness, and most consistently (d) varying degrees of inadequacy. In fact, as the

researcher, there were moments during these interviews when I felt slightly overwhelmed by the degree of personal inadequacy communicated by certain participants; moreover, at times, I found it very challenging to not be of more comfort or support during these conversations.

The consequences that appear to be closely associated with the influence that students have on their teachers' sense of identity involved: (a) teachers competing for their students' attention and affection, (b) teachers comparing their influence on their students to other teachers' influences, and (c) teachers protecting their relationships with their students from other adults. More specifically, although the data often reflected a degree of competition that existed among teachers, many of the statements reflected teachers competing for the affections of their students. The issue of competition might also be related to the teachers' tendency to compare their influence on their students to other teachers' influences, which occurred during three of the four interviews, but on a more sporadic and less frequent basis than during the focus-group discussions. Related to this issue was the teachers' tendency to protect their relationships with their students from other adults. This being said, my empathic stance towards these teachers was growing more profound because it was not only evident that their tendencies to compare and protect were unintentional, but that they were very committed to their students' well-being.

Additionally, indicators of teachers' possible tendency towards developing dyadic relationships with their students involved: (a) teachers' emphasis on their relationships with individual students, as well as the generalized other, (b) teachers' lack of acknowledgement of student relationships within the broader school culture, (c) teachers protecting their relationships with their students from the influences of other adults, and (d) teachers using extreme terms to describe their relationships with their students. Two of the four teachers emphasized the importance of their relationships with their students when they had the opportunity during the

interview; however, it should be noted that a large portion of each interview was spent discussing the contextual factors that influence teachers' identity and the role of emotions in this dynamic.

The contextual influences that strengthened and weakened teachers' sense of identities included, first and foremost, their students, followed by school administrators. Integrating the *concensus* family code (Glaser, 1978), teachers described the day-to-day interactions that affirmed how important it was that their professional values be aligned with those of their school administrators. In truth, I was relieved to learn of the potential for administrators to offset teachers' reliance on students for role support, not only for the students, but for the teachers, given the intense emotions they experience in their relationships with students. Beyond this, teachers described feeling strengthened when they could identify elements of shared pedagogy with other teachers or when parental feedback supported the values embedded in their teaching. Finally, it appeared that explicit regulations upheld by school administrators helped to clearly articulate role expectations that supported teachers in successful role enactments (Merton, 1957). Integrating the *interactive* family code (Glaser, 1978), the primary contextual influence on teachers' identities and its resulting emotions appeared to be grounded in the teachers' relationships with their students. Underscoring this point was the fact that, when asked, three of the four participants ranked students as having the strongest influence on their identity as teachers.

In using the *cutting point* family code as a reference point (Glaser, 1978), many of the above mentioned factors that could strengthen teachers' sense of identity also eroded it. For example, perceived tension in teachers' relationships with their students could potentially create significant dissonance. Beyond the primary influence of their students, however, teachers' perceptions that their professional values clashed with their school administrators weakened their

sense of self. Either by blaming teachers for students' academic failures, by failing to enforce adopted policies, or by choosing to ignore serious staffing issues, the perceived discrepancy in values appeared somewhat disorienting to teachers. Moreover, the influence of changes in government assessment practices, the chronic needs associated with the social inequities in students' lives, and teachers' perceptions that parents had unrealistic expectations of their role responsibilities seemed to have a negative influence on teachers' identity.

The tentative conceptualization in Figure 4 suggests that the core category involved teachers' identities, which includes how they perceived themselves ideally and situationally (McCall & Simmons, 1978), and how they perceived others as perceiving them (Mead, 1934). Also, the notion of identity has been extended to include legitimation (McCall & Simmons, 1978). This implies that emotions played a role in signaling (Hargreaves, 2000; Stryker, 2004) the discrepancy that the teachers perceived between their idealized sense of selves and their situated role enactments in teaching.

The possible consequences of the dynamic described above included: (a) teachers' need to compete for their students' attention & affection, (b) their need to gauge their influence on their students compared to the influence of other teachers, (c) their need to protect their relationships with students from other adults, (d) their frequent need to acknowledge their students' relationships with other adults in the broader school culture in a negative light, (e) their persistent need to express a perceived uniqueness in their relationships with their students, and (d) their tendency towards dyadic relationships with their students that are inversely related to their commitment to the broader school community.

Contextual influences appeared to either strengthen or weaken teachers' identities, by either affirming or challenging common role expectations that resulted in role strain. For the teachers,

the affirmation of common role expectations included: (a) seeking signs of shared values and expectations with school administrators and parents, and unsolicited support from other adults, (b) identifying elements of shared pedagogy with their colleagues, and (c) wanting expectations explicitly stated by school administrators and the superintendents' teams in order to support commonly shared expectations.

The following questions, which surfaced throughout the *theoretical sampling*, further developed this study's emergent conceptualization and guided future data collection:

Pre-Existing Condition:

- What feedback does a second group of teachers have regarding the notions of social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010)?
- Are there *other* forms of authority that should be considered when examining classroom teaching?
- How might teachers' need for legitimation influence their ability to develop caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) with their students?

Core Category:

- Does a second group of teachers describe their teacher identities in relation to McCall and Simmons' (1978) idealized and situated selves, and the process of legitimation?
- Does a second group of teachers describe feelings of guilt and shame as they seek to legitimate their idealized and situated self? Are other emotions involved?

Consequences:

- Does a second group of teachers describe similar experiences of isolation among teachers?
- What is the strength of influence of colleagues on teachers' identities?

- Does a second group of teachers share similar dyadic tendencies as they discuss their relationships with their students?
- Is the notion of dyadic relationships a broader category to the other consequences that emerged so far?

Context:

- Are teachers actively seeking out contextual cues in their daily practice that indicate to them that their professional values are consistent with their school culture's values and those of significant others, such as school administrators and parents?
- Are teachers seeking out contextual cues as a way to guide or direct successful role enactments?
- When teachers' values clash with significant others, such as school administrators, does the discrepancy erode their sense of identity? Does it influence their view of the success of their role enactment?

A tentative conceptualization emerged from these questions, along with all of the coding of the data from the first set of participants. Because the second set of focus-group discussions and individual interviews served to challenge and extend the initial conceptualization, this part of the study focused on elaborating only on the new data that further developed that conceptualization.

Second Set of Focus-Group Discussions and Interviews

Recruitment of Focus-Group and Interview Participants.

Similar to the first set of focus-group discussions, I addressed approximately 400 teachers attending the annual provincial Manitoba Middle Years Association professional development day that is part of the Manitoba Teachers' Society Special Area Groups of Educators (SAGE)

provincial conference in October 2012. After explaining the intent of the study and what would be required by the participants, seven teachers expressed an interest in this study. Of this group, six teachers agreed to participate in the first focus-group discussion held in December, 2012 and five of these teachers returned to participate in the second focus-group discussion in January, 2013. Similar to the first set of focus-group discussions, consent was obtained by the teacher participants, their school administrators, and their divisional superintendents and at the time, they also gave their consent for the data to be used in my doctoral research (see Appendix H, I, & J).

Similar to the first set of individual interviews, I used Glaser's (1978) family codes throughout the focus-group data analysis to identify which participants expressed varied perspectives and would ultimately extend my understanding of the emergent conceptualization. In the end, the three participants that were selected agreed to be interviewed; one in his sixth year of teaching, one in her fifth of teaching, and one in his first year of teaching (see Appendix H, I, & J). As with the first round of interviews the year before, participants received the interview questions a minimum of three days prior to the planned interview which was scheduled either before or after their work day in schools. The teachers were also aware that the interview would be audio taped and that a copy of the transcript would be provided to them for member check prior to data analysis (Creswell, 2007).

Focus-Group and Interview Participants.

Six teachers participated in the first focus-group discussion in December 2012. Two were grade eight teachers; one was in her second year of teaching and the other was in his first, although he had spent a number of years administering a program at a local university and managing a large retail store. One teacher was in his third year of teaching grade seven and also

worked as a curriculum designer for the provincial government. He also had a Master's of Arts degree. Two participants taught in multi-age classrooms; one was in his first year of teaching a grade three and four class and was a former freshwater fisheries biologist and the other, who had previously worked as an Educational Assistant, was in her fifth year of teaching a grades six, seven, and eight class, and was presently working on her Post-Baccalaureate Diploma in Education. Finally, one participant was in his sixth year of teaching mathematics, physics, and digital photography in grades nine to 12, and he also had an engineering degree. The average years of experience in the first focus-group discussion was 3 years and 3.6 years in the second discussion.

Of the three participants interviewed in January 2013, one taught in a grades three and four multi-age classroom, one taught in a grades six, seven, and eight multi-age classroom in the French Immersion program, and one taught math, physics, and digital photography from grade nine to grade 12. Their teaching experience in the kindergarten to grade 12 provincial school system ranged from one to six years, with the group's average being four years. One of the participants worked as a freshwater fisheries biologist and one had worked as an Educational Assistant and was presently working on her Post Baccalaureate Diploma in Education. Also, one teacher had completed an engineering degree.

As previously explained, although pseudonyms will be given to participants in order to protect their anonymity as I present the study's findings in Chapter 4, I will not be associating any of the participants' professional backgrounds to their given pseudonym because this information would enable the identification of the participants. More specifically, in this group of participants, there was only one multi-age middle years teacher, one multi-age elementary teacher, and one high school teacher. Although the teachers shared their thoughts openly with each other throughout

both focus-group discussions, any professional background information related to the participant's given pseudonyms would enable them to identify the source of specific communications shared during the individual interviews. Once again, this has implications for the coding and sampling of the second set of focus-group discussions and interviews, which will now be briefly discussed. Moreover, Figure 5 provides a summary of the categories that emerged from the coding of the data from the second set of participants.

Coding of the First Focus-Group Discussion.

Using the *cutting point* family code (Glaser, 1978), the pre-existing condition of this study's tentative conceptualization was extended with the participants' understanding of social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010). Although two of the six participants stated that the various types of authority (see Figure 1) could be examined separately while three of the participants stated that they could not, all of the participants both separated and merged social and pedagogical authority throughout the discussion. Also, a number of the participants spoke at length about the influence that administrators have on their use of classroom authority and their relationships with students. More specifically, when the teachers relied on their school administrators to affirm their authority with their students and instead, the administrators over-emphasized their social authority with these students, the teachers' use of classroom authority and their relationships with students was weakened, which made them feel angry. The participants also stated that this led them to actively avoid the influence of administrators on their relationships with students in the future. I found these findings, as well as the fact that the participants never mentioned possibly talking to school administrators about their influence on teachers' relationships with students surprising, if not somewhat discouraging, given that they

are both motivated by students' best interests. This data strengthens the relationships in this study's conceptualization between the school's context, the pre-existing condition of teachers' classroom practices, the core category relating to teachers' emotions, and the consequences.

Using the *indentity* family code (Glaser, 1978), the core category was extended in a number of ways. First, all of the participants viewed their identities as teachers as being inseparable from their identities as people. The *interactive* family code (Glaser, 1978) highlighted the fact that the participants were guided by their idealized view of themselves as teachers, which typically depicted their roles as teachers as having a positive impact on students' lives. In fact, I was struck by the fact that the participants' idealized selves were consistently described as very selfless in nature. Moreover, all of the participants spoke openly about their need for validation as teachers as they often felt insecure in their teaching roles and would frequently "second guess" their actions because they were chronically uncertain of whether or not they were succeeding in helping their students. The teachers experienced disquieting emotions, particularly when their colleagues' pedagogical expectations clashed with their own, which then negatively influenced their relationships with students, or when the teachers perceived that students were comparing them to their colleagues, although they did not identify these emotions as anything other than "uncomfortable" and "not good." It should be noted that the participants regularly used their colleagues as comparators (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979) throughout this focus-group discussion. Moreover, all of the participants communicated some sense of feeling hurt or wounded when students appeared to develop meaningful relationships with *other* teachers. This data, along with the fact that the participants stated that these complex emotions often led them to work in isolation from their colleagues, strengthened the argument that the teachers tended to

develop dyadic relationships with their students, a consequence identified earlier in this study's tentative conceptualization.

In terms of context, the *concensus* and *interactive* family codes (Glaser, 1978) underscored the point that the participants felt validated as teachers when they and their colleagues shared common expectations regarding issues of classroom authority. Although I remain uncertain as to whether this data related more to social or pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010), the issue appeared to be grounded in the teachers' need to minimize the possible negative influence of their colleagues on the participants' relationships with their students (see Figure 6).

The following questions, which surfaced throughout the *theoretical sampling*, further developed this study's emergent conceptualization and guided future data collection. They included:

Pre-Existing Condition:

- Should social and pedagogical authority be separated? Does it matter?
- How are teachers' relationships with students influenced when administrators over-emphasize their social authority with students?
- Does administrators' over-emphasis on other types of authority influence teachers' relationships with students as well?

Core Category:

- Do these teachers experience guilt and shame as they legitimate the discrepancy between their idealized and situated selves (McCall & Simmons, 1978)?
- Are other emotions involved?

Consequences:

- Are there other indicators of teachers' tendency towards dyadic relationships with their students in the data?

Context:

- Do teachers validate or legitimate their colleagues' teaching in schools?

With these questions in mind, the data collected from the second focus-group discussion was analyzed.

Coding of the Second Focus-Group Discussion.

The second focus-group discussion focused mostly on developing a greater understanding of the core category of this study's tentative conceptualization. Using the *interactive* family code (Glaser, 1978), the participants described feeling strongly validated as teachers when they were told by students that they had changed their lives in a meaningful way, especially if the teachers sensed that the statements were made relative to other teachers' work. The participants were also validated when administrators acknowledged attributes of their individual teaching practices, which led them to feel, to some extent, understood by their administrators, and that they shared similar values and expectations with them. The participants rarely talked about feeling validated by their colleagues; in fact, most of the teachers stated that they were not familiar enough with their colleagues' teaching practices to feel validated or invalidated by them. I was surprised by this finding, especially since the notion of teacher collaboration is so frequently researched in the educational literature and it is such a priority for many, if not all, of the school divisions. Once again, the participants described feeling validated as sensing that they are on the "right track" in their teaching or that they had succeeded in making a meaningful difference in students' lives.

When the participants felt invalidated as teachers, they frequently stated that they felt guilt and feelings of personal inadequacy or rather, shame (Shott, 1979). These feelings were particularly intense when they felt that they had failed to support their students. Once again, I was concerned about the frequency of teachers' experiences of shame, as well as the fact that they seemed to be coping with the disquieting emotion largely in isolation from their in-school colleagues. These emotions also emerged when they felt judged by school administrators who were not familiar with their practices and by the general public who did not have a strong understanding of teachers' work in schools and often devalued its complexity. This data strengthened the relationships between the context and the core category as I continued to refine this study's conceptualization.

In terms of consequences, the participants described feeling a great deal of isolation as they taught. If they did not feel that their administrators understood them as teachers, they feared being unfairly judged by them and they tended to avoid interacting with them altogether. All of the participants feared making mistakes in front of their colleagues and appearing vulnerable by them. The participants did not feel that they, along with their colleagues, were familiar enough with each other's practices to provide meaningful feedback regarding their teaching. This data strengthened the relationship between the context, the core category, and the consequences in the tentative conceptualization (see Figure 7).

The following questions, which emerged during the *theoretical sampling*, further developed this study's emergent conceptualization and guided future data collection. They included:

Pre-Existing Condition:

- Should social and pedagogical authority be separated? Does it matter?

- How are teachers' relationships influenced when administrators over-emphasize their social authority with students?
- Does administrators' over-emphasis on other types of authority influence teachers' relationships with students as well?

Core Category:

- Are other emotions involved other than guilt and shame?

Consequences:

- Are there other indicators of teachers' tendency towards dyadic relationships with their students in the data?

Context:

- Do teachers seek shared expectations and values with any other elements of the school culture?

This being said, the data collected from the individual interviews of the second set of participants was examined.

Coding of the Individual Interviews.

The final individual interviews contributed significantly to the further development of the conceptualization's pre-condition. Using the *cultural* family code as a reference point (Glaser, 1978), the teachers described needing far more opportunities with their colleagues to work though their fears and insecurities in teaching, and their feelings of guilt and shame. In fact, I was surprised and encouraged to learn that all of the participants believed that working through difficult situations and disquieting emotions was important to teaching in schools. Furthermore, they stated that the teachers' unresolved emotions often permeate the school culture, often in the

form of negative comments. They all agreed that meaningful collaboration in teaching is not a common occurrence and that there is a need to rethink our expectations of teacher collaboration in schools. They also stated that teacher-candidates need to learn that making mistakes is an inherent part of teaching.

In terms of the consequences, all of the participants described confiding in teachers outside their schools to work though their disquieting emotions related to teaching. Using the *strategy* family code (Glaser, 1978), the teachers talked about their ambivalence in trusting their colleagues in their schools with their fears and feelings of inadequacy, and that collegial support in schools could often reflect more in-group and out-group support (Nias, 1985) than individual assistance (see Figure 8).

Summary

The initial intent of this grounded theory study was to collect data from teacher participants that addressed the questions that the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) research group and I had regarding teacher authority, classroom assessment, teacher-student relationships, and student engagement. Between October 2011 and January 2013, 14 teachers were recruited from the annual provincial Manitoba Middle Years Association professional development day that is part of the Manitoba Teachers' Society's Special Area Groups of Educators (SAGE) provincial conference. Relying on both Charmaz's (1995, 2006) and Glaser's (1978, 1992) perspective on grounded theory, the emergent categories that surfaced from this study's four focus-group discussions and seven individual interviews redirected its focus from classroom assessment and student engagement, to issues of caring teacher-student relationships, teacher identities, the role of emotions, and the influence of school environments.

Although this chapter described the development of this study's conceptualization deductively, it did, in fact, emerge inductively from the collected data. For this reason, the coding of the data that was collected from the first set of participants tentatively produced the initial conceptualization that was represented in Figures 3 and 4. All of the coding of the data collected from the second set of participants extended and challenged the initial theoretical conceptualization, either by strengthening the relationships between the categories and sub-categories, or by weakening them. This data is represented in Figures 6, 7, and 8.

In grounded theory, the conceptualization develops concurrently with the coding of the data. In this chapter, I have attempted to focus on representing the relationships between emerging categories and sub-categories, which is innately data driven, without focusing too greatly on the specific data underpinning the developing conceptualization. In the following chapter, however, I will connect this conceptualization to the concepts presented in Chapter 2 which reflects this study's *theoretical coding* (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1978) of categories and sub-categories to extant literature, and the specific data, collected from the focus-group discussions and individual interviews, which initially generated the construct. Just as importantly, these findings will be related to the teachers' relationships that they develop with their students and Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

In this chapter, the data collected from 14 teachers who participated in focus-group discussions and individual interviews is analyzed to examine why teachers sometimes get disoriented in their efforts to develop caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) with their students in schools, and the role that both their emotions and their school environments play in this process. I begin by re-examining the concepts of roles and statuses, and how people in social positions with greater and equal status to teachers influence the teachers' perceptions of their role enactments (Merton, 1957). I also explore Simmel's (1950) notion of dyadic relationships and Mark's (1977) expansion approach to role strain. I then examine the teachers' notion of identity (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stone, 1962) and the legitimation (McCall & Simmons, 1978) of their role enactments with relevant audiences in their school environments. Moreover, I explore the critical role that teachers' emotions play in this process, while focusing specifically on their experiences of guilt and shame (Kemper, 1978; Shott, 1979). Their competitiveness with their colleagues is discussed using Burke's (1991) and Rosenberg's (1979) notion of comparators, as well as the teachers' reliance on out-of-school support and in-school reference groups (Nias, 1985). Finally, the teachers' use of social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010) to strengthen their legitimacy in the eyes of their students is also examined in this chapter.

Strains and Stresses in Teachers' Roles

Goffman (1961) describes roles as the normative expectations inherent in statuses while role enactment (Merton, 1957) refers to the role performances that occur in relation to relevant audiences. For teachers, relevant audiences include their students, colleagues, school

administrators, divisional superintendent's team, as well as their students' parents and the general public. Although I will examine the participants' interactions with their students as their relevant audience later in this section, many of the teachers in this study stated that the expectations of educators in positions with greater status, such as members of the superintendent's team and school administrators, often conflict with their own expectations of their role. For instance, Matt explained that:

> I know that in [my] school division, there's a huge amount of push for policies that revolve around human sexuality…. There are teachers who are drastically uncomfortable with that, and there are teachers who have gone to the Board to talk about how they don't feel that this is part of our curriculum….

Joan echoed similar sentiments when she described her division's newly adopted policy that all students will successfully achieve the provincially established curricular outcomes by the end of grade 8. In her opinion, "that puts a lot of pressure on us to take the kid who's working at a grade five level in math through to grade 8, by the end of the year." Connie added that what seems to be the, "one-dimensional way" that superintendents and school administrators sometimes interpret the role of teachers can be "really kind of insulting" because they do not appear to fully appreciate its complexity.

In fact, the documentation of students' achievements of curricular outcomes through teachers' assessments frequently generated conflicting expectations between school administrators and teachers. Joan explained that:

> the very first year in my school, I had to almost redo my report cards. In terms of authority coming from my school head honcho or principal, he was not satisfied…. How dare I say that these kids have dropped by ten or fifteen percent…. Since then, my grade six marks have

been a little higher because I take into consideration the expectations of the person signing off on the report card.

This last point underscores how organizational expectations can directly influence teachers' role enactments, although Turner (1956, 1962) explains that the degree of role-making and role-taking by individual teachers depends largely on the organization's expectations for conformity. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to examine this last point, Susan agreed with Joan, explaining that school administrators expect teachers to "put as positive a spin on it as possible" when evaluating their students, although this tended to result in teachers' experiencing conflicting expectations with their students' parents. Susan added, "So the problem is that you're playing with words, 'he's a reluctant reader and blah blah blah.'… So, you're not actually telling the parents what they need to know in order for the child to improve." Another participant, Ken, added that juggling the expectations of superintendents, school trustees, and school administrators is more difficult for him now because parents can follow his teaching of content by accessing on-line curricular documents mandated by the provincial government. In his words, "so you've got this fourth layer to throw on top of all this, as you're juggling curriculum, your administrator…."

Interestingly, although another participant, Sarah, believed that the expectations of her former high school department conflicted with her own which resulted in her struggling to "perform as a teacher and watch my back at the same time", none of the participants mentioned any pressure to accommodate the varied expectations of other teachers in their teaching. This might reflect the fact that teachers who become curricular leaders hold a higher status than other teachers within the school organization. Moreover, although all of the participants' day-to-day teaching is influenced by that of their colleagues, it is mostly explained in terms of their need to find ways to

co-exist with colleagues' conflicting expectations, rather than to integrate and learn from the differences in their role enactments. Although one participant in both the first and second focus-group discussions specifically mentioned wanting their teaching to be influenced more meaningfully by their colleagues, such as wanting to learn how about colleagues' pedagogies, collegial collaboration among the participants was typically described in terms of teachers co-existing alongside their colleagues and their separate teaching practices while eliciting as little tension as possible in the process. I will develop this last point a bit more when I explore teachers' competitiveness later in this chapter.

In the meantime, the concepts of role-making, role-taking (Turner, 1956, 1962), and the broader concepts of role embracement and role distancing (Goffman, 1961) are relevant to this study in that they are grounded in the notion of role reciprocity and more specifically, the need of teachers to test their perceptions of counter-roles in order to evaluate their role enactments. The participants in this study recounted times when superintendents and school administrators' expectations were consistent with their own, and these accounts, which will be explored later, tended to leave them feeling strengthened in their roles. However, overwhelmingly, the teachers described the role expectations of relevant audiences beyond their relationships with their students as being in conflict with their successful role enactments with their students. To a large extent, this is also reflected in the public's limited understanding of the complex role of teachers. For example, in describing her frustration with people who are not teachers, who then publicly comment on the quality of teachers' work, Andrea stated that "they might not know a lot about an issue, but because they read one snippet in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, now they are allowed to air their opinions on the issue, endlessly." Another participant, Karin, further suggested that "teachers are always to blame; they are the arbiters of society. Apparently, we are people who

spend five and a half hours a day with kids and we are now responsible for making them good citizens." Similarly, Connie stated that, "I don't blame teachers for being fear-based because it has become perfectly acceptable to blame teachers for society's woes. So I don't blame teachers for feeling that they're going to be judged, and to fear that."

The perceptions of teachers in this study are noteworthy because it has been well documented that role-taking is the reflexive process of conceiving of role enactments relative to perceived counter-roles (Turner, 1956, 1962). This means that the participants' perceptions of their role enactments by relevant others, such as the superintendent's team, school administrators, parents, and the general public, influence their perceptions of the success of their role enactments as teachers. In other words, the often conflicting and negatively perceived feedback about their role enactments influence their role-making as teachers. More specifically, there was a strong sense among the participants in this study that their commitment to their relationships with their students was somehow competing with their commitments to other people in the organization. This might also reflect the participants' sense of intimacy (Simmel, 1950) in their relationships with their students, which is an aspect of dyadic relationships which I will explore shortly. For instance, when Jim described how much he valued the different mementos that have been given to him by students in appreciation for his work, he stated that "those sticky notes and letters mean far more to me than a positive evaluation for job performance" by school administrators and superintendents. Similarly, when Matt described helping a struggling student, he explained, "I'll pick the kids over the school. I'll pick them over my colleagues, and I'll pick them over my admin, even if it gets me into a really shitty spot." Another participant, Ken, expressed frustration when "administrators tell me what I need to do with the child when I know them

better than the administration. I think that's when I have a little bit of a problem with things. Or when a resource teacher comes into my class and tells me to do this, and this, and this."

Teachers' Dyadic Relationships

These statements, in combination with the teachers' descriptions of their unique interactions with their students, support the likelihood that, amid the perceived conflict in their role expectations, teachers tend to develop dyadic relationships with their students, both individually and as the generalized other (Simmel, 1950). For example, Tory described "grieving" for the relationships with her former students and with some embarrassment, explained:

> I held those relationships close to me and I even had a bit of difficulty at the beginning of this year when I almost felt that we were experiencing a bit of a breakup, that I missed those kids that much. I thought to myself, can I do this all over again? And I'll be honest, it was a bit of an adjustment for myself.

Jim described a similar experience when, at the beginning of the school year, his former students ignored him in the hall. Embarrassed, he admitted that "they just walked by me. And it's like, 'really?'…. And I get it, it's not cool to be talking to one of the grade 7 teachers…. But I felt like, wow, that stung. Like, it hurt…." In a similar way and to the general agreement of the first set of focus-group participants, Karin described her relationships with her students as similar to a "couples" relationship, referring to two people that have, to some degree, committed to the idea of being together. In fact, the teachers' perceptions of the uniqueness of their interactions with their students reflected the notion of triviality embedded in dyadic relationships (Simmel, 1950). For example, when Connie described overreacting to a student's inappropriate behaviour, she stated that "I think that I coped by telling myself that if I lost him, hopefully he knows that

it's because I care… I mean, I instantly know that my actions were going to put us at-risk…." In the same way, when Marissa described worrying about a struggling student, she stated that "it's not like I shouldn't try and do everything that I possibly can, but I'm struggling so much with this child that I literally go home every night and think about him every night." Because these statements, as well as the participants' earlier statements describing how their commitments to their students competed with their commitments to the broader organization, appeared to be based on the teachers' own needs to gauge the success of their role enactments. I wondered how successfully teachers are able to address their students' needs, and how much of this process is being influenced by the teachers' *own* needs to feel successful in their *own* role enactments. In other words, I wondered how consistent these statements are with Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring and more specifically, his tenets of *being with another* and *being for another* (p. 129).

Additionally, when Matt tells students that he is "all about them" or that he will always pick the "kids over the school", he is describing tendencies towards dyadic relationships with students as the "generalized other" (Mead, 1934) rather than as individuals. Another example is Connie's assertion that "I feel that I always know that I have their [the students] best interest in mind, but I don't always know that of my colleagues…. Some teachers - I know that I can't trust them." Karin's recounting of her concern for a disadvantaged student who cannot afford to buy a ticket for a basketball game also involves thinking of students as the generalized other, but when she states that "there is some little snot-nosed kid sitting beside him who… will likely go to this game, and who couldn't care less," the generalized other is being used quite differently – to counterbalance the unique situation of the one struggling student. It should be noted that the tendency towards dyadic relationships with the generalized other was communicated with both sets of participants, although far more frequently by members of the first set.

As previously mentioned, Simmel's (1950) notion of intimacy, which emphasizes that dyadic relationships are perceived by their members as being somehow unique compared to their other relationships, was communicated by the participants of this study. For instance, when Matt described helping a struggling student, he perceived this interaction as being different and more meaningful than the students' interactions with other adults. He stated:

> I explained to him [the student] that I'm all about you…. But I felt that he needed to prove to himself that there was an adult that could not be pushed away. Even if he hit me, I wanted to prove so badly to him that I was not going to be pushed away.

In describing her interactions with a colleague regarding a student, Andrea expressed a similar sentiment when she stated that "I'm not sure if it's a parent feeling, but I'm feeling like I'm siding with the child…. I believe that I'm protecting the child because I know how this form of authority will result with the student." When Tory discussed a former student who frequently visited her after his high school classes, she stated that "he keeps telling me that it's really nice to come back to his middle years school because he likes to be around people that he knows care about him. And I almost feel like a therapist." When Karin described the success she had teaching her students, she added, "but my colleagues do have major issues with some of my students…. I don't know how to articulate what it is that makes it different in my class." Connie, too, described her belief that, unlike many of her colleagues, she had her students' best interests in mind, is yet another example of intimacy in dyadic relationships that reflect these teachers' intense commitment to their relationships with their students. However, the teachers' statements also suggest a need for their students to withdraw from their relationships with other adults in the school. These examples, along with earlier statements that depict the teachers' commitment to their students as somehow competing with their commitments to school

administrators, are consistent with Slater's (1963) view that the degree of commitment of personal resources in sustaining dyadic relationships is inversely related to the individuals' commitment of resources to the broader social environment. Because the participants' statements not only reflect their deep commitment to their students, but also the perceived uniqueness of their relationships with students (Simmel, 1950), I wondered how consistent they were with Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring and the tenets of *being with another* and *being for another* (p. 129).

Underpinning the notion of dyadic relationships is the issue of commitment. Mark's (1977) expansion approach involves people committing their personal resources to certain role relationships over others, not because they are biologically depleted, but because they value some more than others. From his perspective, when individuals over-commit to highly prized role enactments, the experience can actually *expand* their reserve of resources for future commitments. Although the issue of personal choice rather than biological depletion of resources is not specifically examined in this study, two of the teachers' statements challenge this claim. For instance, Marissa explained that "when the wheels start coming off the wagon from exhaustion… You start thinking to yourself, 'A good teacher doesn't do that'…. It would be very easy to introduce so much self-doubt that you lose confidence completely in your abilities…." Moreover, when Andrea described her disappointment after realizing that she allowed a student to select and read an inappropriate book, she stated that "using my best judgment, on a day where I've not gotten enough sleep, when I'm exhausted, when there are 100 things going on at the same time, I would not have allowed her to make that decision." Regardless, the participants typically described feeling energized by their relationships with their students. For example, Andrea stated that "I think feeling validated is to feel motivated. I can

think of the times when I have felt validated, when I felt this click, and it really motivates me. It gives me energy." Similarly, when Connie confided that "when parents thank me for what I've done for their kid, this is fuel for a very long time." Matt expressed similar views when he explained that although he sometimes questions his level of commitment, "but then a kid comes up to me and tells me that that was the most fun they have ever had…, then it was worth it. Every minute. It's like the wind in the sails; I'm good to go." With these points in mind, the notion of teachers' identities will now be examined.

Teachers' Identities

As explained in Chapter 3, the participants described feeling that they were "validated" when they received affirmation of their sense of self as teachers through their actual role enactments in teaching. In other words, the teachers in this study felt that their identities as teachers were strong. In this respect, Stone (1962) refers to identity as a "meaning of the self" (p. 93) that encompasses a convergence of individuals' role enactments with the expressions of themselves reflected back by relevant others. In spite of the fact that the literature in this area often distinguishes between professional and personal identities (Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005; Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006), all of the teachers in this study, except for one, merged their two identities into their teacher identities. For instance, Connie described her identity as a teacher as feeling like "you're in a family…. It is an interconnectedness." Tory stated that "how I teach is in large part who I am. My practice is me. I bring a lot of personal things about me into my practice." John agreed, stating that "we really can't differentiate between the teaching practice and ourselves. And so we start to believe that when someone is criticizing or attacking the way I teach, then they are criticizing and attacking me as a person." Jim further explains:

When I was a programmer… in math, I never really felt that it was me in there. I was

> producing, but I never saw myself reflected in the product. But as a writer and a teacher, I feel like what I'm putting out there is part of me. And so when someone criticizes my work… I feel like I'm being criticized as a person.

In fact, almost all of the participants' comments reflect, either directly or indirectly, the merging of their professional and personal identities, except for Marissa who states that "it is perceived legitimacy. This doesn't have so much to do with my own identity as a person because I think that is a different issue. I have my own internal idea of what that looks like."

These "internal ideas" are described by McCall and Simmons (1978) as role-identities. They involve the more idealized content and imaginings that, although they are rooted in the realities of everyday life, also reflect people's desires and anxieties (McCall & Simmons, 1978). For example, when describing her idealized notion of a teacher, Marissa referred to how teachers are typically portrayed in film:

> I remember thinking that these people were close to Jesus; they were almost saints because they changed people's lives…. They become the fathers that kids don't have, they fill the void made from the mothers who have abandoned their children, they become the everything to everyone.

In fact, five other teachers described their idealized view of teachers as involving aspects of parenting, which align with Bowlby's (1969) attachment theory. More specifically, Karin's willingness to "fill the gap" and purchase sports tickets for a student whose single mother couldn't afford to do so, Ken's claim that he often knows students better than their parents, Andrea's belief that her need to protect her students is a maternal instinct, and Matt's and Joan's assertion that their view of teaching stems directly from their experiences as parents all indicate that the participants view teacher-student relationships as extensions of parent-child

relationships. Jim's view, although not directly related to parenting, was also rooted in nurturing as he explained:

> It's a ridiculous romantic image of me as a teacher that kind of sustains me. That idea that I'm going to run into one of my kids when they're twenty and they're going to tell me that I made this huge difference in their lives. That's an image that I live with that I judge my success….

Although people's idealized and situated selves are related, it is important to remember that they are different entities. Teachers' situated selves reflect their *actual* behaviour in specific social environments. In other words, their situated selves are the enactments of the teachers' priorities reflected in the idealized content of their role-identities (McCall & Simmons, 1978). As such, Matt explained, "I think of it as who I am as a teacher and how I'm fitting in, and am I what I think I should be versus what I think they think that I should be." The discrepancy between the two selves was also reflected in Alexander's statement that "when I was teaching in grade 5, I was trying to be the teacher that I wanted to be in my mind. But I came to the realization that I'm not that type of person." According to Marissa, "maybe this criteria in our own head is what we think that teachers are like. And I have that too… Now that I'm in the profession, I have a lot of trouble on some days thinking that it is me." However, teachers also noticed the discrepancy in other teachers. For instance, when Ed described his teaching partner, he stated that "she talks a great game… like we're a teaching community and we're a team, and we're all in this together. But at the end of the day, the classroom looks exactly the way she wants it to look…." When Andrea comments on teachers' claims that they "do" inquiry or technology, she states that "given the people that are saying this, I don't actually believe that they are doing it, but they spend a lot of time selling it." Alexander agrees, stating that "teachers talk about inquiry, but I really have got to wonder what their definition is…. They're talking

about it as inquiry projects, but it looks like a research project to me." Given these discrepancies between teachers' idealized and situated selves, I will now explore teachers' legitimation of their roles.

Teachers' Legitimation of their Roles

The discrepancies that the participants reported between their idealized and situated selves, both within themselves and in interacting with their colleagues, ultimately influence their actions and their sense of legitimacy as teachers. The concept of legitimation is essential to understanding the connection between the teachers' idealized and situated selves because once they enact roles, the role support from relevant audiences legitimates them by providing some degree of affirmation that their idealized view of themselves is expressed in their teaching (McCall & Simmons, 1978). Although I will examine the issue of the teachers' role support in relation to relevant audiences shortly, the teachers described their efforts to legitimate their roles as stemming from their need to feel more confident about the success of their teaching and to minimize their fears of unintentionally doing harm to their students. For example, Alexander stated, "I see myself as an optimist even in the hardest times…. But I find it really hard because you're constantly being reminded that it isn't that way in the school context. That your views… don't come true." Tory explained that because teachers are rarely sure of the success of their work, "the only way that you can even figure out remotely if you're doing a good job is by comparing yourself to other adults in the building…." John added:

> I think that when teachers think that they are feeling a bit insecure, then they start making sure that others around them are feeling insecure as well. I don't think it's conscious…. We can distract away the issues from our own classroom by trashing another person's practice.

Karin elaborated on this point by explaining that teachers typically are uncertain about what their students are actually learning. She stated that "I think that if we're not feeling successful in their [the students'] learning, then at least we know that the kids love us, which means that we're doing a good job…." Jim expressed a similar concern with uncertainty when he confided that "at the heart of this issue, though, is… the very nebulous sense of whether you are succeeding as teachers. Or maybe doing something that is possibly damaging, because you just don't know."

McCall and Simmons (1978) refer to selective perception and interpretation as being one of the primary mechanisms of legitimation as we cope with the discrepancies between our idealized and situated selves. The participants' frequently exaggerated interpretations of situations with students support this claim. For example, when Susan described her supportive communication with an at-risk adolescent, she stated that "I think that nothing positive has ever been said to him before." Similarly, in describing his day-to-day workload, Ken explained that "I actually tried to count them once and I think we make upwards of 1000 important decisions a day." When Connie talked about her teaching, she claimed that "when high risk students do show up, they tend to come to my class." When Matt referred to his interactions with an aggressive adolescent, he explained that "I felt that I needed to prove to the student that there was one adult that could not be pushed away." Finally, when Karin heard another participant's recounting of a situation where he became angry with a grade 8 student, she added that "it's possible that you are the only person that cared enough to yell or get angry." Because these students in these scenarios are between 13 and 15 years of age, it is highly unlikely that the statements that these teachers made are actually true; in fact, one could argue that these teachers could not possibly be familiar enough with these students' lives to make such claims. However, when I challenged Connie's assertion that no teacher, before herself, had ever corrected her high school students' grammar,

she defended her view by stating, "as their teacher… I would love to say that every teacher has supported them in every possible way. But I know that's not possible. So I think it's possible that it is true." Statements like Connie's consistently portray the teachers' interactions with their students as being somehow different, and almost always better, than the interactions that the students have had and continue to have with other teachers, and even other adults. I contend that that this tendency reflects the teachers' sense of triviality and intimacy that is inherent in dyadic relationships (Simmel, 1950). These statements also made me wonder about the degree to which the teachers' need to legitimate interfered with their abilities to address their students' needs, which is an inherent aspect of Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring and more specifically, the tenets of *being with another* and *being for another* (p. 129).

Moreover, the teachers' statements also reflect a selective perception and interpretation that often exacerbates the discrepancy between their idealized and situated selves. To the general agreement of the second set of participants, Alexander pointed out that "I often discredit the feedback I get from my colleagues…. I've been in situations where I've gotten positive feedback and…. I would just downplay all the good stuff. And I blow out of proportion all of the bad stuff." Ed concurred, confiding that "by the time I get the positive feedback, I've already been reflecting on my practice, thinking that if I had only done this, it could've gone this way…." Jim agreed by drawing a parallel to his interactions with his mother when he says:

> I'll say to my mom that she had made an amazing dinner… and she'll say no, it's horrible, because I made a mistake on this one little thing… I mean, 90 percent of what she did is fantastic and that one bun is a little burnt, but how come it turns out to be a disaster?

It should also be noted that the use of comparators (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979) is another primary source of legitimation which will be discussed within the context of teachers' competitive relations with their colleagues later in this chapter.

Foundational to the process of legitimation are what McCall & Simmons (1978) refer to as role support and relevant audiences. This means that teachers rely on their relevant audiences to provide them with some degree of affirmation that their idealized views of themselves are being expressed in their role enactments in order for them to feel successful in their teaching. The previous participants' statements that have been presented in support of the teachers' dyadic relationships with their students underscore the critical role that these interactions play in affirming teachers' identities through their role enactments. This is consistent with the findings of Nias (1989) and Beijaard (1995) who contend that students serve as teachers' primary reference group in gauging the success of their role enactments in teaching. Moreover, this point underscores the critical role that students play in legitimating the success of their teachers' role enactments. Other examples include Ed's profound sense of validation when his students "seem excited about me being there" or Alexander's feelings of affirmation when former students decide to take the time to "chat with me a bit", or when Tory is told by a student that Mathematics has become his favourite subject because of her teaching. Tory confided that "I almost started crying…. I just felt at that moment that I did my job….I must have told that story I don't know how many times for weeks after."

In fact, of the nine participants who identified groups of people most and least likely to influence their identities as teachers, six identified their students as their most important influence. The three other participants identified their students as the second most important influence, following their own sense of self, the students' more consistent and mature parental

influences, and the influence of administrators. Five other participants identified their school administrators as the second most important influence on their identities, although one of these teachers explained that this influence only existed if she believed that her administrators had some degree of understanding of the values that underpinned her teaching. Of the three remaining participants, one teacher was not able to compare any other groups' influences beyond his students and two teachers identified their administrators as having the least influence, although one of these participants had identified school administrators as being the most important influence on school cultures during her individual interview. Moreover, five of the participants identified their colleagues as having the third most important influence on their identities, while two of the remaining teachers identified their students' parents as having this strength of influence and a second teacher was not able to compare the remaining two groups. Of the remaining six participants, three identified their students' parents as having the least influence on their identities and one teacher did not factor the parents as an influence on her identity at all.

How, then, do administrators positively influence teachers' identities? All of the participants described how important it was for them to identify some degree of consistency between their values in teaching and those of their administrators. According to Matt:

> I need to feel that my own values are what I think they are…. The confirmation of those values is important. And just as you need the school administrators to show you that the school values echo your own, it's also important to me to know that I'm actually espousing the values that I think I am.

Essentially, this affirmation of shared values strengthened Matt's sense of identity because it helped him gauge whether or not he was doing the "right thing" in his teaching. Connie

expressed a similar view, stating that without affirming feedback from administrators, she felt "lost." Ed added that when he was concerned about a student's behaviour, he spoke with an administrator who encouraged him to continue with his present way of teaching. Ed explained that "that bit of validation helped me to realize that what I was doing was working, that it was good." Alexander agreed, stating that when administrators walk by his classroom and, seeing his students working on physics projects, tells him to "keep it up", he feels strengthened as a teacher. The notion of shared values was important to Marissa as well, although she stressed that administrators need to be explicit about their expectations of their teachers. She stated that "administrators need to say that this is our culture, these are our expectations, and we think you fit, but now let's find out if you do." Although Andrea agreed that teachers need affirmation for their role enactments from their administrators, she stated, "I don't really think that we're that different than our students that we teach…. I think there needs to be more scaffolding in place for teachers, just like there is for students."

Furthermore, the participants in this study distinguished between their need to individualize the role of teacher through role-making (Turner, 1962) and their need to align the values which underpin their teaching with those of their school administrators. For example, Jim explained that "they [administrators] might have a different perspective on the event, but they're still backing you up. We agree on the seriousness of it… It's almost administration by proxy…. It's because the students are aware that we're working in alignment. " Karin expressed similar thoughts when she described the need for teachers and administrators not only to share a "common vision" and to be on the "same track", but also for teachers not to feel judged by administrators when they take risks and, sometimes, make mistakes in their teaching. In her words, "I think it's fair to say that my identity is very much tied up with the confidence that she,

my principal, allows us to feel in ourselves." Ed agreed, stating that when he was encouraged by his administrators to develop his own unique pedagogy, based on their shared values in teaching, the experience affirmed his sense of self as a teacher.

An essential issue expressed by many of the participants which underpins all of the above mentioned statements is that school administrators must have a certain degree of understanding of the teachers' pedagogies for them to feel supported in their teaching. Moreover, administrators' lack of understanding of teachers' pedagogies tends to foster doubt among the teachers regarding the potential for shared values, which leads them to question their administrators' pedagogies and to isolate themselves from their administrators' involvement. This likely weakens the school administrators' influences as an important source of role support. For example, Jim explained that he has worked in two schools with "parachute admin" that only became involved with teachers and students when there were incidents that needed to be resolved. He explained that "they were never around and so I felt that it was pretty superficial to hear anything good or bad about my practice because how would they know? They had no clue…." Interestingly, Jim later added that when an administrator shared some positive comments that were communicated by one of Jim's students, the feedback "meant something to me from admin because it had come from a student who knows my teaching." When Matt described his school administrators' failure to be aware and to subsequently acknowledge his students' involvement in a large school drama production, he stated that "that just kills me. It just kills me… And if I don't believe that admin values the same things that I value, then I have to question what they value because I can't see it."

Additionally, when the teachers do not feel, to some degree, professionally understood by their administrators, it appears to exacerbate the schism between teachers and their

administrators because, as Andrea explained, "I think you get judged on your fears…. So let's say that you have a fear… and the only snippet you[my administrator] gets of my practice is that last story, then what are you basing my entire practice on?"

The need for shared understanding in teaching is important among teachers as well, but often for different reasons than with their administrators. Although both Susan and Andrea mentioned that they regularly engaged in critical dialogue with one other teacher in their schools, the need for shared values and expectations among the participants appeared to be largely directed at maintaining their own teaching practices with their students who were shared with their colleagues. In other words, the teachers' shared values and expectations with their colleagues facilitated their attempts to successfully *co-exist* when they "swap kids." John explained that "that doesn't mean that you and I have to teach in the same way, but that … we agree that if a student is being disruptive, that they don't come to the next class with a totally blank slate." Tory expressed a similar view when she stated that "I have more solidarity with my new teaching partner… because we share similar expectations and I know regardless of the classroom, our shared expectations are being upheld." Moreover, Jim believed that shared expectations among teachers can be communicated to their students through teachers' overt acts of respect for each others' work. He explained that "I think that this is easily read by the students and it affects the authority that they are willing to invest into a particular teacher."

Although some of the participants' statements indicated that their identities were influenced by their colleagues, they also suggested that this influence might be related more to the existence of in-school reference groups (Nias, 1985). Although this will be examined in greater detail shortly, it is interesting to note that when Matt identified similarities in pedagogy between himself and his colleagues, such as with creative forms of assessment or kinesthetic activities, it

affirmed his identity as a teacher because it represented groups of teachers in his school with some degree of shared values. For example, he explained that "this not only affirms my identity, but it also gives rise to, I wouldn't say partnerships, but maybe allies." On a similar note, when Ed discussed the conflicting values that existed between him and his female teaching partner, he suggested that the support he received from other teachers in the school was meaningless because it was more "anti-her than pro-me." John shared a similar experience when he explained that "it's in their friendships… when two teachers who are not trashing but giving their opinion on the teaching practice of another teacher or another group of teachers…."

Conversely, when collaborating teachers adopt significantly different values and expectations in their teaching, dissonance is often experienced, although none of the participants directly stated that it negatively influenced their identity as teachers. In fact, Joan stated that "if I have pedagogical differences with my colleagues, it doesn't bother me. It won't change my activities in the classroom." However, what seemed to concern the participants was when collegial tension affected their relationships with their students. This occurred because the differences that can exist in their teaching partner's pedagogy can sometimes interfere with their own teaching practices when they share students. As Andrea explained:

> Some of the norms that we establish in our classroom community are maybe not being mirrored… in the school. And so when I'm involved, and I'm not sure if it's a parent thing, but I'm feeling like I'm siding with the child …. So I'm left feeling like I want to stand in solidarity with my colleague, but I also feel that their authority is conflicting with my authority with the child….. Am I protecting my practice because I've built a relationship with the student or am I protecting the student? I'm not sure it's always one or the other….

This dissonance among colleagues appeared to create tension in the participants' relationships with their students, which was often disquieting for teachers. For example, as Tory described sharing students with a colleague who had markedly different teaching expectations from her, she described being in a constant "recovery mode" when she returned to her own class…. She said, "and quite honestly, I didn't always like the kind of teacher that I had to be in those situations." Ed described a similar situation when he collaborated with a colleague with radically different educational values than himself. Believing that whatever he established with his students one day would be undone the next by his teaching partner, he was left feeling emotionally drained and focused on "getting through the year." Moreover, Karin described two colleagues who were teaching partners, in which one class of students spoke to the other teacher about an issue regarding the other teacher. In an effort to support her colleague, this teacher subsequently shared the students' concerns with her teaching partner. As Karin explained, "bad mistake. To this day, there is no interaction between the two of them. No collegiality, absolutely nothing…. Even though this colleague did it in a respectful and sensitive way, it didn't matter."

The often unintentional influence of other teachers on the participants' relationships with their students, then, appeared to be a central factor in the success of their collaborative efforts with their colleagues. The following two comments suggest, however, that these collegial influences can intentionally be used to affirm their colleagues' identities as teachers. For instance, Matt described intentionally luring students in the hall into his classroom throughout the school day with overtly engaging class activities until their teachers came to retrieve them. He explained that "I'm thinking, 'I won.' I think that I'm now engaging kids that I'm not even teaching." On a similar note, after Susan and a colleague created a school play, one of her colleagues made

disparaging remarks about the production with the students involved in the event, which left the two drama teachers "boiling mad." Although the issue of teachers' competitiveness with their colleagues will be examined later in this chapter, these statements underscore Marissa's contention that, "I feel like on the frontlines of a very dangerous battlefield" in teaching. Statements like these are inconsistent with Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring and especially the tenet of *being for another* which demands that people caring for others act to strengthen the individual in question and to not use the experience to meet their own individual needs.

Regardless, the participants appeared to be influenced positively by their students' parents, but it is unclear how this happened and to what degree. For example, Jim was the only participant that identified parents as having the strongest influence on his identity because "if you're kind to students, they're going to like you whether you're a good teacher or not…. I think that the family gets a broader perspective on how things are going." Although he did not elaborate on this further, he stated that positive feedback from parents occurred infrequently. He later described a validating incident when an angry parent demanded to spend the day in his class, observing his teaching. Jim explained that at the end of the day, "he told me that he works hard, but he knows that he would never take this job. He told me not in a second would he want to do what he saw me do in one day." In this instance, as well as in the following statement by Connie, affirmation seemed to be grounded in the parents' acknowledgement of the teachers' efforts. For example, Connie explained that "when parents thank me for what I've done for this kid, this is fuel for a very long time", although she subsequently identified parents as having the second weakest influence on her identity. At one point during Matt's individual interview, he shared that he has overheard his colleagues getting angry when parents show up in their classes unannounced. He then stated that he welcomed every parent in his class every day and he

wondered what his colleagues might be hiding. Although Matt's connection to his identity was possibly being made through his use of a comparator (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979) which then helped him to valuate the success of his own role enactments, this issue will be examined further within the context of teachers' competitiveness. It is also important to note that later in the same interview, Matt identified parents as having the least influence on his identity as a teacher. From a different perspective, Marissa described the affirming experience that parents who are new Canadians can provide her because "Canadians don't give teachers the same credibility and the same credentials….", although she did not identify parents as having any influence at all on her identity as a teacher during her individual interview. Based on these statements, it is possible that parents' recognition of teachers' efforts and knowledge were, to some extent, validating to the participants; however, I am uncertain about this, as well as how much it influenced their identities as teachers.

What it clear is that conflicting expectations between the participants and their students' parents created dissonance for almost all of the teachers, although the tension appeared to influence their actions more than their sense of identities. Sarah explained that "classic parental expectations" exert an informal pressure on teachers' actions that make teaching more complex. She added, "but parents will speak of this… why their kid has dropped 10% from the previous year. So, there's nothing in writing, but you're sort of watching your back while you try to hold up your own educational beliefs." Ken appeared to cope with parents' conflicting expectations more directly. If parents chose to argue the mark on their child's assignment, for example, he explained that "well, I'll show them that this is someone else's work and this is yours, so you can't argue with that. Because it's right in front of you." He later concluded that "the parents certainly have a huge impact in our school because they do want their kids to be doctors.

Doctors are the big things these days." Joan stated that her relationships with her students were strongly shaped by their parents' reactions to their assessed work. For instance, during one meeting, parents got so upset that their daughter only received an 85% that the student almost started to cry. She explained, "and so the learning relationship, even when the kid is great and receiving a lot of constructive feedback, is that they still have that 'I failed and what are my parents going to say….'" Joan also stated that parental expectations do affect the outcome of her students' formal assessments because "the kids are all going to be doctors and so their marks have to be in the 80s." Andrea's perspective differed from the others regarding parents' conflicting expectations of her teaching. She explained that when these interactions become increasingly volatile:

> I'm the person they have to blame because there is literally no one else to blame…. And so I have to take it, and I do take it, for the kid. You take it so that the kid can learn. So that the focus isn't off the kid and on to me and the parents.

Karin added that because teachers who are parents tend to be particularly critical of their children's teachers, they can be a significant source of dissonance, although she did not elaborate on how this influenced her teaching. She stressed that "I have quite often… had colleagues who teach in other schools… come in and not inform me that they are teachers, until they've taken my measure and figured out if I'm 'in their tribe.' And if I'm not, basically, wow." Because the role of teachers' emotions is important as they legitimate their roles, it will now be examined more thoroughly.

Teachers' Emotions

As Karin shared the previous statement during a focus-group discussion, there was a sobering moment of reflection where the other participants acknowledged just how disquieting teaching

some experiences can be for teachers. This is because embedded in legitimation (McCall & Simmons, 1978) is the role of both positive and negative emotions. Essentially, emotions signal the discrepancy between the teachers' idealized and situated selves. For example, when teachers perceive the discrepancy between their actual role enactment and their idealized view of themselves as relatively low, it tends to legitimate or "validate" their idealized selves, and the associated emotions are generally positive. However, uncomfortable emotions signal a greater discrepancy because the teachers have perceived their idealized view of themselves as being alarmingly inconsistent with their role enactments. This matters because the discrepancies that are noticed by the participants in both themselves and in others influence their behaviour as teachers. Hargreaves (2000) hints at this when he states that teachers' emotions introduce their values and beliefs into their interpretive processes, which then shape their teaching.

It is interesting that throughout this analysis of the data, the participants rarely, if ever, identified the positive emotions, such as happiness and fulfillment, that emanate from their experiences in teaching. For example, when the participants felt legitimated in their interactions with their school administrators, they described feeling "a bit of validation" and it being "tied up with the confidence that … my principal allows us to feel in ourselves", and knowing that they are "doing the right thing" in their teaching. When they shared common values and expectations with their colleagues, the positive experiences were described in terms of "we agree" on certain actions, that "common expectations are being upheld", and that identifying common elements of pedagogy "affirms my identity." Positive experiences with students' parents were described as "very validating", "affirming", and providing "fuel for a long time." Even in the dyadic relationships that the teachers developed with their students, legitimating experiences occurred when students "seem excited to be with me" and "take time to chat with me", and when "I felt

that at that moment like I did my job." Although all of the participants used action-based terminology rather than positive emotions to describe their legitimating experiences in teaching, they readily identified the negative emotions associated with guilt and shame.

Guilt is experienced when people perceive failure in their role enactments relative to a moral standard (Shott, 1979). Additionally, when people feel responsible for a perceived deficient use of power, experiences of guilt lead to anxiety in the form of *fear* and *apprehension* (Kemper, 1978, p. 33). When they feel that others are responsible for their excess use of power, it tends to lead to feelings of *remorse* and *expiation* (p. 33). Almost all of the participants in this study described feeling a great deal of guilt in their teaching. For instance, Andrea described feeling guilty about her decision to allow a student to read a book which was inappropriate for her level of development. She explained that "there may be incidents where I felt guilt, like yes, there was guilt associated with that book. And I did feel inadequate because I knew better. I knew better than to make that mistake." When Connie described feeling guilty as a teacher, she stated that "basically, I feel disappointed in myself that I could have done better, that I should have done better." Karin described feeling guilty as she tried to help a struggling student to obtain expensive basketball tickets that she knew his family could not afford. She explained that her guilt "feels like a protectiveness of your kids because I've been so privileged in my life, my family life, my parents, my career…. It's just luck of birth that I was born into this context." I contend that these statements reflect the teachers' perceived inadequacy in certain role enactments relative to moral standards (Shott, 1979). They also reflect both a perception that they, as well as others, are responsible for their deficient use of power, although they seem to convey *remorse* (p. 33) and in one case, *expiation* (p. 33), rather than *fear* and *apprehension* (Kemper, 1978, p. 33).

It is far more common, however, that in describing guilt, the participants also expressed shame. Shame differs from guilt in that it is grounded in the nature of the person in question. In other words, it is the emotional response to the teachers' perceived evaluations of their own personal inadequacies in their teaching (Shott, 1979). Furthermore, when people feel responsible for their lack of status, feelings of shame are associated with a *lack of self-worth* (Kemper, 1978, p. 34). In reflecting on teaching, Jim explained that, "you kind of theoretically know that you can't think of everything or do everything, but when you're reminded of it and it hits you viscerally, it's a very different thing to experience. It really puts it in your face." Ed believed that this is complicated by the fact that teachers are often expected to "be perfect." For instance, when Marissa misplaced a student's submitted assignment, she explained:

> There's a fear of being found out…. What kind of crappy teacher does that? It's a fear that others will find out that you are less than what you promised to be. That you're less than what you were hired to be. That you don't quite make the standard of what's expected.

After stating that he often felt personally inadequate in his teaching, Alexander stated that "I think the essential point is that you just don't want to look vulnerable to anybody. You don't want to look like you're making mistakes." Connie agreed, explaining that teachers fear "being 'outed' as not being perfect." Karin added that:

> I think a lot of teachers are actually afraid to explain why they're doing what they're doing. I think that sometimes they just don't really know…. I think that often they are doing it the way they were told to do it or the way they saw someone else do it.

These statements mirror Hargreaves' (2002) findings that teachers feel shame when their competency is questioned by other teachers. Additionally, it seems to me that when the teachers

express shame in relation to their colleagues, they also express *fear and apprehension* (p. 33), which is associated with the teachers' feelings of guilt and their perceived deficient use of power.

The participants also expressed feelings of shame when they discussed their relationships with their students. As a case in point, when Ken discussed his interactions with a struggling student, he said that "I feel like a failure. There's half of me that says that I feel like a failure, and there's the other half that knows that I've done everything that I can." In fact, these sentiments were not uncommon among the participants. In dealing with an angry father, Joan maintained that "he made me feel like I was a piece of scum for making his daughter cry." After losing her temper with a student, Connie explained that "I just felt like such a failure…. I felt really crappy about myself. I felt like a really bad teacher…." Alexander added that "sometimes my inadequacies do sometimes feel shameful." Matt's perspective differed somewhat from the other participants. He contended that "it's never about the situation; it's about the self. It comes back to 'in loco parentis'…. If you don't care enough to the point that you are sometimes ashamed of your losses, then you've picked the wrong profession." These statements reflect the teachers' experiences of shame because they expressed their self-evaluations of personal inadequacies (Shott, 1979). Furthermore, the statements suggest that the participants felt responsible for their lack of status, leading to a personal sense of *lack of self-worth* (Kemper, 1978, p. 34). It is also important to note that although the participants expressed feelings of shame, they rarely directly identifed them as such, although they did frequently use the term guilt. This is consistent with the work of Kemper (1978) and Weinberg (1968) who explain that because of a general discomfort with the notion of shame, people typically refer to their perceived personal competence as feelings of guilt rather than shame.

As the participants discussed significant incidents in their teaching when they did not feel legitimated, their descriptions depicted intense emotions. To illustrate, Tory recounted a class activity in which a few of her grade eight students shared the fact that they had considered self-injurious behaviour in the past. Although it was a meaningful discussion for her students and she felt proud of them, she started to fear the students' and their parents' reactions afterwards. She explained that "I actually began to feel sick…. And I was starting to feel increasingly overwhelmed and I could feel emotions just flooding me. It really bothered me to my core as a person.... I was spinning out of control." Andrea described a similar experience when she realized that a student read an inappropriate book from the class library. She stated, "Quite honestly, I'm having a panic attack. In your mind, it goes there; I could lose my job, I'll never be able to teach again… It's crazy, but that's what you start thinking. You go to crazyland." Similarly, when Jim questioned his decision to teach certain content in science to his students, he added that "I spent the whole weekend literally going through every angle of the issue. I was checking flight prices, possible locations to teach, just knowing that this was not going to go well." As Ken recounted how he handled teaching a chronically aggressive student, he stated that "I'm out of my league trying to deal with this issue. You do seem to reach a point where you need to tie a rope in a knot and you just seem to hang onto it…. But I feel like a failure." When Matt described incessantly worrying about providing enough for his students, he explained that "it's a tremendous amount of pressure…. I feel like I'm waiting to succeed or waiting to fail….. I feel like I'm always pushing ahead, but there's no end-game." When trying to convey the uneasiness associated with these unsettling teaching experiences, Alexander explained that "if you're not a teacher, it's hard to understand…. It's like a dark cloud."

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to examine how these emotional experiences influence teachers' subsequent interactions with their students, it is important to keep in mind when examining the caring relationships that they develop with their students. If the teachers' emotions stem from the discrepancy between their idealized and situated selves (McCall & Simmons, 1978) and their students serve as their primary reference group (Nias, 1989) in the legitimation of their teaching, I wondered how the teachers maintain caring (Mayeroff, 1971) relationships with their students while not being unduly influenced by their needs to legitimate their actions? More specifically, it was unclear how the teachers respect the tenets of *being with another*, *being there for another*, and *being for another* (p. 129) so that they are helping their students by strengthening them as people "in their own right" (Katz, 2007, p. 130) while simultaneously coping with the sometimes intense emotions associated with teaching. In other words, I wondered how teachers interpret the emotions that both strengthen and unsettle their idealized view of themselves as teachers and ensure that they are not trying to meet their own psychosocial needs by "caring" (Mayeroff, 1971) for their students. With this in mind, the nature of teachers' collaborative dynamics with their colleagues will now be explored.

Teachers' Competitiveness

What is clear is that when the teachers experienced disquieting emotions, seeking out collegial support was problematic because the participants in this study not only feared appearing professionally vulnerable to other teachers, but they experienced shame. Hargreaves' (2002) work supports these findings because he contends that when teachers perceive their colleagues as not meeting certain work expectations, a powerful sense of betrayal is experienced, especially if the perceived inadequacy is believed to influence the teachers' classroom practices. As

previously discussed, this dissonance among participants stemmed from their students being negatively influenced by their colleagues' perceived inadequacies. For instance, when Tory recounted her teaching partner's decision to have a party with his class, her students started pressuring her to do the same. She explained that "at one point, I even addressed it with my kids though I couldn't really have that discussion with that particular teacher…. And I was really burned at the stake by the kids…. And here I am defending myself…." Similarly, Ed got visibly angry as he discussed his teaching partner's pedagogy. According to him, "she's yelling at the kids and controlling them, and there seems to be a lot of power involved with her." Additionally, as Karin retold an incident when she dealt sternly with some disruptive students in the hall because her teaching partner was still busy in his class, she explained that "he got extremely upset with me…. It wasn't terrible or anything, but he quite clearly was trying to put me in my place."

Nias (1985) and Kelchtermans (1993), and more recently Zembylas (2005) and O'Connor (2008), contend that in the face of collegial tension, teachers tend to withdraw to their classrooms and more specifically, to the comfort of their relationships with their students. In fact, this withdrawal from the broader organization to commit more fully to interacting with certain people is an element of dyadic relationships (Slater, 1963), which has been previously discussed. For example, Ken's expressed resentment toward his administrators and resource teachers because they were trying to care for his students, as well as his stated preference to deal with his students' problems "in house" rather than with school administrators, illustrate his withdrawal from the broader school organization. Both Connie and Matt claimed that sending any struggling students to administrators for support was "like saying that you're giving up on them" or that you are conveying to students that "you are not part of this [classroom] community." In

fact, Matt later stated that he needed to sometimes protect his students from his school administrators' influences to ensure that they do not "screw the kid over." Moreover, Tory, Karin, Marissa, and Andrea stated openly that they were protective of other adults' influences on their students, largely because they believed that they had unique insights into their students' needs. The resulting isolation of their students from the potentially strengthening influences of other adults within the schools is inconsistent with Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring and the tenets of *being with another* and *being for another* (p. 129).

Furthermore, the teachers also protected themselves and their teaching from other teachers. There was a general consensus among the participants that they were not familiar enough with their colleagues' teaching to provide meaningful feedback. As Tory explained, "day in and day out, there's just not a lot of opportunity to see what other teachers are doing, and then to comment on it." Jim agreed, stating that "it would be very difficult for a colleague to comment on my teaching. Just like I don't really have a lot of positive things to say about the English teacher… because I don't really know her practice." Andrea contended that teachers often judged their colleagues' teaching based on assumptions rather than facts. Nonetheless, learning about other teachers' pedagogy appeared to be a struggle. Andrea added that because teaching can involve messy emotional interactions with colleagues, "I think … we tend to shy away from these conversations, or when we tackle them, they don't go as smoothly as we had hoped…. I'm teaching all of my courses this year and honestly, I've never been happier." Ed suggested that "you want to examine other people's classroom practices…. And yet it is extremely difficult to do this because most teachers don't really want you in their room; they don't want you walking through their classroom door." When John described one colleague's efforts to collaborate with another, he explained:

> So every time teacher A goes into teacher B's class, she feels that she's constantly being questioned on … doing this and that. Now teacher B is on the defensive and she's now wondering why teacher A is coming into her classroom so often and sizing up her teaching practice. So she gets very defensive. And so there is a definite competition that's building up between the two of them.

Once again, *being for another* (p. 129) in caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) necessitates that teachers are accepting of the possible contributions of their colleagues in helping them to meet the educational needs of their students. As such, to isolate themselves from their colleagues interferes with this process and is therefore inconsistent with Mayeroff's notion of caring.

Moreover, this collegial tension tends to permeate school cultures. Karin described the staffroom as a "bitch place", Alexander portrayed school environments as consisting of "a lot of pessimism and negative comments", and Connie described some of her colleagues as "malicious" and "vicious." Tory, Andrea, and Marissa referred to their colleagues as "very competitive." Susan stated that teaching is "really a cut-throat profession" and John added that "I've come to believe that it's not the kids that you have to worry about in the building, it's the adults [other teachers]." These kinds of comments are consistent with the findings of Nias (2005) who maintains that teachers' withdrawal from their colleagues contributes to their "emotional isolationism" (p. 226), which nurtures their territorial stance in teaching and their sense of "inter-adult competition" (p. 226). Yet, what are teachers competing for? Karin explained that "we set ourselves up in a natural adversarial environment and the kids enforce this because they might like you better than they like me…. Because we use them as a reference. This creates a kind of adversarial tension." Marissa agreed, stating that "I think that teachers are jealous of the affections of students that they perceive are heaped on some colleagues, but not

others. I believe that's one area that really bugs a lot of teachers." John added an important perspective to this discussion when he stated that although he did not feel directly competitive with his colleagues, he was baffled by an unshakeable sense that he could teach better than a particular colleague. In his words, "and the funny thing is that I don't really know precisely what specific thing I would be doing better than her. But I just feel it."

In effect, he was expressing a dissonance that I, too, noticed with the participants in this study. The above mentioned statements describing teachers as "malicious" and "cut-throat" depict an aggressive interactive tension; however John's statement helps us to better understand the complex relationships between teachers. More to the point, although most of the participants described their collegial relations as competitive, they did not appear to be competing with each other during focus-group discussions. In fact, almost all of the participants openly discussed the strengths and weaknesses of their teaching. Furthermore, their willingness to be vulnerable with their colleagues during focus-group discussions and interviews was sometimes shocking to me because, in my experience, teachers rarely allow themselves to feel this professionally "exposed" with other teachers. Also, when participants shared difficult moments and questionable decisions, the others responded with empathetic support. They willingly acknowledged the extraordinary efforts and remarkable talents that their colleagues demonstrated as they recounted difficulties in their teaching, and they readily empathized when mistakes and misunderstandings were discussed. In other words, their kind and supportive dispositions reflected neither highly competitive nor aggressive people.

It was clear, however, that all of the participants used their colleagues as comparators (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979), some infrequently and others, quite consistently. Furthermore, John's previous description of feeling competitive towards a colleague without really knowing why

likely reflected the use of a comparator. Comparators or rather, comparing role enactments with relevant others, is a highly effective way of coping with the discrepancy between teachers' idealized and situated selves because by choosing who they are comparing themselves to, they can exercise control over the perceived success of their actions (McCall, 2003). For instance, when Susan discussed her success with a struggling student, she explained that "I kept being told by other teachers that he was going to give me nothing but a hard time. This is what he is to them." Ken recounted his conversation with an angry student and stated that "but with this one kid, I can honestly say that I've lost all authority with him. One day, he called me a 'Hairy King Kong.' It is better than what he's calling the vice-principal." Additionally, Andrea's claim that "to be honest, I was probably more open to collaborating than most of my colleagues", as well as Alexander's contention that "the teachers are talking about it as inquiry projects, but that looks like a research project to me", are comparators. Connie's statement that "the student felt that I was there to help, but that admin was not", Ed's assertion that his teaching partner taught differently but "I can tell that the students feel good that I'm there on that day", and Karin's claim that "she [a colleague] probably did some of that staffroom 'so and so is like this', but I try to avoid it" are even more examples of comparisons in which the teachers have almost exclusively positioned their work as being *superior* (McCall, 2003) to relevant others.

Typically, the participants' use of comparators appeared to be unintentional and often seemed sporadic and inadvertent within the broader group discussion. Sometimes, however, the teachers were clearly aware of their use of comparators (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979). For example, Marissa stated:

> In one school that I taught, the extent of the Christmas presents that you received clearly indicated that this was some kind of measurement of…. I mean, why did she get the scented

> hand lotion and candles, and then why did I get the Tim's card? That's how it gets. It's a reflection of status.

When Tory described a student's journal entry describing her last school year as her "best year ever", she was embarrassed to admit that "I felt a twang…. And I thought how ridiculous it was that I was feeling this way….. I should feel grateful that she had such a wonderful year. But I'm left wondering what's wrong with my year?" Andrea's comparison was also more overt as she questioned the amount of time that her colleagues spend socializing with each other. She stated that "I do think to myself how is it that you have children and none of them need your help right now…. There are very few times when somebody wouldn't benefit from my attention. And that's how I prioritize my day." These comparisons, both intentional and unintentional, help teachers to gauge the success of their role enactments. As Tory explained, "the only way that you can even figure out that you're doing a good job is by comparing yourself to other adults in the building." Matt agreed, emphasizing the fact that teachers who are in the same school are in a "directly comparable situation." He added, "and so we'll find any reason to validate ourselves through this, or to pull others down." Thus, it was clear that the teachers used their in-school colleagues as comparators to legitimate their role enactments which seemed to reflect a persistent need for teachers that interferes with *being for another* (Mayeroff, 1971) when caring for their students.

In addition, all of the teachers reported talking to and receiving support from teachers outside their schools or from teachers in their schools who were not classroom teachers. In other words, they confided in teachers who were not in "directly comparable" situations with themselves. This last point extends Nias' (2005) findings indicating that teachers' professional support often involves family members and friends, and teachers in other schools. For example, Andrea relied

on the support of her father who was a school administrator because "he's not going to judge me", Connie contacted her former cooperating teacher when she was a teacher-candidate because "I needed to talk to someone that I trust… and who won't judge me", and Tory confided in her mother who was a teacher at a different school because "to really understand how you feel and the factors at play, you need to talk to another teacher." Alexander, who sought out regular professional support from a psychologist, explained that the dialogue provided him with a more grounded perspective when he was feeling vulnerable and isolated. In his words, "you really need to train yourself to forgive yourself" as a teacher. Alexander added that "you definitely have to seek out the person that you can rely on and trust… I've only been here [in this school] for two years, but I haven't really found anyone I can talk to honestly and without judgment." In the past, Matt, Ken, and Andrea have all confided in their administrators when they have trusted them to not judge their fears and perceived mistakes, although they did not presently rely on their administrators for support, and both Tory and Andrea spoke with the guidance counsellor, who was not a classroom teacher. Marissa spoke to a department leader if she had technical questions about teaching the curriculum, but she intentionally sought support outside the school when she struggled with her relationships with students. She explained that "I find some, but not all, teachers to be dismissive and judgmental." She added that when she has spoken to in-school colleagues about a struggling student, the typical response has been, "Oh really? He's a lovely boy. I've never had a problem with him." After the first few months in his new school, Ed decided to only rely on teachers outside of the building because "I feel I had to keep up appearances." The participants' tendency to rely on support outside their schools is relevant because as they do this, they tend to isolate themselves further from their colleagues (Nias, 1985). Moreover, this sense of isolation tends to nurture teachers' territorial stance in teaching,

which fosters "inter-adult competition" (p. 226), which, I think, likely increases the teachers' use of their in-school colleagues as comparators to legitimate their role enactments, and that this psychosocial need interferes with the teachers "being for another" (Mayeroff, 1971) when teaching and caring for their students.

The teachers did appear to rely on other teachers as in-school reference groups (Nias, 1985, p. 33) to filter how their information was perceived and interpreted, and the emotional responses that ensued. For instance, Ed's comment that the collegial support that he was receiving in his school was meaningless because it is more "anti-her", referring to his teaching partner, than "pro-me" suggests in-school reference groups. Another example includes Matt's reflection on belonging to a school staff. He described it as "you're in the same trench… but you're not best friends. It's like we've ended up in the same platoon. I think the fact that there are allies and enemies happen in any environment where there are more than three people." Karin added that "half the people you work with will totally align to you because they feel and do the things that you do in your teaching. But half the people you meet, you will wonder what the hell they're doing in education." John was more specific when he said:

> In my school… I see a lot of competition between the teachers. It's in their friendships that have been built over the years, or when two teachers who are not trashing but giving their opinion on the teaching practice of another teacher or another group of teachers….

Marissa concurred that there were cliques among the teachers she had worked with, adding that "you can really see who belongs where by who gets invited to the dinner parties. That's how you know you're in [or not in the peer group]."

Once again, this study's findings are consistent with Nias' (2005) claim that regardless of the strength of the support outside of teachers' schools, they prefer to have professional support in

their schools, even if it only involves one other teacher. In fact, every participant that was asked stated that teachers needed to discuss their emotions and in particular, their fears, more openly and honestly with their colleagues in their schools. Both Andrea and Alexander believed that the negative atmosphere that typically pervades staffrooms is grounded in teachers' negative emotions. As Andrea explained, "it's fear. And the only way to express it is through a complaint or negative comment…. I think, in that moment, they have a fear of that situation; that they're not doing enough or that they might not know enough."

However, ideas on how to support more meaningful dialogue between teachers in schools varied. Jim suggested that teachers move away from overly structured professional development opportunities because "I'd rather just say pick something that's bugging you or is weighing on you in the last month, and talk to a person." Although many participants agreed, some wanted to have these critical conversations with "learning buddies" in neighbouring schools and not their own schools, while others found the whole notion intimidating because they needed to have established trusting relationships with the teachers beforehand. Alexander suggested that more professional development opportunities should be spent helping teachers to revisit their shared expectations and values. He explained that teachers need to "talk about their ideal situations and revisit their goals as to why we are in education and why we want to become teachers." Andrea wondered if meaningful collaboration among teachers needed to extend beyond the "merely structural stuff, like 'you do this and I'll do that'" including the synchronization of schedules and the sharing of students. She contended that "I do believe that there are a lot of people who have different views than mine, and that I could collaborate with them through ongoing critical dialogue. But I already know that I could never teach with them. Ever." When she described

working with a colleague who had "drastically different expectations" about the role of students and the notion of learning, she explained:

> I use her now as a valuable resource to me in my teaching versus what we were doing before which was basically swapping kids and avoiding talking to each other because we knew there was tension in the differences in our teaching that was being manifested through our students. I see more commonalities in our practices because I'm not bogged down by the differences … that were being highlighted in the fact that we were swapping kids.

This study's data suggests that although the teachers use comparators largely to position themselves as *superior* (McCall, 2003) to their colleagues with respect to their relationships with students, they also compared teaching to other professions. This type of comparator was used less frequently and it tended to focus more on issues of *same or different* (McCall, 2003), which relates more to the adherence to normative expectations. For instance, when Ken discussed visual ways in which he communicates his authority as a teacher to his students, he stated that "in the military, I had a boss that had a loaded rifle in his office. He was ready to go to war at any time." When Marissa reminisced about her experiences in religious schools, she remembered that "we actually had to stand up when a nun entered the room. It was about shock and awe." When Jim discussed his fear of unintentionally doing harm to students through his actions as a teacher, he explained that:

> I know that in med schools…. you're told that in your career… you will make a decision eventually that unintentionally will kill somebody. It's just going to happen. I really wish that they [Faculty of Education] would have told me…. that you're going to do something bad for somebody, despite your best intentions.

Only twice did participants compare their former careers to their present professions within the context of being *superior* or *inferior* (McCall, 2003). For instance, Ken stated that "in my … previous career, I made maybe one or two big decisions a day…. But I find I make a thousand decisions a day as a teacher." Similarly, when Connie reflected on her former career, she stated that "I feel like I made far more decisions every single day that affect kids' lives as a teacher than I ever did as a social worker." Underpinning the teachers' classroom practices and their ability to develop caring relationships with their students is the teachers' understanding of their students, both as individual people and as learners. For this reason, the teachers' use of authority with their students will now be explored.

Teachers' Social and Pedagogical Authority

Without question, the teachers' day-to-day decisions in their classrooms influence their perceived legitimacy in the eyes of their students which, in turn, influences the role support that they receive from these students. Moreover, the issue of perceived legitimacy in teaching is grounded in the broader issue of the teachers' use of authority (Pace & Hemmings, 2007). Social authority occurs when teachers demonstrate genuine concern for the well-being of their students by showing interest in them as individuals and by being responsive to their needs (Dooner et al., 2010). Pedagogical authority, on the other hand, relates more to the knowledge and experience that teachers draw on as practitioners as they decide the "what" and the "how" of their teaching. Both these forms of authority are drawn upon by teachers as they address their students' needs in order to strengthen them as unique individuals. In other words, both social and pedagogical authority are integral to the caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) that teachers develop with their students. Although the first set of focus-group participants readily discussed

these types of authority as distinct entities, almost all of the second set of participants struggled to see them as distinct. Although Jim felt that the conceptualization of two types of authorities was effective at representing "two paths that are connected" in teaching, Tory was uncomfortable with the concepts. She explained that "I believe that the social component is a big part of my pedagogy as a teacher. I feel that creating relationships with kids is at the forefront of teaching; it creates the base upon which other things are developed." John agreed, adding that "the social is happening throughout my teaching…. I'm adopting a variety of strategies within the context of the social and I'm intertwining the pedagogical into that…." Regardless, most of these teachers continued to use the two notions of authority throughout the focus-group discussions and interviews. Furthermore, although almost all of the participants in the first set of focus-groups state that all four vignettes which depict varying combinations of social and pedagogical authority (see Figure 1) represent their teaching practices at different moments in time, the teachers from the second set of focus-group discussions disagreed. Almost all of the latter participants stated that the four vignettes depicted too great a variability in social and pedagogical authority to represent a single teacher's classroom practice.

When the teachers discussed strengthening their legitimacy in the eyes of their students, their words and actions reflected a combination of both social and pedagogical authority. For instance, Joan referred to co-constructing criteria and emphasizing formative and summative forms of assessment in teaching to support caring teacher-student relationships. Susan pointed out that teachers must accurately gauge students' threshold for attention, and Ken stated that being open about making mistakes and "admitting when you're wrong" are crucial to strengthening teachers' authority with their students. Matt maintained that teachers needed to be critical of the extent to which they unintentionally required that their students comply with their

values. Moreover, many of the participants relied on visual representations of authority to bolster their legitimacy in the eyes of their students. For example, Ken walked "with sparks on my heels", Joan tried to "walk taller", Susan stated that "you have to look like you know where you're going, even when you don't", Connie wore "heavy, loud clacking high heeled shoes", and both Matt and Ken wore ties when teaching.

All of the participants in this study agreed that they shifted from their "default" position of authority, which reflects the authority style that they most commonly use in their teaching, to rely more heavily on either social or pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010), in response to the needs of their students. Sarah added that "I think that, as a teacher, you have a core, a set of values and ways of going about teaching." When the teachers shift from this default position of authority in response to their interactions with their students, different factors influence this dynamic. However, as Sarah explained, a critical yet challenging element in teachers' caring relationships with their students is "that metacognition piece…. Can I remove myself from my personality, my inherent personality, and recognize where to shift and when?" This point underscores the reciprocal nature of caring teacher-student relationships that is foundational to Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring and the tenets of *being with another* and *being for another.* For example, Karin explained that "the chemistry of the classroom and the students are the main focus of how you determine the style you use at the time." Joan contended that there is a temporal dimension to her style of teaching and that it changes depending on whether she is teaching in the morning or in the afternoon. Karin agreed, stating that "it all depends what's going on at lunch, and who a kid is during period one is totally different than who he is in period six." Sarah added that "I really think it goes back to… what works when and for which age group… and knowing when to pull back. That distance looks very different in the secondary

years", as opposed to when she taught in the middle years. Moreover, the teachers' decisions to shift from their default position of authority are sometimes complex in nature. When Karin talked about some of her students' disruptive behaviour in the library, she stated that she "stewed all night" and lost sleep, deciding how to address the issue. When Marissa discussed the non-compliant behaviour of one of her students, she stated that "there was nowhere to shift." Sarah maintained, however, that "ideal teachers try to shift their use of authority depending on students' needs. They do not assume a particular use of authority."

However, the teachers' need to shift from their default position to emphasize either more social or pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010) is also influenced by contextual factors within the schools. For instance, the participants shifted their use of authority depending on the extent to which their expectations and values conflicted with their teaching partners because these pedagogical differences interfered with the relationships that they had developed with their students. As previously discussed within the context of legitimation, Tory, Ed, John, and Andrea described the dissonance that they experienced when they shifted their use of authority in response to their teaching partner's classroom practices. Moreover, Sarah described her struggle to both accommodate her department leader's expectations and to simultaneously "watch her back."

Also, divisional policies influence teachers' use of social and pedagogical authority because expectations of people in social positions with greater status, such as members of the superintendents' team and school trustees, can conflict with teachers' understanding of their roles. As described earlier, Matt discussed his colleagues' discomfort with the teaching of human sexuality and Joan discussed the pressure that teachers feel when school boards mandate

policies that all students successfully achieve the provincially established curricular objectives by the end of grade eight.

Nonetheless, when the participants discussed contextual factors that most significantly influence their need to shift from their default position to greater social or pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010), they identified their school administrators as being key factors. This is not altogether surprising given that earlier in this chapter, the teachers stressed the importance of legitimating the values and expectations underpinning their teaching, with their administrators. For example, Matt, Ed, Connie, and Karin said that they need to believe that their values and expectations are consistent with their administrators, otherwise they question their role enactments as teachers. However, within the context of social and pedagogical authority, the administrators' influence on the teachers' authority with their students is better understood. For instance, Jim recounted times when, after sending students to an administrator, they returned to class "almost smirking." He explained that "something serious happened and then they get the message from an administrator that it really wasn't that serious. And then that damages my ability to ever be serious with that student." Alexander agreed, stating that administrators sometimes undermined his authority with students. He stated, "and then there's no controlling the kid. What happens is that the kids learn that if they act out, they get to see the principal, they might get a treat, and they get out of class….," which is what they seem to want. John concurred, stating that when he is dealing with serious classroom issues and he is "overruled" by his administrators, it weakens his authority with his students.

It seems that the notions of social and pedagogical authority, and the decision to shift from their default positions of authority, pertain to administrators' practices as well. The above mentioned statements suggest that the administrators' emphasis on their social authority with

students subsequently interferes with the classroom teachers' use of social and pedagogical authority with their students. In these circumstances, the teachers act primarily in response to either their administrators' overuse of social authority or underuse of pedagogical authority. In fact, Alexander's comment that "I think that the relationship between administrators and teachers filters down to teachers' relationships with their students" as he describes feeling authoritatively undermined by his administrator underscored this point. In these situations, the classroom teachers' decisions are chiefly being guided by their administrators' actions rather than their students' needs, which is inconsistent with Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring and the underlying tenet of *being for another* (p. 129). Andrea added that "if admin doesn't understand the classroom community, they can't really understand the issue with the child because they are interwoven…. Students need to see admin as just another piece of the puzzle, and not as a completely separate puzzle." These findings further underscore the need for teachers and school administrators to develop a shared sense of expectations and values in teaching so that they have some fundamental understanding of each other's pedagogy. As Andrea explained, "I have worked for administrators where this is part of their reality, the meetings, the office work. But in the midst of all this, they take time to figure out what's going on in classroom with kids." The need for administrators to understand teachers' pedagogy appears to be essential to not only developing their own caring relationships with teachers and with students, but to support caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) between teachers and their students.

Summary

This chapter analyzed the data collected from 14 participants who participated in focus-group discussions and individual interviews to examine why teachers sometimes get disoriented in their

efforts to develop caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) with their students in schools, and the role that both their emotions and their school environments play in this process. This analysis was guided by the concepts referred to throughout this study's *theoretical coding* (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1978), which related the coded data to extant literature. The concepts included roles and statuses (Merton, 1957), dyadic relationships (Simmel, 1950), and role strain (Mark, 1977), as well as the notion of identity (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stone, 1962) and legitimation (McCall & Simmons, 1978). The critical role of teachers' emotions and specifically, guilt and shame (Kemper, 1978; Shott, 1979), were explored. Also, teachers' competitiveness with their colleagues was examined using the notion of comparators (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979) and out-of-school support and in-school reference groups (Nias, 1985). Finally, the teachers' use of classroom authority was discussed using both social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010).

As helpful as this deductive lens was in analyzing the data, there is also a benefit in discussing this study's findings using a more inductive stance, which positions the discussion, first and foremost, in teachers' classroom practices in schools. Thus, the following chapter provides an inductive summary of the findings, beginning with why teachers can become disoriented as they develop caring (Mayeroff, 1971) relationships with their students and their challenges to cope in our present school environments.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter begins with a brief summary of the methodology adopted in this grounded theory study. It then provides an inductive summary of this study's findings, which is guided by the four research questions that were identified in Chapter 1: (a) What is meant by caring teacher-student relationships in the educational literature? (b) To what extent do teachers experience ambiguity when developing caring relationships with their students? (c) What role do teachers' emotions play in the ambiguity that they experience as they develop caring relationships with their students? and (d) What role does the school environment play in the development of caring teacher-student relationships? Next, the main findings are discussed in the context of their implications for present practices in schools. Finally, implications for future educational research are explored.

Summary of the Grounded Theory Methodology

The initial intent of this grounded theory study was to collect data from teacher participants in focus-group discussions and individual interviews regarding teacher authority, classroom assessment, teacher-student relationships, and student engagement. Between October 2011 and January 2013, 14 teachers each participated in two focus-group discussions and seven of these were also interviewed individually. Using a combination of both Charmaz's (1995, 2006) and Glaser's (1978, 1992) perspectives on grounded theory data analysis, the emergent categories that surfaced from the two initial focus-group discussions redirected the focus of this study from classroom assessment and student engagement, to issues of caring teacher-student relationships, teacher identities, the role of emotions, and the influence of school environments.

The analysis of the data involved open, focused, selective, and theoretical coding (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser1978). *Open coding* involves the line-by-line recording of essential ideas from the transcribed data while *focused coding* entails grouping these codes based on similarities and differences. From the *selective coding* process, tentative categories and sub-categories emerge while *theoretical coding*, which includes the use of Glaser's (1978) 18 *family codes*, involves connecting the emerging categories and sub-categories to extant literature.

This study's tentative conceptualization emerged primarily after the analysis of the data from the first set of participants. Thus, the data collected from the second set of participants was used to challenge and extend this study's initial conceptualization. For this reason, the data analyzed from the first set of participants explicitly detailed the emergence of categories and sub-categories, and the tentative relationships between them. The analysis of the data from the second set of participants elaborated only on the data that either challenged or extended the initial conceptualization. However, because grounded theory's *constant comparative method* (Charmaz, 2006) for the analysis of the data encourages the rethinking and reshaping of the developing theory, the core categories and theoretical underpinnings were critically examined and modified throughout. Also, Dey's (1999) notion of *theoretical sufficiency*, rather than the *concept of saturation* (Glaser, 1992), was used in this study because grounded theory is only ever developed on partial coding, meaning that categories emerging through open, focused, selective, and theoretical coding are more "suggestive" (Dey, 1999, p. 257) than saturated. This being said, what emerged through the extensive coding process was the often complex influences of teachers' idealized visions of themselves on the caring relationships that they develop with their students. To further understand these influences and the exacerbating influence of teachers' isolation from their colleagues in schools, I will now summarize the study in greater detail.

Summary of the Study

Caring teacher-student relationships are essential to meaningful teaching and learning. They support engaged student learning (Klem & Connell, 2004), they foster pro-social behaviour, which in turn, supports students' academic success (Hamre & Pianta, 2001), and they provide a critical lens from which students interpret themselves as unique and valued individuals, in relation to others (Bernstein-Yamashiro, 2004). Although references to caring teacher-student relationships in the literature are not always clear or consistent, this study supports the notion that these relationships are grounded in reciprocal interactions between teachers and their students (Bernstein-Yamashiro, 2004; Manitoba Education, 2010), which are extensions of parent-child relationships (Bowlby, 1969; Fredriksen & Rhodes, 2004; Wentzel, 1997, 1998). This means that teachers must invest significant cognitive and emotional energy (Sigman, 1991) so that individual students' strengths and challenges are being recognized and addressed in their learning (Manitoba Education, 2011). Throughout this study, I have also maintained that teachers develop caring relationships with their students by "being with another", "being there for another", and "being for another" (Mayeroff, 1971, p. 129). More specifically, *being with another* involves understanding their students' experiences and helping them from inside their world; *being there for another* demands that teachers reprioritize their personal needs to respond to those of their students; and finally *being for another* requires that teachers act to help their students without also trying to meet their own psychosocial needs, either intentionally or unintentionally, by limiting the self-actualizing opportunities of their students.

Essentially, then, effective teachers address many of the cognitive and socio-emotional needs of their students. This means that, based on how their students respond to their teaching and the successes they experience in their learning, strong teachers routinely adjust their use of social

and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010) to better support their students' learning. In this sense, students' responses to classroom teaching guide teachers' future actions through the legitimation of their role as teachers. In other words, how students respond to classroom teaching validates and challenges teachers' thoughts and actions, which are expressions of their idealized view of themselves or rather, their identities as people. The teachers' idealized views of themselves consistently involve engendering positive and typically, life-altering changes in their students. It is important to note, then, that teachers' validation of their role *must* occur for caring relationships to exist between teachers and their students because teachers must gauge the nature of their role support (McCall & Simmons, 1978) in order to respond and shift their use of authority when necessary, so that *being for another*, *being there for another*, and *being for another* with their students is actually possible (Mayeroff, 1971).

The trouble is that teachers appear to over-rely on their students, and under-rely on their colleagues and administrators, for support. Although this point has already been raised by Beijaard (1995) who has described teachers' use of their students as "critical reality definers" (p. 283) and by Nias' (1989) who has claimed that students act as teachers' primary reference group, the exact nature of this teacher-student dynamic has not been described in any great detail before. Central to this dynamic is the role of teachers' emotions in guiding their actions in teaching. Although the teachers in this study described feeling positive emotions that validated them and energized their sense of purpose in their role as teachers, they also expressed a great deal of guilt and shame in teaching their students. Teachers' experiences of shame are particularly important because although guilt reflects teachers' perceived failure in their role as teachers compared to some moral standard, shame signals their perceptions of their own personal inadequacies (Kemper, 1978; Scheff, 2003; Shott, 1979). On this note, the participants in this study indicated

that they felt guilt and shame frequently and intensely as they tried to cope with the discrepancies they perceived between their actions and their more idealized views of themselves as teachers. Furthermore, because there is an expectation that teachers not only invest emotionally in caring relationships with their students, but that they are also largely responsible for the quality of those relationships (Nias, 1996), these emotions have a primary influence on teachers' identities. The findings suggest that teachers' validation is anchored in their personal identities which, contrary to what has been reported in much of the literature (Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005; Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006), involves a blending of both their personal and professional roles. In other words, not only did the teachers in this study frequently feel that they had personally and professionally failed their students in their teaching, but they also tended to feel this sense of failure quite intensely.

Given the nature of these challenging emotions, teachers appear to want to rely on the support of their colleagues to make sense of their sense of ambiguity and to gain critical insights into their teaching. This process, however, seems fraught with challenges. For example, prior to this study, teachers' sense of shame had only ever been examined in the context of teachers' relationships with their colleagues. More specifically, Hargreaves (2002) states that teachers' sense of shame and betrayal, and their subsequent isolation from their colleagues, occur when their professional competence is questioned by their colleagues. Moreover, this study's findings suggest that the teachers frequently felt inadequate in their professional roles, they feared unintentionally doing harm to their students, and subsequently, they feared being "found out" by their colleagues. Additionally, the teachers in this study expressed a sense of betrayal when their colleagues failed to meet certain work expectations which sometimes interfered with their own teaching practices and more importantly, their relationships with their students. As Kemper

(1978) suggests, in the end, the teachers' sense of fear and apprehension about teaching, which is associated with a perceived lack of power, compels them to withdraw to the security of their own classrooms and to protect their relationships with their students from the influences of other adults in the school. In this light, it is not surprising that many of the highly committed and hard-working teachers in this study described themselves as unfamiliar with their colleagues' teaching practices, and most of them said that they felt unwelcome in their colleagues' classrooms.

Why is this relevant to the caring relationships that teachers develop with their students? It is pertinent because caring teacher-student relationships are not only important to students' successes as learners and to their development as unique individuals, but they are also critical to the development of teachers' own identities. Put differently, teachers rely heavily on their relationships with their students to gauge the success of their teaching relative to their idealized view of themselves. Although this point might reflect an educationally responsive and caring approach to teaching, it sometimes does not. As already mentioned, the teachers in this study felt a mix of strong emotions when they reflected on their teaching, which ranged from positive emotions that affirmed their commitment to their students, to negative emotions of guilt and shame that fostered self-doubt. The latter often led to the teachers' withdrawal from their school communities, into their individual classrooms. Intentionally or unintentionally, the teachers turned primarily to their students, and not to their colleagues, to affirm their worth as teachers and to lessen the emotional dissonance that they were experiencing. This interfered with the teachers' ability to help their students without also trying to meet their own psychosocial needs, which possibly limited the self-actualizing opportunities for their students. This means that even

though teachers may *think* that their actions are supporting their students, they likely sometimes are not.

Moreover, the teachers' primary ways to cope with the perceived discrepancy between their teaching and their idealized view of themselves as teachers was through their use of selective perception and interpretation (McCall & Simmons, 1978). Teachers tended to exaggerate the discrepancies between their perceived and ideal abilities, which then lead to a sense of shame and subsequent withdrawal from other adults. Just as importantly, though, either by over-emphasizing their influence on their students or by comparing themselves to their colleagues (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979), the teachers in this study consistently depicted their interactions with students as being different, and almost always better, than the interactions between their students and other teachers. This tendency, which is foundational to dyadic relationships (Simmel, 1950), is problematic in teacher-student relationships because it is anchored in interactions which are perceived as unique and special by one, if not both, of the people involved. This means that the influences of other adults on teachers' dyadic relationships with students are perceived by the teachers as interfering with their unique relationships with students. For this reason, teachers often perceived the influences of other adults on their relationships with their students as intrusive. Although the teachers in this study did not strive to develop dyadic relationships with *every* student, they did tend to frame their interactions with *specific* students as dyadic, particularly when those students had complex needs.

With these points in mind, it is reasonable to question how effectively teachers can negotiate this complex dynamic between themselves and their students, in relative isolation from their colleagues, to address their students' needs and to strengthen them as people "in their own right" (Katz, 2007, p. 130). More specifically, it is justifiable to wonder to what degree the teachers'

relatively unchallenged use of coping mechanisms, such as selective perception and interpretation, and comparing themselves to other teachers, interfere with their ability to effectively address their students' needs. In fact, this study's findings suggest that teachers struggle to stay oriented to their students' needs, which is an inherent aspect of Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring. More specifically, the teachers in this study struggled with *being with another* and *being for another* (p. 129), which seemed to occur as they validated their teaching by relying too heavily on their relationships with their students.

Contextual factors within the schools also contribute to the disquieting emotions that the teachers feel as they validate their teaching, and to the more reassuringly positive emotions as well. Overwhelmingly, the teachers in this study described the role expectations of relevant audiences, beyond their relationships with their students, as being, to varying degrees, in conflict with their success in teaching. Generally speaking, the teachers believed that the public's expectations of teachers are unrealistically high and that the complexity of their work is often misunderstood. Nevertheless, the teachers did confirm that parental recognition of their efforts did help them to feel validated, although it is unclear how much this recognition influences teachers' identities. The participants in this study, however, experienced dissonance when conflicting expectations existed between themselves and their students' parents, and when this happened, it influenced teachers' actions. However, whether or not this role support is important enough to influence teachers' identities is still questionable.

Within schools, however, teachers viewed the expectations of their superiors, such as principals and superintendents as often being in conflict with how they were interpreting their professional roles. For example, sometimes teachers perceived pressure from their superintendent's teams and school administrators to extend their teaching of the curriculum,

which is a point that surfaced frequently when teachers shared students' report cards with their administrators. The teachers in this study believed that their roles as classroom teachers and the judgements they made with respect to students were often misunderstood by school administrators who they believed did not have an accurate understanding of their teaching practices. It was also clear that this reinforced the teachers' need to isolate themselves even more with their students, in their own classrooms.

This point is important because, after their students, school administrators are the second most significant source of role support for the teachers. Just as conflicting expectations create dissonance for teachers prompting them to question their professional roles and to isolate themselves, the sharing of expectations with their school administrators tended to affirm their identities. This means that regardless of the differences in teaching styles, the teachers' perceptions that their expectations in pedagogy were similar to those of their administrators signaled that they were on "the right track." However, this only occurred when the teachers believed that their administrators actually understood their classroom practices, and that the administrators had some degree of relevant teaching experience themselves. In this sense, the importance of teachers' social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al., 2010) in developing relationships with their students can be extended to school administrators' relationships with their teachers. In fact, this study suggests that by making an effort to understand teachers' teaching practices, school administrators can provide meaningful role support to them.

However, this balance is somewhat delicate because when school administrators over-emphasize their social authority in developing relationships with students, and it interferes with teachers' own relationships with those same students, the negative implications can be profound. Overwhelmingly, the teachers in this study reacted negatively and began to mistrust

administrators who felt that they knew the teachers' students better than they did. Consequently, regardless of their students' needs, the teachers in this study avoided involving the school administrators in their teaching practices and this action subsequently denied them an important source of role support. When this happens, it increases the teachers' isolation from the broader school community and likely increases their reliance on their relationships with their students for role support. Furthermore, this isolation from school administrators creates classroom learning environments where teachers, who are often experiencing complex emotions working with their students, are isolated from other professionals who could both challenge and support them in their practice. Consequently, their ways of coping, such as their use of selective perception and interpretation (McCall & Simmons, 1978), and how this might influence their caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) with their students, can easily occur with very little, if any, critical dialogue with their colleagues.

The need for shared values and expectations is significant among teachers, but for very different reasons. It is very important for teachers who share the same groups of students to share similar values and expectations; however, this is largely so that their teaching practices co-exist harmoniously when exchanging the same groups of students. This has more to do with the teachers' need to protect their relationships with their students and limit other teachers' disrupting influences, than with affirming the teachers' identities as teachers, such as with their school administrators. The teachers did identify with in-school reference groups (Nias, 1985) which are based on their perceptions of shared pedagogical practices. Surprisingly, these in-school reference groups of teachers are referred to more in terms of "teams" or "camps" in schools, rather than as colleagues with whom they could have critically dialogued on the nature of teaching. Instead, what is more likely is that when teachers seek support, they rely more on

teachers *outside* their schools or in-school colleagues who are not in "directly comparable" situations, such as guidance counsellors or resource teachers.

Although many of the teachers in this study preferred to have in-school collegial support (Nias, 1985), as well as support from family and friends, they were not optimistic that this could occur. Although they believed strongly that teachers need to learn to honestly examine their emotions in teaching, especially as they relate to their sense of fear, for meaningful collaboration to occur, they were unclear as to how this might happen. Some teachers believed that this collaboration could occur by creating "teacher partnerships" in different schools to offset the teachers' tendencies to compare their influences on students. Others wanted to develop professional relationships with familiar colleagues in their schools. Still others argued that having more freedom to discuss troubling student issues would be a far better use of professional development time. Others wanted more conversation among staff members that clarified and consolidated a shared understanding of school goals and expectations. Moreover, another teacher believed that by removing the expectation that collaborating teachers had to share the same students during the school day, then the potential to negatively influence each other's relationships with students would be lessened, which may lead to more honest professional dialogue. Also, teachers with very different teaching styles could learn from each other without fear that their pedagogical differences would have negative consequences on their classroom practices.

In the end, caring teacher-student relationships are important for students' socio-emotional and academic well-being, and it was clear that the teachers in this study worked diligently and passionately towards this goal. However, the findings of this study suggest that caring relationships are not only essential for the students' well-being, but also for the well-being of the

teachers. More specifically, caring teacher-student relationships are critical to the teachers' identities, which reflect both their professional and personal lives. The challenge lies in the fact that whether or not the teachers' relationships with their students provide them with powerfully affirming feelings that strengthen their identities, or their interactions with colleagues foster uncomfortably invalidating emotions that weaken their identities, the results are often the same. The teachers withdraw from the broader school community and more specifically, their colleagues, and seek emotional refuge in their relationships with their students. Either way, it seems that teachers' emotions provoke them to isolating themselves in their classrooms. Once this occurs, it is difficult for teachers to navigate through their own psychosocial needs and issues of identity, to address their students' needs. In fact, I contend that once teacher-student relationships become blurred in this way and the issue of whose needs are being addressed becomes unclear, the relationships between teachers and students can no longer be caring (Mayeroff, 1971).

Implications for Teaching

Because caring teacher-student relationships are essential to meaningful teaching and learning, there are at least seven implications that this study has for teaching. First, teachers' identities should not only be understood as developing internally, but also externally as they actively engage with their social environments. More specifically, this study's findings suggest that teachers' identities are influenced, both positively and negatively, as they legitimate or validate their day-to-day teaching with their idealized views of themselves as teachers. This understanding provides us with insights into how teachers can feel strengthened or weakened by

their teaching, and the critical role that their emotions play in signalling the disparity that teachers perceive between their actual and their more idealized selves.

The second implication is that teachers need to be more intentional about critically examining their emotions in teaching, especially as they relate to fear, guilt, and shame or rather, their perceived personal inadequacies (Kemper, 1978; Shott, 1979). Put differently, teachers need to intentionally spend time with their colleagues discussing the disparity they often feel between their idealized view of themselves as teachers, and how they perceive themselves in the actual role. Although this process could support teachers' overall well-being, the primary focus of this study is on the teachers' ability to support their students' well-being. To do this, teachers need to develop a stronger sense of how their psychosocial needs intersect with their students' needs as they validate the critical role that their students play in shaping the teachers' identities. If this happened, teachers could be more deliberate in their caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) with students, ensuring that they address their *students'* needs, rather than their *own*.

A third implication is that competitive relationships between teachers often reflect their unintentional attempts to protect their perceived unique relationships with their students from the influences of other adults. In this light, the competitive tension between teachers is associated with their need to validate their teaching using their primary source of role support, which is their students. This suggests that the more isolated teachers become in their classrooms and the more they rely on their students for role support, the more competitive they will likely feel towards their colleagues (Burke, 1991; Rosenberg, 1979). This implies that by working through their emotions, but predominantly their feelings of fear, guilt, and shame, teachers will begin to feel less of a need to protect their relationships with their students from other adults. In essence,

teachers will rely more on their colleagues and less on their students to validate their teaching, which could support teachers' caring relationships with their students (Mayeroff, 1971).

The fourth implication is that teachers actually *want* to collaborate more openly and honestly with their colleagues in their schools. In fact, all of the teachers in this study were not only uncomfortable with the competitive dynamics that existed between teachers, but they also isolated themselves in their classrooms to avoid the tension and conflict in their schools. Moreover, when the teachers described feeling competitive towards their colleagues, they often seemed bewildered by their emotions, and embarrassed. Although I am unclear about how to effectively examine emotions among teachers all of the participants stated that working through their emotions, especially fear, guilt, and shame, through critical dialogue with other teachers would be important in creating professionally meaningful collaboration.

The fifth implication addresses what typically "counts" as collaboration in schools. Although this point was only directly addressed by one participant, the findings of this study underscore the point that collaboration among teachers is not synonymous with "swapping kids" during scheduled periods in the school day. In fact, unless the collaborating teachers share similar pedagogical values and expectations, the differences that surface through the teaching of each other's students will interfere with their own relationships with their students, which will then further complicate their collaborative endeavours. Furthermore, although there is a great deal to learn from teachers who share similar pedagogical views of teaching, significant professional growth can occur when working with colleagues with *different* perspectives to teaching. All of the previously discussed implications, including this one, point to the fact that generally speaking, teachers' collaboration in schools is often limited and frequently superficial in nature. Moreover, the teachers in this study were acutely aware that they rarely discussed

their emotions with their colleagues, although they acknowledged that these emotions influenced their teaching. The teachers were even less aware that these issues frequently interfered with caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) with students.

The sixth implication involves the responsibilities of school administrators to act as role support for teachers as they develop their caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) with their students. This study suggests that school administrators must have some understanding of the unique pedagogies of their teachers and how they contribute to their students' well-being to be valued and considered relevant by teachers. Just as importantly, when teachers value their school administrators' insights, they tend to use the feedback as a guide to good teaching. In this light, school administrators can play a significant role in shaping teaching practices by influencing teachers' identities, which could possibly lessen their over-reliance on students for role support. Moreover, this dialogue between teachers and their school administrators could also extend into professional conversations about teachers' emotions, their different ways of coping with dissonance, and their interpretations of situations in the classroom and school. This, in turn, could support caring teacher-student relationships.

Finally, school administrators have a responsibility to respect the caring relationships that teachers develop with their students. This means that when administrators become involved in situations between teachers and their students, they must be mindful not to inadvertently or sometimes consciously undermine the teachers that they are there to support. It is clear that when school administrators interfere in teacher-student relationships as a way of bolstering their *own* relationships with students, they run the risk of alienating teachers and driving them further to the kinds of isolation described earlier. When this happens, administrators weaken, if not destroy, their potential influence as a role support for teachers. This subsequently interferes with

the teachers' willingness to act in their students' best interests and both of these tendencies undermine teachers' developing caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) with their students. Therefore, school administrators must have critical discussions with teachers regarding their use of authority when necessary, but their intention must be to support teachers' caring relationships with their students and not to meet their own needs, thus weakening caring teacher-student relationships.

Implications for Educational Research

Due to the "suggestive" (Dey, 1999, p. 257) nature of grounded theory and the limitations of this study which have already been outlined, this research should be replicated in order to examine whether similar or different findings emerge from the data analysis. Beyond this important point, however, this study's findings highlight a number of other important implications for future research, five of which will now be explored.

First, given how schools are currently organized, teachers can expect to spend considerable time with their students and isolated from their colleagues. An important contribution of this study involves examining how to best support teachers to effectively work through what are, at times, uncomfortable emotions as they legitimate or validate their teaching relative to their more idealized views of themselves. This study's findings suggest that teachers conversing with their in-school or out-school colleagues (Nias, 1985) about their disquieting emotions in teaching might reduce their sense of fear, guilt, and shame, which might lessen their reliance on their students for role support and help them to stay oriented in their caring (Mayeroff, 1971) teacher-student relationships. However, these possibilities need to be studied further to determine whether this type of professional dialogue actually helps or whether it possibly exacerbates emotions which may unwittingly strengthen teachers' reliance on their students as their primary

source of role support. In this light, professional dialogue about emotions may or may not necessarily address some of the challenges embedded in teachers' attempts to validate their teaching. If professional conversation relating to teachers' emotions is to be prioritized, as this study's participants *all* have suggested, how do teachers learn to objectively examine their personal needs in order to critically reflect on the caring nature of their relationships with their students?

A second implication for further research involves extending this study's understanding of what occurs in classroom teaching *after* teachers experience disquieting emotions, such as fear, guilt, and shame. This study focuses on the notions of teachers' use of pedagogical and social authority (Dooner et al., 2010) in describing the reciprocal nature of teachers' relationships with their students in teaching. What warrants further examination, however, is how teachers' emotions, which reflect the perceived discrepancies between how they actually teach and their more idealized views of themselves, influence their interactions with their students, beyond their ability to stay focused on their students' needs. In other words, how do teachers' experiences of fear, guilt, and shame influence their subsequent actions with their students, as they teach? For example, Hargreaves (2000) describes elementary classrooms as often being places of high emotional intensity where teachers' expressions of anger are not uncommon. In this light, it is reasonable to question whether other coping mechanisms, such as scapegoating, disavowing, and rejecting (McCall & Simmons, 1978) are employed as teachers attempt to cope with intense emotions in teaching, often on their own.

A third research implication involves examining teachers' challenges in collaborating with their colleagues and more specifically, their frequent "emotional isolationism" (Nias, 2005, p. 226), through the lens of legitimation (McCall & Simmons, 1978). This study's findings suggest

that teachers' tendency to isolate themselves with their students from other teachers could be interpreted within the context of their attempts to guard their teacher-student relationships from the influences of their colleagues, and to protect their primary role support in their teaching, which are their students. This perspective adds an important layer of understanding to previous educational research that describes teachers' feelings of frustration (O'Connor, 2008), betrayal (Hargreaves, 2002), and shame (Zembylas, 2005) as they collaborate with their colleagues, and their subsequent need to retreat to their classrooms and to their relationships with their students. The issue, then, is how to best support teachers so that they feel less threatened as they work with other teachers. For example, one of the suggestions in this study is for school administrators to pair like-minded teachers together with a shared group of students so that the teachers would experience less dissonance as the students are shared, leaving the teachers feeling less threatened and more apt to share, and ultimately relying less on their students for role support. However, the multi-faceted nature of these types of solutions in schools needs to be further examined. For example, some students might find the similarities in teachers' pedagogies restricting; moreover, it is possible that, to an extent, students' learning should include strategies to accommodate differences in teachers' pedagogy. In this case, then, do the possible benefits involved in students' need for pedagogical variety outweigh the benefits incurred by students when their teachers' need for their role support is lessened? Should school administrators be trying to minimize this type of pedagogical dissonance for teachers, in order to foster more meaningful collaborative dynamics elsewhere in the school day? In the end, which solutions are potentially more supportive of caring (Mayeroff, 1971) teacher-student relationships?

A fourth implication for future research involves exploring whether factors within school and divisional cultures, beyond teachers' interactions with the school administrators, can serve as

validating symbols of shared values and expectations for teachers. This study's findings suggest that teachers view school administrators as important role support because administrators' feedback provides signals or benchmarks for teachers so that they know they are on the "right track" in their teaching. What warrants further examination, though, is what other elements or factors in school and divisional cultures help teachers to strengthen their identities relative to the values and expectations of the broader organization. Whether these elements ultimately challenge or affirm specific teachers' identities is open to question, but they could potentially communicate important information that could help validate teachers' identities.

A final implication for future research involves preparing pre-service teachers for the complex emotional experiences involved in teaching so that they are mindful of the nature of their caring (Mayeroff, 1971) relationships with their students. More specifically, how can pre-service teachers be supported to begin to critically examine their idealized views of themselves as future teachers and how they will likely "fall short" of this vision in their day-to-day teaching? It is important that at the pre-service level, teacher-candidates begin acquiring ways of coping with intense and often, uncomfortable emotions, without relying on their relationships with their students to inadvertently meet their own psychosocial needs. Just as importantly, once these new teachers begin their actual teaching careers, the findings of this study suggest that, beleaguered by feelings of fear, guilt, and shame, the teachers will likely experience "emotional isolationism" (Nias, 2005, p. 226) which will prompt their retreat to their classrooms and their relationships with their students for emotional support. Given this scenario, how do school administrators support new teachers to transition into established school cultures while, at the same time, encourage them to "do things differently", given the often entrenched norms of teaching staffs in schools?

To conclude, most teachers care deeply for their students' well-being and work passionately and diligently to develop caring relationships (Mayeroff, 1971) with them. Maintaining the caring nature of these relationships, however, becomes a challenge for teachers when they attempt to cope with the often intense emotions inherent in teaching, in isolation from their colleagues. Thus, this study provides a stronger and more in-depth understanding of what is meant by caring teacher-student relationships in schools and why teachers sometimes become disoriented in their attempts to care for their students in their teaching. As part of this dynamic, the critical role of teachers' identities and emotions have been examined, as well as factors within school cultures that influence teachers' caring relationships with their students. Although implications for present practices and considerations for future research have been explored as possible ways to attend to the various issues that have been raised in this study, one critical point must always be kept in mind. As Buckmann (2003, p. 185) explains, "schools… are for children…. Thus, self-realization in teaching is not a good in itself, but only insofar as pursuing self-realization leads to appropriate student learning." This study, and the future studies I have suggested will, I hope, advance this concern.

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Figure 1. Four Combinations of Teachers' Social and Pedagogical Authority (Dooner et al., 2010)

		PEDAGOGICAL AUTHORITY
	STRONG	**WEAK**
SOCIAL AUTHORITY **STRONG**	-1- Teachers have in-depth understanding of curriculum, prioritize relevant and contextualized learning activities, and develop relationships that are responsive to students' individual academic, social, and emotional needs.	-3- Teachers have a relatively generic and decontextualized approach to teaching that is unresponsive to their students' academic needs, leaving teachers to rely on their strong personal connections with students to ensure their compliance.
WEAK	-2- Teachers have in-depth understanding of curriculum, prioritize relevant and contextualized learning activities, but their weaker relationships with their students interfere with their ability to respond to their students' social and emotional needs, and to recognize them as individuals.	-4- Teachers have a relatively generic and decontextualized approach to teaching that is unresponsive to their students' academic needs, and their weak personal connections with students foster little compliance and leave students feel unacknowledged as individuals.

Figure 2. Summary of Findings for the First Set of Participants Leading to the Tentative Conceptualization

Participants:
Teachers were recruited from the annual provincial Manitoba Middle Years' Association PD day (Manitoba Teachers' Society) in 2011, First focus-group (Dec. 2011) – 8 teachers, Second focus-group (Jan. 2012) – 7 returned, Individual interviews (spring 2012) – 4 teachers, Participants reflect a mix of early, middle years, secondary, and post-secondary teaching experience, Five urban school divisions were represented, Average years teaching was between 6.29 & 6.75 years.
First Focus-Group Discussion:
The study's focus changed to teachers' challenges in developing caring relationships with students. **Four Tentative Categories Emerged:** Teachers prioritizing relationships with students, Teachers struggling with their sense of identities, which could be the core category, Teachers needing to be perceived as legitimate by students, Teachers' shifting use of authority (Dooner et al., 2010) in the classroom, which could be the pre-existing condition, * I notice that there is little data relating to the influence of the school context.
Second Focus-Group Discussion:
Glaser's (1978) "Six C" family code changed to core-category, consequences, context, and pre-existing category: **Core Category**: Teachers' fluctuating identity & their need for legitimacy as teachers, **Consequences:** Teachers protect & over-emphasize relationships with students, they do not acknowledge students' interactions with adults in broader school context, and they gauge their colleagues' influences on students relative to their own. I question whether this aligns with Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring, **Context:** Teachers discussed the factors influencing role strain (Marks, 1977) and their sense of isolation, **Pre-Existing Condition:** Teachers shift from their "default" position to different combinations of social and pedagogical authority (Dooner et al.), and that the participants are comfortable using these concepts as separate but related entities.
Individual Interviews:
Core Category: Teachers' identities (Stone, 1962), their discrepancy between their idealized & situated selves (McCall & Simmons), and emotions, including shame, as signals to the discrepancy (Kemper, Scheff, Schott, Stryker). **Consequences:** Teachers compete for students' affections & gauge their colleagues' influences relative to their own (Burke, 1991), and develop dyadic relationships (Simmel, 1950) with individual students and students as the "generalized other" (Mead, 1934). I question the influence of teachers' use of mechanisms of legitimation (McCall & Simmons) on their caring relationships (Mayeroff) with students. **Context:** Students and administrators act as important role support (McCall & Simmons), and role strain (Marks), although students are teachers' primary source of role support, **Pre-Existing Condition:** No additional coding.

Figure 3. Conceptualization after Focus-Group Discussions with First Set of Participants

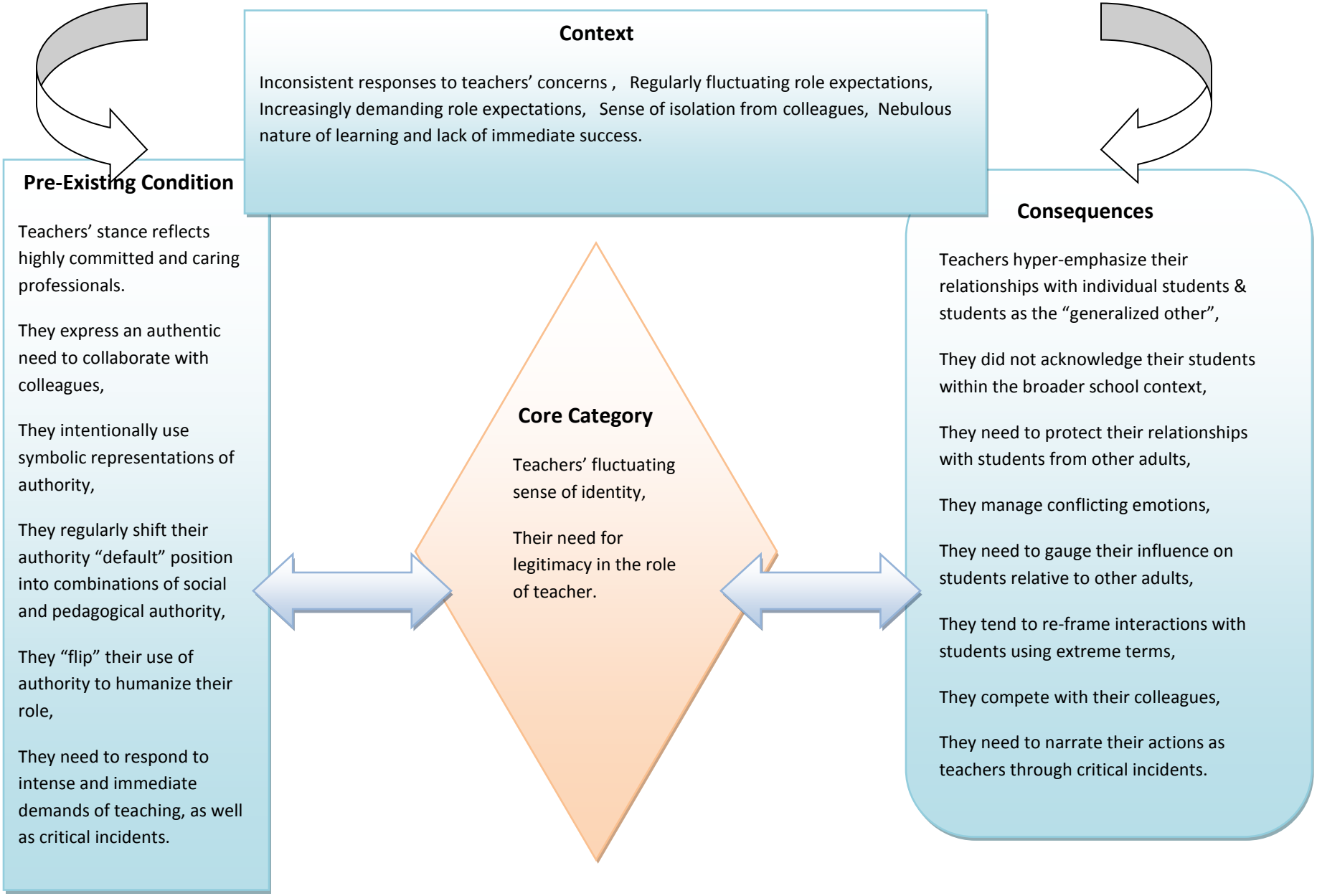


Figure 4. Conceptualization after Focus-Group Discussions and Individual Interviews with First Set of Participants

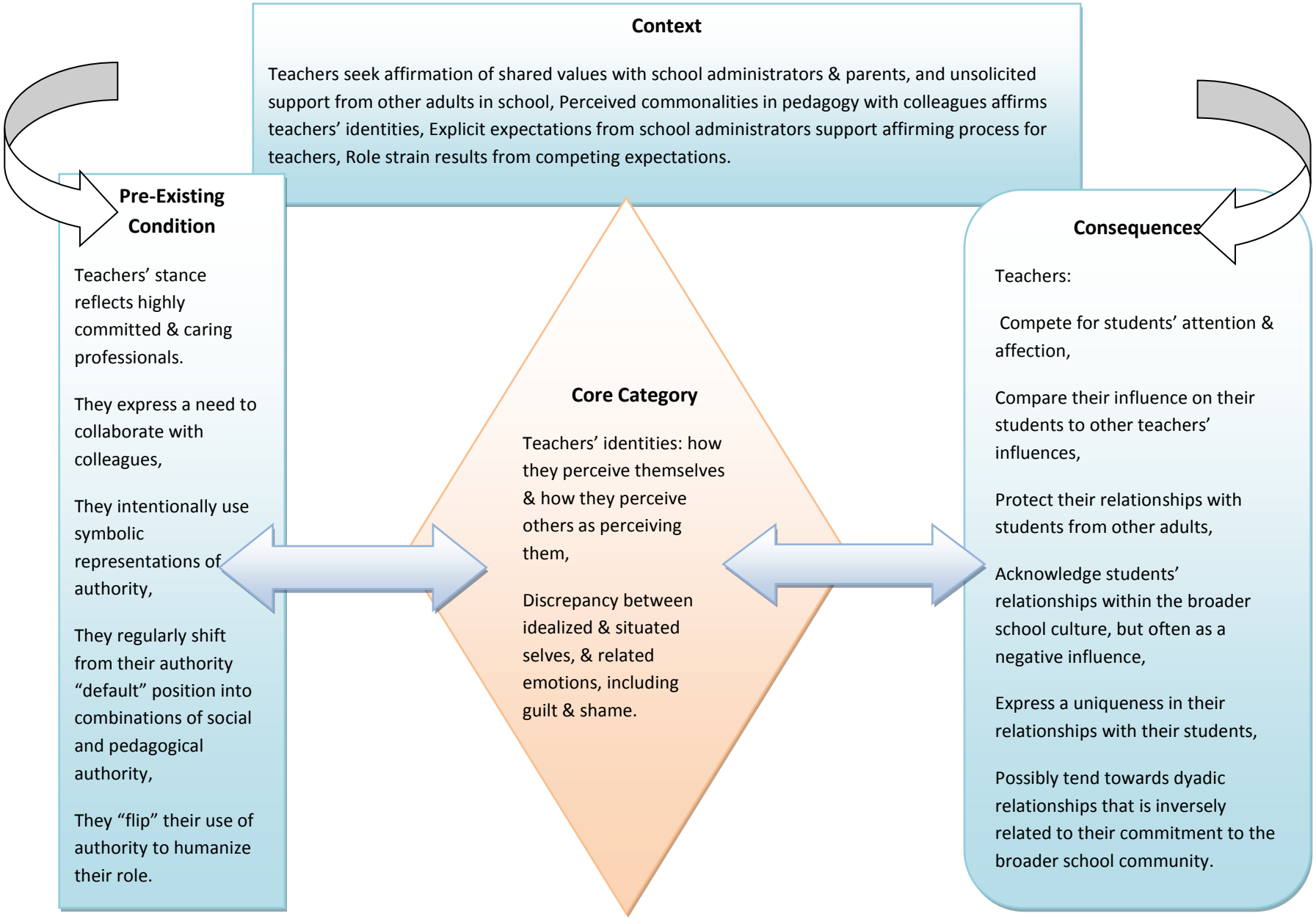


Figure 5. Summary of Findings for the Second Set of Participants that Extended & Challenged the Tentative Conceptualization

Participants:
Teachers were recruited from the annual provincial Manitoba Middle Years' Association PD day (Manitoba Teachers' Society) in 2012, First focus-group (Dec. 2012) – 6 teachers, Second focus-group (Jan. 2013) – 5 teachers, Individual interviews – (Jan. 2013) – 3 teachers, Teachers reflect a mix of early, middle years, and secondary teaching experience, Three urban school divisions were represented, Average years teaching was between 3.0 & 4.0 years.
First Focus-Group Discussion:
Core Category: Teachers' personal & professional identities are the same, their idealized selves as "life changers" for students, their identities are weakened identities when rejected by students or negatively compared with other teachers, **Consequences:** I confirmed teachers' tendency towards dyadic relationships with some students, strong emotions, from elation to shame, foster classroom isolation, and teachers actively avoid administrators who weaken their teacher-student relationships, **Context:** Teachers seek shared expectations with administrators to legitimate their teaching, they seek common expectations with their "teaching partners" primarily to minimize negative influence on their relationships with students, **Pre-Existing Condition**: Teachers unsure whether social and pedagogical authority should be separated, teachers' relationships with students can be negatively influenced if administrators over-emphasize their social authority with students. *I question how these categories align with Mayeroff's (1971) three tenets of caring that include "being with another", "being there for another", and "being for another."
Second Focus-Group Discussion:
Core Category: Teachers feel legitimated when they feel their pedagogy is somewhat understood (shared values) by administrators, they experience guilt & shame when students continue to struggle or when they feel judged by administrators or public (**Context**). **Consequences:** Teachers feel isolated, they fear "being outed" as inadequate by colleagues & administrators, teachers isolate themselves from their colleagues, they are not familiar enough with colleagues' practices to provide meaningful feedback. I question how this aligns with Mayeroff's (1971) notion of caring, **Context:** Teachers withdraw from broader school environment (Slater, 1963). **Pre-Existing Condition:** No new coding.
Individual Interviews:
Core Category: No new coding. **Consequences:** Teachers confide in colleagues outside their schools about their negative emotions (**Context**), they are very ambivalent about trusting in-school colleagues with their negative emotions, **Pre-Existing Condition:** Teachers want more opportunities to work through their negative emotions in-school, and pre-service teachers need to learn that mistakes and uncomfortable emotions are an inherent part of teaching.

Figure 6. Developments in the Conceptualization after First Focus-Group Discussion with Second Set of Participants

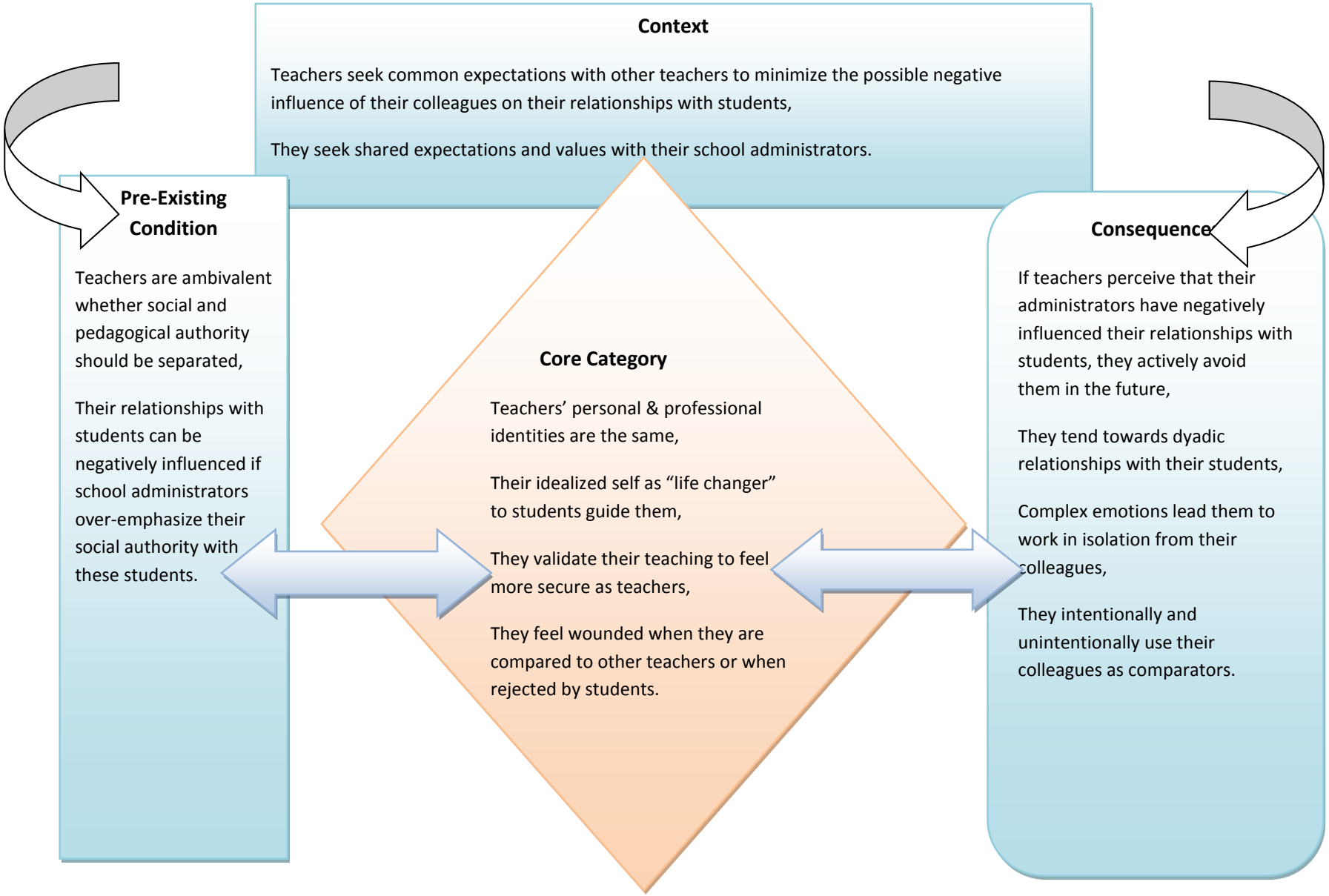


Figure 7. Developments in the Conceptualization after Second Focus-Group Discussion with Second Set of Participants

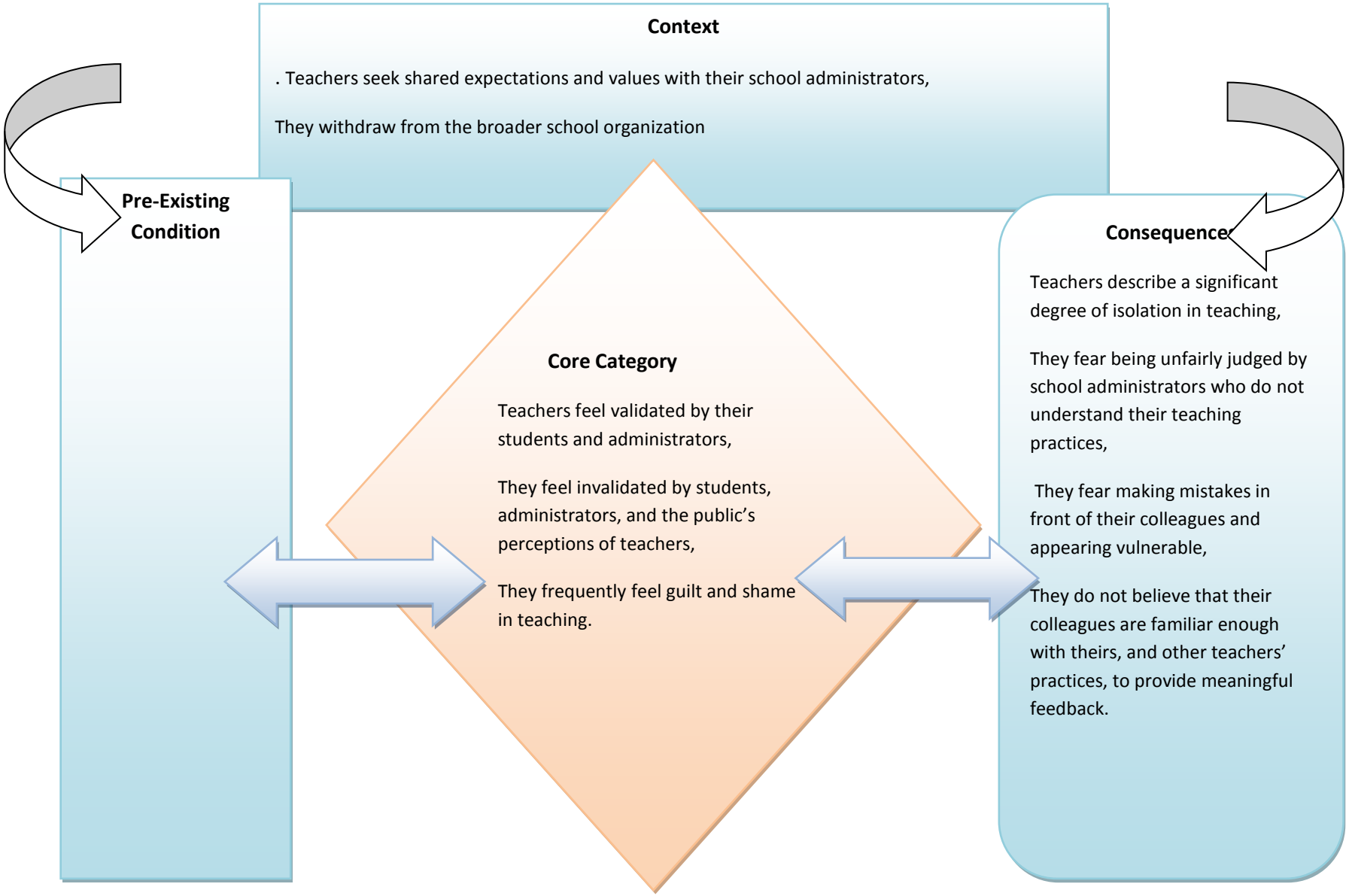
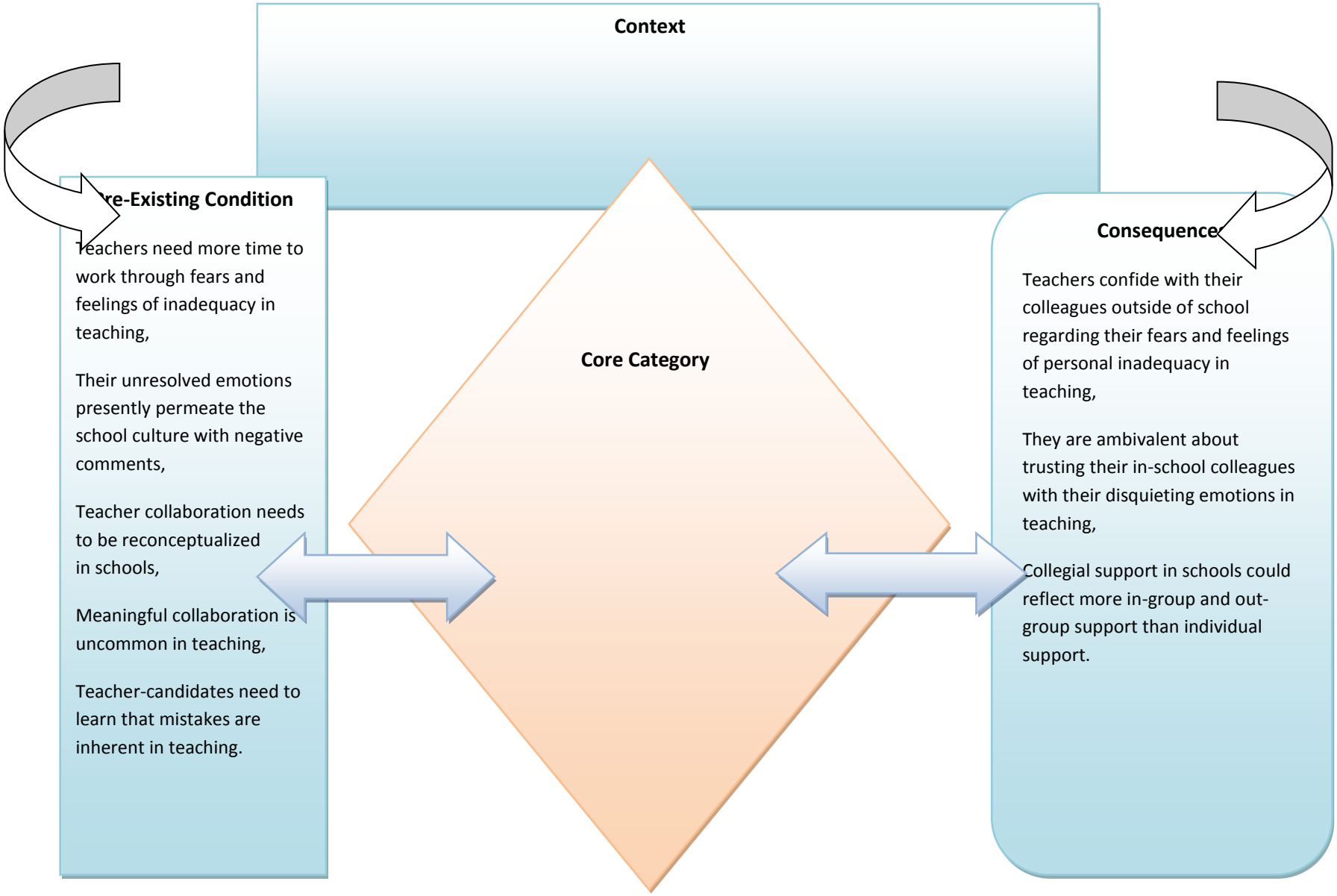


Figure 8. Developments in the Conceptualization after Individual Interviews with Second Set of Participants



Appendix A

Summary of Glaser's (1978, p. 74-81) Family Codes Used in Data Analysis

Family Codes	Examples of Descriptors
Six C's	Causes, Contexts, Contingencies, Consequences, Covariances, Conditions
Process	Stages, Phases, Passages, Transitions
Degree	Limit, Range, Intensity, Polarity
Dimension	Elements, Properties, Portion, Aspect
Type	Kinds, Classes, Form, Genre
Strategy	Tactics, Ways, Maneuverings, Manipulation
Interactive	Reciprocity, Mutual Effects, Mutual Dependence, Interaction of Effects
Indentity-Self	Self-Image, Self-Concept, Self-Worth, Self-Evaluation
Cutting-Point	Critical Juncture, Boundary, Turning Point, Breaking Point
Means-Goal	End, Purpose, Anticipated Consequences, Product
Cultural	Social Norms, Social Values, Social Beliefs, Social Sentiments
Concensus	Clusters, Agreements, Uniformities, Contracts
Mainline	Social Control, Socialization, Social Order, Social Organization
Theoretical	Scope, Integration, Density, Conceptual level
Ordering or Elaboration	Structural: Organization, Division, Group, Team Temporal: X Causes Y, X Explains Y, Knowing X Exits Predicts Y, One Thing Leads To Another Conceptual: Specification of Concepts, Developing Properties of Categories
Unit	Collective, Group, Organization, Aggregate
Reading	Concepts, Problems and Hypotheses
Models	Model One's Theory Pictorially

Appendix B

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

November 8, 2011

Letter of Consent

Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

Dear Colleague,

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about the research or any information not included in this letter, please feel free to contact me at any time.

In 2010, the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) published an article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010). Since that work was published, a group of nine MMYA members have now etstablished a second research group in order to further explore the possible influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority, and their classroom assessment practices on learning relationships, and student engagement. The present qualitative study is guided by the following questions:

The present research will be guided by the following questions:

1) To what extent is there a relationship between a teacher's social and pedagogical authority?
2) To what extent is a teacher's social and/or pedagogical authority related to their approaches to assessment?

3) To what extent are a teacher's authority and approaches to assessment related to the development of learning relationships with students?
4) To what extent are a teacher's authority, approaches to assessment, and learning relationships related to student engagement?

I, _____ agree to participate in two audio taped focus-group discussions that will last approximately two hours in duration for the study on **"Authority, Assessment, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective"**. As such, I understand that:

- I will be asked to participate in two two-hour focus-group discussions with the intent of exploring my thoughts on these issues.
- The first focus-group discussion will be scheduled in December 2011 and the second will be scheduled in late January or early February 2012. Both discussions will be taped, and transcribed by the principal investigators.
- After a total of two focus-group discussions have been completed, the principal investigators will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA manuscript group after receiving the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board Approval.
- I will be asked to pre-read the research group's recently published article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010) which will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes in total.
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the focus-group discussions will remain confidential.
- The focus-group findings may also be used to later inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' authority and assessment practices on the school and classroom culture, and its relationship to the issue of student engagement.
- The findings generated from the two focus-group discussions will be shared in written form with the participants six to eight weeks after the completion of the discussions.
- Focus-group tapes and transcripts will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.
- Because the focus-group discussions will take place during the workday, the MMYA will provide a teacher substitute (half-day), if needed, so that you may participate. A light lunch will also be provided during the focus-group discussions.

Furthermore, I understand that I am not obligated to participate in this study and that I may withdraw from this study at any time. If I choose to withdraw after a focus-group discussion, my contribution will be removed during the transcribing process. Also, any information shared through the focus-group discussions will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation.

"**Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial**

consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board(s) and representative(s) of the University of Manitoba Research Quality Management/Assurance office may also require access to your research records for safety and quality assurance purposes. This research has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference."

_____

Participant's Signature Date

Principal Investigator's Signature Date

Principal Investigator's Signature Date

____ I prefer to receive a summary of findings via e-mail: address_____

____ I prefer to receive a summary of findings via hard copy: address_____

Appendix C

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

November 8, 2011

Letter of Consent

Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

To _____ Administrators,

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about the research or any information not included in this letter, please feel free to contact me at any time.

In 2010, the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) published an article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010). From this work, a group of nine MMYA members have now begun a second manuscript group in order to further explore the possible influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority, and their classroom assessment practices on learning relationships, as well as children's engagement in their learning. The present qualitative study is guided by the following questions:

1) To what extent is there a relationship between a teacher's social and pedagogical authority?
2) To what extent is a teacher's social and/or pedagogical authority related to their approaches to assessment?

3) To what extent are a teacher's authority and approaches to assessment related to the development of learning relationships with students?
4) To what extent are a teacher's authority, approaches to assessment, and learning relationships related to student engagement

I, _____ agree that _____ educators from _____ School can participate in two audio taped focus-group discussions that will last approximately two hours in duration for the study on **"Authority, Assessment, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective."** As such, I understand that:

- They will be asked to participate in two two-hour focus-group discussions with the intent of exploring their thoughts on these issues.
- The first focus-group discussion will be scheduled in December 2011 and the second will be scheduled in late January or early February 2012. Both discussions will be audio taped, and transcribed by the principal investigators.
- Participants will be asked to pre-read the research group's recently published article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010) which will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes in total.
- After a total of two focus-group discussions have been completed, the principal investigators will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA manuscript group after receiving the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board Approval.
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the focus-group discussions will remain confidential.
- The focus-group findings may also be used to later inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' authority and assessment practices on the school and classroom culture, and its relationship to the issue of student engagement.
- The findings generated from the two focus-group discussions will be shared in written form with the participants six to eight weeks after the completion of the discussions.
- Focus-group audiotapes and transcripts will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.
- Because the focus-group discussions will take place during the workday, the MMYA will provide a teacher substitute (half-day), if needed, so that the volunteer educators may participate. A light lunch will also be provided during the focus-group discussions.

Furthermore, I understand that _____ are not obligated to participate in this study and that they may withdraw from this study at any time. If a participant chooses to withdraw after a focus-group discussion, his/her contribution will be removed during the transcribing process. Also, any information shared through the focus-group discussions will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation.

"**Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.**

The University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board(s) and representative(s) of the University of Manitoba Research Quality Management/Assurance office may also require access to your research records for safety and quality assurance purposes. This research has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference."

Administrator's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date

Appendix D

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

November 8, 2011

Letter of Consent

Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

To _____ Division's Superintendent's Team,

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about the research or any information not included in this letter, please feel free to contact me at any time.

In 2010, the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) published an article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010). From this work, a group of nine MMYA members have now begun a second manuscript group in order to further explore the possible influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority, and their classroom assessment practices on learning relationships, as well as children's engagement in their learning. The present qualitative study is guided by the following questions:

1) To what extent is there a relationship between a teacher's social and pedagogical authority?
2) To what extent is a teacher's social and/or pedagogical authority related to their approaches to assessment?

3) To what extent are a teacher's authority and approaches to assessment related to the development of learning relationships with students?
4) To what extent are a teacher's authority, approaches to assessment, and learning relationships related to student engagement

I, _____ agree that _____ educators from _____ Division can participate in two audio taped focus-group discussions that will last approximately two hours in duration for the study on **"Authority, Assessment, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective."** As such, I understand that:

- They will be asked to participate in two two-hour focus-group discussions with the intent of exploring their thoughts on these issues.
- The first focus-group discussion will be scheduled in December 2011 and the second will be scheduled in late January or early February 2012. Both discussions will be audio taped, and transcribed by the principal investigators.
- Participants will be asked to pre-read the research group's recently published article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010) which will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes in total.
- After a total of two focus-group discussions have been completed, the principal investigators will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA manuscript group after receiving the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board Approval.
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the focus-group discussions will remain confidential.
- The focus-group findings may also be used to later inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' authority and assessment practices on the school and classroom culture, and its relationship to the issue of student engagement.
- The findings generated from the two focus-group discussions will be shared in written form with the participants six to eight weeks after the completion of the discussions.
- Focus-group audiotapes and transcripts will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.
- Because the focus-group discussions will take place during the workday, the MMYA will provide a teacher substitute (half-day), if needed, so that the volunteer educators may participate. A light lunch will also be provided during the focus-group discussions.

Furthermore, I understand that _____ are not obligated to participate in this study and that they may withdraw from this study at any time. If a participant chooses to withdraw after a focus-group discussion, his/her contribution will be removed during the transcribing process. Also, any information shared through the focus-group discussions will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation.

"**Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.**

The University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board(s) and representative(s) of the University of Manitoba Research Quality Management/Assurance office may also require access to your research records for safety and quality assurance purposes. This research has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference."

Superintendent's Team Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date

Appendix E

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Date: _____

Letter of Consent
Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

Dear Colleague,

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about the research or any information not included in this letter, please feel free to contact me at any time.

In 2010, the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) published an article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, CerqueiraVassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010). Since that work was published, a group of eight MMYA members established a second research group that initially intended to explore the influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority, and their classroom assessment practices on learning relationships, and student engagement. It was within this context that you participated in a qualitative study that involved two focus-group discussions that took place in December, 2011 and January, 2012. Data collected from these discussions indicated that focus-group participants like you wanted to discuss in greater detail their use of authority as teachers within the context of learning relationships and student engagement; however, this did not include, as initially intended, an emphasis on their classroom assessment practices.

The next phase of this research will involve individual interviews and will be guided by the following questions:

1) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority and learning relationships?
2) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority, learning relationships and student engagement?
3) To what extent do classroom and school social settings influence teachers' use of authority?
4) To what extent do classroom and school's social setting influence the development of learning relationships?

I, _____ agree to participate in one audio taped individual interview that will last approximately 30 to 45 minutes in duration. This interview is a follow-up conversation to the focus-group discussions that I had participated in for the study on "**Authority, Assessment, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective**." As a participant in this next phase of the research, I understand that:

- I will be asked to participate in one 30 to 45 minute interview with the intent of exploring my thoughts on issues raised during the focus-group discussions in December 2011 and January 2012;
- The interview which will be scheduled at my convenience outside of school hours, and it will be transcribed by the principal investigator;
- I will receive the interview questions three to five days prior to the scheduled interview;
- After a total of one interview has been completed, the principal investigator will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA research group after receiving approval from the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board ;
- The research findings will be used to inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority within the context of their learning relationships with students;
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the interview will remain confidential;
- The transcript generated from the interview will be sent to me to "member check"; therefore, I will have the opportunity to verify the data before it is analyzed by the principal investigator; and
- The interview tape and transcript will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.

Furthermore, I understand that I am not obligated to participate in this study and that I may withdraw from this study at any time. Also, any information shared in the interview will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this study. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Again, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation. This study has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board.

Participant's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date

____ I prefer to receive the transcript for member check via e-mail: address_____
____ I prefer to receive the transcript for member check via hard copy: address_____

Appendix F

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Date: _____

Letter of Consent
Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

To _____ Administrators,

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about the research or any information not included in this letter, please feel free to contact me at any time.

In 2010, the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) published an article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, CerqueiraVassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010). Since that work was published, a group of eight MMYA members established a second research group that initially intended to explore the influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority, and their classroom assessment practices on learning relationships, and student engagement. It was within this context that one of the teachers in your school participated in a qualitative study that involved two focus-group discussions that took place in December, 2011 and January, 2012. Data collected from these discussions indicated that focus-group participants wanted to discuss in greater detail their use of authority as teachers within the context of learning relationships and student engagement; however, this did not include, as initially intended, an emphasis on their classroom assessment practices.

The next phase of this research will involve individual interviews with the focus-group participants and will be guided by the following questions:

1) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority and learning relationships?
2) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority, learning relationships and student engagement?
3) To what extent do classroom and school social settings influence teachers' use of authority?
4) To what extent do classroom and school's social setting influence the development of learning relationships?

I, _____ agree that _____educators from _____ School can participate in one audio taped individual interview that will last approximately 30 to 45 minutes in duration, as a follow-up conversation to the focus-group discussions for the study on "**Authority, Assessment, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective**." As such, I understand:

- The teacher will be asked to participate in one 30 to 45 minute interview with the intent of exploring his/her thoughts on issues raised during the focus-group discussions in December 2011 and January 2012;
- The interview will be scheduled at the teacher's convenience outside of school hours, and it will be transcribed by the principal investigator;
- The teacher will receive the interview questions three to five days prior to the scheduled interview;
- After a total of one interview has been completed, the principal investigator will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA research group after receiving approval from the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board ;
- The research findings will be used to inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority within the context of their learning relationships with students;
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the interview will remain confidential;
- The transcript generated from the interview will be sent to the teacher for "member check"; therefore, he/she will have the opportunity to verify the data before it is analyzed by the principal investigator; and
- The interview tape and transcript will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.

Furthermore, I understand that _____ is not obligated to participate in this study and that I may withdraw from this study at any time. Also, any information shared in the interview will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this study. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Again, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation. This study has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board.

Administrator's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date

Appendix G

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Date: _____

Letter of Consent
Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

To _____ Division's Superintendent's Team,

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about the research or any information not included in this letter, please feel free to contact me at any time.

In 2010, the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) published an article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, CerqueiraVassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010). Since that work was published, a group of eight MMYA members established a second research group that initially intended to explore the influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority, and their classroom assessment practices on learning relationships, and student engagement. It was within this context that one of the teachers in your school division participated in a qualitative study that involved two focus-group discussions that took place in December, 2011 and January, 2012. Data collected from these discussions indicated that focus-group participants wanted to discuss in greater detail their use of authority as teachers within the context of learning relationships and student engagement; however, this did not include, as initially intended, an emphasis on their classroom assessment practices.

The next phase of this research will involve individual interviews with the focus-group participants and will be guided by the following questions:

1) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority and learning relationships?
2) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority, learning relationships and student engagement?
3) To what extent do classroom and school social settings influence teachers' use of authority?
4) To what extent do classroom and school's social setting influence the development of learning relationships?

I, _____ agree that _____educators from _____ School in _____ Division can participate in one audio taped individual interview that will last approximately 30 to 45 minutes in duration, as a follow-up conversation to the focus-group discussions for the study on "**Authority, Assessment, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective**." As such, I understand:

- The teacher will be asked to participate in one 30 to 45 minute interview with the intent of exploring his/her thoughts on issues raised during the focus-group discussions in December 2011 and January 2012;
- The interview will be scheduled at the teacher's convenience outside of school hours, and it will be transcribed by the principal investigator;
- The teacher will receive the interview questions three to five days prior to the scheduled interview;
- After a total of one interview has been completed, the principal investigator will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA research group after receiving approval from the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board ;
- The research findings will be used to inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority within the context of their learning relationships with students;
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the interview will remain confidential;
- The transcript generated from the interview will be sent to the teacher for "member check"; therefore, he/she will have the opportunity to verify the data before it is analyzed by the principal investigator; and
- The interview tape and transcript will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.

Furthermore, I understand that _____ is not obligated to participate in this study and that I may withdraw from this study at any time. Also, any information shared in the interview will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this study. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Again, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation. This study has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board.

Superintendent's Team Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date

Appendix H

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

October 2012

A. LETTER OF CONSENT: FOCUS-GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

Dear Colleague,

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about the research or any information not included in this letter, please feel free to contact me at any time.

In 2010, the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) published an article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010). Since that work was published, a group of nine MMYA members have now established a second research group in order to further explore the possible influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority on learning relationships and student engagement. The present qualitative study is guided by the following questions:

The present research will be guided by the following questions:

5) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority and learning relationships?
6) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority, learning relationships and student engagement?
7) To what extent do classroom and school social settings influence teachers' use of authority?
8) To what extent do classroom and school's social setting influence the development of learning relationships?

I, _____ agree to participate in two audio taped focus-group discussions that will last approximately two hours in duration for the study on **"Authority,**

Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective". As such, I understand that:

- I will be asked to participate in two two-hour focus-group discussions with the intent of exploring my thoughts on these issues.
- The focus-group discussions will be scheduled in the next few months (Fall 2012/Winter 2013). Both discussions will be taped, and transcribed by the principal investigators.
- After a total of two focus-group discussions have been completed, the principal investigators will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA manuscript group after receiving the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board Approval.
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the focus-group discussions will remain confidential.
- The research findings will be used to inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' authority on the school and classroom culture, and its relationship to the issue of student engagement.
- Focus-group tapes and transcripts will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.
- Because the focus-group discussions will take place during the workday, you will be provided with a teacher substitute for each focus-group discussion, if needed, so that you may participate. A light lunch will also be provided during the focus-group discussions.

Furthermore, I understand that I am not obligated to participate in this study and that I may withdraw from this study at any time. Also, any information shared through the focus-group discussions will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

Once you have received consent from both a school administrator and superintendent/assistant superintendent, please notify Anne-Marie Dooner @ annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org as soon as possible. Thank you

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this study. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Again, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation. This study has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board.

Participant's Signature Date

Principal Investigator's Signature Date

B. LETTER OF CONSENT: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH PARTICIPANT

Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

Data collected from focus-group discussions that took place in Fall 2011 & Winter 2012 indicate that there might be a need to discuss in greater detail the use of authority as teachers within the context of learning relationships and student engagement.

As a follow-up to the focus-group discussions, I may request an individual interview with you that will be guided by this study's overarching questions already stated in this consent form (please see page 1).

I, _____ agree to participate in one audio taped individual interview that will last approximately 30 to 45 minutes in duration. This interview is a follow-up conversation to the focus-group discussions that I had participated in for the study on "**Authority, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective**." As a participant in this next phase of the research, I understand that:

- I will be asked to participate in one 30 to 45 minute interview with the intent of exploring my thoughts on issues raised during the focus-group discussions in December 2011 and January 2012;
- The interview which will be scheduled at my convenience outside of school hours, and it will be transcribed by the principal investigator;
- I will receive the interview questions three to five days prior to the scheduled interview;
- After a total of one interview has been completed, the principal investigator will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA research group after receiving approval from the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board ;
- The research findings will be used to inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority within the context of their learning relationships with students;
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the interview will remain confidential;
- The transcript generated from the interview will be sent to me to "member check"; therefore, I will have the opportunity to verify the data before it is analyzed by the principal investigator; and

- The interview tape and transcript will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.

Furthermore, I understand that I am not obligated to participate in this study and that I may withdraw from this study at any time. Also, any information shared in the interview will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this study. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Again, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation. This study has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board.

_____

Participant's Signature Date

_____

Principal Investigator's Signature Date

____ I prefer to receive the transcript for member check via e-mail: address_____
____ I prefer to receive the transcript for member check via hard copy: address_____

Appendix I

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Date: _____

Letter of Consent
Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

To _____ Administrators,

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about the research or any information not included in this letter, please feel free to contact me at any time.

In 2010, the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) published an article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010). From this work, a group of nine MMYA members have now begun a second manuscript group in order to further explore the possible influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority on learning relationships, as well as children's engagement in their learning. The present qualitative study is guided by the following questions:

1) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority and learning relationships?
2) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority, learning relationships and student engagement?
3) To what extent do classroom and school social settings influence teachers' use of authority?
4) To what extent do classroom and school's social setting influence the development of learning relationships?

I, _____ agree that _____ educators from _____ School can participate in two audio taped focus-group discussions that will last approximately two hours in duration for the study on **"Authority, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective."** As such, I understand that:

- They will be asked to participate in two two-hour focus-group discussions with the intent of exploring their thoughts on these issues.
- The first focus-group discussion will be scheduled in the next few months (Fall 2012/Winter 2013). Both discussions will be audio taped, and transcribed by the principal investigators.
- After a total of two focus-group discussions have been completed, the principal investigators will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA manuscript group after receiving the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board Approval.
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the focus-group discussions will remain confidential.
- The research findings will be used to inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' authority on the school and classroom culture, and its relationship to the issue of student engagement.
- Focus-group audiotapes and transcripts will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.
- Because the focus-group discussions will take place during the workday, volunteer participants will be provided with a teacher substitute (half-day), if needed, so that they may participate. A light lunch will also be provided during the focus-group discussions.

Furthermore, I understand that _____ is not obligated to participate in this study and that she/he may withdraw from this study at any time. Also, any information shared through the focus-group discussions will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this study. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Again, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation. This study has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board.

_____

Administrator's Signature Date

_____

Principal Investigator's Signature Date

Principal Investigator's Signature Date

A. LETTER OF CONSENT: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH PARTICIPANT

Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

Data collected from focus-group discussions that took place in Fall 2011 & Winter 2012 indicate that there might be a need to discuss in greater detail the use of authority as teachers within the context of learning relationships and student engagement.

As a follow-up to the focus-group discussions, I may request an individual interviews with focus-group participants that will be guided by this study's overarching questions already stated in this consent form (please see page 1).

I, _____ agree that _____educators from _____ School can participate in one audio taped individual interview that will last approximately 30 to 45 minutes in duration, as a follow-up conversation to the focus-group discussions for the study on "**Authority, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective**." As such, I understand:

- The teacher will be asked to participate in one 30 to 45 minute interview with the intent of exploring his/her thoughts on issues raised during the focus-group discussions in December 2011 and January 2012;
- The interview will be scheduled at the teacher's convenience outside of school hours, and it will be transcribed by the principal investigator;
- The teacher will receive the interview questions three to five days prior to the scheduled interview;
- After a total of one interview has been completed, the principal investigator will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA research group after receiving approval from the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board ;
- The research findings will be used to inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority within the context of their learning relationships with students;
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the interview will remain confidential;
- The transcript generated from the interview will be sent to the teacher for "member check"; therefore, he/she will have the opportunity to verify the data before it is analyzed by the principal investigator; and
- The interview tape and transcript will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.

Furthermore, I understand that _____ is not obligated to participate in this study and that she/he may withdraw from this study at any time. Also, any information shared in the interview will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this study. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Again, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation. This study has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board.

Administrator's Signature	Date
Focus-Group Participant's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date

Appendix J

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Education

Date: _____

Letter of Consent
Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

To _____ Division's Superintendent's Team,

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only a part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about the research or any information not included in this letter, please feel free to contact me at any time.

In 2010, the Manitoba Middle Years Association (MMYA) published an article entitled, *Examining Student Engagement and Authority: Developing Learning Relationships in the Middle Grades* (Dooner, Mandzuk, Obendoerfer, Babiuk, Cerqueira-Vassallo, Force, Roy, and Vermette, 2010). From this work, a group of nine MMYA members have now begun a second manuscript group in order to further explore the possible influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority on learning relationships, as well as children's engagement in their learning. The present qualitative study is guided by the following questions:

1) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority and learning relationships?
2) To what extent is there a relationship between teachers' use of authority, learning relationships and student engagement?
3) To what extent do classroom and school social settings influence teachers' use of authority?
4) To what extent do classroom and school's social setting influence the development of learning relationships?

I, _____ agree that _____ educators from _____ Division can participate in two audio taped focus-group discussions that will last approximately two hours in duration for the study on **"Authority, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective."** As such, I understand that:

- They will be asked to participate in two two-hour focus-group discussions with the intent of exploring their thoughts on these issues.
- The first focus-group discussion will be scheduled in the next few months (Fall 2012/Winter 2013). Both discussions will be audio taped, and transcribed by the principal investigators.
- After a total of two focus-group discussions have been completed, the principal investigators will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA manuscript group after receiving the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board Approval.
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the focus-group discussions will remain confidential.
- The research findings will be used to inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' authority on the school and classroom culture, and its relationship to the issue of student engagement.
- Focus-group audiotapes and transcripts will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.
- Because the focus-group discussions will take place during the workday, volunteer educators will be provided with a teacher substitute (half-day), if needed, so that they may participate. A light lunch will also be provided during the focus-group discussions.

Furthermore, I understand that _____ is not obligated to participate in this study and that she/he may withdraw from this study at any time. Also, any information shared through the focus-group discussions will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this study. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Again, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation. This study has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board.

_____

Superintendent's Team Signature Date

_____

Focus-Group Participant's Signature Date

Principal Investigator's Signature Date

B. LETTER OF CONSENT: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH PARTICIPANT

Principal Investigator: Anne-Marie Dooner
Dr. David Mandzuk

Data collected from focus-group discussions that took place in Fall 2011 & Winter 2012 indicate that there might be a need to discuss in greater detail the use of authority as teachers within the context of learning relationships and student engagement.

As a follow-up to the focus-group discussions, I may request an individual interviews with focus-group participants that will be guided by this study's overarching questions already stated in this consent form (please see page 1).

I, _____ agree that _____educators from _____ School can participate in one audio taped individual interview that will last approximately 30 to 45 minutes in duration, as a follow-up conversation to the focus-group discussions for the study on "**Authority, Learning Relationships, and Student Engagement: A Middle Years Perspective**." As such, I understand:

- The teacher will be asked to participate in one 30 to 45 minute interview with the intent of exploring his/her thoughts on issues raised during the focus-group discussions in December 2011 and January 2012;
- The interview will be scheduled at the teacher's convenience outside of school hours, and it will be transcribed by the principal investigator;
- The teacher will receive the interview questions three to five days prior to the scheduled interview;
- After a total of one interview has been completed, the principal investigator will analyze the data with the intent of sharing the findings with members of the MMYA research group after receiving approval from the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board ;
- The research findings will be used to inform one of the principal investigator's doctoral research regarding the influence of teachers' social and pedagogical authority within the context of their learning relationships with students;
- No participants will be identified in any research report which means that all information shared through the interview will remain confidential;
- The transcript generated from the interview will be sent to the teacher for "member check"; therefore, he/she will have the opportunity to verify the data before it is analyzed by the principal investigator; and
- The interview tape and transcript will be stored in the principal investigators' password protected computers located in their locked offices; all data will be destroyed within five years of the completion of the project.

Furthermore, I understand that _____ is not obligated to participate in this study and that she/he may withdraw from this study at any time. Also, any information shared in the interview will be used to meet the previously stated purposes of the study only.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding your participation in this study. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Again, if you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact Anne-Marie Dooner at 230-4760 or at annemarie.dooner@7oaks.org, or Dr. David Mandzuk at 474-7551. Because he is also my doctoral advisor, you may contact him if you have any questions regarding the possible inclusion of this study's findings in my doctoral dissertation. This study has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board.

Superintendent's Team Signature	Date
Focus-Group Participant's Signature	Date
Principal Investigator's Signature	Date