

Emotional Experiences: Teacher Interactions with Parents in New South Wales Primary Schools

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Abstract

Teachers' work has been affected by the increased engagement of parents in school settings. Parental engagement in school settings is encouraged as an important factor in student learning, however there is limited research on the effect of parental engagement on the emotional experiences of teachers, particularly within middle and high socioeconomic areas. A greater understanding of teachers' emotional experiences in their interactions with parents, and how these emotional responses are constructed within contextualised school settings is needed. This thesis explored the emotions that teachers experienced in their day-to-day interactions with parents. This research adopted feminist and poststructuralist scholarship and an interactionist approach to the study of classroom teachers' emotion through examining the convergence between the intrapersonal, the interpersonal and the socio-political culture. Four classroom teachers from four Sydney public primary school settings participated in this multi-case study. The data sources included classroom teachers' completion of an 'emotional diary' and in-depth interviews over a 6-month period. In addition, sources were collected from each of the four school settings including school newsletters, school websites, and policy documents. Using small story analysis and documentary sources analysis, findings revealed that teachers' emotional experiences are shaped by the social and cultural construction of 'emotional rules' within each school setting. When parents did not comply with these emotional rules, teachers tended to experience 'negative' emotions. Teachers consistently reported experiencing 'negative' emotions with very few 'positive' emotional experiences in the 6 month period. Emotions were managed by engaging in significant emotional labour by seeking supportive collegial relationships and through recalling past interactions with the parent to assist in navigating current emotional experiences. These findings are discussed in relation to the private, relational and political synchronous nature of emotion in school contexts. The

findings suggest that school policy and procedures contribute to contexts for interactions with parents that significantly increase teachers' experiences of negative emotions. Greater recognition of the emotional work of teachers is required in teacher professional development and in educational policy development in relation to parent interactions within school contexts.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Teachers practice many and varied occupational activities in their day-to-day work with students, colleagues and parents. Emotion underlies these practices in the form of emotional experiences, emotional reactions and emotional responses (Nias, 1996). Emotions are defined and approached from varied perspectives and a variety of disciplines. Theories of emotions include biological interpretations of individual experiences, psychological interpretations of both the individual and their environment, as well as sociological interpretations that consider emotion as socially constructed. These various interpretations, whilst different, do agree that emotion involved coordinated changes to a teacher's physiology, behaviour, cognition and subjective experience (Zembylas, 2005).

Emotion is indeed considered inextricable from teachers' work (Hagenauer et al., 2015; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). As a result, teachers' practice of emotional management has been described as 'emotional labour' in their day-to-day work (Zembylas, 2005). Emotional labour is defined as the practice of managing and regulating emotions through choosing to suppress or express certain emotions when they are experienced. For teachers, this occurs in the context of interactions with students, colleagues and parents (Wu & Chen, 2018). Practising emotional labour to address emotional demands has been found to achieve positive outcomes such as job satisfaction and personal accomplishment (Brackett, Palomera, Mojsa-Kaja, Reyes & Salovey, 2010). In contrast it may also result in negative outcomes such as emotional exhaustion and burnout (Goetz, Becker, Bieg, Keller, Frenzel & Hall, 2015). In light of this, it is important to consider the types of emotions that teachers experience and the reasons they may choose to suppress or to express these emotions. Teachers practise emotional labour in light of 'emotional rules' in their school context. 'Emotional rules' is a term coined by Zembylas (2005) and is defined as rules or standards that direct the expression of emotions in a given setting.

Emotional rules prescribe what emotions are appropriate or inappropriate in the socio-political context within which the emotions occur (Zembylas, 2005). As such, the ways teachers practise emotional labour and manage their emotions in light of emotional rules, is important as it impacts upon teacher wellbeing and effective teaching practice (Day & Gu, 2011; Frenzel, 2014). Although research on teacher emotion in relation to pedagogy and interactions with students is well understood, little is known about teacher emotion in relation to parent-teacher interactions.

Parent-teacher interactions influence teacher emotion and the practice of emotional labour (Chen, 2016, 2019; Cross & Hong, 2012; Wu & Chen, 2018). The parent-teacher interaction can cause teachers to experience positive emotions, such as happiness and satisfaction, when parents are supportive and respect teacher professional judgements (Lasky, 2000). However, teachers experience negative emotions, such as frustration and helplessness, when parents are unsupportive and critical of teachers' work (Chen & Wang, 2011). Whether positive or negative emotions are experienced, research has confirmed that the emotional experiences embedded within parent-teacher interactions cause teachers to practise emotional labour in order to present professional performances and maintain the notion of their professional teacher identity (Addi-Racah & Grinshtain, 2018; Chen & Wang, 2011; Lasky, 2000; Zembylas, 2005).

Empirical research has confirmed that increased parent involvement contributes to improved student outcomes (Berthelsen & Walker, 2008; Daniel, 2015; Daniel et al., 2017; Driessen et al., 2005; Ellis et al., 2015; Hughes & Kwok, 2007). Based on this body of literature, parent involvement is considered beneficial for student learning and as such, schools invite and expect parent involvement in areas of their children's schooling (Lareau, 2003). This intensification of parental responsibilities has resulted in the notion that parent involvement is no longer an option (Reay, 2005). However, an alternative body of literature based on critical

sociological studies, argues that the beneficial educational outcomes of students “are closely tied to the class position of their parents” (Lareau, 2003, p. 305). While the discourse of parent involvement and improved student outcomes may drive recent government reform, it can be argued that it simultaneously renders social inequalities within a “contemporary individualistic, competitive, educational marketplace [in which] the middle classes will always utilize their economic and cultural resources” (Reay, 2005, p. 114). There exists a long history of research on the many factors that contribute to levels of parent involvement, as well as the productive and unproductive elements of parent involvement in schooling (Epstein, 2010; Erdener, 2016; Reay, 2005).

Parent involvement in schools has become an educational and policy ideal that has exerted considerable influence on the Australian education system. Australian schools and the Australian educational landscape have been influenced by successive government reforms in recent decades. Scholars have documented the influence of these reforms, often described as ‘neoliberal’ in political nature (Campbell et al., 2009; Campbell & Proctor, 2014; Proctor, 2011), and it is now accepted that the context of Australian schooling has shifted to a marketised landscape marked by competition and stratification (Saltmarsh, 2016). Examples of this are evident in two recent national school education policy reform proposals in Australia – the *Students First* reform and the *National Plan for Student Improvement*. These and other government documents are important objects of research due to the broader discourses contained within such policies. Organisational and institutional policies and documents regulate emotional understanding and emotional rules, and encapsulate socio-political culture, social hierarchies and power relations (Boler, 2015; Reissman, 2008). Subtle and disguised discourses, particularly in relation to the position of parents and the notion of teacher-parent interactions, can be identified

through the analysis of policy documents such as *Students First* reform and the *National Plan for Student Improvement*.

While both *Students First* and *National Plan for Student Improvement* differ in school funding positions, “they both advance recovery in school productivity through the transformative and performance-oriented contributions of individuals – teachers, principals, students, and parents” (Skourdoumbis, 2018, p. 610). Both reform proposals target teacher quality, curriculum change, school autonomy and engaging parents. In an analysis of these policies, Skourdoumbis (2018) found that the *National Plan for Student Improvement* focused on ‘need’ rather than making an explicit case for enhanced parental engagement in schools, whereas *Students First* specifically called on parents to take a greater interest in the education of their children. The *Student First* reform suggested, and it is now accepted, that parents should be engaged in their child’s learning, should be engaged in the curriculum, should receive home-based support and should be involved in school-based decision making (Skourdoumbis, 2018; Liberal Party of Australia, 2013). The Liberal Political Party of Australia’s (2013) *Students First* sought to provide “a greater say for... parents and the community about how their school is run” (p. 2), provide “parents with a greater say about what happens in their school” (p. 3) and to review “the national curriculum to ensure it is delivering what parents expect” (p. 15). Such reforms constitute “parents as partners, stakeholders and collaborators in education of children, as monitors of teacher and school accountability, and also as consumers driving a market demand for efficiency and excellence” (Saltmarsh, 2015, p. 43). This shift has significant effects on the everyday cultural practices of teachers’ interactions with parents, as evident in the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers*.

The *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* “define the work of teachers and make explicit the elements of high-quality, effective teaching in 21st century schools that will improve educational outcomes for students” (AITSL, 2018,

p. 3). They define the ways teachers are required to maintain and develop professional knowledge, professional practice and professional engagement. Standard 7 requires teachers to engage professionally with colleagues, parents and the community and to work “effectively, sensitively and confidentially with parents/carers” (AITSL, 2018, p. 22). Specifically, a proficient teacher must be able to “establish and maintain respectful collaborative relationships with parents/carers regarding their children’s learning and wellbeing” and a highly accomplished teacher must be able to “demonstrate responsiveness in all communications with parents/carers about their children’s learning and wellbeing” (AITSL, 2018, p. 22). Although research (Barnyak & McNelly, 2009; Daniel, 2016; Ellis et al., 2015) confirms that teachers’ initiating professional engagement with parents improves parent engagement in schools, little is known about the emotional experiences of teachers within parent-teacher interactions in this changed Australian educational landscape.

The *Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth* produced a report that provided a synopsis of literature pertaining to parental engagement and found that “in Australia and overseas, the majority of parental engagement programs and strategies have been targeted at low-income communities where educational participation and achievement tend to be lower” (Emerson et al., 2012, p. 16). This may be due to existing higher levels of parent engagement and parent involvement in middle and higher socioeconomic communities (Fitzgerald et al., 2019; Grolnick & Seal, 2008; Stacey, 2016). Moreover, this focus on low-income communities where educational participation and achievement are lower supports Lareau’s (2005) argument that “scholarly inquiry remains focused on searching out deficits in the child rearing of working-class and poor families, rather than probing the limits of middle-class cultural practices” (p. 307). Despite the higher level of parental involvement, research (Grolnick & Seal, 2008; Pepe & Addimando, 2014) has shown that

interactions with the parents in middle and higher socioeconomic settings is a source of occupational stress (Grolnick & Seal, 2008; Pepe & Addimando, 2014). Parents in these settings hold high expectations regarding school's reputation and student achievement (Landeros, 2011, Stacey, 2016). These expectations are consistent with Australian policy developments and reforms, such as those previously discussed. Saltmarsh (2015) states that "along with national professional standards for teachers and principals, increasing levels of centralisation, constraints and accountabilities under successive governments have brought about the intensification of high-stakes testing regimes [and] comparative ranking of schools and reporting on testing outcomes" (p. 43). In this climate, it has been argued that teachers are in a constant process of achieving professional status and through their teaching offer a product that adds value, improves productivity and delivers academic excellence (Addi-Racah & Grinshtain, 2018; Angus, 2015; Ball, 2003). Little is known about the emotional 'toll' this may have on teachers in their interactions with parents in middle and high socioeconomic school settings.

This thesis explores the emotional experiences of teachers in their interactions with parents within Australian primary schools serving middle or higher socioeconomic communities. Interactions with parents have been described as "the most demanding and burdensome aspect of the teaching profession" (Landeros, 2011, p. 258), however, little is known about the emotions experienced or the emotional labour practised within the parent-teacher interaction. In light of current policies and educational discourses of parent engagement in schooling, it can be argued that understanding teacher emotion will foster greater understanding of both teachers' working lives and productive parent involvement in Australian schools. As such, an exploration of teacher emotion that is embedded within parent-teacher interactions within specific school cultures is required (Zembylas, 2005).

1.1 – Statement of the Problem

Despite evidence that positive parent-teacher interactions contribute to positive outcomes (Barr & Saltmarsh, 2014; Broomhead, 2013; Gartmeier et al., 2016), little is known about the teacher emotion experienced within parent-teacher interactions. The complexity of parent-teacher relationships have not been sufficiently studied within the parent engagement literature (Pepe & Addimando, 2014) and it would be beneficial to understand what *actually* occurs within parent-teacher interactions (Gartmeier et al., 2016) and how this shapes teacher emotions. Parents are increasingly involved in school contexts, and therefore the limited research on teacher emotion in relation to parent-teacher interactions is a critical area of study.

1.2 – Aims of the Study

The overarching purpose of this doctoral thesis was to investigate teacher emotion and emotional labour in relation to parent-teacher interactions. The study adopts a view of emotion as a “connectedness of intrapersonal and interpersonal perspectives and discursive practices” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 13). This view of emotion acknowledges the interrelated experience of emotion as individual, social and socio-political and the role of context culture in the construction of emotion according to emotional rules and values. Therefore, an aim of this thesis was to investigate the construction of teacher emotion in relation to parent-teacher interactions. In particular, the thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

1. How does the positioning of parents within the school context inform teachers' emotions?
2. What are teachers' emotional experiences when engaging with parents in daily interactions?
3. How do teachers' play a part in their own emotional control when interacting with parents?

1.3 – Thesis Outline

The thesis consists of six chapters. This chapter (*Chapter 1*) provides a brief introduction to this thesis and has outlined key terms and national directives that have shaped the current Australian landscape. *Chapter 2* presents a review of the literature in two parts. The first part of the literature review provides an account of the concept of emotion and how this has been conceived and has shaped an understanding of teacher emotion. The second part focuses on a review of research about parent-teacher interactions internationally and within Australia, with an account of the policy climate that shapes parent-teacher interactions in Australian school contexts. The review of literature reveals a gap in research concerning teacher emotion in relation to parent-teacher interactions in schools serving middle and higher socioeconomic communities. Feminist and poststructuralist scholarship, the interactionist approach and specific emotional theory shaping this thesis is described in *Chapter 3*. This chapter further theorises emotional labour and emotional rules and outlines the use of small story research in this thesis. Small story research was a generative approach used to understand the stories teachers told about their daily, seemingly mundane and unfolding interactions with parents. This chapter details the heuristic used to analyse the ‘small’ stories told by teachers and outlines the research questions of this thesis. *Chapter 4* explains the methods used that included a multiple case study design of four teachers working in middle and higher socioeconomic school contexts. This chapter details the emotional diaries completed by teachers, the interviews conducted and the documents that were collected for analysis. The first phase of data analysis included the analysis of small stories that contributed to the production of visual data displays that I have titled, Story Constellation Maps. Story Constellation Maps are networks of small story tellings and show the complex interrelationship between each teacher’s tellings and their

emotional experiences as individually, socially and socio-politically shaped. The second phase of analysis involved the coding of all small stories within Story Constellation Maps, and this was followed by the third phase of analysis that involved the coding of documents. The fourth phase was the cross-case analysis of all four teachers, and this led to key findings that are presented in *Chapter 5*. The findings are presented in relation to the research questions and contain four sections reflecting case studies of four participating teachers and their school contexts. Finally, *Chapter 6* provides a discussion of the findings regarding teacher emotion in parent-teacher interactions and implications for future research and teacher professional development.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

This chapter will review the recent research literature on the study of teacher emotion and parent-teacher interactions. The review commences with a brief overview of the philosophical lenses that have shaped the study of emotion and frame the field of research regarding teacher emotion. This is followed by an investigation into the literature of parent involvement in schools, including barriers to parent involvement and effects on parent-teacher interactions. This review also provides a contextual account of the research context in New South Wales, Australia, including a review and explanation of relevant policies and political discourses that arguably shape the nature of teachers' work and parent-teacher interactions in these school contexts. This review of the literature reveals a clear gap in research and a need to study teacher emotion in their interactions with parents.

2.1 – Emotion

The theoretical perspectives of emotion will be discussed and an argument for the necessity of an integrative and multifaceted approach to understanding and studying emotion is presented. The study of emotion in teaching in recent years will be reviewed with an acknowledgement of the link between teacher emotion and teacher identity. The aim of this review is to consider the ways in which emotion in teaching has been theorised and studied in the context of parent-teacher interactions.

2.1.1 - *Theorising Emotion*

Emotion has been approached from different perspectives and from a variety of disciplines including psychology, philosophy, sociology, history, political science, cultural studies and feminist studies (Lazarus, 1991; Zembylas & Schutz, 2016). Theorising of emotion began in the nineteenth century under theorists such as

Charles Darwin, Williams James and Sigmund Freud, all of whom approached emotion with differing perspectives (Izard, 1991; Oatley et al., 2006). As such, theories of emotion are varied and the definition of emotion is dependent on the approach and the assumptions held.

Debates prevail as to whether emotions are private or public, involve the mind or the body, meaning or feeling, the intrapersonal or the interpersonal (Lupton, 1998; Williams, 2001; Zembylas, 2007). A biological theory argues that emotions result from individual interpretation of events with less emphasis given to emotions resulting from the effects of culture (Boler & Zembylas, 2016; Lazarus, 1991). In contrast, psychological interpretations of emotion identify that emotion theory is centered on the relationship between the person and the environment, rather than focusing on either the individual or environmental events separately (Lazarus, 1991; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Sociologists consider emotion as socially constructed within a cultural value system (Gerhards, 1989; Zembylas, 2005) while feminist theories believe emotion is collectively and socially produced and are a site of socio-political control that can only be understood within culture and ideology (Boler, 1999; Boler & Zembylas, 2016). Despite the various interpretations, most theorists agree that emotion does involve coordinated changes in an individual's physiology, behaviour, cognition and subjective experience (Frijda, 1986; Izard, 1991; Lazarus, 1991; Zembylas, 2005).

In recent decades, theorists have sought to deconstruct the dualism between emotions being theorised as either the private or public, the intrapersonal or the interpersonal. Elusive definitions of emotions prevail, yet researchers agree that emotions are an affective reaction attributed to an incident that an individual regards as significant, and that this leads to increased self-awareness (Hascher, 2010; Enyde & Turner, 2006). As such, emotions are "holistic episodes that include physiological, psychological, and behavioural aspects" (Schutz, Hong, Cross & Osbon, 2006, p.

345). These episodes are affective in which the individual's experience of emotion and feelings in the body are not in opposition to cognition and rationality of the mind (Zembylas, 2005). The acceptance of a multi-faceted view of emotions logically leads to a multi-component approach to the study of emotion.

One multi-component approach is the 'social-historical' approach. Schutz and DeCuir (2002) propose a social-historical approach to the theory of emotion, in which an individual's beliefs and personal theories about the world guide emotional experiences and emotional regulation. Emotions emerge from a particular social-historical context, where an individual makes judgements and appraisals on how successful they are in attaining personal goals. Schutz and DeCuir (2002) argue for this approach in order to "develop an understanding of the social-historical nature of emotions and the transactions among cognition, motivation, and emotion" (p. 130). The key tenets of this approach are the assumptions that all human activity is goal directed and that an individual's goals are manifestations of the social-historical context within which they emerge. As such, emotions emerge and gain meaning from an individual's social and historical context, and the individual's goals are the transactive point of constructs of emotion, emotional experiences and emotional regulation (Schutz & DeCuir, 2002). This approach explains why two individuals may have different emotional responses regarding similar external events.

Another approach – the 'social constructionist' approach, theorises emotion as part of a dynamic and fluctuating process of meaningful experiences (Zembylas, 2007). An individual's emotional experience is affected by and involves the interpretation of that individual's emotions as well as the emotional responses of others. Denzin (1984) argued that the "subjective interpretation of another's emotional experiences from one's standpoint is central to emotional understanding" (p. 137). This social constructionist approach is based on the inquiry of emotions as 'emotional intersubjectivity' which involves the sharing of emotional experiences and

understanding through the process of social interactions and community transactions (Denzin, 1984). Both the 'social-historical' and the 'social constructionist' approaches acknowledge the intrapersonal whilst privileging the interpersonal embodiment of emotion. However, other theorists (Boler, 1999; Hargreaves, 2000; Zembylas, 2005) would argue that emotion must also be understood as existing within political interactions of organisational life as "emotions are not constructed from nothing but are controlled, shaped, and challenged in particular ways and for particular purposes" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 16).

Whilst still holding to the social-constructionist perspective, Hargreaves (2000) advocates an understanding of emotion that acknowledges culturally different forms of emotionality arguing that "how people are emotionally is shaped by the emotional experiences they have developed within their culture" (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 815). In his research on emotion in teaching, Hargreaves (2000, 2001) conceived that an individual's emotional experiences operate within 'emotional geographies', that is, the spatial and experiential patterns of closeness or distance in human interactions. Building upon Denzin's (1984) notion of 'emotional understanding', Hargreaves' (2001) five emotional geographies - sociocultural, moral, professional, political and physical – were conceptualised to help teachers identify productive or unproductive social interactions. Within this approach, emotion is embedded within the political interactions of school organisational life, however, Zembylas (2003a) argued that this approach still neglects the interrelations and connectedness of the intrapersonal and interpersonal perspectives as well as the neglect of discursive practices.

Conceptualising and understanding emotion as discursive practices means that emotions emerge within and also produce specific discourses, that is, bodies of ideas that produce and regulate the world of the individual in their own terms (Lanas, 2016). An understanding of emotion as discursive provides insight into how emotion is informed by school culture as well as how emotion serves as an operator in social

activity (Abu-Lughod & Lutz, 1990). It enables a consideration of how school policy and procedures produce and construct teachers' emotions within their interactions with parents, for example, why it is that a teacher experiences 'anger' when a parent interrupts a lesson (Zembylas, 2005). Emotions functioning as discursive practices means that an individual accepts or rejects various positions as a subject of various discourses (e.g. gender, ethnicity, class, role etc.) and this process of acceptance or rejection is intertwined with emotion.

In reviewing the various approaches to studying emotion, there exists a traditional dualistic division which has dichotomised private from public, the intrapersonal from the interpersonal (Boler, 2015; Williams, 2001; Zembylas, 2005, 2007). Zembylas (2005) observes that where theorists have attempted to deconstruct these dualisms, many have perpetuated rather than challenged these dualistic legacies. Zembylas (2005, 2007) and other researchers (Leavitt, 1996; Savage, 2004) have argued for an integrative theory of emotion. An approach that does not emphasis either intrapersonal or interpersonal, but considers both the individual reality of emotion, the social construction of emotion as well as the socio-political context within which emotions occur, is required. This is achieved by acknowledging the discursive nature of emotion, that emotion is constituted through language within wider social life, thus challenging the sharp distinction between the private and public division.

With the consideration of feminist and poststructuralist views of emotion, Zembylas (2005) argues for a theory of emotion that is an "integrative account of interpersonal components of emotion along with a consideration of how emotions are embedded in culture, ideology, and power relations without ignoring the embodied aspects of emotion" (p. 19). In this interdisciplinary and multifaceted approach adopted by Zembylas, emotions are an individual reality (intrapersonal) and social

(interpersonal) and sociopolitical. Zembylas used this approach to study emotion in teaching.

2.1.2 – *Emotion and Teaching*

The study of emotion in teaching received scant attention until the end of the twentieth century (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003; Zembylas, 2005). Research on teacher cognition, teacher motivation and achievement goals were well developed and devoid of any focus on teacher emotion (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). However, the last three decades have seen an increased focus in seeking to understand teacher emotion and its role in curriculum and teaching. As Nias (1996) accurately argued, we cannot address or develop the occupational activities of a teacher without also addressing teachers' "emotional reactions and responses and the attitudes, values and beliefs which underlie these" (p. 294). Research has confirmed that teachers' emotions correlate with teacher wellbeing and the quality of teaching practice (Brackett, Floman, Ashton-James, Cherkasskiy & Salovey, 2013; Day & Gu, 2011; Frenzel, 2014; Hagenauer et al., 2015; Nias, 1989). Teaching is an emotional endeavour and emotion is therefore inextricable to teachers and teachers' work (Hagenauer et al., 2015; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003).

Once it was accepted that teaching was an emotional practice, researchers began to study teacher emotions within teaching contexts. Geert Kelchtermans' (2016) research on teacher emotion relates to educational innovation and school reform. In his earlier work, Kelchtermans undertook narrative-biographical research (1993) where he analysed teachers' career stories through the combination of a formal questionnaire with semi-structured biographical interviews to "capture teachers' narrative sense-making of their career experiences, including their strong emotional aspects and meanings" (2016, p. 36). The comparative analysis of the career stories of 10 primary school teachers resulted in two key themes – the

concern with stability in the job situation, and the teacher experience of vulnerability (Kelchtermans, 1993). Based on his study of 10 primary teachers, Kelchtermans continued to research teacher vulnerability (1996, 2005) and argued for the essential need to understand the “moral and political dimension in teachers' emotional experience of their work” (2005, p. 308). Kelchtermans' later work was influenced by the earlier work of Andy Hargreaves. Hargreaves (2000) argued that “how people are emotionally is shaped by the emotional experiences they have developed within their culture” (p. 815). In his research of 53 teachers in 51 schools, Hargreaves found that a teachers' emotional experiences operate within ‘emotional geographies’ – sociocultural, moral, professional, political and physical (Hargreaves, 2000, 2001). These were conceptualised to help teachers identify productive or unproductive social interactions with stakeholders. These emotional geographies were investigated within parent-teacher interactions and it was found that differences existed between teachers' and parents' culture and moral purposes, and that there existed vague boundaries between the school and the home (Dotger et al., 2011; Hargreaves, 2001). Hargreaves (2001) acknowledged the existence of hierarchical power structures within the parent-teacher interaction in his analysis of a political geography. Similarly, in her seminal education work, Megan Boler investigated power structures in her epistemological and methodological approach termed ‘Feminist Politics of Emotion’. In the 1980s and the 1990s, Boler (2015; Boler & Zembylas, 2016) worked on an approach to research on emotion that understood emotion as collectively and socially constructed. Boler's influential publication, *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education* (1999) was one of the first works to consider emotions as a site of socio-political control and as a catalyst for social change, that cannot be understood outside of school culture (Boler, 2015; Boler & Zembylas, 2016). In this work, Boler (1999) argued that emotions are channelled within discourses, and that these discourses police our understanding of emotional norms

and that “rules of emotional expression enforce social hierarchies and relations of gender, race and class” (p. 1491). Boler’s work builds upon earlier scholarly work related to the politics of emotion by several feminist scholars, including Arlie Hochschild. In her influential work *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (1983), Hochschild examined flight attendants within the airline industry, and contributed the concept of “emotional labour”, illustrating key concepts such as “feeling rules” (p. 17) and “emotion work” (p. 7). Michalinos Zembylas (2005) adopted this approach in an ethnographic case study that emphasised the role of language and social practice in the context of science teaching.

Zembylas (2004; 2005) conducted a 3-year ethnographic case study of an experienced teacher with the goal to describe the role of her positive and negative emotions in constructing her science pedagogy, curriculum planning, and relationships with children, parents, and colleagues. In this multi-faceted approach, Zembylas’ (2004) study considered the role of emotion in teaching as first, linked to the teacher’s personal history and beliefs (intrapersonal), second, as part of her social relationships (interpersonal) and third, involving the political context of the school. Zembylas (2004) asserts that emotions are evaluative, that emotions are relational, and that emotions are constructed according to the emotion rules within the school context. From this case study, Zembylas concluded that teaching and learning is affective, involving social relationships and influenced by the context in which the relationships occur.

In summary, the preceding researchers have understood teacher emotion to be intrapersonal, interpersonal as well as unavoidably linked to school contexts including school policies and procedures (Boler, 1999, 2016; Hargreaves, 2000, 2001; Kelchtermans, 1993; 1996; Zembylas, 2005). In particular, researchers conceptualised that the practice of teaching was highly charged by emotion, aroused by and directed towards people, values and ideals containing a political dimension

(Kelchtermans, 1996; Nias, 1996; Zembylas, 2005). This understanding of the political dimension within which the teacher works gives weight to the study of emotion at an individual, social and socio-political level.

2.1.3 – Recent Studies on Teacher Emotion in Teaching

Studies of teacher emotion in recent years have considered the individual, social and socio-political dimension of emotional experience in relation to specific areas of teachers' lives and teachers' work. Key focus areas of research in recent years include teacher wellbeing, teacher interactions with students and pre-service teaching education programs.

2.1.3.1 – Studies on Teacher Emotion and Teacher Wellbeing. Due to the high rate of teachers leaving the teaching profession in the first few years after graduation (Achinstein, 2006; Gilmore & Kramer, 2019; Janzen & Phelan, 2019; Kersaint et al., 2007; Nichols et al., 2017; Ulvik et al., 2009), a growing number of researchers have considered the importance of emotion and teacher wellbeing. Emotion and its links with teacher burnout have received attention by several researchers (Chang, 2013; Goetz et al., 2015; Keller et al., 2014; Yin et al., 2017). These studies found links between the experience of negative emotions and emotional exhaustion that can lead to teacher burnout.

Chang's study (2013) investigated the adaptive coping and emotion regulation strategies employed by 492 teachers. In this correlational study, Chang (2013) tested the relationship between negative emotions and teacher burnout and concluded that the intensity of negative emotions did in fact account for teacher burnout. Chang (2013) stated that "the intensity of unpleasant emotion (i.e., anger, frustration) from the one disruptive classroom event positively related to teacher overall feelings of burnout [and] the higher the intensity of emotion the teacher experienced during the

reported incident, the higher the level of overall job burnout the teacher reported” (p. 812). In a study of 69 teachers’ emotional self-reports, Goetz and colleagues (2015) similarly investigated the relationship between emotional exhaustion and emotion. Despite their investigation of the opposite direction, that is, whether emotional exhaustion leads to negative emotions, Goetz and colleagues (2015) stated that a possible ‘feedback loop’ between emotional exhaustion and negative emotions could come into existence. Goetz and colleagues (2015) state that “this feedback loop might... contribute to the various detrimental effects of negative emotions and burnout in teachers such as physical health problems or high dropout rates” (p. 11). Keller and colleagues’ (2014) study added further understanding to the relationship between negative emotions and teacher burnout. In conceptualising emotional exhaustion, Keller and colleagues (2014) stated that “emotional labour is clearly associated with emotional exhaustion” (p. 7). In their investigation of 39 teachers, Keller and colleagues (2014) found that teachers self-reported regularly suppressing or faking their emotions, particularly negative emotions. They found that emotional labour was “significantly related to teachers’ experiences of anger” (Keller et al., 2014, p. 7) whereas “a teacher who experiences more enjoyment in a given teaching situation reports lower levels of emotional labour” (p. 7). Keller and colleagues (2014) conclude that increasing teachers’ experiences of enjoyment and other positive emotions could act as a buffer for teacher burnout. More recently, Yin and colleagues (2017) considered the links between teachers’ emotion regulation, work environment, and well-being. In their analysis of a one-time survey data from 1115 primary teachers in Hong Kong, Yin and colleagues (2017) investigated the emotional job demands that emerge from teachers’ interactions with students, parents and colleagues and found that these demands were detrimental to teacher wellbeing. In their study, teachers adopted two emotional regulation strategies, reappraisal or suppression, as personal coping mechanisms. It was reported that reappraisal

strategies were related to higher levels of teaching satisfaction and lower levels of emotional exhaustion, whereas suppression strategies, that is, “inhibiting ongoing emotional expressive behaviour” (p. 4) related to lower levels of teaching satisfaction and higher levels of emotional exhaustion (Yin et al., 2017). Thus, Yin and colleagues (2017) argued that teachers should be fully aware of the characteristics of the teaching profession and the nature of emotion regulation in order to avoid burnout.

The above studies had a strong focus on the *intrapersonal* experience of teacher emotion, confirmed in Keller and colleagues’ (2014) statement that their study could “not draw any conclusions as to what causes teachers’ emotional reactions in class” (p. 8). Whilst each study identified the links between teachers’ emotional ‘work’ and teacher exhaustion, an argument for more research on teacher-student interactions (Yin et al., 2017) and speculation that student (mis)behaviour contributed to teacher exhaustion (Keller et al., 2014) has emerged from the research.

2.1.3.2 – Studies on Teacher Emotion and Interactions with Students.

Adopting a stronger focus on the *interpersonal* experience of teacher emotion, many studies have focused on daily interactions teachers have with students (Bellocchi, 2018; Buríc et al., 2018; Frenzel et al., 2018; Hagenauer et al., 2015; Lee & van Vlack, 2018). Hagenauer and colleagues (2015) examined the extent to which teachers’ perceptions of student behaviour and the teacher-student relationship predicted teacher emotions during instruction. In their study of self-report questionnaire data from 132 secondary teachers in Austria, they found a strong relation between student behaviour, the interpersonal teacher-student relationship and teacher emotion. Positive emotions, such as joy, were related to high levels of closeness, high levels of student engagement and low levels of disciplinary

procedures in the classroom, while negative emotions, such as anger, were related to low levels of student engagement and a lack of discipline (Hagenaur et al., 2015). Furthermore, a lack of discipline also contributed to teachers' experiences of anxiety (Hagenaur et al., 2015). Burić and colleagues' (2018) study also identified the links between teacher emotions and teacher relationships with students. In their cross-sectional research consisting of five empirical studies ($N1 = 25$, $N2 = 300$, $N3 = 315$, $N4 = 391$ and $N5 = 1314$) that lead to the development of the Teacher Emotion Questionnaire, Burić and colleagues (2018) reported that teachers experienced both positive and negative emotions that had direct effects on "personal life outcomes for teachers, such as work-related stress, job satisfaction and wellbeing... [and] perhaps even more importantly, the emotions under study were predictive for the intention to leave the teaching profession." (p. 343). Acknowledging the links between teacher emotion and teacher-student interactions, Lee and van Vlack (2018) sought to consider the emotional management practices through the analysis of questionnaire and scales data from English teachers in Korea ($N = 127$). They found that emotional labour, that is, "the process of regulating internal feelings and external expressions in order to reach an organisation's goals" (p. 671) was positively related to negative emotions such as anxiety, anger and frustration, and negatively related to positive emotions, such as enjoyment and pride.

Studies have further focused on the *interpersonal* experience of teacher emotion as co-constructed emotional experiences (Frenzel et al., 2018). Frenzel and colleagues (2018) longitudinal study of emotional transmission between high school teachers ($N = 69$) and their students ($N = 1643$), found a positive link between teachers' experiences of positive emotions and student experiences of positive emotions. Teacher enjoyment was positively related to student perceptions of teacher's enthusiasm, and student enjoyment was positively related to teacher perceptions of students' engagement (Frenzel et al, 2018). This study and the

preceding studies support the understanding of emotion experienced and performed within social interactions between teachers and students. Teachers report a range of emotions such as “happiness, contentment, excitement, curiosity, enthusiasm, pride, love, relief, anger, frustration, rage, disappointment, hurt, sadness, exhaustion, anxiety and hopelessness [that are] triggered by events and situations involving students” (Burić et al., 2018, p. 329). As such, Lee and van Vlack (2018) argue that “we must train teachers on the way they manage their emotions while teaching” (p. 682). Moreover, Hascher and Hagenauer (2016) argue that teacher emotional experiences in interactions with students must be investigated not only while teaching, but within teaching practicum and teacher training.

2.1.3.3 – Studies on Teacher Emotion in Pre-Service Teacher Training

Programs. There has been increased attention on the study of the emotional experiences of pre-service teachers in recent years (Broomhead, 2013; Cil & Dotger, 2017; Dotger, et al., 2011; Flanigan, 2007; Hascher & Hagenaur, 2016; Timoštšuk et al., 2016). In a study of 117 pre-service teachers, Hascher and Hagenaur (2016) found that the pre-service teachers required support within their pre-service programs to address the management of negative emotions. A similar implication was reported by Timoštšuk, Kikas and Normak (2016) who stated the importance of preparing pre-service teachers for teaching work through the provision of emotional support and enabling them to interpret and cope with their emotions from the early stages of teaching.

The preparedness of pre-service teachers for the emotional experience of interactions with parents has been examined in studies for over a decade. In an early study, Flanigan (2007) reported that tertiary educators stated pre-service teachers were resistant to parents, and that “developing communication skills to use in conversing with parents is crucial” (p. 96). As such it has been argued that all pre-

service teachers should be prepared with a comprehensive course on partnership with parents (Epstein, 2013). As a result, research (Broomhead, 2013; Cil & Dotger, 2017; Dotger et al., 2011) has been conducted to improve pre-service teacher preparation for future parent-teacher interactions.

In a study that explored empathy during pre-service teacher education, Broomhead (2013) surveyed pre-service teachers ($N = 50$) who witnessed a mother sharing her experiences of having a child with special needs. Broomhead (2013) found that empathy was developed when pre-service teachers were able to collaborate with parents within their pre-service training. This collaboration between pre-service teachers and the mother “challenged the existing attitudes and beliefs of pre-service education regarding parents... via a positive ‘real-life’ example and interaction” (p. 183). Broomhead’s (2013) study highlighted the importance for teacher preparation programmes to consider how pre-service teachers are being prepared for interacting with parents. In an Australian study, Saltmarsh, Barr and Chapman (2015) investigated the ways parent engagement was included in teacher preparation programmes in Australia. They found that “parent engagement appears in teacher education programmes in an ad hoc way” and through “sporadic approaches” (p. 81). These findings warrant further attention because the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* require that, upon graduation, all pre-service teachers must “understand strategies for working effectively, sensitively and confidentially with parents/carers” (AITSL, 2018, p. 22). In semi-structured interviews with tertiary educators ($N = 35$) Saltmarsh and colleagues (2015) found that parent engagement was included as a topic within foundational first year units, foundational stand-alone units, elective stand-alone units and, at times, in professional experience. Significant variabilities existed in professional experience programmes with factors such as time constraints, length of experience, school culture and views held by the mentor-teacher contributing to extreme variability in “the extent to which

school placements are able to provide opportunities for [pre-service teachers] to engage frequently with parents during their professional experience” (Saltmarsh, Barr & Chapman, 2015, p. 78). These findings show the difficulty it can be for teacher training programmes to afford opportunities for pre-service teachers to interact with parents. As such, various and innovative opportunities have been tried by teacher training programmes, for example, simulated parent-teacher interactions. Dotger and colleagues (2011) investigated the development and execution of simulated parent-teacher conferences. In their study, pre-service teachers ($N = 15$) undertook a 15-week intervention within which they engaged in six simulated parent-teacher conferences with trained parents using standardised interaction protocols. The findings indicated that this was an effective method of helping pre-service teachers to experience risk and anxiety within a safe setting as they came to realise “there is no clear roadmap for parent–teacher interactions” (Dotger et al., 2011, p. 226). Simulated parent-conferences were also used by Cil and Dotger (2017) who found that preservice teachers ($N = 31$) concealed emotions within the simulations. They argued that pre-service teachers should “experience the challenge of very distinct interactions with parents, and have the appropriate support and guidance to carefully unpack the decisions, actions, and [emotional] geographies within a complex interaction.” (p. 244). Despite the positive implications of such interventions, Saltmarsh and colleagues (2015) found that these were not available in all teacher training programmes and that, at the time of their study, pre-service teachers felt “unprepared to work with the conflicts, crises and general emotional turmoil that parent communication and criticism throw at them” (Saltmarsh, Barr & Chapman, 2015, p. 73). This research was in light of previous graduate standards and there has been no research undertaken on the current *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* and pre-service teacher programmes. Pre-service teacher training on effective interactions with parents is an important issue today. However, research

has noted that this is not only a pre-service teacher issue. A number of authors have argued for consistent professional development for in-service teachers regarding the emotional experiences contained within parent-teacher interactions (Aspfors & Bondas, 2013; Nichols et al., 2017; Wu & Chen, 2018).

2.1.4 – Studies of Teacher Emotion and Parent-Teacher Interactions.

Studies of teacher emotion have focused on teacher wellbeing, teacher interactions with students and pre-service teaching programs, with very few studies addressing the role of parents in shaping teachers' *daily* emotional experiences. Despite the claim that "the most demanding and burdensome aspect of the teaching profession is dealing with parents" (Landeros, 2011, p. 258), only two studies were found to focus specifically on teacher emotion and parent-teacher interactions. These were undertaken by Lasky (2000) and Chen & Wang (2011).

Lasky (2000) conducted single interviews with elementary and secondary teachers ($N = 53$) from 15 schools in Canada to understand the negative and positive emotions elicited from interactions with parents. Lasky (2000) conceptualised that "notions of power and status [and] moral purposes which are developed through the cultures or communities into which people are socialized... come into play in parent-teacher interactions" (p. 844). Holding to this conceptual framework, Lasky (2000) found that the teacher emotions elicited from parent-teacher interactions were contingent on the cultural and emotional politics of power. Findings showed that teachers experienced positive emotions when parents filled a related set of expectations and shared value systems, while negative emotions were experienced when parents did not fulfil these expectations (Lasky, 2000). Lasky (2000) found that three different aspects of power dynamics exist between teachers and parents, the first power dynamic was normative, involving processes of mutual surveillance and judgments; the second concerned moral purposes held by teachers; and the third

involved teachers' sense of professionalism, where teachers held the virtue of expert status. Lasky (2000) concluded that positive emotions were linked with gains in power and negative emotions were linked with loss of power within parent-teacher interactions.

In the second study, Chen and Wang (2011) observed and interviewed primary teachers ($N = 3$) in a remote and small, multi-ethnic elementary school located in Taiwan. At the time of the study, Taiwan had adopted the notion of school-based management to enhance parent engagement and authority in schools. The teachers were observed for one day per week over two months, after which three interviews were conducted with each participant where it was found that “teacher–parent relationships were inter-connected with conceptions of culture, status, and power” (Chen & Wang, 2011, p. 193). Chen and Wang (2011) found that teachers experienced negative emotions when parents did not share their moral purposes and experienced positive emotions when parents conveyed respect for teacher professional judgment. The teachers also frequently engaged in ‘emotional masking’ in their interactions (Chen & Wang, 2011). Whilst each of these studies (Chen & Wang, 2011; Lasky, 2000) have understood emotion within political interactions of organisational life, they did not consider the connectedness of the intrapersonal and interpersonal in shaping teacher emotion. Moreover, they did not consider the wider discursive practices in the school contexts within which the teacher emotions occur (Zembylas, 2003b). Despite this, the observational and interview-based approach of Chen and Wang (2011) was highly effective in examining the actual emotional encounters that occur in parent-teacher interactions and they appropriately acknowledged that “school culture varies from school to school so that specific variation of culture developed in each institution needs to be explored case by case” (p. 188).

Recently, several studies of parent and teacher interactions have focused on a specific source of teacher emotions, namely the high expectations of parents (Chen, 2016, 2019; Cross & Hong, 2012; Wu & Chen, 2018). In the context of Hong Kong, Wu and Chen (2018) found that parental expectations perceived by primary school teachers ($N = 28$) were a source of negative emotions. It was reported that the high demands placed on teachers by parents caused teachers to experience negative emotions and that “expectations of teachers and, therefore, how they are defined as professionals, are once again changing” (Wu & Chen, 2018, p. 537). In another Hong Kong study, Chen (2016) surveyed 2084 primary teachers and reported that teachers experienced negative emotions from high expectations or unreasonable blame from parents. By contrast, Chen (2019) reported that teachers experienced positive emotions when parents were responsible, supportive and respected the teachers’ professional judgements. Cross and Hong (2012) also found evidence of negative teacher emotions resulting from interactions with parents. They used data-rich case study approach to examine two teachers’ emotions in interactions with students, parents, colleagues and school administrators across 3 years. Through the analysis of single interviews, paired interviews, classroom observations, email communication and field notes, Cross and Hong (2012) reported that parent-teacher interactions “tended to be stressful and frustrating” (p. 962) due to parents violating professional boundaries or not being actively supportive.

While each of these studies have reported on a source of often negative emotions resulting from parent-teacher interactions, the parent-teacher interactions were not the direct focus of these studies. It remains that very few studies, with the exception of Lasky (2000) and Chen & Wang (2011), have directly studied teacher emotion in the context of parent-teacher interactions.

2.2 – Parent-Teacher Interactions

In this second section, the literature on parent-teacher interactions is reviewed. A necessary review of parent involvement in schools as a constituent of effective parent-teacher interactions and the barriers to parent-teacher interactions are considered and contextualised within the context of schools within New South Wales, Australia.

2.2.1 – Parent Involvement

Parent-teacher interactions are dependent upon parent involvement in schools. Parent involvement refers to the school-related activities and attitudes occurring at home and in school that positively impact on a child's educational outcomes (Epstein & Becker, 1982; Epstein, Coates, Salinas, Sanders & Simon, 1997; Lasky, 2000; Minke, Sheridan, Ryoo, & Koziol, 2014; Pepe & Addimando, 2014). Such positive impacts are contingent upon social class dynamics that “are woven into the texture and rhythm of children and parent's daily lives” (Lareau, 2003, p. 236).

Epstein and Becker's (1982) empirical work investigated parental involvement by surveying elementary school teachers ($N = 3700$). They concluded that when parents were involved in school activities, students developed better basic skills and positive behaviours. However, they also found that teachers' attitudes towards parents had an impact on parent-teacher interactions and levels of parent involvement in schools. From this work, Epstein and colleagues (1997) developed the *Parent Involvement Framework* which provided methods for schools to encourage positive parent-teacher interactions. Similarly, in Australia, Muller and Saulwick (2006) undertook a research project that lead to the development of the *Family School Partnerships Program* with the aim to encourage higher levels of parental involvement in schools. Proceeding from this review, the *Family-School and*

Community Partnerships Bureau was established within the Australian government to assist in fostering parent involvement in Australian schools. In one report, that sought to identify the strategies required to foster parent involvement, it was reported that the “lack of proper recognition by teachers of the potential contribution to learning offered by parents obstructs effective parent engagement” (Emerson et al., 2012, p. 43). Research (Chen & Wang, 2011; Landeros, 2011; Lasky, 2000; Miretzky, 2004; Addi-Racah & Grinshtain, 2018; Pepe & Addimando, 2014) has found that teachers acknowledge the importance of parental involvement but cite some barriers to effective parent-teacher interactions. The findings of these studies are now discussed.

2.2.2 – Barriers to Parent-Teacher Interactions

Research has found that teachers reported two prevalent barriers to effective parent-teacher interaction which were time (Lasky, 2000; Miretzky, 2004) and the (dis)acknowledgement of teacher professionalism (Chen & Wang, 2011; Landeros, 2011; Addi-Racah & Grinshtain, 2018; Pepe & Addimando, 2014). In the previously discussed study on teacher emotion in parent-teacher interactions, Lasky (2000) found that teachers participated in episodic and sporadic interactions with parents more than they participated in sustained relationships, and that time was a barrier to parent-teacher interactions. Interactions between parents and teachers were usually limited to school matters and did not provide opportunities for the building of relationships (Lasky, 2000). Similar findings were reported by Miretzky (2004) in an investigation of teacher and parent perceptions of one another. In focus group discussions and interviews of parents ($N = 17$) and teachers ($N = 21$), Miretzky (2004) found that both parents and teachers reported that time was an obstacle to effective communication and interaction. It was concluded that parent-teacher

interactions could be improved with “time to talk to one another, time to connect, time to understand each other and time spent face to face” (Miretzky, 2004, p. 841).

The second barrier to effective parent-teacher interactions is acknowledgement of teacher professionalism. In the previously discussed study by Chen and Wang (2011), it was reported that teachers held a sense of ‘teacher-as-expert’ and were satisfied with parents who “regarded teachers as experts of pupils’ learning and curriculum planning and... who usually showed respect [for]... their professional judgment” (p. 191). Similar findings were found by Landeros (2011) in her investigation of the challenges of parent-teacher relationships. Landeros (2011) interviewed 16 teachers and 14 mothers in an affluent school district in the US and found that teachers believed professionalism was a key factor in their role but many of the teachers perceived that the mothers in the study disregarded their professional status. The teachers “lamented the lack of recognition to the professionalism of the entire occupation” (Landeros, 2011, p. 258). The affluent context of Landeros’ (2011) study was similar to the context of Addi-Racah and Grinshtain’s (2018) investigation of teachers’ perceptions of parent involvement. Addi-Racah and Grinshtain (2018) interviewed 20 teachers in an Israeli school that was also known for serving an affluent population. It was found that teachers acknowledged positive interactions but focused mainly on negative interactions with parents. The teachers in the study perceived that parents contested their professional judgement and decision-making, and as a result, the teachers wanted “a clear division of labour in which parents step aside and do not interfere with their work in order to assume their professional control in school” (Addi-Racah & Grinshtain, 2018, p. 612). Similar findings were discovered by Pepe and Addimando (2014) in their investigation of teachers’ perceptions of counterproductive parent behaviours. In their survey of 647 teachers, Pepe and Addimando (2014) reported that teacher perceptions of counterproductive behaviours manifested in parents being excessively worried, overprotective, unsatisfied,

uncooperative or uninvolved. A key finding of their study was the link between parent counterproductive behaviour and parent educational level. Pepe and Addimando (2014) state that “parents coming from a high socioeconomic status will have higher expectations about the academic achievement and, as a consequence, are likely to be more interested in such aspects of schooling when interacting with teachers” (p. 514). These studies (Addi-Racah & Grinshtain, 2018; Landeros, 2011; Pepe & Addimando, 2014) investigated parent-teacher interactions in affluent contexts where “neoliberal policies and decentralisation of educational services have increased parents' influence in schools” (Addi-Racah & Grinshtain, 2018, p. 44). Pepe & Addimando (2014) state that the parent “educational level is frequently linked to occupational status and family income, which are in turn associated with parental role construction, parental involvement [and] parental expectations for the child’s educational and occupational future” (p. 514). Similarly, Landeros (2011) stated that highly educated and affluent parents may alter the “power hierarchy of the school... at the expense of the democratic ideals of education as well as teacher professionalism” (p. 261). Vincent (2017) identified that these parents are indeed engaged in their child’s learning but sometimes overly so and therefore given to entitled, ‘pushy’ behaviour in their interactions with teachers. In comparison to less privileged social classes, Lareau (2003) states that this behaviour of parents of middle and high socioeconomic status parents is normative due to their ability to comply with school expectations and to adhere to “neoliberal discourses on parental responsibility” (Vincent, 2017, p. 552). This is pertinent to the Australian context in which Angus (2015) states “the neoliberal education policy complex... has increasingly emphasised notions of markets and consumer choice” (p. 398). The successive Australian government reforms that promote increased parent involvement in schools and that have contributed to this marketised landscape are now discussed.

2.2.3 – Parent-Teacher Interactions in Australia

Scholars (Angus, 2015; Campbell & Proctor, 2014; Campbell et al., 2009) suggest that the effect of neoliberal and market forces have changed the landscape of parent-teacher interactions in Australia. This change in the way that parents and teachers interact has been investigated in recent empirical research (Ellis et al., 2015; Fitzgerald et al., 2018; Parding et al., 2017; Saltmarsh et al., 2015; Stacey, 2016).

In an Australian study of teacher education programmes, Saltmarsh and colleagues (2015) interviewed teacher educators ($N = 35$) and examined university documents to consider the ways parent-teacher interactions and parent involvement is taught in tertiary settings. As discussed earlier, findings showed that the considerable variations between teacher education programmes may contribute to pre-service teachers feeling ill-equipped with knowledge on the importance of developing effective interactions with parents in their practice. Ellis and colleagues (2015) affirmed this by stating that pre-service teachers should “be made aware of... collaborative and non-collaborative practices” (p. 171) in their interactions with parents. In their interviews with parents ($N = 36$) and teachers ($N = 31$), Ellis and her colleagues (2015) found that parent-teacher interactive practices impacted on student outcomes. These interactive practices could be collaborative practices, such as being approachable, honest, sharing information and working together, or could be non-collaborative practices such as displaying aggressive behaviour, withholding information and support, or being unapproachable (Ellis et al., 2015). In their study, Parding, McGrath-Champ and Stacey (2017) found that parent-teacher interactions varied depending on the school context within which they were constructed. In a qualitative study on teachers’ working experiences in low, middle and high socioeconomic status schools in Australia, it was found that teachers working in

advantaged or higher socioeconomic government public school contexts experienced large workloads that were “related to the high expectations of parents” (Parding et al., 2017, p. 120). These perceived high expectations were also evident in studies from Hong Kong (Chen, 2016, 2019; Wu & Chen, 2018), discussed earlier.

In another recent New South Wales [NSW] study, Fitzgerald and colleagues (2018) reported that parent-teacher interactions varied in accordance with context, and that within advantaged school contexts, parents were “engaged [and] at times intrusive... [and] tend to be much more visibly involved in schooling and in extracting the product they expect will be provided for them” (p. 17). In their study of 22 teachers teaching in NSW, Fitzgerald and colleagues (2018) analysed differences between school contexts based on socio-educational status, namely the Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage [ICSEA], where ICSEA ratings were used to categorise schools as low, middle or high ICSEA. Compared to low-ICSEA schools, Fitzgerald and colleagues (2018) found that in schools with middle and high ICSEA scores, “there was more reference to parent pressures, including the perception of negative interactions with parents” (p. 624). In Fitzgerald and colleagues (2018) study, teachers teaching in middle and high ICSEA schools reported that parent anxieties affected their work with one participant stating that “the parents can make your life a misery” (p. 13). This is supported by an earlier study conducted by Stacey (2016) who reported that middle-class parents reflected “a more informed approach and greater self-assurance in interacting with the school” (p. 210). Recent Australian studies have reported that families from middle and high socioeconomic backgrounds do experience greater involvement in school-family partnerships (Daniel, 2015) and that “higher socioeconomic position was related to a greater range of school-based parent involvement activities” (Daniel et al., 2016, p. 173). This finding is consistent research outcomes across this body of literature, however, little is known about teachers’ perceptions of this phenomenon. In the study

of an academically selective public school in NSW, Stacey (2016) found that teachers ($N = 8$) valued parent involvement and that teachers gave approval for the 'altruistic' nature of parent involvement (Stacey, 2016). However, Stacey (2016) identified that in the teachers' responses, "a theme that arose... was the problem of parents questioning teachers' professional role" (p. 218). Teachers work is influenced by both positive interactions with parents and negative interactions, and these make up a large part of their daily work.

This recent research indeed shows that parent-interactions can make up a large part of teachers' work, may significantly influence their emotional wellbeing in the workplace and these interactions are often determined by the school context. Stacey (2016) argued that in middle class school contexts there exists "intricate culture, social and political relationships where varying, and at times, conflicting understandings of schooling and parents' roles and responsibilities within and surrounding it [are] played out" (p. 220). Further studies are needed to further understand parent-teacher interactions in light of "the current political climate for teachers" (Fitzgerald et al., p. 18) in Australian schools.

2.2.4 – The Australian Context for Parent-Teacher Interactions

In Australia, very little is known about the experience of teacher emotion in their interactions with parents in middle and high socioeconomic primary school settings. In adopting a multifaceted and multicomponent view of emotions, it is therefore critical to ground this thesis in a brief but necessary overview of the sociopolitical and policy climate that shapes parent-teacher interactions in these Australian schools.

The Australian Government claims to provide parents with "valuable information to help make informed decisions about their child's education" (ACARA, 2018). In contrast, previous decades of Australian policy discouraged parents from

choosing schools through policy, funding and regulation mechanisms (Campbell et al., 2009). This resulted in a child attending his or her local public school. Whilst policy that stipulates local school attendance in public school settings remains, it has been argued that the politics of a competitive market economy has emphasised individual freedom of choice in schooling (Addi-Raccah & Grinshtain, 2018; Angus, 2015; Kelly, 2010; Saltmarsh, 2016). Specifically, theorists (Angus, 2015; Kenway, 2013) have argued that Australian education was not unaffected by the neoliberal agenda that gained ascendancy in Australia in the 1980s and that as a result, Australian education has been transformed. Angus (2015) argued that, as a result, parents have become educational consumers or “choosing subjects” (p. 396) and that schools have become enterprises that meet the needs of these educational consumers by continuously improving standards. However, others (Daniel et al., 2017) have argued that school choice can work as an element of increasing parent engagement in their child’s schooling. Daniel and colleagues (2017) state that “building awareness of the strength of schools... may offer an early way to engage parents in the process of active school selection and encourage increased parent involvement in transitions to schooling” (p. 141). However, Vincent (2017) argues that considering ‘parents’ as a broad and homogenous term obscures class fractions, maintains inequities and hides a range of behaviours, privileges and disadvantages. Despite varying views on government reforms and school choice, researchers agree that parent-teacher interactions are more complex and expressed in more diverse ways compared to the past. This is clearly seen in the increased literature about ‘parent engagement’ in recent decades.

In 2008 in Australia, the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians highlighted the need to engage parents to support student progress and this declaration was further supported in the Family-School Partnership Framework (Family School and Community Bureau, 2020; MCEETYA, 2008).

Recently, the Australian Government sought to actively seek to improve awareness of parent engagement and is seeking to support parents in becoming positively involved and engaged in their child's learning (Australian Government, 2016). This is evident in activity undertaken such as the Department of Education and Training commissioning the Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth [ARACY] to undertake the *Parent Engagement Project* within which the Australian Government committed \$4 million to undertake research in support of the government's parent engagement agenda (Australian Government DoE 2019). The *Parent Engagement Project* sought to promote understanding of parent engagement and to develop consistent and ongoing approaches to the measurement of parent engagement impact (ARACY, 2020). A further policy, the *Quality Schools, Quality Outcomes* policy was released in 2016 with a focus to "increase accountability through transparency [and] ensure that students, teachers, parents and the community are able to access information about how students and schools are performing, what funding is being spent on and support the sharing of information about what works to improve outcomes" (Australian Government, 2016, p. 8). One recent government reform that aimed to improve such outcomes was focused on improving teacher quality in Australian schooling – the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers*. The *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* outlines what teachers must aim to achieve at various stages of their teaching career. Standard 7.3 requires a graduate teacher to work "effectively, sensitively and confidentially" with parents; a proficient teacher to "establish and maintain respectful collaborative relationships" with parents regarding a child's learning and wellbeing; and a highly accomplished teacher to "demonstrate responsiveness in all communications" with parents (AISTL, 2018, p. 22).

This review of Australian policy documents displays a belief that students benefit from a teacher's ability to establish and maintain positive relationships with

parents (Australian Government DoE, 2019). Research also suggests that Australian teachers consciously and subconsciously promote parental role construction in education through inviting and partnering with parents in order to engage parents in their child's learning (Barr & Saltmarsh, 2014). However, as this review of literature has demonstrated, parent-teacher interactions are complex and are contingent upon teachers and their perceptions, attitudes and emotions.

The scant research (Lasky, 2000; Chen & Wang, 2011) on teacher emotion and parent-teacher interactions within these contexts suggests that teachers exercise emotional restraint within the culture of increased parental presence in order to maintain professionalism. This may be due to traditional notions of professionalism (Lasky, 2000), or due to embedded sociocultural power relations within schools (Chen & Wang, 2011). Nevertheless, it has been reported that teachers mask their emotions to present professional performances so they may meet the expectations of parents and maintain boundaries of professionalism (Addi-Raccah & Grinshtain, 2017; Chen & Wang, 2011; Lasky, 2000; Zembylas, 2005). This is particularly relevant for teachers working in middle-class or higher socioeconomic contexts who are more exposed to potential conflict and disagreements with parents due to the parents' resource (e.g. education, income and social networks) and capacity to participate and become involved in their child's education (Addi-Raccah & Grinshtain, 2017; Campbell et al., 2009; Fitzgerald et al., 2018; Saltmarsh, 2016). Little is known about teacher emotional experience within parent-teacher interactions in schools serving middle-class or higher socioeconomic Australian communities. This study seeks to consider this gap in research. The next chapter will outline the theoretical approach developed and used to investigate and to further understand teacher emotions when interacting with parents in these school contexts.

Chapter 3 – The Present Study

In consideration of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, this brief chapter will outline the theoretical and conceptual approach used to consider teacher emotion within parent-teacher interactions. The research reported in this thesis draws on the work of Michael Zembylas and feminist poststructuralist scholarship in the study of teacher emotion. Zembylas (2002a, 2004, 2005) has documented accounts of teachers' emotional lives drawing on feminist poststructuralist scholarship to account for both psychological and socially constructed experiences within socio-political contexts. The following section outlines key elements of this feminist and poststructuralist scholarship before explaining the unique contributions of Zembylas to the extension of this approach in the investigation of teacher emotion. Key concepts such as emotional labour and emotional rules are explicated. Small story research is described as well as Georgakopoulou's (2015) heuristic for analysis. Finally, these are linked and explained in relation to the aims and research questions of this thesis.

3.1 – Feminist and Poststructuralist Scholarship

Theories of emotion from feminist and poststructuralist scholars recognise the social, cultural and political components of emotion and identify the interplay of the intrapersonal and interpersonal in ways where power relations and ideology are acknowledged (Zembylas, 2005). Unlike the strictly biological or cognitivist (intrapersonal) view of emotion, or the social constructionist (interpersonal) view of emotion, Zembylas (2005) argues for a theory of emotion that is an "integrative account of interpersonal components of emotion along with a consideration of how emotions are embedded in culture, ideology, and power relations without ignoring the embodied aspects of emotion" (p. 19). Feminist and poststructuralist scholarship seeks to break down the traditional dualistic divisions which have dichotomised

reason from emotion, public from private, intrapersonal from interpersonal (Boler, 2015; Williams, 2001; Zembylas, 2005, 2007). Emotions are viewed as both individual as well as sociocultural constructions in which there is convergence between the psychodynamic and social constructivist approaches. This has been called the 'Interactionist' approach (Savage, 2004; Zembylas, 2005).

3.1.1 – The Interactionist Approach

The interactionist approach within this feminist and poststructuralist study examines the convergence between the individual and the social, as well as the sociopolitical culture and acknowledges that emotions are constructed according to rules and values (Zembylas, 2005). In the development of his conceptual framework in his study of emotion, Zembylas argued that “the lives of teachers are not only matters of individual reality (intrapersonal level) but are also social (interpersonal level) and political/cultural/social (intergroup level) phenomena” (Zembylas, 2002a, p. 84). Within this conceptual framework, Zembylas identifies three components of teacher emotion – intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup – which are not demarcated or generative but rather interact and overlap (Zembylas, 2002a, 2005). The intrapersonal level refers to the teacher’s individual reality in how they experience and express emotion on a personal level, including the way in which their personality and personal history plays a part in this experience and expression. The interpersonal level refers to how the teacher experiences and expresses emotion within their social interactions and relationships with others. The intergroup level refers to the relationship between the teacher’s emotions and the socio-political influences within the school setting. Table 1 displays these levels within the conceptual framework.

Table 1

Conceptual Framework: The Role of Emotion in Teacher Interactions with Parents

(Zembylas, 2005)

Individual Reality (Intrapersonal level)	Social Interactions (Interpersonal level)	Socio-political Context (Intergroup level)
The history of teacher emotions are constructed through evaluations based on perceptions of and interactions with parents.	Teacher emotions are experienced and performed within social interactions.	Teacher emotions are individual as well as relational and constructed by emotional rules within school settings.

This conceptual framework was used in this study and is further employed in analysis and reported in the Findings chapter of this thesis. Within this conceptual framework, Zembylas developed a genealogy of emotions in science teaching.

3.1.2 – Genealogies of Teacher Emotion

Inspired by Foucault's genealogical method (1983), Zembylas argued for the construction of '*genealogies of teacher emotion*' in teaching. Genealogy is a method that explores the role discourses play in society, how they are used and how they transform. In the study of teachers, Zembylas argues that:

"...genealogies of teachers' emotions describe events, objects, and persons and the relationships among them that are present or absent in the realisation of emotions and the ways in which these emotions are experienced in relation to the teacher-self (individual reality), the others (social interactions), and the school culture in general (socio-political context)" (Zembylas, 2002a, p. 83).

The use of genealogies displays trajectories of the emotions experienced by teachers, positioning them to know and feel something in a certain way. In this thesis, the construction of genealogies of emotion in teaching casted light on the conditions

under which teacher emotions were shaped and performed, how emotions were managed within a regime that demanded the expression of certain emotions and silencing of others, and elucidated the emotional rules that were imposed (Zembylas, 2005). This enabled the exploration of the emotions that were experienced, and how these were constructed, transformed and managed in relation to interactions with parents. Zembylas (2005) argues that this leads to a richer understanding of the exercise of emotional labour in light of emotional rules in relation to cultural and power relations.

3.1.3 – Emotional Rules

An *emotional rule* is a theoretical term and describes a means to govern the emotions of individuals (Zembylas, 2002a, 2005). Zembylas theorised the understanding of emotional rules in education after considering the work of Hochschild (1975). In considering the emotional labour entailed by workers in the service sector, Hochschild (1975) used the term ‘feeling rules’ to refer to norms and standards that direct the expression of emotions in a given setting. Hochschild (1975) stated that ‘feeling rules’ “define what we should feel in various circumstances” (p. 289) and that such rules differ from context to context. In adopting Hochschild’s theory, Zembylas (2002b) argued for a different term because “the term ‘feeling’ in psychological scholarly circles refers to the bodily and sensational experiences of an emotion” (p. 200) and thus, to avoid confusion, Zembylas coined the term ‘emotional rules’. In Zembylas’s (2005) view, the term ‘emotion’ includes the “ethical, moral, evaluative, cognitive, affective and sensational” (p. xxv). Zembylas adopted Foucault’s ideas, arguing that emotional rules operate in such a way that teachers experience, understand and express their emotions in an ‘appropriate’ manner so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state (Zembylas, 2005). Zembylas (2005) defined this further:

“Emotional rules reflect power relations and thus are techniques for the discipline of human differences with respect to one’s emotional expression and communication. This may take place through inscribing and recording of ‘appropriate’ and ‘inappropriate’ emotions, managing and utilizing emotions as ‘deviant’ or ‘normal’... These emotional rules refer to specific language, the ethical/emotional territory they map out, the attributes of the person that they identify as ‘worth’ or ‘significant,’ the pitfalls to be avoided, and the goals to pursue” (p. 20).

Zembylas utilised this concept and means for understanding emotional labour in a three-year ethnographic study of a single science teacher (Zembylas 2005). In this study, Zembylas (2005) found that emotional rules were historically and socially constructed and were able to be negotiated and resisted. Zembylas (2005) also stated that emotional rules are not explicit, but that school policies, practices, and social conventions ‘encoded’ emotional rules and that these contributed to emotional labour. This definition of ‘emotional rules’ is used within this thesis.

The analysis of data in this thesis exposed the emotional rules of teacher interactions with parents within the school contexts. Because emotional rules are pervasive, subtle and often disguised as ethical codes, policies and procedures, professional techniques and specialised professional knowledge (Zembylas, 2005), this required deep analysis of documents. A deep analysis of teacher tellings was necessary to identify the emotional rules that influence the parent-teacher interaction, and within the design of school space, the arrangements of time, activities and procedures, as well as within the teacher’s tellings of what a teacher and/or parent ‘should’ or ‘should not’ do. This study extends Zembylas’s (2005) study by focusing not only on an individual teacher’s emotional reality, but rather the teacher’s tellings of their emotional experiences in parent-teacher interactions within the school setting.

When emotional rules were discovered and stated, the practice of emotional labour became evident.

3.1.4 – Emotional Labour

The term ‘emotional labour’ was proposed by Hochschild (1983) to refer to the management of emotions. Hochschild (1983) studied how flight attendants working for Delta Airlines in the United States of America became who they were expected to be at work. Major tenets of Hochschild’s study (1983) were that emotions were managed through surface acting and deep acting and that participants spoke of their emotions “not as spontaneous, natural occurrences but as objects they have learned to govern and control” (p. 133). Hargreaves and colleagues (2000, 2001; Lasky 2000) utilised Hochschild’s (1983) theoretical concept of ‘emotional labour’ and applied this to the work of teachers within teaching settings. These studies (Hargreaves 2000, 2001; Lasky 2000) found that teachers practised emotional labour to express and repress emotion and that this practice was both enjoyable and unenjoyable. Hargreaves (2000) found that teachers enjoyed the emotional labour of working with students because they masked and managed emotions for the students’ benefit which partially fulfilled their sense of professional purpose. However, it was found that teachers disliked emotional labour when working with parents due to the ambivalent relationship of power (Lasky, 2000). Power, as conceptualised by Foucault and Zembylas (2005), is not a possession but rather is a process, unavoidable and present in every situation. Similar to Hargreaves (2000, 2001) and Lasky (2000), Zembylas (2005) argued the practice of emotional labour is continually constructed through relations of power and in accordance with embedded emotional rules.

Previous research (Hargreaves, 2000; Zembylas, 2005) has found that teachers express, repress and manufacture emotion in all and any interaction with a

student, colleague or parent and this can be both a positive and negative experience. Zembylas (2005) argued that these positive and negative emotional experiences in teaching are worthy of study and can help teachers become “more appreciative of the complexities in the meaning of emotions” (p. 217) in their day-to-day lives and interactions. Small story research was utilised in this thesis in order to study these day-to-day interactions with parents, and to consider the ways in which teachers engage in emotional labour in accordance with embedded emotional rules.

3.2 – Small Story Research

Small stories research was developed by Michael Bamberg and Alexandra Georgakopoulou (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). In the field of narrative inquiry, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou found that traditional models of narrative studies were somewhat restrictive and prescribed a particular type of narrative – a long and uninterrupted life story. This particular type of narrative, also known as a ‘big story’, was used as the major tool within narrative inquiry for many years (Bamberg & Demuth, 2016; Georgakopoulou, 2015), however, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) argued that the ‘big story’ was not the only story worth studying.

In an ethnographic study of adolescent girls in Greece, Georgakopoulou (2002) considered identity development and management within social interactions. In this study, Georgakopoulou (2002) found that the narrative data included “snippets of talk” that were “under-represented narrative activities [that are] typically small [and] easily missed out on by an analytical lens which only looks out for fully-fledged stories” (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 146). In later reported research, Georgakopoulou (2006, 2007, 2008) conducted a three-year study of classroom culture and interactions amongst 14- and 15-year-old students in a London school. It was found that students did not tell grand narratives, but rather took part in other narrative activities such as “tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared

(known) events, but also allusions to tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell” (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 146). Georgakopoulou and Bamberg termed these narrative activities ‘small stories’. In their research, Bamberg & Georgakopoulou (2008) proposed small stories as an antidote to canonical narrative studies by considering small stories as sites of identity work amongst 10-year-old American students. In their study of a group discussion with the students ($N = 4$) and moderator, Georgakopoulou and Bamberg (2008) found that the “construction of self and identity [was] dialogical and relational, fashioned and refashioned in local interactive practices” (p. 392). Moissinac (2006, 2007) also adopted small story research as an analytical base for the longitudinal study of adolescent males. Through the analysis of interviews and group discussions, Moissinac (2007) found by analysing small story tellings “we get to discern the intricate processes of identity construction as they emerge in the ebb and flow of everyday conversations” (p. 247). In more recent years, small stories research has been claimed as a paradigm for narrative and identity analysis that ensures that the atypical narrative activities are included in such an analysis (Bamberg & Demuth, 2016; Georgakopoulou, 2015).

Small stories are non-linear or multi-linear unfolding events, containing information about mundane and ordinary events and are often co-constructed between the teller and the audience (Georgakopoulou 2015). Bamberg (2006; Bamberg & Demuth, 2016) confirms that this inception of small stories does not create a dichotomy between this and the ‘big story’, rather, small stories research allows for the consideration of the litany of narrative activities that are constantly contributing to the formation of a teachers’ identity. In other words, big stories are the outcome of identity work done within small stories and this aligns with the understanding that teacher identity is “produced, negotiated, and reshaped through discursive practices” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 29). Small stories research can be effortlessly amalgamated with researching teacher emotion due to the performative

nature of emotions within discursive practices (Zembylas, 2005; Georgakopoulou, 2007). It has been argued (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou; Lanas, 2016, Ryan, 2008, Zembylas, 2005) that emotions emerge within specific discourses, that an individual has the ability to accept or reject various positions and identities within these discourses, and that this acceptance or rejection is intertwined with emotion.

Georgakopoulou (2007, 2013a, 2015) developed a heuristic for the analysis of small stories based on three separable but interrelated levels of analysis:

‘Ways of telling’, *‘Sites’* and *‘Tellers’*. These act expansively as models of identity analysis and are appropriate within this thesis. The three levels are detailed in Table 2 with the third level containing two subdivided levels for analysis.

Table 2

Small Story Heuristic for Analysis (Georgakopoulou, 2015)

Level	Description
Ways of telling	Captures the story’s sequential factors, iterativity, the types of events and experiences, as well as the relationship between the current telling and intertextual links with other, previous and anticipated stories.
Sites	Captures the situational context factors within which narration activities take place, as well as within the taleworlds narrated.
Tellers	Level 1 – Analysis of the telling world (here-and-now)
	Level 2 – Analysis of the told world (position as character in the taleworld)

3.2.1 – Ways of Telling

The first level refers to the socio-politically shaped ways in which teachers tell their stories. In the study of students within a London classroom, Georgakopoulou (2013a) analysed verbal choices of story and the link these had with identity

construction, stating that this link involved stances of “alignment, ambivalence, dis/affiliation... that can be ratified, negotiated or contested” (p. 59). A focus on iterativity occurs at this level.

Iterativity is the recurrent ways of acting that are embedded in social practices and that engender expectations about ongoing action and activity (Georgakopoulou, 2015). Georgakopoulou (2013b) states that iterativity is effectively captured through accessing data that enables the researcher to analyse the activity within interactions, the participant's socio-spatial orientations and the teller's reflections on their narrative practices. In this research, iterativity was captured through the use of emotional diary entries and semi-structured interviews which enabled me to analyse what had occurred in specific interactions between the teacher and the parents, how the teacher had orientated their self within this interaction, and their reflection upon their tellings of their emotional experiences. Georgakopoulou (2013b) argues that iterativity provides glimpses of aspects of the self within specific stories and contexts which are constructed as relevant by the teacher. On this level, ways of telling analyses the interactional management and links in teacher stories which are evident in the Story Constellation Maps within this thesis.

3.2.2 – Sites

Sites are viewed as heterogenous zones that allow certain language choices and not others. Built upon an understanding of the dialectic relationship between language and space, Georgakopoulou (2013a, 2015) explores the significance of social spaces in both the act of telling, as well as in the taleworlds invoked by the participants' stories. In this current thesis, a greater emphasis was placed on the meditational tools that the teacher employed in the taleworlds. Unlike Georgakopoulou's linguistic ethnographic approach, the multiple-case study approach of this thesis analyses the here-and-now storytelling activities through a

focus on the teachers' completion of emotional diary entries. I put a strong emphasis on the stories' taleworlds within which I analyse emotional experiences, specific actions, environments and the influence of emotional rules.

3.2.3 – Tellers

The teachers act as tellers in their production of communicative activity. The position of the teacher self is analysed at two levels – the first level is the telling world; the second level is the told world.

The analysis of the telling world (Level 1) is an analysis of the here-and-now telling of interactions with parents. The here-and-now tellings by teachers were based on emotional diary entries and occurred in in-depth interviews. It is important to note here that small stories are “normally obscured in interview narratives, where primacy is given to the single event and the researcher’s extrapolation of dominant discourses at play from that event” (Georgakopoulou, 2010, p. 125). In biographical approaches to narrative, Georgakopoulou (2013a, 2015) identifies that there is a risk when analysing interviews of inadvertently marginalising small stories. In order to mitigate this risk, interviews are understood to be complex communicative encounters in which co-construction occurs between the researcher and the teacher. Similar to Georgakopoulou’s methods (2010, 2013a; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), it was not my intention to elicit small stories from interviews, rather the interviews were utilised to further discuss the teacher’s emotional diary entries. However, at times, teachers did commence the telling of small stories in the interviews. In my role as the researcher, I sought to engage in supporting the narrative flow as a listener. By asking questions such as ‘Why is that?’ or ‘How did you feel about that?’ I invited the teacher to self-report, elaborate, explain or justify. Georgakopoulou (2010) argues that this does not imply a lack of co-construction, but rather contributes to identity claims within the data.

The analysis of the told world (Level 2) is an analysis of the teacher's role as a character in the taleworld, as a member of a social context and as an individual with deeply embedded habits, beliefs, desires and fears. The taleworld created by teachers is organised into Story Constellation Maps which are an amalgamation of the analysis of emotional diary entries and interview transcripts. Ways in which the teachers draw on strategical opportunities for self-preservation such as deictic separation is analysed.

This thesis considered small stories told by teachers about their interactions with parents, with the aim to consider how teachers practise emotional labour in order to adhere or not adhere to emotional rules within their school context. Zembylas (2005) argued that emotional rules are discursive practices in that the self is shaped and reshaped constantly, and small stories give insight into these contextually shaped teacher identities (Bamberg, 2006; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008).

3.3 – Research Questions

The overarching aim of this thesis was to investigate teacher emotion and emotional labour in relation to parent-teacher interactions. The thesis adopts a view of emotion as a “connectedness of intrapersonal and interpersonal perspectives and discursive practices” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 13). This view of emotion acknowledges the interrelated experience of emotion as individual, social and socio-political and the role of context and culture in the construction of emotion according to rules and values. In addition, the conceptual use of small story research was used to consider the small tellings of day-to-day emotional experiences of teachers within the context of the school within which they teach. The thesis aims to answer the following questions:

1. How does the positioning of parents within the school context inform teachers' emotions?
2. What are teachers' emotional experiences when engaging with parents in daily interactions?
3. How do teachers' play a part in their own emotional control when interacting with parents?

The methods used to address these questions are outlined in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 – Methods

Within the feminist and poststructuralist paradigm, the interactionist approach was adopted to examine the multifaceted nature of teacher emotion at the intrapersonal level, the interpersonal level and the intergroup level, in parent-teacher interactions. This chapter provides details of the multiple-case study design, description of participants and description of data collection instruments including the use of an emotional diary, interviews and analysis of documents. An overview of the analysis plan is described with details of the use of Zembylas's (2005) conceptual framework and Georgakopoulou's (2015) small story heuristic for analysis.

4.1 – Multiple Case-study Design

This study adopted qualitative, multiple case study design. Qualitative research methods were chosen with the aim to provide detailed description of the teachers' emotions, interactions and context. The qualitative case study enabled an intensive analysis of the bounded phenomenon, that is, the teachers' emotional experiences in their interactions with parents within their specific school context. The multiple-case study of four ($N = 4$) teachers from four school contexts was used as the design for this research.

The four teachers participating in the study worked in four different school settings in the Sydney region. The selection of four teachers provided confidence in the research findings as the theoretical propositions benefit from the comparison of deliberately complementary cases (Yin, 2014). The teachers were selected based on selection criteria and enabled the theoretical analysis of individual teacher experiences of emotion at the intrapersonal level, the interpersonal level and the intergroup level which takes the socio-political context into account. The selection criteria required the teacher who is:

- Approved to teach in NSW primary schools
- Currently teaching in NSW primary schools
- Currently working in a position that requires daily communication with parents

4.2 – Study Context(s)

Four teachers working within their own school setting volunteered and were selected for this study. The school sites were selected to ensure complementarity between the cases (Yin, 2014). The schools were selected based on the Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage [ICSEA] value to indicate the level of socioeconomic advantage of each school (see Table 3).

Table 3

School Information

School name	ICSEA value	Enrolments	Indigenous students	LBOTE students
Kingsman Public School	1180	662	0%	41%
Hill View Public School	1146	746	0%	55%
Mayford Ridge Public School	1160	526	0%	51%
Thorn Public School	1167	569	0%	30%

The ICSEA functions as a scale that represents the level of educational advantage experienced by a school and the students within that school (ACARA, 2013). All Australian schools across all sectors, excluding special schools, are given an ICSEA value to allow for an understanding of the level of educational advantage or disadvantage. A range of factors including parents' occupation and educational attainment level, geographical location of the school (remoteness), the proportion of

Indigenous students and the proportion of students from Language Backgrounds Other Than English [LBOTE], are used to calculate an ICSEA value (ACARA, 2013). ICSEA values range from 500 (extremely disadvantaged backgrounds) to 1300 (extremely advantaged backgrounds). The schools invited to participate in this study had above average ICSEA scores ranging between 1140 and 1180. The reason for selecting schools with an above average ICSEA value is due to a lack of research on parental engagement and teacher and parent interactions in these middle to higher socioeconomic settings as discussed in *Chapter 2*.

4.3 – Participants

Ethics approval for this project was granted by Macquarie University (see Appendix A) and the State Education Research Applications Process (SERAP) (see Appendix B). Once the schools had accepted the invitation to be a part of the study, all teachers who met the criteria from the selected schools were invited to participate in the research. I initially discussed the research and participant criteria with the school principal. Once the school principal had consented to the study (see Appendix C), a member of the school administrative team sent an email to all teachers who met the criteria to participate in the study. As the researcher, I remained independent from the recruitment process. Teachers who decided to consent and participate in the study emailed their consent forms to me on an email address provided (see Appendix D), thus the school principal and other members of staff were not aware of who was participating in the study. In the case that more than one teacher from a school contacted me, a single teacher was selected. This occurred at two of the selected schools, and I chose the participating teacher based on their years of experience. All the volunteering teachers were female and had been teaching for 0-10 years. All were currently teaching a class in the early years of schooling (e.g. Kindergarten to Year 2). These similarities gave greater strength to the purpose of

ensuring the four teachers within this multiple case study were deliberately complementary (Yin, 2014). The participating teachers were free to withdraw from the study at any given time. The four teachers were given the pseudonyms of Brooke, Carmen, Jocelyn and Kate to ensure anonymity (See Table 4). Schools are similarly identified with a pseudonym. All teachers were involved in the study from June 2017 to December 2017 for a six-month period.

Table 4

Participant Information

Name	Age	Years teaching	School context	Role at school
Brooke	28 years	4 years	Hill View Public School	Classroom teacher
Carmen	25 years	18 months	Thorn Public School	Classroom teacher
Jocelyn	53 years	7 years	Kingsman Public School	Classroom teacher Assistant Principal
Kate	29 years	8 years	Mayford Ridge Public School	Classroom teacher Assistant Principal

4.4 – Data Collection

Data were collected within a six-month period. This allowed for the examination of multiple instances of emotion (Zembylas, 2005) across a two full school terms. The data sources for this study were in keeping with qualitative approaches and included an ‘emotional diary’, in-depth, semi-structured and informal interviews, and documents. These sources helped to develop converging lines of inquiry from multiple sources (Yin, 2014).

4.4.1 – Emotional Diary

Participants were invited to write ‘emotional diary’ entries in order to reflect upon their emotions within their experiences and interactions with parents. The emotional diary was adapted from those used by Oatley and Duncan (1992) and Zembylas (2005) (see Appendix E). Dimensional approaches to emotion measurement (e.g. positive and negative) are evident in Oatley and Duncan’s (1992) emotional diary, as is their recognition of emotion as multifaceted. They state that an emotion has any of four characteristics that include “a consciously recognised subjective emotional tone... autonomic accompaniments... intrusive thoughts... [and] an urge or an actual emotional act” (p. 261). Furthermore, Zembylas argued that emotions are discursive, that language and culture constitute the experience of emotion and therefore, as Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990) argued “a more complex view of the multiple, shifting, and contested meanings possible in emotional utterances and interchanges... and a less monolithic concept of emotion” (p. 2) is required. Therefore, the emotional diary was adapted to ensure enough emotional concepts that distinguished positive from negative were able to be considered by participants. An equal amount of negative (15) and positive (15) emotions were listed on the emotional diary entry form. In accordance with Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson and O’Conner’s (1987) hierarchical organisation of emotion concepts, the listed emotions were basic emotions (such as love, joy, sadness, fear etc.) and non-basic emotions (such as contentment, pride, grief and anxiety).

Teachers were invited to make a single diary entry once a fortnight over the course of two school terms. This equated to 10 emotional diary entries for each teacher. For each diary entry the teachers were first provided a space to write and describe the actual parent-interaction that had occurred. Teachers were then asked to select and identify the emotion they associated with this interaction. They were provided with a list of 30 emotions and invited to select the emotion that most applied

to their experience. The teachers were then asked to report on how strong their emotional experience was, whether they expressed or suppressed the emotion, how the emotional experience influenced their work and whether they shared the emotion with any other persons. Finally, teachers were asked how they managed the emotions they reported experiencing.

The adapted emotional diary entry form was structured as a questionnaire and was set up as an online form using Qualtrics software. At the conclusion of the data collection there were 37 emotional diary entries from the four teachers. Brooke missed one diary entry and Jocelyn missed two diary entries due to unforeseen circumstances. The emotional diary entry form was accessible online through a URL link and the teachers were asked not to identify any names of parents, students and teachers or to include any identifying details of individuals in their writing. The diary entries were viewed by the researcher throughout the data collection process and were used to prompt discussion during the in-depth, semi-structured interviews.

4.4.2 – Interviews

Teachers participated in a series of semi-structured interviews across the six-month period. Overall, each teacher participated in four formal semi-structured interviews, each lasting approximately an hour. Brooke, however, completed only 3 formal interviews, and conducted the fourth interview over the phone. Overall, seventeen hours of transcribed interviews were used for data analysis. This did not include any informal phone interviews that were conducted in the follow-up phone conversations that occurred after formal interviews.

The initial first interview with each teacher was used as an opportunity to discuss the teacher's professional experience, school context, general perception of interacting with parents. It also ensured that the teacher was familiar and understood how to use the emotional diary entry form. All subsequent interviews were based on

the three to four diary entries that the teacher had recently submitted. This allowed the teacher to provide their own account of a reported interaction at a later stage (Zembylas, 2015). After each interview, teachers were contacted approximately one to two days later to ensure the experience had not had any adverse effects on the participant. Day and Harris (2016) affirm that the practice of following up participants after an interview is imperative to ensure there is no experience of adverse after-effects as well as to ensure the participant has the relevant information to access support. During these follow-up informal phone conversations, the teachers often added further information to their reflection of interactions with parents.

All interviews were semi-structured and questions were fluid rather than rigid (Yin, 2014). An interview guide was used to ensure essential background information was collected (see Appendix F). The second, third and fourth interviews were fluid and were heavily based on the teacher's diary entries. Asking questions that were partly specific for the particular participant as well as questions that were partly identical for all participants allowed for interpretive comparison (Kelchtermans, 2016). As the interviewer unavoidably contributes to the co-construction of the small stories, I sought to presume the role of a listener and to support the narrative flow rather than to directly contribute to identity claims made by participants.

4.4.3 – Documents

The collection of documents provided information that may not have been attainable or visible in the interviews or emotional diary entries. This instrument is particularly important within the Interactionist Approach to the study of emotion which considers the socio-political context (intergroup level) to be a vital element of emotional experience. Boler (2015) argued that the broader discourses contained in organisational policies or documents serve to police our understanding of emotional norms and that rules of emotional expression enforce social hierarchies and relations

of power. Thus, I analysed the following documents in order to further understand the socio-political factors within which the teachers experienced interactions with parents and to further understand these discursive contexts:

- *Australian Standards for Teachers* from the Australian Institute of Teaching and School Leadership [AITSL] (2018)
- *Code of Conduct* from the New South Wales Department of Education (2006)
- *Curriculum planning and programming, assessing and reporting to parents K-12* from the New South Wales Department of Education (2019)
- *School Excellence Framework – Version 2* from New the South Wales Government (2017)
- School website
- School policies
- School procedures
- School newsletters or briefing documents

Where such documents were not publicly available, approval to access documents was sought from the Principal of the school. The only documents that were provided by the teachers with consent from the Principal were three pages of staff meeting minutes. All other documents were publicly attainable. Documents provided insight into participant's reported experiences and emotions that occurred within a complex, hierarchical education setting (Day & Harris, 2016). They were an effective source of data enabling me to further understand the socio-political culture through the analysis of a socially produced text constructed by socially situated individuals (Reissman, 2008; Yin, 2014).

4.4.4 – Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability within a qualitative study is critical to ensuring the collected research was not merely a reflection of my own interpretations.

Trustworthiness procedures were employed in the analysis of the data in order to enhance the clarity of the data and correct any bias relating to the phenomenon of teacher and parent interactions. Trustworthiness was established through triangulation of the interviews and emotional diary entries to ensure this research had rendered the participant's perspective accurately.

4.5 – Data Analysis

All data collection instruments were analysed as texts (Zembylas, 2005). Texts from emotional diary entries, transcribed interviews and documents produced rich data, detailed in Table 5.

Table 5

Summary of Data Collection

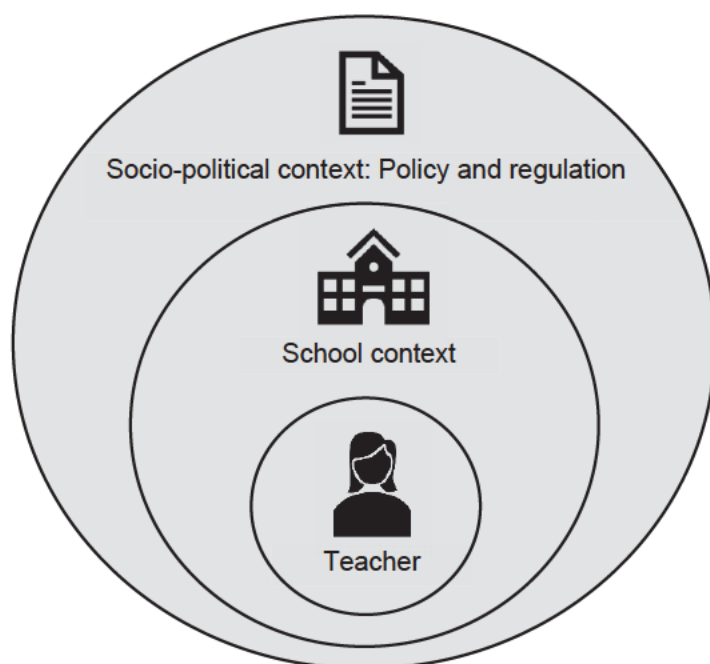
	Brooke	Carmen	Jocelyn	Kate
Documents	366 pages;	348 pages;	220 pages;	240 pages;
	32 webpages	40 webpages	33 webpages	44 webpages
Interviews	3	4	4	4
Diary entries	9	10	8	10
SCMs	9	10	8	10
Small story tellings	154	197	117	180

In accordance with the multiple-case study design of the study, the data were initially analysed based on each individual teacher within their school context. The individual teacher's emotional diary entries, interview transcripts and school documents were analysed together as a single 'case' as displayed in Figure 1. These data instruments allowed for an analysis of the teacher and the school context, as well as the broader

socio-political context. Analysing the data of each individual teacher enabled me to focus on the multiple complexities of how emotions are formulated historically and what implications these may have in interactions with parents in a given school context (Zembylas, 2005).

Figure 1

The Single Case



The single, bounded case was the teacher's experience within the individual school context. By focusing on the teacher's interactions with parents, I was able to develop an understanding of the local reality in which these occurred and as a result, further understand the emotional rules and effects of power relations within this context (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2020; Zembylas, 2005). In this multiple-case study approach four teachers participated in the study and as such this first phase of analysis involved a within-case analysis of the four data sets from each teacher. Farouk (2014) argues that this must occur first and be considered in detail before the identification of any broader themes shared by all four teachers.

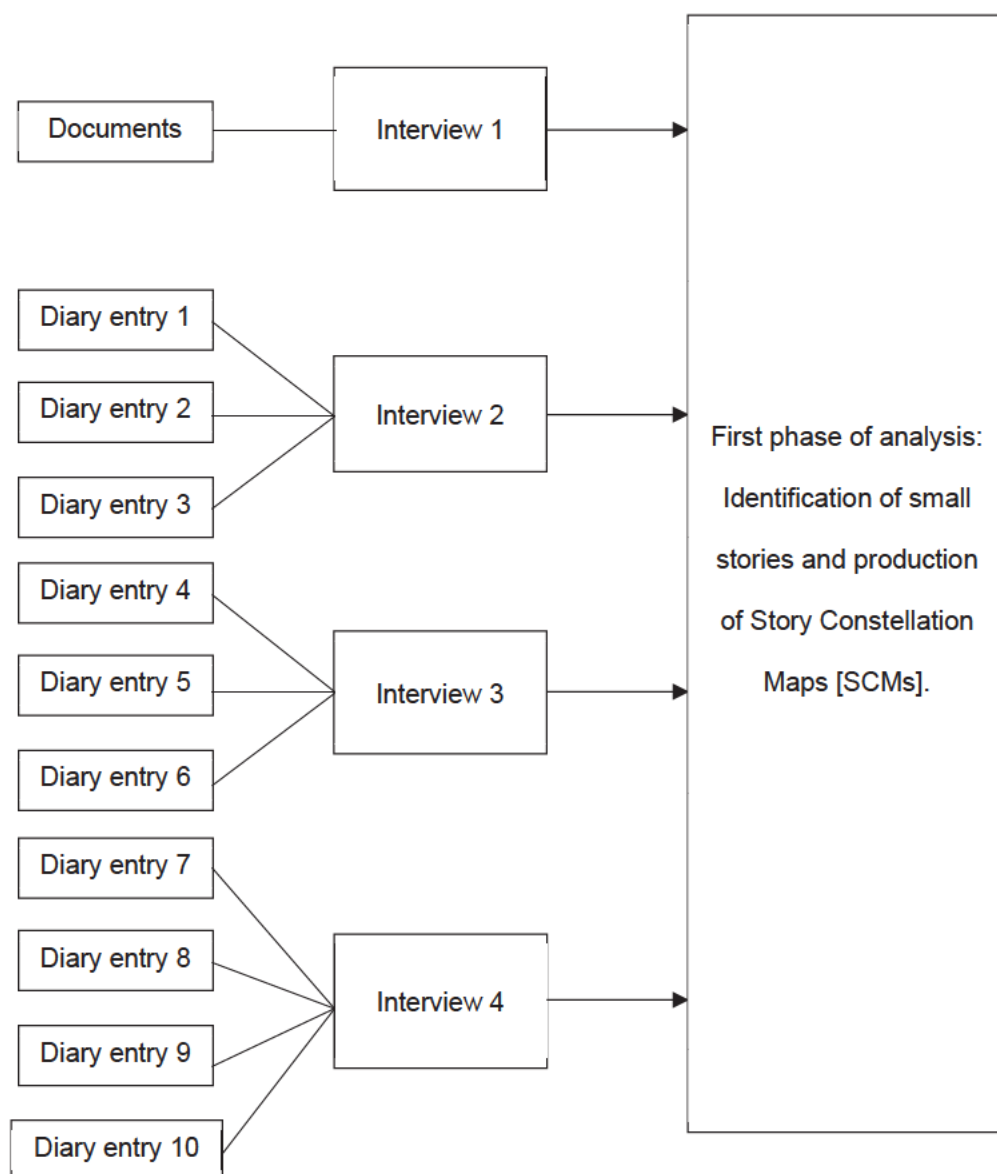
There were four phases of analysis. The first phase was the creation of Story Constellation Maps, the second phase was coding of small stories and the third phase was an analysis of documentary evidence. Following this was a fourth phase that involved a cross-case analysis of all four cases.

4.5.1 – First Phase of Analysis: Story Constellation Maps

The first phase of analysis involved the identification of teachers' experiences and interactions with parents through the small stories they had told. The conceptual use of small story analysis was utilised to identify when the teacher broke into a 'telling' of an incident (Bamberg & Demuth, 2016). These small stories, or tellings, were highlighted as the segment of text to be analysed – the unit of analysis – and were identifiable based on the introduction of a character and a correlating event (Bamberg & Demuth, 2016; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). This assisted in data condensation and was not separate from the analysis but was 'part of the analysis' (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2020). Emotional diary entries and interview transcripts were analysed for small stories (see Figure 2). Once identified the small stories were organised into networks called Story Constellation Maps. The resulting reorganisation of the data enabled nuanced themes to be deduced from the teacher's tellings in later phases of analysis.

Figure 2

First Phase of Analysis



Displaying the data in networks shows the complex interrelationships between the small stories told and how the emotions experienced by teachers in their interactions with parents are historically formulated. Due to small stories being atypical, non-linear and fragmented narratives, the networks displayed a group of associated tellings that looked similar to a constellation, therefore the displays were titled 'Story Constellation Maps'. Identifying the small stories within the raw data and using these to create story constellation maps was a generative process within the analysis.

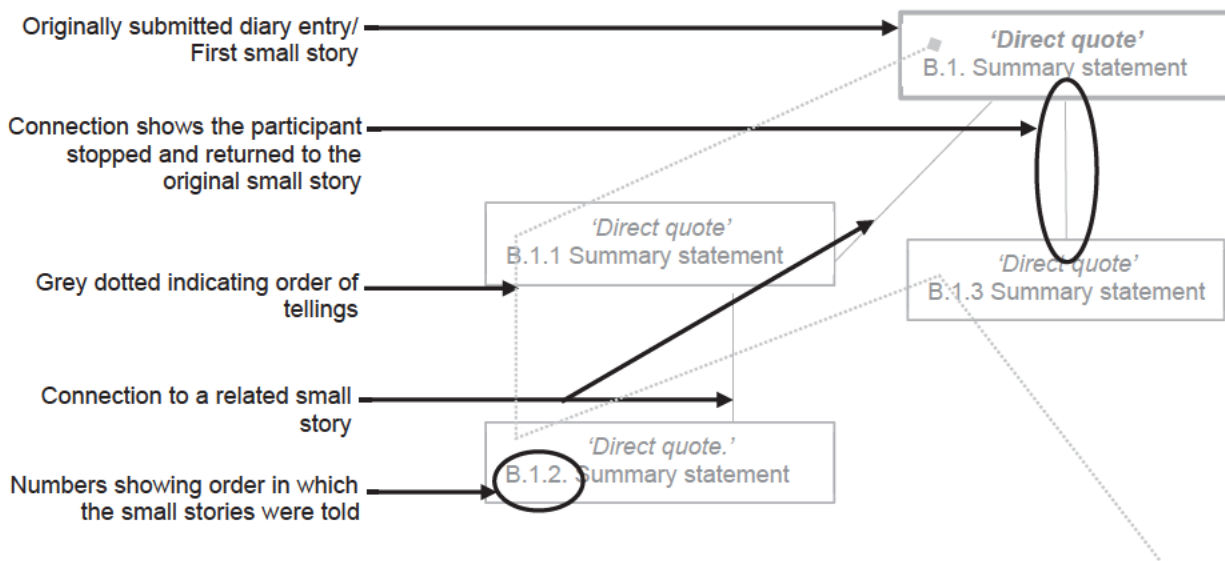
Story constellation maps (hereby referred to as SCMs) were made up of an array of interlinked boxes. Each box represented a single small story told by the

teacher. Within each box, the small story was presented as a direct quote by the participant as well as a summative statement by the researcher. Within the direct quote, the character is bold (e.g. '*the **father** emailed about the event*') to show the point at which the small story is identifiable, that is, by the introduction of a character and associated context. The first box at the top of each SCM is bold and this delineates the original submitted emotional diary entry. The emotional diary entry was used as a springboard for discussion and exploration within the interview, therefore it was important to identify the diary entry as the teacher's first telling. Further boxes showing small stories were added and black lines were used to connect the boxes.

At this point in the analysis, the black lines represent a simple 'connection' between teacher tellings by displaying how a single small story was relevant to another small story telling. These connections were based on the researcher's understanding of the way the various tellings were linked. Due to the fact that the teachers' tellings were fragmented and, at times, disorganised, the black lines show the way tellings relate and build upon one another. In addition, a single grey dotted line running through each SCM shows the exact order of tellings. This demonstrates the non-linear nature of small stories told by teachers and assisted in the heuristic analysis of the teacher's tellings. Black lines can be followed from box-to-box, story-to-story demonstrating relatable tellings, whilst the grey dotted line can be followed as the order of tellings. Boxes are labeled in accordance with the order in which they were told (e.g. B.1; B.1.1; B.1.2...) where the letter indicates the participant (e.g. B = Brooke). Where the participant stopped a small story and returned to the original diary entry, no line connects the box to any further small story. Figure 3 displays the elements of the SCMs.

Figure 3

Example of Story Constellation Map



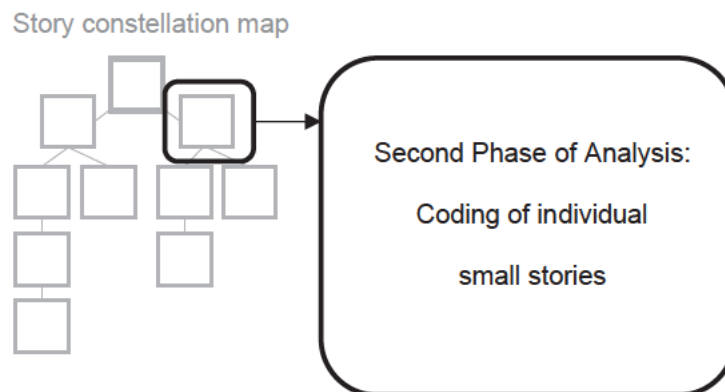
Text from the interviewer and interview questions are not evident in the SCMs. This is because the interviewer did not introduce characters and contexts, but merely questioned based on the participants diary entry and interview responses and assisting in the flow of the telling.

4.5.2 – Second Phase of Analysis: Coding Small Stories

The SCMs represent the complexity and nuances of emotional experiences in the lives of teachers. At this point in the data analysis, I was very familiar with the small stories told by the teachers, and so I moved on to coding the data to further understand their nuanced experiences and interactions with parents. Coding of the small stories was the second phase of analysis (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2020) (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Second Phase of Analysis



The coding methods used were in accordance with the methods used by Zembylas (2005) and with organisational tools put forward by Miles, Huberman & Saldaña (2020). An initial set of a priori codes was created in order to identify preliminary categories (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). These initial codes were deduced from the research questions, literature review, Zembylas's conceptual framework, small story heuristic for analysis (Georgakopoulou, 2015) and characteristics of the phenomena being studied (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2020). During this stage of coding, I applied descriptive and conceptual labels on the text. For example, labels such as 'anxiety', 'anger', 'frustration', 'awe', 'admiration', 'confidence' were used. Codes from the conceptual framework such as 'intrapersonal level', 'interpersonal level' and 'intergroup level' as well as 'ways of telling', 'site', 'tellers', 'taleworld' and 'here-and-now telling' were also used. As coding of the small stories commenced, other labels emerged progressively. The list of codes was developed and refined as the data analysis progressed and as more themes were induced from documents, diary entries and transcribed interviews (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Hence, both deductive and inductive coding methods were employed. NVivo software was used to assist with this phase of data analysis.

All small stories from all four teachers received several codes to fully capture the varying meaningful elements that might be useful (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Vanassche & Kelchtermans, 2014; Zembylas, 2005). Extensive quotes within the small stories were retained and used to preserve the richness of the original data in accordance with small story analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Vanassche & Kelchtermans, 2014). During analysis, Zembylas (2005) coded data to create several categories and then reanalysed the data to refine these categories, looking for similarities and contradictions. This resulted in the emergence of separate themes. Similarly, I generated pattern codes (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2020) and implemented this second cycle of coding until the data reached a point of saturation. Once each small story within the story constellation maps had been coded, I moved to the third phase of analysis which involved documentary analysis. In total, I coded 648 small stories within 37 story constellation maps.

4.5.3 – Third Phase of Analysis: Documentary Analysis

The third phase of analysis involved the review of documents. All documents were publicly available on government websites, school website portals or in hard copy. Documents were requested from each teacher's school context, and it was noted when documents were available and when documents were not available or did not exist. The documents that were reviewed were relevant to the teacher and had reference to working with parents. Once all pertinent documents were collected, the documents were coded.

Deductive and inductive coding methods were employed for coding documents. A priori codes were created to identify preliminary categories deduced from the research questions and literature review. Descriptive codes derived from the research questions included, for example, 'parent', 'engaging with parent', 'interaction' with further codes such as 'email', 'interview' and 'contact' being applied.

Preliminary categories were also deduced from literature and included, for example, 'parent engagement', 'parent involvement', 'parent support', 'interaction', 'partnership', 'home' and 'school'. As coding was conducted, other conceptual labels were induced as themes emerged. These were applied to the list of codes and included, for example, 'professional', 'respectful', 'supportive', 'opportunities', 'classroom' and 'school office'. NVivo software was used to assist with the analysis of documents.

All documents received several codes and extensive sections or paragraphs were retained. Once the documents had been coded, several categories were created and then reanalysed to refine these categories (Zembylas, 2005). This occurred until the data reached a point of saturation and produced key themes such as 'parents are welcome', 'parents are invited', 'volunteer'. At this stage of the analysis, clear themes were evident in each of the four cases. Single cases had been analysed and so I moved to the fourth phased of analysis.

4.5.4 – Fourth Phase of Analysis: Cross-Case Analysis

Cross case analysis involved an analysis of the nuanced themes evident in the stories told by the teachers. It was at this stage that I looked at all SCMs (first phase) and the coded small stories (second phase) within these maps as a whole. This was made possible due to the original selection of deliberately complementary school contexts within which the teachers interacted with parents (Yin, 2014). Following a thematic approach, I reviewed the story constellation maps and small stories to look for patterns or themes that were similar and cut across each of the four teachers experiences (Farouk, 2014; Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2020; Yin, 2014). I employed Zembylas's conceptual framework (2002b) by looking for the three components of teacher emotion – intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup – within teacher stories of their experiences and interactions with parents. I also employed

Georgakopoulou's heuristic for small story analysis (2015) and considered the 'ways of telling', the 'sites' and 'tellers'. This enabled me to induce themes through the building up of causal explanations of phenomena as evident in the SCMs and individual small stories within these (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). For example, a clear theme was identified of a teacher experiencing 'anxiety' (intrapersonal level) when the teacher perceives that a parent has questioned her professional capacity (interpersonal level) and the emotional labour experienced is influenced by the relationships this teacher has with colleagues and the principal (intergroup level).

This chapter has provided details of the methods adopted for the thesis. The multiple-case study sought to understand the lived emotional experiences of teachers in their interactions with parents in middle and higher socioeconomic school contexts. The next chapter focuses on the findings that resulted from the analysis of emotional diary entries, interviews and documents.

Chapter 5 – Findings

The findings of this study are presented in a narrative genre. Bamberg and Demuth (2016) claim that stories that are traditionally linear are the outcome of identity work done within small stories. As such, the variety of narrative activities undertaken by the teachers in this study were analysed and reorganised into a story of the emotional experiences of each teacher. The findings present the ‘messiness’ and fragmentation of the teachers’ emotional experiences uncovered in this research.

5.1 – Preamble

The findings are presented in consideration of the research questions set at the beginning of this study:

1. How does the positioning of parents within the school context inform teachers’ emotions?
2. What are teachers’ emotional experiences when engaging with parents in daily interactions?
3. How do teachers’ play a part in their own emotional control when interacting with parents?

In light of these questions, each single case of the teacher working within their school context – is presented as follows:

Section 1 – The positioning of parents in the school

Section 2 – The teacher’s emotional experiences

Section 3 – The teacher’s emotional control

These three parts provide the structure for the presentation of the findings. Within this structure, Zembylas’s conceptual framework (2005) and Georgakopoulou’s heuristic for small story analysis (2015) are applied. Each teacher’s individual emotional experience (intrapersonal level), the experience of these emotions within social interactions (interpersonal level) and how these emotional experiences are

expressed and controlled within the socio-political context of that particular school setting (intergroup level) is discussed throughout. Similarly, an analysis of the teacher's 'ways of telling', the 'sites' and 'tellers' involved in the small story accounts is analysed and embedded throughout the findings. Emotional labour was examined and genealogies of emotion (Zembylas, 2005) were developed. These analytical tools enabled the identification of emotional rules that were uncovered within the findings of each teacher (see Table 5).

Emotional rules, discussed in *Chapter 3*, construct the emotion work in which teachers either control or express emotion in terms of what is considered 'appropriate' or not within their school context (Zembylas, 2005, 2016). Emotional rules are embedded within discourse and are often subtle and disguised within documents, policies and day-to-day procedures. Zembylas (2002b) stated:

"We know these rules from how we or others respond to instances of emotional display. Emotional rules, like other rules, delineate a zone within which certain emotions are permitted and others are not permitted... These emotional rules refer to specific language, the ethical/emotional territory they map out, the attributes of the person that they identify as of 'worth' or 'significance', the pitfalls to be avoided, and the goals to pursue." (p. 200).

Teachers' emotions emerge and are influenced by the contextualised complexities of schools. The school context, as analysed in documents that portray day-to-day affairs, are the socio-political context within which teachers and parents interact with one another. These parent-teacher interactions are sites of emotional experience, emotional displays and emotional labour. Through exploring teachers' emotions that are experienced, considering what emotions are expressed and what emotions are suppressed, the emotional rules within the school are comprehensible.

In this study, the analysis of the emotional rules that shape the emotional conditions of teacher and parent interactions were explored. Emotional rules are

considered to govern emotional practices in the social context within which they are performed and acquire meaning (Zembylas, 2005). The findings in this chapter reflect the teachers' tellings of both expression and concealment of emotions, and this is accompanied by the findings emerging from the analysis of relevant policy and school documents. In this study, emotional rules are considered to exist beyond the level of the specific case study individual as has most frequently been described in previous work (Zembylas, 2004, 2005). Rather the evidence in these cases presents a socio-political context of emotional rules that appears to extend beyond the intrapersonal to also imply emotional rules for parent-teacher interpersonal experiences. These emotional rules surrounding teacher-parent interactions emerged throughout the analysis and are presented in the findings in bold text.

The tellings from the teachers are drawn from the analysis of the emotional diaries and interviews which were analysed and reorganised into the Story Constellation Maps [SCMs] (see Appendix G, H, I and J). In addition, main themes found in the analysis of documents for the particular school setting are included in each chapter. Documents further capture the contextual complexities of hierarchical education settings and provide insight about a school's socio-political culture through the analysis of socially produced texts (Day & Harris, 2016; Reissman, 2008; Yin, 2014). Analysis of documents enable a greater understanding of social relations between teachers and parents by recognising the relationship between the sociopolitical and the personal, as "the personal and the political are co-implicated, intersecting in complex and contradictory ways" (Saltmarsh, 2012, p. 75). The findings provide insights into the teachers' emotional experiences, concurrent influence of their identity construction and the way emotional rules shape not only the teacher's experience but also a parent's experience of interactions with the teacher.

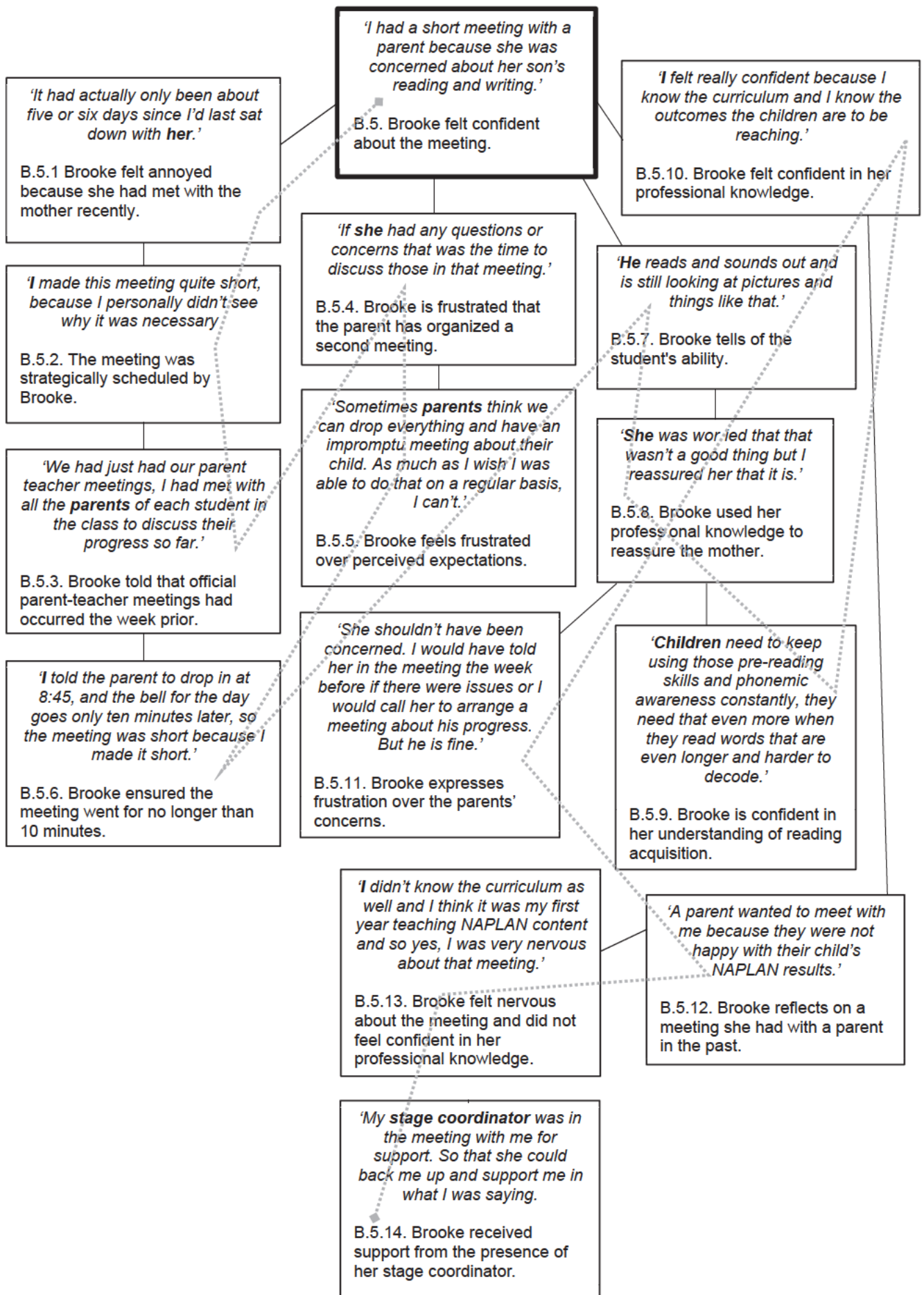
5.2 – Part 1: Brooke

Brooke is a 26-year-old female working as a teacher in Hillview Public School. Brooke submitted 9 emotional diary entries (of a possible 10) within which she recorded 26 emotions. Brooke also participated in three semi-structured interviews. Brooke's emotional diary entries and the transcripts from interviews were reproduced into Brooke's set of nine Story Constellation Maps (SCMs) (see Appendix G). In Brooke's SCM's (see, for example, Figure 5), a total of 154 small story tellings are featured.

The documents analysed from Brooke's school setting included the Hillview Public School website, the 2016 Annual Report for the school, 20 weekly newsletters that were available for the duration of the data collection period, 47 school notes that were available for the duration of the data collection period, a single document titled '*Hillview Public School Student Wellbeing Policy*' and a single document titled the '*Hillview Public School – School Expectations*'. In addition, the *Code of Conduct* (NSW DoE, 2006), *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* (AITSL, 2018), the *Curriculum planning and programming, assessing and reporting to parents K-12* (NSW DoE, 2019) and the *School Excellence Framework – Version 2* (NSW Government, 2017) were analysed. All documents were publicly available. A total of 366 pages of documents and 32 webpages were analysed. No documents pertaining to procedures for teacher communication with parents were supplied by Hillview Public School as these documents had not been created or developed at the time of this research.

Figure 5

Brooke – Story Constellation Map 5



5.2.1 – The Positioning of Parents in Hillview Public School

Brooke had been working within Hillview Public School [hereby referred to as Hillview school] for four years. Within this time, Brooke had taken a year of leave to work as a teacher in the United Kingdom where she taught in over 30 schools. At the time of this research, Brooke had returned to Hillview school and was teaching a Kindergarten class.

Brooke described Hillview school as a having *'a real community feel'* where *'the parents are very involved'* (B_Interview_One). Brooke stated in the first interview that parents are *'really aware and want to know about their kids and how they're going... basically every parent for every class will turn up to those [parent-teacher] interviews... In the lower grades, there's a lot of invitation for parents to be involved in the classroom. There's quite a lot of parents who will take up that invitation and be involved if they're able to'* (B_Interview_One). The verbal choices of terms 'aware' and 'involved' in Brooke's way of telling were repeated several times. Specifically, Brooke told stories of 'involved' parents in three SCMs. In B-SCM-1, Brooke described a phone conversation she had to have with a parent. She reported feeling anxious because *'no parent likes to hear that their child has done something naughty'* (B.1.1). In her telling, Brooke made an interactional link with a previous story: *'I see [the parent] every day around, at drop off and school pick up. And then we've had lots of informal chats in the playground'* (B.1.6). Here, Brooke positions the parent by linking this previous telling to her current telling in order to navigate the emotions she was experiencing. Similarly, in B-SCM-4, Brooke navigated her emotions through positioning statements regarding the parent: *'I'm not nervous because I know this mum really well because she's my class mum and I see her a lot'* (B.4.12). Brooke's telling of her relationship with these parents in B-SCM-1 and B-SCM-4 show how the emotions experienced are contingent upon social interactions at an interpersonal level. In contrast, In B-SCM-3, Brooke tells of a meeting she had with *'a parent I don't*

know particularly well. I don't see him around a lot' (B.3.2). Brooke's choice to tell that the child goes to after school care (B.3.3) because the father works (B.3.8) contributes to a low level of social interaction at the interpersonal level and the positioning of the parent that contributed to Brooke's self-reported 'nervousness'.

The emotions experienced by Brooke in her interactions with the parents in B-SCM-1, B-SMC-3 and B-SCM-4 are contingent upon an emotional rule emerging from within the socio-political context of Hillview school: **1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents fulfil their responsibility to attend school events.** The Hillview school website states that "research shows that children benefit when their parents or carers are actively involved in their education and school life" (Hillview school website). Hillview school further encourages parent involvement through discourse in 12 newsletters, where 6 newsletters stated that parents were "more than welcome to attend" a school event (Newsletter T2_Wk1_2017; T2_Wk2_2017; T2_Wk8_2017; T2_Wk9_2017; T2_Wk10_2017; T3_Wk10_2017). Where parents did attend a school event, their attendance was commended in later newsletters:

"I extend my thanks to the parents and carers who attend" (Newsletter T3_Wk5_2017).

"Thank you also to the other parents who came as supportive spectators" (Newsletter T3_Wk8_2017).

Subsequent to the frequent display of these expectations for parent behaviour, Brooke states that at the beginning of the year she expected '*a lot of visits from the parents*' (B.9.3). While these parents attend events as stipulated in **Emotional Rule 1**, Brooke reported experiencing anger, frustration and irritation in her interactions with these parents. Brooke reported that '*[the parents] have other children in the school and they've always been quite difficult*' (B.9.1) and that '*...these parents can be hard and have a lot of needs*' (B.9.5). Brooke's choice to tell these small stories from past events positions these parents as 'involved' but also as 'difficult' and 'hard'.

Brooke's positioning of these parents is further extrapolated in her comparison to other parents where she states that *'most parents in the school are lovely and very supportive of the teachers'* (B.9.25). Here, Brooke makes a distinction between 'involved' parents and 'supportive' parents in Hillview school

In accordance with the first emotional rule, parents are expected to attend and be involved in school events, but they are also expected to support Hillview school. The Hillview school documents state that "as the school has grown, support by parents of the staff has never been stronger. This has helped to make Hillview a happy, inspiring place for our students to learn." (Hillview school website; Hillview school Annual Report 2016). Parents were invited to be "parent helpers" for events in 26 Hillview school notes. Parents were also thanked for "supporting" the school in several newsletters (Newsletter T2_Wk1_2017; T2_Wk2_2017; T2_Wk3_2017; T2_Wk6_2017; T_Wk5_2017; T3_Wk6_2017; T3_Wk10_2017):

"I thank the parents who will give up their family time to accompany our students." (Newsletter T2_Wk1_2017; T2_Wk2_2017).

"I also thank the parents who volunteered their time to help in so many ways." (Newsletter T2_Wk6_2017; T3_Wk6_2017).

This support is further acknowledged:

"I thank the parents of our community, for supporting our strategic directions and working with us to achieve our goals." (HPS Annual Report 2016).

These school discourses are echoed in the Department of Education's statements:

"Partnerships with parents and students support clear improvement aims and planning for learning." (NSW Government, 2017, p. 2).

"There is school-wide, collective responsibility for student learning and success, which is shared by parents and students." (NSW Government, 2017, p. 3).

This second emotional rule can be clearly stated based on Brooke's tellings and evidence from discourses found in school documents: **2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents undertake their duty to support school events and initiatives.**

This emotional rule affects Brooke's experience of emotions in her interactions with parents evident in all SCMs, evident in Brooke's verbal choices and the sequential factors she employs in the SCMs.

5.2.2 –Brooke's Emotional Experiences

Brooke recorded 26 emotions in her emotional diary entries. Brooke expressed considerably more 'negative' emotions than 'positive' emotions (19 compared to 5 respectively). Brooke also recorded two 'other' emotions (see Table 6). The most prevalent emotion(s) recorded by Brooke were 'Anger/Frustration/Irritation' reported in B-SCM-6, B-SCM-7, B-SCM-8 and B-SCM-9 and alluded to in Brooke's report of feeling 'annoyed' in BSCM-5. Brooke reported 'Anxiety/Fear' in B-SCM-1 and B-SCM-4 and reported experiencing 'nervousness' in B-SCM-3. A genealogy of 'Anger/Frustration/Irritation' and 'Anxiety/Fear' is now traced revealing that Brooke experienced these emotions when parents did not adhere to emotional rules.

Table 6*Brooke's Recorded Emotions*

Story Constellation Maps (SCMs)		'Positive' emotions	'Negative' emotions	'Other' emotions
B-SCM-1	<i>Brooke had to make a phone call to a parent regarding a child's inappropriate behaviour.</i>		Anxiety/Fear.	
B-SCM-2	<i>A parent thanked Brooke for the report comment she had written.</i>	Gratitude.		
B-SCM-3	<i>A parent was waiting for Brooke outside of her classroom for a scheduled meeting.</i>	Confidence.		Nervousness.
B-SCM-4	<i>A parent emailed Brooke regarding a child with low-self-esteem.</i>		Anxiety/Fear.	
B-SCM-5	<i>A parent wanted to meet with Brooke regarding her son's reading and writing.</i>	Confidence. Satisfaction. Contentment.		Annoyed.
B-SCM-6	<i>A parent told Brooke that a child was anxious about coming to school.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation. Despair. Loss/Powerlessness.	
B-SCM-7	<i>Brooke had a meeting with a parent regarding a child with learning difficulties.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation.	
B-SCM-8	<i>Brooke is required to meet with a parent to discuss a child's Individual Learning Plan.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation.	
B-SCM-9	<i>A mother and father arrived to speak with Brooke about their child being bullied.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation.	

Brooke reported anger and frustration when she conducted a meeting with a parent and the child in B-SCM-6. Brooke told that children did not usually attend meetings, but she *'didn't really mind... because the child could have told us what they were feeling'* (B.6.3). However, the child remained *'very quiet for the whole meeting which was quite frustrating'* (B.6.4) and, as a result, the parent became *'annoyed and angry with their son'* (B.6.12). Brooke reported experiencing anger, frustration and irritation:

Brooke: The parent was getting really agitated. She was really annoyed at him because he wasn't talking much, and so I wasn't exactly sure what to do.

Facilitator: You recorded that you felt anger, despair, loss and powerlessness. Can you tell me more about the experience of these emotions?

Brooke: Yeah, I felt at a loss because not only was the child not speaking, but the parent was getting angry and frustrated with the child in front of me. So, it just became quite awkward and I didn't really know what to do. I wanted to find solutions, but we weren't able to and the parent getting angry with their child just made things worse, it just exacerbated the situation more.

Brooke recorded two emotional diary entries regarding the same parent in B-SCM-7 and B-SCM-8. In B-SCM-7 Brooke reported feeling anger, frustration and irritation because *'[the parent] comes in and listens to what I say and agrees, but then I never see the support'* (B.7.3). In analysing the way Brooke tells, she chooses to tell several previous and past stories regarding interactions with this parent in relation to the students learning needs (B.7.2; B.7.6; B.7.7; B.7.8; B.7.9; B.7.10). Brooke tells of a lack of support from the parent, a contravention of **Emotional Rule 2**. This is evidenced by Brooke's evaluation that *'the child goes home and doesn't do any*

reading at home or any schoolwork at all' (B.7.11). In B-SCM-8, Brooke reiterates that the student *'still didn't bring home-readers home, he still didn't do homework, no changes at all'* (B.8.13).

Brooke experienced 'negative' emotions within these interactions with the parent because the parent was not supportive and not complying with the Hillview school emotional rules. Brooke projected similar interactions in tellings of future and hypothetical stories:

'[The parent] will come and he will listen and he will sign the form and then it will still be our problem to deal with, not his; We will probably meet again in another month because there will still be no change' (B.8.19; B.8.20).

Anger, frustration and irritation were also reported in her interaction with 'hard' parents in B-SCM-9. Brooke describes the lack of support she received from these parents in an interview:

'Brooke: [The parents] are not really ever at school to support me or encourage me in any way.

Facilitator: What do you mean by support you and encourage you?

Brooke: What I mean is, if they are there, there is an issue. Whenever I see them, I brace myself for how they will speak to me and just try to remain calm and not get defensive which can be difficult
(B_Interview_Three).

Brooke's tellings in B-SCM-6, B-SCM-7, B-SCM-8 and B-SCM-9 show that Brooke experienced anger, frustration and irritation in her interactions with parents who did not comply with **Emotional Rule 2**. This was clear in Brooke's taleworlds, that is, the contextualised stories that she was telling and within which she was positioned.

Brooke positions herself and parents in the taleworlds through her verbal and sequential choices. In the taleworlds of B-SCM-6, B-SCM-7 and B-SCM-8, Brooke experienced 'negative' emotions and chooses to stop and reflect upon these

interactions, breaking from the taleworld to the told world, to make a series of identity statements. In this reflection, Brooke positions herself in the told world, the here-and-now of the telling:

'I do genuinely like to help parents with their children, but there are times that I need to know when it's not my place' (B.6.17).

'The school day is short so I can only do what I can do, the rest has to be the parent' (B.7.17)

'As the teacher, I am here to help but I am not here to parent' (B.8.17).

Brooke's above statements show an emotional navigation as she positions herself as a teacher and considers her roles and responsibilities. In B-SCM-2, Brooke reflected that in her role as a teacher, *'you are looking after their child and they are trusting you. So, you want to be trustworthy and someone they can respect. It is a big responsibility I have'* (B.2.4). Brooke's choice to break from taleworlds to the told world in reflection upon her positioning and teacher identity, unearths a third emotional rule: **3) Teachers should show care for student wellbeing and share this responsibility with parents.**

Brooke positions herself and navigates her teacher identity through negotiating her responsibilities within the socio-political context of the school. The Hillview school Annual Report 2016 states that teachers focus on student outcomes, differentiated content, formative assessments, as well as "student wellbeing" (p. 4). One newsletter stated:

"The care and wellbeing of our children is the responsibility of us all. Hillview school is proactively working with students and our parent community... to improve and maintain the wellbeing of our students and families" (Newsletter T3_Wk7_2017).

This shared responsibility for student wellbeing is further articulated on the Hillview school website:

“Please refer to the following actions for each concern:

The academic progress of own child: Directly contact the child’s teacher...

The welfare of own child: Contact your child’s teacher...

Actions of other students: Contact the class teacher...

If your child is having difficulty with their homework, contact their class teacher for help...” (Hillview school website)

Several newsletters stated that “parents are invited to speak with the class teacher at any time of the year regarding their child’s progress... Please do not hesitate to make contact with the teacher” (Newsletter T2_Wk4_2017; T2_Wk5_2017; T2_Wk8_2017; T2_Wk10_2017). Such discourse is evident in AITSL documentation where teachers are required to establish and maintain relationships with parents “regarding their children’s learning and wellbeing” (AITSL, 2018, p. 22). These documents substantiate the development of **Emotional Rule 3**.

Brooke reported experiencing anxiety and fear in B-SCM-1 and B-SCM-4 and within these interactions, a clear navigation of **Emotional Rule 3** was evident. In B-SCM-1, Brooke stated that she felt anxious *‘because no parent likes to hear that their child has done something naughty... I was just a bit anxious thinking, oh great, here’s another thing that I’ve got to let [the parent] know about’* (B.1.1; B.1.4). In B-SCM-4, a parent met with Brooke to discuss a student who was not enjoying coming to school. Brooke reported experiencing anxiety and fear in this interaction and broke from the taleworld to the here-and-now told world:

‘I am [the student’s] teacher. I want her to love school and love learning. I don’t want her to not have those things; I really want all the children in my class to love learning because I love learning and I love teaching them. If a child doesn’t feel that, well in a way it is me who has done something wrong. I need to fix it’ (B.4.6; B.4.8)

A clear interplay between the intergroup, interpersonal and intrapersonal level of emotional experience is evident in this above statement in which Brooke positions herself in her telling. The reported anxiety and fear experienced in B-SCM-1 and B-SCM-4 were a result of Brooke seeking to navigate her responsibility for the student's wellbeing in light of **Emotional Rule 3**. Similar navigation of this sense of responsibility is evident in the positioning statements discussed previously in B-SCM-7 and B-SCM-8 where a parent had asked Brooke '*what the school was doing*' (B.7.5) for their child because it was '*the school's responsibility*' (B.8.16) to address the child's learning difficulties. **Emotional Rule 3** demands the navigation of shared responsibilities and power relations and the way in which Brooke sought to navigate this was to consider her role as a '*professional*' (B_Interview_Two).

Brooke often sought to position herself as a professional teacher in her here-and-now tellings. A fourth emotional rule becomes evident: **4) Teachers are to engage professionally with parents through suppressing 'negative' emotions**. This emotional rule is illustrated by Hillview school documents:

"Our professional, university-educated teachers encourage students to develop a love of learning and a desire to succeed. They maintain the highest integrity and concern for your child's wellbeing" (Hillview school website).

Furthermore, Standard 7 of the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* requires teachers to "engage professionally with colleagues, parents/carers and the community" (AITSL, 2018, p. 22). The interplay of these emotional rules within the school caused Brooke to report 'negative' emotions that she sought to control.

5.2.3 – Brooke's Emotional Control

Brooke reported the need to control her 'negative' emotions in order to hold her sense of professional identity as a teacher. These 'negative' emotions were controlled by Brooke practising emotional labour by which she referred to past

interactions with parents, she hid or suppressed her emotions, or she sought collegial support. Brooke's choice of the ways to control her emotions was contingent upon **Emotional Rule 4** and her identity as a professional teacher.

Brooke reported experiencing 'positive' emotions in B-SCM-2, B-SCM-3 and B-SCM-5. In each of these SCMs, Brooke did not report the need to suppress or hide her emotions on her emotional diary entry forms. However, she did tell of feeling 'nervous' in B-SCM-3 stating that *'I think my nerves did come through, I was talking a lot and rambling a lot at times'* (B.3.6). Similarly, in B-SCM-5, Brooke chose to tell of a past story about a meeting she had been part of in a previous year with a parent who was *'not happy with their child's NAPLAN results'* (B.5.12):

'I didn't know the curriculum as well and I think it was my first-year teaching NAPLAN content and so yes, I was very nervous about that meeting' (B.5.14).

Despite not reporting any negative emotions in B-SCM-3 and B-SCM-5, it became evident in interviews that 'nerves' within parent interactions caused Brooke to seek to control her emotions. Similarly, Brooke reported experiencing nerves in B-SCM-1 where she also ticked the 'anxiety/fear' box. In the here-and-now telling within the interview, Brooke explained the emotional labour she exercised when feeling these emotions:

Facilitator: Did the parent know that you were experiencing these emotions?

Brooke: I don't think so. I would hope to think not. I do want to try and sound professional on the phone in particular.

Facilitator: Can you explain that further?

Brooke: Well if you are nervous, it's not very professional. Not that having the emotion is unprofessional. Like, I think it's okay to have that emotion, but I think it would be unprofessional if I broached the conversation like, if my voice was wobbling or if I sounded really worried. Like, saying I'm sorry to bother you, gosh, something

has happened. Or if I sounded really like withdrawn and all weak or whatever, then that may have sounded a bit – well, I don't know if she would have taken it unprofessionally but if anyone else was listening in, I don't know, I think it would have been a bit unprofessional. (B_Interview_Two)

Brooke is clearly seeking to adhere to **Emotional Rule 4** in this above excerpt. In several of Brooke's tellings, Brooke iterated 'professional' and the position of a professional teacher. In an interview, Brooke explained the incompatibility this professional identity has with nerves, anxiety and fear:

Brooke: It's not good to be anxious so I don't want to show that I am worried, because that isn't very professional... no doubt my hands would have been clammy because that's what happens when I get a little bit nervous. But otherwise, definitely trying to come across as confident. I wanted that emotion to be showing more than my nervousness.

Facilitator: Confidence over nervousness?

Brooke: Yes.

Facilitator: Explain to me why you wanted this?

Brooke: Well, I just think if I was in that parent's position. If the teacher was fidgeting and sweaty and their voice was wobbly. And they couldn't get their words out. I wouldn't trust them and would second guess what they were saying about the child. It isn't very professional (B_Interview_Two).

In an endeavour to navigate **Emotional Rule 3**, Brooke sought to maintain the identity of a professional teacher and to adhere to **Emotional Rule 4** through suppressing her nerves, anxiety and fear. One way she did this was by referring to past interactions with or prior knowledge of the parent. This is evident in B-SCM-1, B-

SCM-3, B-SCM-4, B-SCM-5, B-SCM-7, B-SCM-8 and B-SCM-9. In the taleworlds of these SCMs, Brooke frequently chose to tell small stories of previous or past interactions.

For example: *'I see [the parent] every day around, at drop off and school pick up'* (B.1.6), *'I don't see [the parent] around a lot'* (B.3.2), *'I'm not nervous because I know this mum really well'* (B.4.12), *'it had actually only been five or six days since I'd last sat down with [the parent]'* (B.5.1), *'I met with the parents quite early on in the year'* (B.7.7), and *'[the parents] have other children in the school and they've been always been quite difficult'* (B.9.1).

The second way that Brooke sought to manage her emotions in order to navigate **Emotional Rule 3** and **Emotional Rule 4** was to suppress and hide her emotions. At the intrapersonal level, Brooke reflects upon her emotional management:

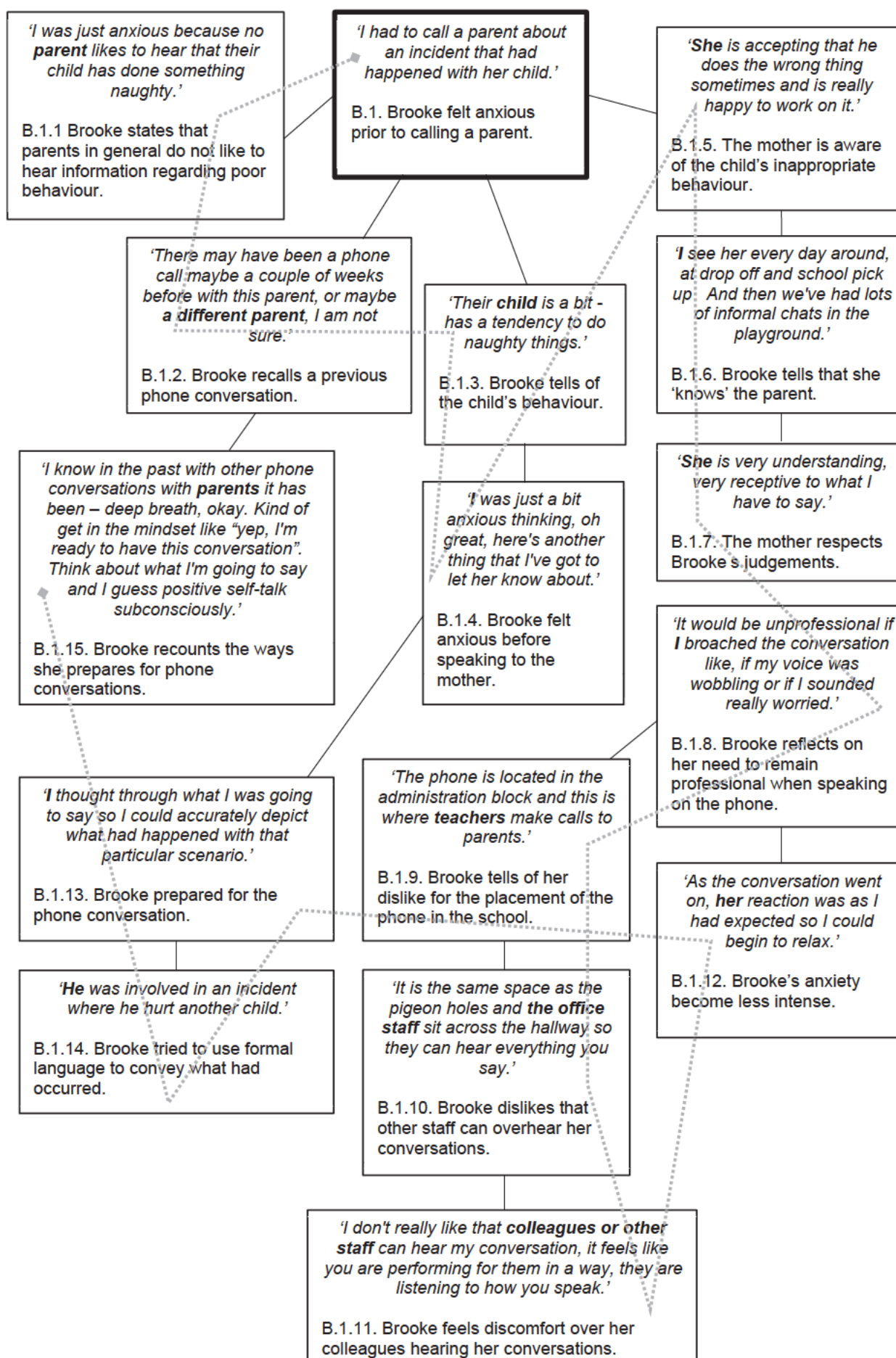
'I know in the past, not with this one but with other phone conversations with parents I've had to had, where it has been – deep breath, okay. Kind of get in the mindset like 'yep, I'm ready to have this conversation'. Think about what I'm going to say and I guess positive self-talk subconsciously. I wouldn't say that I consciously do it but it's kind of a reassurance of myself. Like yep, this is going to be fine. Just get it done.' (B_Interview_Two)

In interviews, Brooke frequently employed self-regulatory tools similar to the statement above. Brooke chose to hide and suppress her emotions through self-regulation and did not tell her colleagues about interactions where she experienced nerves or anxiety and fear (B-SCM-1; B-SCM-4). Brooke chose not to tell colleagues about her 'negative' emotions in order to adhere to **Emotional Rule 4** and to maintain her identity as a professional. This became clear in B-SCM-1, B-SCM-4 and B-SCM-9. In the taleworld of B-SCM-1 (see Figure 6), Brooke chooses to tell two

small story tellings regarding her preparation for the phone call and her sense of professional identity keeping in making such calls.

Figure 6

Brooke – Story Constellation Map 1



Brooke's awareness of her sense of professionalism and the emotional labour required to maintain this professional identity are evident in her telling and reported dissatisfaction with this location:

'If I was nervous and jittery, my colleagues might think - what is the problem?

Or the parent may not take me seriously as a professional' (B_Interview_Two)

In B-SCM-4 Brooke reflected on a meeting with a parent and again reported her awareness of others' views of her as a professional and her emotional labour in managing her anxiety and fear:

Facilitator: Have you spoken with anyone about this situation?

Brooke: No, no colleagues or anything. I don't want to tell anyone because I feel responsible.

Facilitator: What do you mean?

Brooke: I don't want people to know how I have failed her in a way... Like, why would I tell my colleagues about something that I am really sad and disappointed in myself over? (B_Interview_Two).

In B-SCM-9 Brooke reported that she was frustrated that the parents had spoken to the stage coordinator before they had spoken to her (B.9.10). In the interview, Brooke reflected:

Brooke: I am fine, the parents behaving like that is not out of the ordinary. I suppose I was more frustrated that they spoke to the stage coordinator first and not me. It was easily addressable.

Facilitator: Why did you feel frustrated that the parents spoke to him first?

Brooke: Because they should have spoken to me first, I am the teacher. I am more than capable of dealing with the situation. I suppose I was frustrated and a little anxious about what my coordinator would think of me. But he fully supported me in it.

(B_Interview_Three)

Brooke sought to maintain her identity of a 'professional teacher' through positioning herself in actively seeking to hide her anxiety and fear. When Brooke did share her emotions with her colleagues in order to seek collegial support (B-SCM-7, B-SCM-8 and B-SCM-9), it was clear that Brooke did not feel her professional identity was under threat. This is in clear contrast with her earlier concern about staff members perceptions of her and the emotional labour she practised to mask her emotions.

Brooke felt that parents were not adhering to **Emotional Rule 1** and **2** in B-SCM-7 and B-SCM-8, and stated that she was '*very supported by [her] colleagues*' (B.7.13) because '*children like this and parents like this, well anyone of us could get them*' (B.7.14). In relation to this particular parent, Brooke stated that her Deputy Principal was supporting her and that she felt '*a bit better now that my DP is helping and involved, sharing the weight of it*' (B.8.21). In regard to the 'difficult' parents in B-SCM-9, Brooke broke from the taleworld to reflect upon the support she had received:

'I don't think I need the support necessarily, as in, I could deal with the parents alone, I am more than capable of that. But it is good, particularly when you just feel at your wits end, to know that the other teachers and stage coordinator and DP and everyone are with you and supporting you with these parents'
(B_Interview_Three).

In her telling in the third interview, Brooke employs deictic expressions to self-preserve her identity. She maintains that she is a professional teacher ('*I could deal with the parents alone, I am more than capable of that*'), acknowledges that the interactions are not within her control ('*parents like this, well anyone of us could get them*') and as such feels justified in her evaluation of her emotions ('*my DP is helping and involved, sharing the weight of it*'). Where Brooke's professionalism is not threatened, she manages her emotions through seeking collegial support and maintains her observance of **Emotional Rule 4**.

In conclusion, Brooke's emotional experiences in her interaction with parents function within the socio-political context of Hillview school where emotional rules are evident:

- 1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents fulfil their responsibility to attend school events.
- 2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents undertake their duty to support school events and initiatives.
- 3) Teachers should show care for student wellbeing and share this responsibility with parents.
- 4) Teachers are to engage professionally with parents through suppressing 'negative' emotions.

Brooke reported experiencing anger, frustration and/or irritation when parents did not adhere to **Emotional Rules 1** and **2**, she experienced 'nervousness', anxiety and/or fear in her navigation of **Emotional Rule 3** and sought to adhere to **Emotional Rule 4** through managing her emotions. Brooke practised emotional labour in order to control her 'negative' emotions through referring to past interactions with or prior knowledge of the parent, through hiding or suppressing her emotions, and lastly, by seeking collegial support. Brooke's management of her emotions is dependent upon her ability to maintain her identity as a professional teacher.

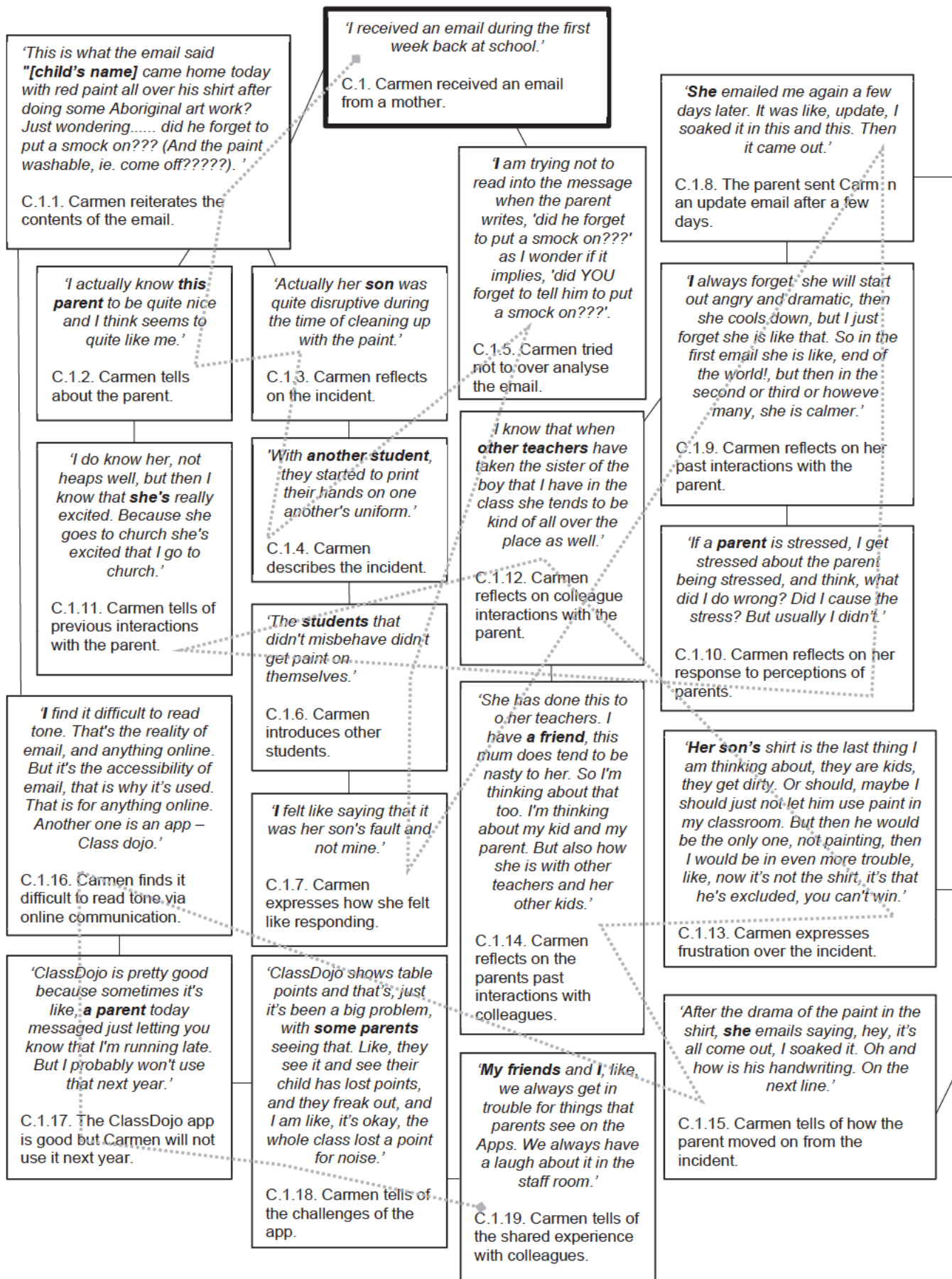
5.3 – Part 2: Carmen

Carmen is a 25-year-old female working in Thorn Public School. Carmen submitted 10 emotional diary entries (of a possible 10) within which she recorded 49 emotions experienced in her interactions with parents. These were discussed in four semi-structured interviews. These emotional diary entries and the transcripts from interviews were reorganised into Carmen's set of Story Constellation Maps (SCMs) (see Appendix H). Carmen's SCM's (see Figure 7) represent 197 small story tellings.

The documents analysed from Carmen's school setting included the Thorn Public School website, the 2016 Annual Report for the school, the 2015-2017 school plan, 20 weekly newsletters that were available for the duration of the data collection period and a single document titled *Thorn Public School Information Handbook*'. The *Code of Conduct* (NSW DoE, 2006), the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* (AITSL, 2018), the *Curriculum planning and programming, assessing and reporting to parents K-12* (NSW DoE, 2019) and the *School Excellence Framework – Version 2* (NSW Government, 2017) were also analysed. In the single case analysis of Carmen and Thorn Public School, 348 pages of documents were analysed along with 40 webpages. Carmen did not supply any documents regarding teacher communication procedures with parents, reporting that these documents did not exist.

Figure 7

Carmen – Story Constellation Map 1



5.3.1 – The Positioning of Parents in Thorn Public School

At the time of this study, Carmen had been working in Thorn Public School [hereby referred to as Thorn school] for 18 months. During this time, Carmen worked in a casual capacity, a temporary contractual capacity and received a permanent position at the beginning of 2017. In the short time that Carmen had been a teacher in the school, she observed that the children and parents are *'quite [economically] rich families'* and that parents are *'quite understanding', 'encouraging'* and are *'highly educated, they are smarter than me that's for sure'* (C_Interview_One). In this telling, as inferior to the 'rich', 'educated' and 'smart' school community. Within the first few minutes of our first interview, Carmen broke into a short story telling of a mother whom Carmen described as practising *'helicopter parenting'* (C_Interview_One):

Facilitator: Explain to me what you mean by helicopter parenting?

Carmen: Parents that are really engaged and want to know the ins and outs of everything, pretty anxious parents. There would be - they're quite engaged - they want to be a part of the excursions or the reading groups, but there would be a handful of those that are quite overbearing (C_Interview_One).

Carmen's description of parents being *'engaged'* and a *'part of excursions or the reading groups'* is consistent with expectations in Thorn school documents. Parents were "welcome to attend" school events in 4 newsletters (Newsletter T2_Wk3_2017; T2_Wk4_2017; T3_Wk2_2017; T3_Wk3_2017; T3_Wk5_2017; T3_Wk8_2017) and were given *'thanks for volunteering'* in several newsletters (Newsletter T2_Wk3_2017; T2_Wk4_2017; T2_Wk7_2017; T2_Wk9_2017; T2_Wk10_2017 T3_Wk2_2017; T3_Wk3_2017; T3_Wk9_2017). For example:

"We have a number of wonderful parents who will happily help out."

(Newsletter T2_Wk4_2017).

The Thorn School Information Handbook states that the school “recognises the partnership between the home and the school in educating our students.... Each year parents participate in many school programs, such as assisting with reading programs, helping with maths tasks, participating in craft, music, art, sport and excursions...” (p.11). Further, the school established a strategic direction that “parents will see the value in volunteering to contribute their time and expertise in curricular and co-curricular areas to engage students in their learning” (2015-2017 Thorn Public School Plan, p. 4). The first emotional rule is evident in Carmen’s observations of an ‘engaged’ parent and in these documents: **1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents support, attend and volunteer in school events and activities.**

It was clear in Carmen’s tellings that the ‘engaged’ parent was also considered by Carmen to practise ‘helicopter parenting’, to be ‘anxious’ and sometimes ‘quite overbearing’ (C_Interview_One). In the first interview, Carmen tells of an ‘engaged mother’ who made a request for her child to be in a specific class with a specific teaching in the coming school year. Carmen reflected on the Principal’s decision to fulfil this request:

‘I don’t like it, that we move children based on parents complaining. I think unfortunately that puts [the mother] and us as teachers in the position where we’re being compromised because we chose - we’ve chosen the classes in a particular way so that socially and friendship groups work. So, we actually had to move other children out of that class so that [the daughter] could go into that class... I think what it is, is whoever rocks the boat the most gets what they want because for the principal as well as the teachers it’s easier to concede rather than to explain that it’s from their professional judgment’
(C_Interview_One)

Carmen positions herself and her colleagues in an inferior position to that of the demanding parent within the taleworld of this small story. In an analysis of Carmen's ways of telling, the repetition of the mother '*complaining*' and the activity of having to '*concede*' affirm the inferior and powerless position Carmen ascribes herself whilst also affirming the position of power that the mother held. The navigation of these power relationships is evident in Thorn school documents and evolves around roles of the parent within the school.

The second emotional rule addresses parent roles and responsibilities in Thorn school: **2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents are aware of and fulfil their role and responsibilities within the school community.** Parents within the Thorn school community are reminded of their role and responsibilities in Newsletters that requested that parents do not park in staff parking (Newsletter T2_Wk4_2017; T3_Wk3_2017; T3_Wk6_2017), that parents take responsibility for ensuring their children behave appropriately when travelling to and from school (Newsletter T2_Wk6_2017; T3_Wk4_2017) and that parents practise discipline at appropriate times (Newsletter T2_Wk5_2017; T3_Wk4_2017). For example:

"Can I please remind parents that it is not appropriate to discipline someone else's child in the playground. If you have an issue with a child, please report to the class teacher or to the office and we will deal with it." (Newsletter T2_Wk5_2017).

Other Thorn school documents affirmed these reminders:

"Parents can assist by reminding their children to observe traffic rules at all times.'

'Parents must accept responsibility for their child riding to and from school.'

'Parents are not permitted to drive in or park in school grounds at any time, including staff parking - this is for safety reasons.'" (Thorn school Information Handbook, p. 6)

In the first interview, Carmen stated that *‘there is a system in the school so that I don’t have to really have much contact with the parents’* (C_Interview_One). The system that Carmen was referring to was the use of Class Parents. Carmen references the role and responsibility of Class Parents in C-SCM-4 and C-SCM-6 and describes these parents as being *‘for’* her as a teacher and *‘really helpful’* (C_Interview_One). In seeking to ensure parents are aware of their roles and responsibilities in the school community, an extension of these roles are evident in the third emotional rule: **3) Teachers feel gratitude when the Class Parent(s) takes responsibility of communicating with other parents.**

Thorn school documents state that “at the start of each year, two volunteers from each class take on the role of ‘Class Parents’. Class Parents act as liaison between teachers and parents and help to ensure the smooth running of events at the school.” (Thorn school website). The role of Class Parent is identified several times on the Thorn school website and in other school documents:

“Each class has “Class Parents” – parents who act as liaisons between the teacher and other parents. From time to time you may be contacted by your child’s “Class Parent” with a request for your help.’ (Thorn school Information Handbook, p. 11)

‘And of course, all those wonderful K-6 class parents, diligently emailing out countless reminder emails about the stall – thank you!’ (Newsletter T2_Wk4_2017).

“More information will be coming through class parents shortly.” (Newsletter T3_Wk1_2017; Newsletter T3_Wk4_2017).

The 2016 Annual Report for the school identified the importance of this role and the delineation between the Class Parent and other volunteers:

“Thanks must go to the families of the school that provide support and assistance... in kind time contributions as class parents, helpers and volunteers.” (p. 3).

While the school newsletter is described as a “primary means of communication” (Thorn school Information Handbook, p. 3) and teachers “value opportunities to talk to parents either formally or informally about their children” (2015-2017 Thorn school Plan), the role of Class Parent is frequently cited as the main channel of communication between parents and teachers. Carmen positions parents in light of these emotional rules and Carmen’s emotional experiences are contingent on parent’s undertaking their duties and responsibilities in **Emotional Rule 2** and **3**.

5.3.2 – *Carmen’s Emotional Experiences*

Carmen reported experiencing similar amounts of ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ emotions (24 compared to 23, respectively). Carmen self-reported feeling ‘confusion’ and ‘awkwardness’ in two emotional diary entries (see Table 7). The most prevalent emotion Carmen reported experiencing was ‘Anxiety and/or Fear’ which was reported in 8 SCMs and featured in several spontaneous small story tellings. Alongside this set of emotions, Carmen also reported experiencing ‘Guilt’ in 5 of the SCMs. A genealogy of ‘Anxiety/Fear’ and the addition of ‘Guilt’ will follow.

Table 7

Carmen's Recorded Emotions

Story Constellation Maps (SCMs)		'Positive' emotions	'Negative' emotions	'Other' emotions
C-SCM-1	<i>Carmen received an email regarding paint on a school shirt.</i>		Anxiety/Fear.	
C-SCM-2	<i>Carmen spoke with a parent about their child and their learning needs.</i>		Anxiety/Fear. Guilt.	Confusion.
C-SCM-3	<i>A parent lingered outside Carmen's classroom.</i>		Anxiety/Fear.	Awkwardness.
C-SCM-4	<i>A parent requested a meeting with Carmen to discuss the student's behaviour.</i>	Care. Gratitude.	Anxiety/Fear. Sadness/Grief.	
C-SCM-5	<i>Carmen called a parent.</i>	Confidence.	Anxiety/Fear. Guilt.	
C-SCM-6	<i>Carmen called a parent.</i>	Satisfaction. Contentment.	Anxiety/Fear. Guilt.	
C-SCM-7	<i>A parent waited at Carmen's classroom door to discuss their child.</i>		Anxiety/Fear. Guilt.	
C-SCM-8	<i>A father thanked Carmen for a school event.</i>	Cheerfulness. Gratitude. Happiness/Joy. Inspiration. Pride. Satisfaction Contentment.		
C-SCM-9	<i>The principal spoke to Carmen about one of her lessons.</i>	Care.	Anxiety/Fear. Disappointment. Guilt.	
C-SCM-10	<i>The principal forwarded an email to Carmen.</i>	Care. Cheerfulness. Gratitude. Happiness/Joy. Inspiration. Pride. Satisfaction. Contentment.		

Carmen reported several positive emotions in C-SCM-8 and C-SCM-10 when parents were thankful for her work as a teacher. Despite the high amount of reported 'positive' emotions, it was the 'negative' emotions that lead to stronger emotional experiences as reported in emotional diary entries. Carmen reported 8 separate interactions where anxiety and fear were experienced. This set of emotions featured in all interviews with Carmen. Throughout the analysis, it became clear that Carmen's emotions were experienced in light of her position within teacher/parent power relations. For example, Carmen reported experiencing anxiety and fear in C-SCM-1 when she received an email from a parent regarding paint on a student's shirt. In the taleworld of the telling, Carmen describes her emotional response to the email subject line:

'I am trying not to read into the message when the parent writes, 'did he forget to put a smock on???' as I wonder if it implies, 'did YOU forget to tell him to put a smock on???' (C.1.5).

Carmen's intrapersonal experience of emotion was based on the social interaction with the parent as she explained:

'If a parent is stressed, I get stressed about the parent being stressed, and think, what did I do wrong? Did I cause the stress?' (C.1.10)

In another interaction, Carmen experienced anxiety and fear at the intrapersonal level based on an interpersonal interaction with a parent regarding concern over her son's behaviour:

'[The student] is a good boy. So, I thought, what have I missed here? Which just made me worry. I didn't think I had done anything wrong, and I started to worry, am I wrong – is he a bad kid? Have I not figured that out?' (C.4.2).

This personal reflection or rumination was a recurring theme in many of Carmen's small story tellings. Carmen bestows a position of power to parents and as a result, Carmen experiences anxiety and fear regarding parent interactions. For Carmen, this

power relation is constructed at the intrapersonal and interpersonal level as well as at a socio-cultural level. Carmen elaborates on the power relation between herself and parents based on her cultural beliefs and background:

Carmen: I think what I find hard still is that I tend to be a bit younger than the parents at the moment, so I wonder if I'm being looked down on and - because from my Chinese background and the elders I tend to look up to them more...

Facilitator: Okay, how do you feel that plays out when you are working as a teacher?

Carmen: So, I find that actually quite interesting when there's a Chinese parent asking about their child, and in terms of professionalism they should look up to me because I'm the teacher, but in terms of age I should look up to them because they're the elder'.

(C_Interview_Two).

In C-SCM-2, Carmen tells of another interaction where the emotion constructed at the intergroup level influenced the interpersonal interaction between herself and a mother:

'I feel I like to dumb down the severity of her child's behaviour as it happens everyday and I don't want for mum to feel ashamed; The mother and I both share Chinese cultural heritage, shame and family honour is a thing that I consider when I speak to her' (C.2.15; C.2.16).

Carmen's Chinese heritage ensues within the Thorn school culture and within the confines of Thorn school emotional rules. Navigating **Emotional Rule 2** is clearly articulated by Carmen in her tellings within C-SCM-1:

Facilitator: [The parent] asked you how to soak the shirt?

Carmen: Yeah. And I think to myself, um excuse me, I'm not a dry cleaner. I don't know how to do it. She can ask her friends. As a

teacher its like, should she ask me? That isn't my job'

(C_Interview_Three; C-SCM-1)

Carmen makes further positioning statements about herself in C-SCM-3:

'I know that [the mother] wants to add another teacher on Facebook... So I don't want to get to the point where she wants to add me on Facebook; It is crossing a line... because I am not friends with her, I am a teacher, she is a parent' (C.3.5; C.3.6).

The delineation of Carmen's role as a teacher and the contrasting position of a parent is a distinction Carmen upholds in another small story telling. Upon being invited to dinner by a parent, Carmen reported feeling guilt for declining the invitation:

Facilitator: You said it wouldn't be good to go to a dinner with parents. Can you expand on that?

Carmen: Well yes, I just don't think it would be a good idea. I feel that the line needs to be there, and that I am a professional teacher - not friend. Even though, that sounds bad, I mean I don't think my boss would like me going to dinners with parents.

Facilitator: Why is that?

Carmen: It's just not that professional. I think – yeah. I think it is just best to keep the professional distance. (C_Interview_One)

Carmen navigation of **Emotional Rule 2** caused her to report experiencing and this anxiety and stress, as well as 'guilt'.

In her interviews and diary entries, Carmen reported experiencing 'guilt' in addition to her 'anxiety and/or fear' in C-SCM-2, C-SCM-5, C-SCM-6, C-SCM-7 and C-SCM-9. In light of the power relations discussed, Carmen tells stories and makes positioning statements about parents and references parent expectations. In C-SCM-2, Carmen stated that she did not *'want to approach [the mother] after school every time and be like, here's the bad news'* (C.2.8) because *'I don't think a parent wants to*

hear bad news about their child every day. I wouldn't, I don't have kids, but parents just want to hear the good things' (C.2.9).

Carmen expressed wanting to avoid sharing 'bad news' many times. In another emotional diary entry, Carmen expressed that when she takes table points away from students on 'Class Dojo', an online app, she experiences anxiety and guilt:

Facilitator: What do you feel when you are reminded that the parents see the points being added or removed on ClassDojo?

Carmen: Well when I do think of it – its stressful – like, sometimes I have just done it and taken points and I think oh no, they will see it. And I start feeling anxious and try to add points again
(C_Interview_Two).

Many of Carmen's emotional diary entries were about Carmen experiencing guilt, anxiety and fear because she had to report 'bad news' to parents. In C-SCM-5, Carmen contacted a parent to inform them that one of Carmen's violent students had hurt their son or daughter:

'Even though I know I can't be there protecting [the student] from being scratched, I think some parents expect you to be. And so I feel guilty that I can't meet that expectation' (C.5.12).

Carmen reported experiencing 'guilt' in C-SCM-6 and C-SCM-7 in relation to students being hit or hurt by the violent student in her class:

'[The parents] asked if I could just keep an eye on [the violent student] and [their son] and keep them separate; I can't be watching her and their child all day every minute; The children are at school and they should feel safe, but they don't. I feel guilty for that.' (C.7.15; C.7.16; C.7.27).

In C-SCM-9, Carmen had been informed by the Principal that one of her lessons caused a child to be upset:

'I wanted the principal to see that I was feeling guilty over it, that making my children and their parents anxious isn't something I want to do' (C.9.19).

Carmen's experience of anxiety and fear as well as guilt reveal a fourth emotional rule: **4) Teachers should control 'negative' emotions to facilitate the responsibility and care for children.**

The fourth emotional rule is evident in Carmen's emotional experiences as well as the Thorn school website which states that the school is "committed to ensuring a safe and happy environment for your child" (Thorn school website). Standard 7.3 of the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* states that teachers should "maintain respectful collaborative relationships with parents/carers regarding their children's learning and wellbeing" (AITSL, 2018). Furthermore, the *Wellbeing Framework for Schools* (2015) states that "the NSW Department of Education and Communities (DEC) is committed to creating quality learning opportunities for children and young people. This includes strengthening their cognitive, physical, social, emotional and spiritual development. Parents entrust their children and young people to principals, teachers and school staff with confidence that schools will deliver on this agenda" (p.2). It became clear from Carmen's tellings that ambiguity existed in relation to what a "safe and happy environment" may look like. In her tellings of parents, it became clear that Carmen felt she was not able to protect students from the violent student, and therefore was finding it difficult to manage the responsibility that comes with "parents entrust[ing] their children" to her as the teacher.

The roles and responsibilities of parents and teachers in Thorn school, as evident in **Emotional Rule 2, 3 and 4**, construct the emotional experiences Carmen has in her interactions with parents. When parents and Carmen felt that they were adhering to these emotional rules and role descriptions, Carmen experienced 'positive' emotions. In C-SCM-4, Carmen felt care toward a mother and gratitude

because she felt *'like [the mother] trusted me'* (C.4.6). Similarly, in C-SCM-5, Carmen reported feeling confidence as her and the parent was *'on board, saying okay what can we do to help, as opposed to, what are you doing in making sure that my child is protected?'* (C.5.6). Carmen reported feeling satisfaction and/or contentment in C-SCM-6, C-SCM-8 and C-SCM-10 as a result of positive feedback from parents:

'The mum said well done you are doing a good job' (C.6.29)

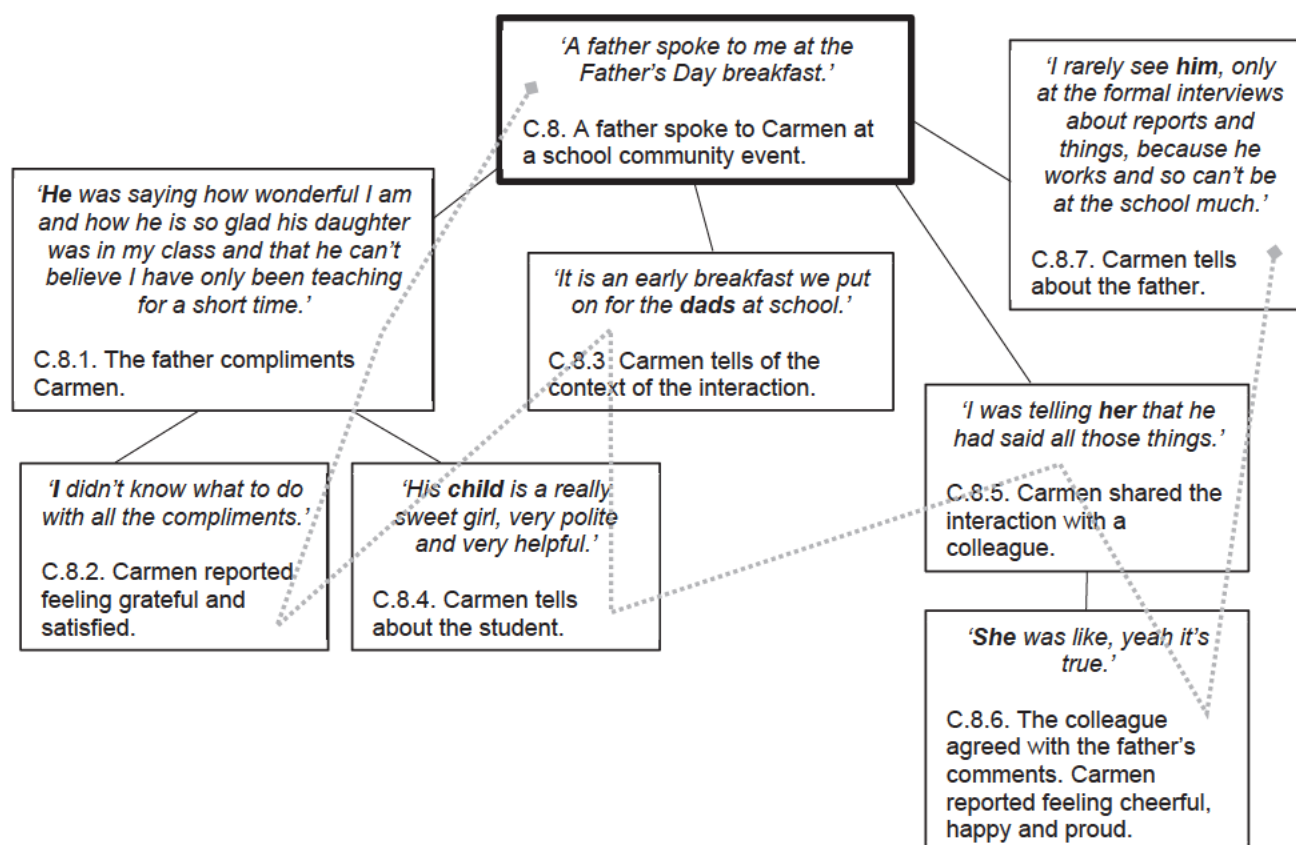
'[The father] was saying how wonderful I am... and that he can't believe I have only been teaching for a short time' (C.8.1)

'[The letter] said I did an excellent job at catering for all the children's needs especially because I am a new teacher' (C.10.2)

Carmen shared parent's positive emotions with colleagues in C-SCM-8 and C-SCM-10 and even called her mother to share the positive comments (see Figure 8).

Figure 8

Carmen – Story Constellation Map 8



Carmen did not report controlling her 'positive' emotions but did seek to control her 'negative' emotions. Carmen's control of these 'negative' emotions is now analysed.

5.3.3 – Carmen's Emotional Control

Carmen did not report the need to control her 'positive' emotions, but did seek to control her 'negative' emotions through two methods. Firstly, Carmen expressed her emotions to colleagues and sought collegial support. Secondly, Carmen suppressed her emotions and sought to control them through recalling previous interactions with or information about parents. In both methods, Carmen hid her emotions from parents.

Carmen made many references to sharing her guilt and anxiety and/or fear with her colleagues (C-SCM-1; C-SCM-2; C-SCM-4; C-SCM-6; C-SCM-9). However, Carmen did not wish to share these emotions with parents. In the discussion of C-SCM-6, Carmen expressed her desire to hide her emotions in her interactions with parents:

Facilitator: Did the mother know that you were feeling nervous?

Carmen: No, I always try to come across professional. Like, hide my nerves and don't let her know I am stressed or anxious or anything.

Facilitator: Why is that?

Carmen: Well I think, I just want to be professional, I want her to know I am in control of the situation and that it isn't causing me to stress.

Facilitator: Okay, would you say this is the case for all times you recorded feeling anxiety and fear in your diary entries?

Carmen: *Yes, like, I don't ever try to show I am anxious or nervous, I do my best to just speak professionally and remain calm*
(C_Interview_Four).

In her tellings, Carmen made the identity claims of desiring to be a '*professional teacher*' (C_Interview_Two), a '*great teacher*' (C.4.16) and a '*good teacher*' (C.10.11). The identity of a professional teacher aligns with the role and responsibilities in **Emotional Rule 4** and further discourses found within the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers*. Standard 4 states that a proficient teacher should "create and maintain supportive and safe learning environments" through establishing and maintaining "4.1... positive interactions", "4.2... orderly and workable routines", "4.3... managing challenging behaviours", and "4.4... ensuring students' wellbeing and safety" (AITSL, 2018, p. 17). In order to adhere to these expectations, Carmen expresses her emotional labour:

'I wanted the parents to know I was in control even though I don't really ever feel like I am in control' (C.6.27)

Here Carmen identifies her enactment of emotional labour in seeking to appear '*in control*'. In order to control her emotions so as to appear '*in control*' to parents, Carmen sought support from her colleagues. In both the telling world and the told world, Carmen made reference to her being a '*new teacher*' (C.8.1; C.10.2), stating that: '*For me it feels like a constant learning curve and sometimes I wonder am I making mistakes? Am I doing this right? Is that student okay with how I am teaching them?*' (C.10.7)

Despite worrying about what her colleagues may think of her at times (C.3.12), Carmen expressed that she shared her emotions with colleagues as she felt the '*need to just get it out because I am so anxious and stressed and talking about it helps me to get... some perspective*' (C.7.31). Carmen sought support from colleagues in C-SCM-1, C-SCM-2, C-SCM-4, C-SCM-6, C-SCM-7 and C-SCM-9.

Carmen stated that herself and other teachers in the school *'are always sharing the hard parts of the job with each other'* (C.9.19). Moreover, Carmen sought support from her Assistant Principal and Principal:

'I feel like a bit of a mess in front of [the assistant principal] sometimes, but she is really good at just helping me and giving me advice on what to do and things' (C.6.30).

'I feel like [the principal] is always having to hold my hand to help me deal with situations and things' C.10.10

The second method Carmen used to control her anxiety and fear was to recall contextual information about the reported interaction. In all 10 SCMs, Carmen told a short story about the student to provide context to the interaction with the parent. Moreover, in all 10 SCMs, Carmen provided contextual information regarding the parent. In her ways of telling in C-SCM-2, C-SCM-4, C-SCM-5, C-SCM-6, C-SCM-7, C-SCM-8 and C-SCM-10, Carmen uses intertextual links between her current story and other stories. In relation to her telling of the taleworld where the interaction with the parent occurred, Carmen would break into a short story telling in the here-and-now and draw on past information about or knowledge of the parent:

'The mother and I both share Chinese cultural heritage...' (C.2.16)

'I knew that the parent was usually very nice; She's actually the Class Parent...'
(C.4.3; C.4.7)

'I never see the parents.; I know the mum is a teacher but in a high school...'
(C.5.3; C.5.11)

'...why is [the] dad here? He is usually at work...' (C.7.1)

When Carmen did not recall her own information or knowledge of the parent, she referred to what she had heard from colleagues. For example:

'I know that when other teachers have taken the sister of the boy that I have in the class [the mother] tends to be kind of all over the place as well; So I'm thinking about... how [the mother] is with other teachers...' (C.1.12; C.1.14)

'I have heard lots about [the parent]...' (C.3.3)

'My principal told me that the parent said...' (C.9.3)

This shows Carmen's method of suppressing her emotions through considering and contextualising the interaction she had had with the parent. Carmen does this in order to regulate her emotions:

'I just remind myself about the parent and their personality and things, when a parent always acts in a nasty way, or sends those emails, it helps me to know my anxiety is normal... Like, I just need to let it pass and remember that she's always like that, it will probably happen again so just don't let it get to you'

(C_Interview_One).

In conclusion, the relationship Carmen has with parents is marked by complex power relations where Carmen experiences 'negative' emotions as she seeks to navigate her identity as constructed by **Emotional Rules 2, 3 and 4**. Parents in Thorn school are positioned as engaged with clear roles and responsibilities. At times, the role of a teacher and the roles of parents in Thorn school are ambiguous. This can cause Carmen to experience 'negative' emotions, in particular 'anxiety and/or fear' and 'guilt'. Carmen seeks to hide these emotions from parents by sharing them with colleagues by receiving collegial support. Carmen also seeks to draw on her previous interactions with or information about parents in her tellings in order to emotionally navigate her interactions and experiences in light of Thorn school's emotional rules:

- 1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents support, attend and volunteer in school events and activities.

- 2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents are aware of and fulfil their role and responsibilities within the school community.
- 3) Teachers feel gratitude when the Class Parent(s) takes responsibility of communicating with other parents.
- 4) Teachers should control 'negative' emotions to facilitate the responsibility and care for children.

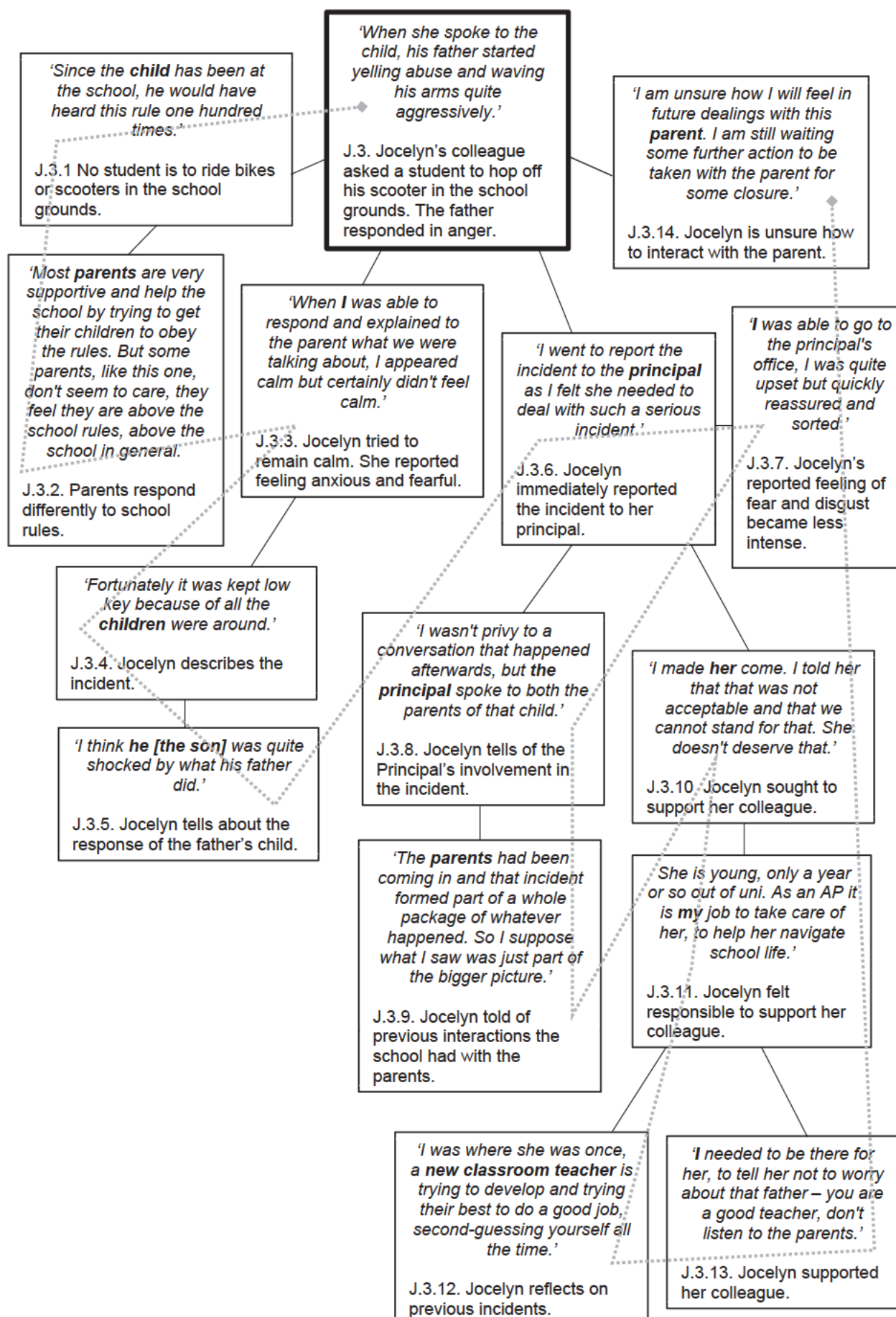
5.4 – Part 3: Jocelyn

Jocelyn is a 53-year-old female teacher working in Kingsman Public School. Jocelyn submitted 8 emotional diary entries (of a possible 10) within which she recorded 35 emotional states experienced in various interactions with parents. These were discussed in four semi-structured interviews. These emotional diary entries and the transcripts from interviews were analysed using small story analysis and reproduced into Jocelyn's set of Story Constellation Maps (SCMs) (see Appendix I). In Jocelyn's SCM's (see, for example, Figure 9), a total of 117 small story tellings are featured.

The documents analysed from Jocelyn's school setting included the Kingsman Public School website, the 2016 Annual Report for Kingsman Public School, 10 newsletters that were available for the duration of the data collection period, a single document titled '*Communication & Information at Kingsman Public School*' and a single document titled the '*Kingsman Public School Parent Handbook 2017*'. Additionally, government and NSW Department of Education [DoE] policy documents, procedures and websites were analysed including the '*Code of Conduct*' (NSW DoE, 2006), '*Australian Professional Standards for Teachers*' (AITSL, 2018), the '*Curriculum planning and programming, assessing and reporting to parents K-12*' (NSW DoE, 2019) and the '*School Excellence Framework – Version 2*' (NSW Government, 2017). All documents were publicly available. A total of 220 pages of documents and 33 webpages were analysed. In the following pages, Jocelyn's emotional experiences arising from her interactions with parents are presented. Jocelyn did not supply any documents regarding teacher communication procedures with parents, reporting that these did not exist.

Figure 9

Jocelyn – Story Constellation Map 3



5.4.1 – The Positioning of Parents in Kingsman Public School

Jocelyn had been working at Kingsman Public School [hereby referred to as Kingsman school] for 7 years and had lived in the local area for the majority of her adult life. In Kingsman school, Jocelyn stated that many parents work full-time and that *'most people don't have the luxury of having mum at home anymore. It's a shame really.'* (J_Interview_One). As a result of parents working, Jocelyn enjoyed having the grandparents in the school and sought to maintain a *'good relationships'* and *'make sure they're comfortable in the playground'* (J_Interview_One). At the intrapersonal level, Jocelyn reported feeling *'happy'* and *'care'* for the grandparents. However, in her telling of small stories, Jocelyn's emotional experiences varied at the interpersonal level. In a spontaneous telling in the first interview, Jocelyn told:

'There is this one child I am teaching, and I have only met his mother once and I have never met his father. I see his grandmother every day... The difficult thing is that his grandmother is very willing to listen and take on board what I say when I see her at the end of the day. But when I have called the mother, well she is very defensive.' (J_Interview_One).

Jocelyn reported an emotion of *'anger'* at the mother's response and reported *'frustration'* that the mother was not receptive to Jocelyn's judgements and advice. In this telling, Jocelyn reported experiencing of *'sadness'* at the intrapersonal level and *'anger'*, *'frustration'* and *'irritation'* at the interpersonal level in her interactions with the child's parents and grandparent. Jocelyn's emotional control was evident in her telling:

'I have to tell myself that I don't know the family situation, the financial situation, who knows what is going on at home, so that helps me to be patient and not take it too personally. And [the mother] probably feels guilty because she can't be picking him up and being involved in his schooling.'
(J_Interview_One).

In her story telling, Jocelyn positions the mother and projects an emotion of 'guilt' on the mother as she was unable to be involved in schooling due to work commitments. Jocelyn's telling is contextualised within the socio-political context of Kingsman school which is a school that "enjoys the positive and proactive involvement of parents working together with teachers" (Kingsman school website). The school "see the home and the school working closely together" (Kingsman school website; Kingsman school Parent handbook 2017, p. 2) and has a "long and happy tradition of parental involvement." (Parent Handbook p. 2; Kingsman school website). These documents influence Jocelyn's emotional experiences in her telling of the interaction with the mother:

'I did get angry and defensive because the mother was annoyed with me when I spoke to her, saying well what are you doing about it? And I felt like saying well I am calling you so that you can do something to help me!'

(J_Interview_One).

Jocelyn's choice to tell this small story and her here-and-now telling of experiencing anger are consistent with emotional rules in the school. Kingsman school expects "active parental support and participation" (Kingsman school website), "strong support of its parent... [and] productive school partnerships" (Kingsman school Annual Report, 2016). The Kingsman school Parent Handbook (2017) states that "the importance of this positive working relationship cannot be over emphasised" (p. 2). The NSW government further support this in promoting the ability for "parents and community members [to] have the opportunity to engage in a range of school-related activities" (NSW Government, 2017, p. 12). Jocelyn's choice to tell this past story demonstrates school's expectation and further clarification of this support and involvement is divulged in newsletters. Parents were "welcome to attend" in 8 of the 10 newsletters analysed, and those parents that "attended" a school event were

thanked in 3 of the newsletters. The emotional rule was further evident in the discourse:

“Many parents and grandparents attended and shared in the wonderful atmosphere” (Newsletter T3_Wk2_2017).

“It was apparent how thrilled children were to have a family member attend” (Newsletter T3_Wk4_2017).

“It was fantastic to see so many parents and grandparents in attendance” (Newsletter T3_Wk4_2017; T3_Wk8_2017).

This emotional rule can be clearly stated: **1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents fulfil their responsibility to support, be involved and attend school events.**

The Kingsman school documents are perforated with acknowledgement of “parent volunteers.” Jocelyn told several small stories of parents helping in her classroom. Five of the school newsletters refer to “parent volunteers,” “parent helpers” and “parents who supported [an event].” Furthermore, the “Class Representative” is identified as the first and best channel of communication for other parents (Communication & Information at Kingsman school, 2016). The Parent and Citizens [P&C] association is identified as providing “enormous support to our school and its community” (Newsletter T2_Wk6_2017) that “is evident each day” (Newsletter T2_Wk10_2017).

In the first interview, Jocelyn reported feeling ‘grateful’ for parents that are ‘*active in the school*’ (J_Interview_1). In a discussion regarding these parents, Jocelyn chose to tell a small story of a past event. This past event concerned a parent who had written something ‘*not kind and not true*’ (J_Interview_1) on the Kingsman school Parent Facebook Page that resulted in Jocelyn experiencing ‘sadness’. In her telling of this taleworld, Jocelyn positions herself as victimised, but then returns to the here-and-now telling and reflects that she feels ‘grateful’:

'I'm very grateful that the parents that read these things, are very - they're quite active in the school, the parents that run the pages. They're actually coming from a place of knowing me and knowing the school well.'

(J_Interview_1).

Jocelyn positions parents as not only 'supportive' and 'involved', but also 'active' in this above extract. A second emotional rule evolves in Jocelyn's iteration of 'active' parents in several small story tellings. While the **Emotional Rule 1** expects parents to 'attend' school events and activities, the second emotional rule develops this through the requirement of parents to 'volunteer', 'help', 'assist' and 'support' Kingsman school. This permits the emotions of 'gratefulness' from Jocelyn, as evident in Kingsman school

documents:

"Thank you to the parents who supported the teachers, led the cheer squad, supervised children and provided transport to and from the venue. Your continued support is greatly appreciated" (Newsletter T2_Wk6_2017).

The second emotional rule can be stated: **2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents volunteer their time to help and assist in the running of school events and activities.**

5.4.2 – Jocelyn's Emotional Experiences

Jocelyn recorded 36 emotions in 8 emotional diary entries. These entries were based on single interactions with several parents, and Jocelyn chose on many occasions to tell previous and future tellings of interactions in relation to the current telling. The data from emotional diary entries and interviews was reorganised into Jocelyn's Story Constellation Maps (SCMs). Table 8 displays the emotions experienced by Jocelyn and these are explored in light of the emotional rules and school culture discussed in the previous section. Of the 36 recorded emotions, very

few 'positive' emotions were recorded (7 in total). The most prevalent emotion reported by Jocelyn was 'anger, frustration and/or irritation', which featured in 5 of the 8 SCMs and was also referred to in other SCMs. A genealogy of 'anger, frustration and irritation' in Jocelyn's interactions with parents is explored to further understand how these emotions are constructed in Kingsman school.

Table 8*Jocelyn's Recorded Emotions*

Story Constellation Maps (SCMs)	'Positive' emotions	'Negative' emotions	'Other' emotions
J-SCM-1 <i>Jocelyn observed that the Father gave her a 'funny' look.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation. Despair. Disappointment.	Surprise
J-SCM-2 <i>A parent interrupted Jocelyn's teaching to bring her a drink of water on a hot day.</i>	Care. Gratitude.	Anger/Frustration/Irritation.	
J-SCM-3 <i>Jocelyn witnessed a father yell at one of her colleagues.</i>		Anxiety/Fear. Disgust. Disillusion.	
J-SCM-4 <i>Jocelyn met with a new parent to answer questions about schooling.</i>	Care. Gratitude. Satisfaction. Contentment.		
J-SCM-5 <i>A parent emailed Jocelyn regarding the behaviour of another classroom teacher.</i>	Care.	Anger/Frustration/Irritation. Disappointment. Loss/powerlessness. Sadness/grief.	
J-SCM-6 <i>Jocelyn and others met with a parent to discuss a student with learning needs.</i>		Despair. Disappointment.	
J-SCM-7 <i>As Jocelyn was walking to her classroom, a parent tried to speak with her.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation.	
J-SCM-8 <i>Jocelyn wrote a note to accompany a student going to sick bay.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation.	

Jocelyn's recorded experience of 'anger, frustration and irritation' is recorded in J-SCM-1, J-SCM-2, J-SCM-5, J-SCM-7 and J-SCM-8. It was further recorded by Jocelyn in emotional diary entry evident in J-SCM-4. In her first emotional diary entry, Jocelyn told of an interaction with a father that involved no verbal communication (J-SCM-1). Jocelyn recorded experiencing 'anger, frustration, irritation', 'despair', 'disappointment' and 'surprise' when the father *'gave [her] a funny look'* (J.1). An understanding of this intrapersonal experience of emotion is further developed upon consideration of the interpersonal and intergroup level. Jocelyn makes links with the non-verbal exchange by immediately choosing to commence the telling of past small stories involving this father and mother. Jocelyn's recorded emotions that function at the intrapersonal level are contingent on her relationship with the father and mother (interpersonal experience) that occurred within the context of the school culture (intergroup experience) in the past 6 months. Earlier in the year, Jocelyn had had the responsibility of allocating students to the new Kindergarten classes. The parents *'were not happy'* (SCM-1; J.1.1) with the class Jocelyn had designated for their child. Jocelyn informed the parents that she was unable to re-organise the allocation of the parent's child, after which the parents engaged the Principal of Kingsman school and the DoE Area Director. In the second interview with Jocelyn, she expressed she felt angry, frustrated and irritated because:

'I did the right thing to please as many people, the staff and the school and the parents. There were a lot of stakeholders. There's a lot of people to please.' (J-SCM-1; J.1.8)

Jocelyn positions herself as having done *'the right thing'* that leads to her experience of anger, frustration and irritation because the parents had contested her decisions, stating in the interview that it caused her to *'doubt [her] ability'* (Jocelyn_Interview_2). These emotions were linked with a similar event in J-SCM-8. In J-SCM-8, Jocelyn reported feeling 'anger, frustration and irritation' in an interaction in which her

professional ability was disputed. Jocelyn had written a note to send with a child who was going to sick bay *'because of the whole infected eye situation, I always send notes now with this particular student because of the parents'* (J-SCM-8; J.8.1). Here, Jocelyn again chooses to create intertextual links with past interactions and to tell these in relation to the initial telling. In the past interaction, Jocelyn had sent the child to the sick bay with a red and itchy eye that Jocelyn suspected may have been a contagious disease. At this time:

'The parent was so angry and started speaking very harshly with me; ... she started to accuse me of not speaking to children well and that I needed to learn how to speak to children and my students' (J-SCM-8; J.8.3; J.8.4).

In J-SCM-1 and J-SCM-8, Jocelyn demonstrates the historical contingency of the emotional experiences in her teaching in her reporting of 'anger, frustration and irritation' due to having her professional (and personal) attributes disputed. In the first interview, Jocelyn places a strong value on being *'very professional at work'* (J_Interview_One). In the same interview, Jocelyn stated that the school is *'often regarded as a business and the families are receiving from our business, they are like business clients.'* (J_Interview_One). This belief is reflected in Jocelyn's description of the parents in J-SCM-1. Jocelyn believed that the reason the parents engaged the Principal was because:

'It is an authority thing. I am just a teacher and so I am just there to service them. But the Principal is senior – senior management. The client isn't happy with the check-out chick and wants to speak to the manager.' (SCM-1; J.1.4).

This discourse is similar to that in the *School Excellence Framework – Version 2* document:

"Management practices and processes are responsive to school community feedback. There is a whole school approach to improving service delivery and customer (parent and/or student) experience" (NSW Government, 2017, p. 15)

The *Code of Conduct* identifies the importance of “providing quality service... in the classroom” (NSW DoE, 2006, p. 3). Standard 7.3 of the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* states that teachers are required to “engage professionally” and to work “effectively, sensitively and confidentially” with parents, while maintaining “respectful collaborative relationships” and demonstrating “responsiveness in all communication with parents/carers about their children’s learning and wellbeing” (AITSL, 2018, p. 22). In order to maintain a professional identity, Jocelyn practises emotional labour by suppressing her anger, frustration and irritation:

Facilitator: Describe what you mean when you say that you are very professional at work?

Jocelyn: Oh as in, I don't show my emotions or how it has affected me.

Facilitator: So in this case, what did that look like?

Jocelyn: I just remained professional, I put on a happy face and just treated the child the same way I would have treated any child in my class. I didn't let the child or parents know how they had made me feel.

Facilitator: And how had they made you feel?

Jocelyn: Terrible. I was so upset. I cried every day I came home, I doubted my ability, I even doubted whether I was a nice person or not. It was very hard. (J_Interview_Two).

This requirement to suppress emotion is evident in J-SCM-3. In this series of tellings, Jocelyn witnessed a father yell at another teacher and commented that *‘[her colleague] did well to keep her composure. Which is what we have to do, keep calm and professional because clearly he wasn't calm.’* (J-SCM-3; J_Interview_Two). Jocelyn captures her individual experience within social interactions in light of an evident emotional rule in Kingsman school:

'I feel so many emotions, you cannot get rid of them, you just have to know how best to hide them and keep a brave face on and get on with it.'

(J_Interview_Two).

Jocelyn exercises emotional labour in order to subscribe to the emotional rule: **3)**

Teachers must not express 'negative' emotions in order to maintain

professional engagement with parents. Jocelyn reported experiencing anger, frustration and irritation more than any other reportable emotion(s). It is clear that in accordance to **Emotional Rule 3**, these emotions, though experienced often, must be suppressed. In another incident, Jocelyn reported feeling 'angry, frustrated and irritated' in interactions where parents interrupted her or approached her at inappropriate times. In J-SCM-2, a parent interrupted Jocelyn's teaching causing Jocelyn to select 'anger, frustration and irritation' on her emotional diary form. Yet these emotions were eclipsed by her selection of 'care' and 'gratitude' when Jocelyn realised she was interrupting her to bring her a cool drink of water.

In SCM-7, a parent attempted to speak with Jocelyn after the morning bell. Jocelyn reported feeling 'angry, frustrated and irritated': *'I made it quite clear that me and my class were leaving and that she was not invited to come. It was time for learning, not time for talking about a lunch box issue.'* (SCM-7; J.7.6).

In SCM-4, a parent tried to speak with Jocelyn at drop off:

'I was just pissed off. This happened only a few minutes before the bell, so this mum comes asking me why her son isn't bringing home readers, annoyed at me for that – and then the bell rings and I am just expected to carry on like nothing happened; I go to assembly and I am just so angry inside.' (SCM-4; J.4.9; J.4.10).

A consideration of the school context at the intergroup level shows that Jocelyn's emotions are constructed based another emotional rule, giving Jocelyn licence to position herself within the taleworld as justifiably *'pissed off'*. This rule is **4) Parents**

should not impede the teachers' maintenance of safe emotional environments within classrooms. The *School Excellence Framework – Version 2* (NSW

Government, 2017) states that in addition to parent/teacher interviews and reports, Kingsman school must provide “opportunities to discuss this [student] progress” (p.6).

The *Curriculum Planning and Programming, Assessing and Reporting to Parents* (2019) document stipulates that beyond reports and parent/teacher interviews:

1.3.1. Schools will provide parents/carers, throughout the school year, with formal and informal opportunities to receive information about and discuss their child's learning.

1.3.4. Schools will provide information on how a child's achievement compares with the child's peer group at the school, on request from the child's parents/carers.

1.3.5. Schools will disseminate to parents/carers the reports from state-wide testing programs and, as appropriate, will provide opportunity for discussion between teachers and parents/carers. (NSW DoE, 2019).

The Kingsman school website reminds parents that “between 8:30am and 3:30pm is non-stop for teachers, and their primary responsibility each day is to teach their students.” The *Communication & Information at Kingsman Public School* (2016) document details the procedure for seeking out these opportunities:

“Parents are requested to make an appointment with their class teacher PRIOR to their meeting, rather than trying to catch the teacher at random times. Teachers have a responsibility for all students and cannot be expected to be called away to meet with a parent at any time. Appointments also allow the teacher to better prepare for the meeting. Appointments can be made via a phone call to the office or a note to the teacher via your child.” (p. 1).

This is repeated verbatim in the Kingsman school *Parent Handbook* (2017) and is expressed in several newsletters. Clearly, the parents in J-SCM-2, J-SCM-4 and J-

SCM-7 did not conform to these procedures. The parents that Jocelyn interacted with in these SCMs did not book appointments through the school office in order to “minimise disruption to classes” (Newsletter T2_Wk10_2017; T3_Wk4_2017). This is a breach as Kingsman school stipulates that:

“It is NOT acceptable for parents to enter into the classroom at any time and interrupt the teaching day. This includes if a student has forgotten an item that is required during the day, such as a hat or book etc, or if medication is to be administered. In such cases, parents must register at the front office for further advice.” (Kingsman school Parent Handbook, 2017, p. 12).

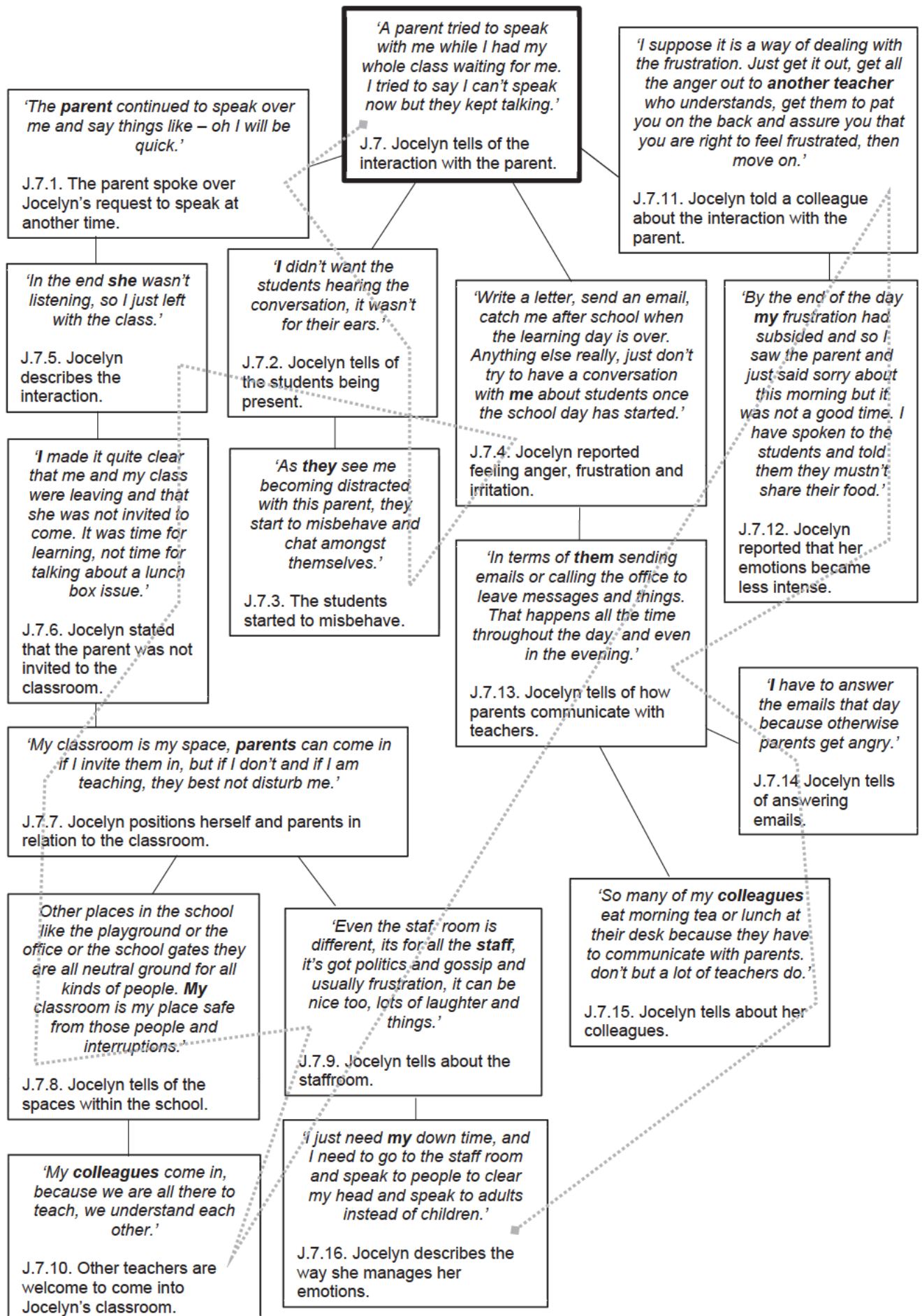
Jocelyn was ‘angered, frustrated and irritated’ when parents did not adhere to

Emotional Rule 4. In J-SCM-7 (see Figure 10), Jocelyn articulates the importance of parents adhering to this emotional rule:

‘my classroom is my space, parents can come in if I invite them, but if I don’t and if I am teaching, they best not disturb me... My classroom is my place safe from those people and interruptions.’ (J.7.7; J.7.8).

Figure 10

Jocelyn – Story Constellation Map 7



In an analysis of the site of her tellings, Jocelyn identifies the classroom as a sacred site in her taleworlds. Jocelyn reported feeling ‘angry, frustrated and irritated’ when parents did not comply with school procedures and geographical boundaries. In her tellings, Jocelyn positioned herself within her school context which, in accordance with her personal beliefs, gave passage for her to confidently express her emotional labour of ‘anger, frustration and irritation’ as appropriate and justified.

5.4.3 – Jocelyn’s Emotional Control

Jocelyn reported very few ‘positive’ emotions and the ‘negative’ emotions she recorded in J-SCM-1, J-SCM-2, J-SCM-3, J-SCM-5, J-SCM-6, J-SCM-7 and J-SCM-8 were experienced when parents did not comply by the emotional rules within Kingsman school. Jocelyn reported experiencing ‘anger, frustration and irritation’ when her professional ability was disputed in J-SCM-1 and J-SCM-8. She also reported ‘anger, frustration and irritation’ when parents did not comply by procedures and systems in J-SCM-2, J-SCM-4 and J-SCM-7. Similar negative emotions such as ‘anxiety and fear’ were reported in J-SCM-3 when a father was not abiding by the school rules on riding scooters. In all interactions where ‘negative’ emotions were experienced, Jocelyn described how she sought to control her emotions and remain professional which include seeking relational support, creating distance between herself and the parent, and through recalling past interactions with the parent(s).

Jocelyn sought out relational support in J-SCM-1, J-SCM-3, J-SCM-5 and J-SCM-7, and provided collegial support in J-SCM-2 and J-SCM-3. In J-SCM-1, Jocelyn’s husband was away ‘*but one of [her] daughters really helped, she was a rock for [Jocelyn].*’ (J.1.10). In this SCM, Jocelyn also sought support from her colleagues who ‘*know what it’s like to deal with parents*’ (J.1.12) and her Principal who was ‘*very good and very supportive.*’ (Jocelyn_Interview_2; reference to J-SCM-1; J.1.5). Jocelyn also reported receiving support from her Principal in J-SCM-3. In J-

SCM-5, Jocelyn reported sharing her *'frustrations with [her] spouse'* (J.5.20) in an interaction where she reported experiencing 'anger, frustration and irritation' as well as 'disappointment' toward a colleague. In J-SCM-7, Jocelyn discussed the support she received from other teachers as important because they *'understand each other'* (J.7.10). This collegial support is further evident in J-SCM-2 and J-SCM-3 where Jocelyn provides support and encouragement to other teachers.

The prevalence of Jocelyn seeking relational support displays a clear method of Jocelyn seeking to control her 'negative' emotions, evidenced by Jocelyn herself:

'I suppose it is a way of dealing with the frustration. Just get it out, get all the anger out to another teacher who understands, get them to pat you on the back and assure you that you are right to feel frustrated, then move on.'
(J.7.11)

Jocelyn positions herself and her experience of 'negative' emotions as justifiable in the context of her school where she works with other teachers *'who understand'*. Here we see the interplay of Jocelyn's intrapersonal experience and the way these are navigated within social interactions with her colleagues. The collegial support she received within Kingsman school occurred in specific locations, such as the classroom or the staff room. The second way Jocelyn seeks to control her emotions is evident in these geographical locations, that is, creating distance between herself and parents evident in the sites of her tellings.

In analysing sites within the taleworlds, Jocelyn made clear references to various geographical spaces in the school in J-SCM-1, J-SCM-2, J-SCM-3, J-SCM-4 and J-SCM-7. Jocelyn described the school office, the playground and the school gates as *'neutral ground'* (J-SCM-7; J.7.8). The staffroom and classroom were described as *'safe'* (J.7.8). In J-SCM-2, Jocelyn told that the classroom was a place where her colleagues can support one another, and in J-SCM-7, it was described as

a place where she can *'speak to people to clear [her] head and speak to adults instead of children'* (J.7.16). In the last interview, Jocelyn described the classroom:

Jocelyn: ...The classroom is a little more of a haven for us.

Facilitator: For us?

Jocelyn: For teachers.

Facilitator: Are other teachers able to come into your classroom?

Jocelyn: Oh yes, of course. My colleagues come in, because we are all there to teach, we understand each other.

(Jocelyn_Interview_4).

In her tellings, Jocelyn positions herself and teachers as having access to the site of the classroom. Therefore, Jocelyn's reported experience of 'anger, frustration and irritation' when a parent came to her classroom in J-SCM-2 is an expected emotional experience. As a result, Jocelyn positions herself in her tellings as justifiably angry, frustrated and irritations in both the here-and-now telling and within her taleworlds. Clear demarcation between geographical spaces in the school is evident in documents:

"...During school hours all visitors to the school, including parents, must attend the School Office and sign into the Visitor's Book." Newsletter
T2_Wk8_2017

The *Kingsman school Parent Handbook (2017)* requires parents to communicate with the school through "1. The school office for general enquiries; 2. The class parent/s for class-specific information; 3. The school-parent liaison; 4. Parent/ teacher interviews; 5. Appointments with class teachers" (p. 11). The *Communication and Information at Kingsman school (2016)* document states that if parents want to communicate with the school, they should "1. Ensure the relevant people have your correct contact details (school office and Class Representative); 2. Sign up to/opt-in

to the key channels of communication at Kingsman school; 3. Know who your key points of contact are that can help” (p. 1).

It is clear that Jocelyn is not a direct point of contact for parents and this is echoed in the newsletter. All 10 newsletters analysed “strongly encouraged [parents] to download [the] Kingsman School Stream app.” Jocelyn used the division of ‘*neutral*’ and ‘*safe*’ spaces (J-SCM-7; J.7.8) in order to control her emotions. In J-SCM-1, Jocelyn expressed this:

‘I just made sure that I wasn’t in the situation where I had to engage with them, particularly the father on my own... I made sure I wasn’t available for chatty conversations. Often I go outside, and I’d talk to all the parents and I’m available for people to talk to me but I didn’t if they were there.’

(Jocelyn_Interview_2).

In J-SCM-4, Jocelyn removed herself from the playground in order to create distance from the parent. Jocelyn moved to the classroom where Jocelyn ‘*distracted [her]self with teaching and with [her] students*’ (J-SCM-4; J.4.9). This emotional labour practice also occurred in J-SCM-7 where Jocelyn left a parent in the playground and went to her classroom where the parent was ‘*not invited*’ (J-SCM-7; J.7.6). Similarly, in J-SCM-3, Jocelyn and her colleague retreated from the playground to the Principal’s office after an interaction with an angry father.

The final way Jocelyn sought to control her emotions was through recalling previous interactions with the parent. This was evident in the sequential factors of her small story tellings that referenced historical information and past interactions in J-SCM-1, J-SCM-2, J-SCM-3, J-SCM-5, J-SCM-6 and J-SCM-8. As discussed, in J-SCM-1, Jocelyn reported several ‘negative’ emotions when she witnessed a father give her ‘*a funny look*’. These emotions were elicited from a previous interaction with the parents, evident in Jocelyn’s choice to tell small stories from previous events. Similarly, in J-SCM-8, Jocelyn told of writing notes for a student:

'Better to write a note than to experience something like that again. The parents are quite precious so best to keep the peace.' (J.8.8).

Previous interactions with parents inform Jocelyn's emotional control in present-day interactions. Moreover, Jocelyn's historical relationship with the parent also informs her emotional navigation. In J-SCM-2, Jocelyn states that she had *'taught three of [the parent's] older children'* (J.2.3) and that the mother was supportive. In J-SCM-5, Jocelyn told a small story stating that she had *'taught two of her children in previous years'* (J.5.1) and that her and the mother had *'a friendship'* (J.5.3). It became evident that when Jocelyn had limited historical interactions with the parent, she told small stories that informed her emotional control. In J-SCM-6, Jocelyn confirmed in the interview that *'I don't know [the mother] and I haven't seen her around the school much.'* (Jocelyn_Interview_4). In J-SCM-3, Jocelyn rationalised the actions of a father that she did not know – *'that incident formed part of a whole package of whatever happened, so I suppose what I saw was just part of the bigger picture'* (J-SCM-3; J.3.9).

In conclusion, Jocelyn's individual experiences of emotion, particularly 'negative emotions' are regulated by the emotional rules and norms within Kingsman. The position of parents is evident in the emotional rules outlined:

- 1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents fulfil their responsibility to support, be involved and attend school events.
- 2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents volunteer their time to help and assist in the running of school events and activities.
- 3) Teachers must not express 'negative' emotions in order to maintain professional engagement with parents.
- 4) Parents should not impede the teachers' maintenance of safe emotional environments within classrooms.

When parents did not comply with **Emotional Rule 1, 2 and 4** Jocelyn reported feeling an array of 'negative' emotions, particularly 'anger, frustration and/or irritation'. In order to comply with **Emotional Rule 3**, Jocelyn sought not to express her emotions by controlling and managing them. Jocelyn controlled her emotions through seeking relational support, creating distance and recalling previous interactions with parents.

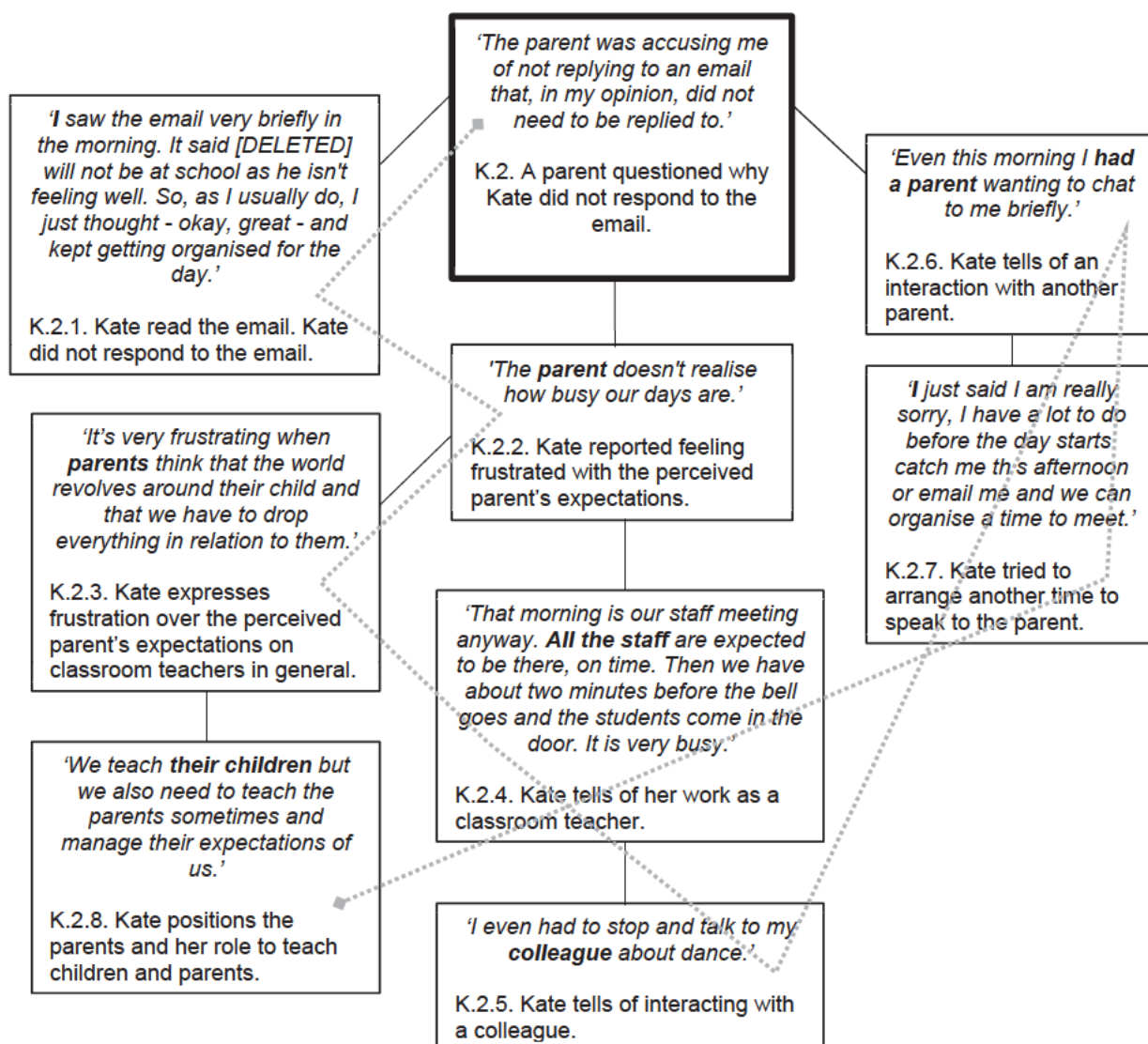
5.5 – Part 4: Kate

Kate had been a teacher for 8 years. At the time of this study, Kate was working at Mayford Ridge Public School as a teacher and had held the role of ‘Assistant Principal’ for the past two years. Kate submitted 10 emotional diary entries (of a possible 10) within which she recorded experiencing 62 emotions in her recorded interactions with parents within the 6 months of this study. The emotional diary entries were discussed in 4 semi-structured interviews. Data from the emotional diary entries and interviews were reorganised into Kate’s set of Story Constellation Maps (SCMs) (see Appendix J). Kate’s SCMs (see Figure 11) represent 180 small story tellings.

The documents analysed from Kate’s school setting included the Mayford Ridge Public School website, the 2016 Annual Report for the school, 8 newsletters that were published and available for the duration of the data collection period, 13 ‘news articles’ published on the school website for the duration of the data collection period, a single document titled ‘*Mayford Ridge Public School Discipline Procedures*’ and a single document titled the ‘*Mayford Ridge Public School Plan 2015-2017*’. Further documents were analysed including the ‘*Australian Professional Standards for Teachers*’ (AITSL, 2018), the ‘*Curriculum planning and programming, assessing and reporting to parents K-12*’ (NSW DoE, 2019) and the ‘*School Excellence Framework – Version 2*’ (NSW Government, 2017). All documents were publicly available. A total of 240 pages of documents and 44 webpages were analysed. Mayford Ridge Public School did not have any documents or policy regarding teacher procedures for communicating with parents.

Figure 11

Kate – Story Constellation Map 2



5.5.1 – The Positioning of Parents in Mayford Ridge Public School

At the time of this research, Kate had been teaching for 8 years and had been working in Mayford Ridge Public School [hereby referred to as Mayford school] for 4 years. As an Assistant Principal, Kate assists the Principal and coordinates Stage 1 which is made up of eight Year 1 and Year 2 classes and 9 teachers.

Kate stated that Mayford school has *'an absolutely fantastic bunch of parents.'*

(K_Interview_One). In the 4 years that Kate has been working at the school, the demographic had changed dramatically due to redevelopment:

'With all the new zoning and building, we now have a real mix. We have students from single parent families, in small apartments. We have families - young families jammed into apartments, some of them with six kids in a two-bedroom apartment. But then we have the parents that own the \$5 million houses.' (K_Interview_One)

In her time at Mayford school, Kate stated that the school *'has always had a real community feel about it'* (K_Interview_One), echoed on the Mayford school website – “our school has strong links to the community”. Within this community, Kate states that *'you've got your handful of parents that are difficult and possibly don't support or necessarily have the same vision as the school. But in general, [parents] are very supportive. They're - it is a real community school and a lot of these parents have very good relationships with the teaching staff and volunteer their time.'*

(K_Interview_One). In this initial interview, Kate makes the linguistic choice of the *'supportive parent'* and makes intertextual links with the practice of working together. Kate reports positive emotions regarding these parents, stating that supportive parents are *'very big on I guess the idea of working together, with the teachers, with the students and with the school vision'* (K_Interview_One). Kate's sentiments are evident in school documents that consistently recite “together is better” (Mayford school website). Mayford school is a: “...growing school with an enthusiastic, dedicated staff supported by an active and informed parent body.” (Mayford school website; Mayford school Annual Report, 2016, p. 2; Mayford School Plan 2015-2017, p. 2) A clear emotional rule is evident: **1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents are supportive, active and informed.**

A close analysis of Mayford school documents shows that these active and informed parents show their support through attendance and volunteering at school events. Mayford school invited parents to attend school events in several newsletter with invitations to “join us” (Newsletter T2_Wk10_2017; T3_Wk1_2017) and to “come

along and experience our wonderful school community” (Newsletter T3_Wk3_2017). In the School Plan for 2015-2017, the school sought to ensure “parent information sessions were held on regular basis” (p. 5). These events were evident in Mayford school newsletters (Newsletter T2_Wk3_2017; T2_Wk7_2017; T2_Wk10_2017; T3_Wk1_2017; T3_Wk3_2017). For example:

“Don’t forget to reserve your place at the Resilient Kids workshop for Parents...” (Newsletter T2_Wk5_2017).

The analysis of the school documents revealed a clear emphasis on parents attending, as well as volunteering their time to the school. A second emotional rule became evident through this analysis and further telling from Kate: **2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents fulfil their duty to attend and volunteer in school events.**

Kate states that *‘on any given day in my classroom, there’d be up to three to four parents a day in - helping in some capacity’* (K.Int.1) and this reality of the emotional rule is reinforced in school documents. Mayford school newsletters consistently gave “an enormous thank-you to the incredible parents that volunteered their time” (Newsletter T2_Wk5_2017); a “huge thank you” (Newsletter T3_Wk7_2017). The school website elaborated on the necessity of active, informed, supportive and involved parents in the school community:

“A special mention also goes out to the fantastic parents who gave up their time on the day. You all played a pivotal role in ensuring that the event could even take place and your contribution didn’t go unnoticed. Your help was greatly appreciated, and we thank you immensely.” (Mayford school website – News article, August 2017)

Parents who do not adhere to **Emotional Rules 1** and **2** are described by Kate as *‘difficult parents’* (K_Interview_One) and caused Kate to report experiences of ‘negative’ emotions. She states that she *‘deals with a lot more of them because of*

[her] position as an Assistant Principal' (K_Interview_One). In our first interview, Kate positioned these parents as *'the stand-out parents, the few really difficult ones'* and stated that *'they're the ones that probably cause the most anxiety'* (K_Interview_One). In K-SCM-4, Kate describes these parents as *'hard parents'* (K.4.6) and in K-SCM-6 as *'really difficult ones'* (K.6.15). The parents who did not subscribe to **Emotional Rules 1** and **2** caused Kate to report experiencing 'negative' emotions which are explored in the next section.

5.5.2 – Kate's Emotional Experiences

In 10 emotional diary entries, Kate recorded 62 emotions (see Table 9). Of these, Kate recorded more 'negative' emotions to 'positive' emotions (35 compared to 27, respectively). Kate recorded experiencing 'anger, frustration and/or irritation' in 7 of the SCMs. Accompanying this reported emotion, Kate also experienced 'disappointment' in K-SCM-1, K-SCM-3, K-SCM-5, K-SCM-8, K-SCM-9, as well as 'disgust' and 'sadness and/or grief' in K-SCM-1 and K-SCM-9. Kate recorded experiencing exclusively 'positive emotions' in K-SCM-4, K-SCM-6 and K-SCM-7. A genealogy of the recorded 'anger, frustration and/or irritation' coupled with 'disappointment' will now follow as these emotions were recorded concurrently. Positive emotions experienced in K-SCM-4, K-SCM-6 and K-SCM-7, as well as the recording of 'cheerfulness' in K-SCM-3 will be analysed.

Table 9*Kate's Recorded Emotions*

Story Constellation Maps (SCMs)		'Positive' emotions	'Negative' emotions	'Other' emotions
K-SCM-1	<i>A student asked Kate to be her teacher.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation. Disappointment. Disgust. Sadness/Grief.	
K-SCM-2	<i>A parent was annoyed that Kate had not responded to an email.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation.	
K-SCM-3	<i>Kate discussed 'Coffee Club' with a parent</i>	Cheerfulness. Enjoyment/Amusement. Happiness/Joy.	Anger/Frustration/Irritation. Disappointment.	
K-SCM-4	<i>Kate received an email from a parent regarding school camp.</i>	Awe/Admiration. Care. Cheerfulness. Enjoyment/Amusement. Enthusiasm. Happiness/Joy.		
K-SCM-5	<i>Parents did not inform Kate that the student had moved</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation. Disappointment.	
K-SCM-6	<i>A parent congratulated Kate on the dance program.</i>	Awe/Admiration. Cheerfulness. Enjoyment/Amusement. Gratitude. Happiness/Joy. Pride.		
K-SCM-7	<i>A parent congratulated Kate on her efforts in teaching dance.</i>	Cheerfulness. Enjoyment/Amusement. Pride.		
K-SCM-8	<i>Kate received an email regarding a student receiving an 'orange card'.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation. Disappointment.	
K-SCM-9	<i>A father called to speak to Kate while Kate was running assembly.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation. Anxiety/Fear. Disappointment. Disgust. Sadness/Grief.	
K-SCM-10	<i>A parent approached Kate in the playground.</i>		Anger/Frustration/Irritation. Disgust.	

Kate reported 'negative' emotions in her first diary entry where she reported experiencing 'anger, frustration and/or irritation', 'disappointment' as well as 'disgust' and 'sadness and/or grief' when a student asked Kate if Kate could be her teacher in the coming school year. In her telling, Kate stated that she *'can't because of her parent'* (K.1) and immediately made the intertextual link with a series of small story tellings of a past interaction with this specific parent. In the taleworld of K-SCM-1, the parent had sent Kate a *'three-page long email... saying that everything [Kate] did as a teacher... was rubbish.'* (K.1.2). The parent had stated that Kate had discussed concepts with the students that were *'really inappropriate'* (K.1.5). In her telling, Kate broke from the taleworld to the told world and in her here-and-now telling, reflected on the past interaction:

'She should have come and spoken to me, rather than to send an essay in an email. Three pages, and I couldn't even defend the incorrect things she had said in it. It was so horrible.' (K_Interview_Two).

Kate recorded experiencing 'anger, frustration and/or irritation' and 'disappointment' upon receiving an email from other parents in K-SCM-5 and K-SCM-8. In K-SCM-5, Kate had enquired as to why a student was absent all week, in response she *'got a strange and short email back saying he is much more well-behaved at home, he's not doing silly things that he's learned from the school.'* (K.5.4). Kate reported that this email made her feel *'very upset'* (K.5.8). In her reflection, Kate stated: *'I felt I had failed him, and [the parents], and that they thought I had failed too'* (K_Interview_Three).

In both K-SCM-1 and K-SCM-5, Kate felt that the parents had made accusations against her through email. In K-SCM-8, Kate reported receiving an email from a parent that caused her to feel 'anger, frustration and/or irritation' and 'disappointment' because the parent was *'not following the system'* (K.8.26), that is, the 'Mayford

School Discipline Procedures'. The parent had emailed Kate regarding the student receiving an 'orange card':

'This is not the first time I have received an email like this regarding the same matter. I have received 10 of these this year alone; Every time a teacher gives an orange card, I receive an angry email wanting a meeting or wanting to explain the child's point of view.' (K.8.1; K.8.2).

As an Assistant Principal, Kate writes 'orange cards' for students in accordance with the Mayford School Discipline Procedures. Kate breaks from the taleworld to tell that many 'parents' respond in this way. Kate discusses 'parents' in the general sense (K.8.2; K.8.3; K.8.5; K.8.6; K.8.7; K.8.12; K.8.14) in her reflection upon this interaction:

'We rarely get the slips back. The parents usually email or call or want a meeting regarding the orange card and what was stated on it. And nine times out of ten, like with this parent, the parent is angry and defensive and annoyed. It is a shame they can't just trust us and follow the system'
(K_Interview_Four).

In K-SCM-2, Kate recorded experiencing 'anger, frustration and/or irritation' because a 'parent was accusing [Kate] of not replying to an email that, in [Kate's] opinion, did not need to be replied to' (K.2). Kate reflected upon the interaction and stated that she had not responded due to a busy morning in which she had a staff meeting and had to speak to staff members about the school dance program:

'It's very frustrating when parents think that the world revolved around their child and that we have to drop everything in relation to them.' (K.2.3)

Email features in each of these SCMs discussed (K-SCM-1; K-SCM-2; K-SCM-5; K-SCM-8) as well as K-SCM-10. In K-SCM-10 Kate described an interaction in which she had received an email from a parent late one evening. The next morning the parent asked, 'why have you not responded?' (K.10.2) which Kate reported made her

feel 'angry, frustrated and irritated' and 'disgusted'. Kate stated she *'would get 30 plus emails a day from parents'* (K.Int.1) and in responding to these emails:

'...Those that are urgent, I will respond straight away. But it is very hard when you're technically in front of a class 9:00 until 3:00, with all the extracurricular and meetings. You might not get to an email until 6:00pm. I'm trying, this year, to not respond to emails outside of the hours of 8:00 until 4:00 because I think it opens up, from my experience, parents then to assume that you are able to be contacted 24 hours a day.' (K_Interview_One).

Kate makes clear intertextual links between emails and the recorded experiences of 'negative' emotions. In her here-and-now tellings within interviews, Kate referred to emails as a mechanism for a parents *'letting off steam'* (K_Interview_Four) and that what is written in an email is *'often a parent responding out of haste and what they put onto paper isn't necessarily what I imagine they would say face to face'* (K_Interview_One). Kate further described emails as 'angry'. For example, in a spontaneous small story telling in K-SCM-6, Kate stated *'I had an angry email from a parent sitting in my inbox at 3:00pm'* (K.6.8).

Kate's emotional experiences at the intrapersonal and interpersonal level are constructed by the intergroup level and an emotional rule that formulates the appropriate use of email, but that requires emotional navigation. The emotional rule can be stated: **3) Teachers are supported when parents communicate by email in a respectful manner.** In the analysis of Mayford school documents, there was no policy or formal procedures on the use of email in the school. Furthermore, there was no policy or formal procedure on communication between parents and teachers at Mayford school at the time of this study. The *Mayford School Plan 2015-2017* stated that "parents will continue to be kept informed through various means of communication" (p.4). The key communication procedures are not clearly stipulated, however one document stated:

“MAYFORD TERM 3 PLANNER: which gives an overview of activities for this term is now available. Please watch the Newsletter for additions and changes as the term progresses.” (Newsletter T3_Wk1_2017).

In the analysis of newsletters, the procedure for communication became evident:

“Need to talk with your child’s teacher? Our teachers are very happy to meet with parents, but it is most important that you contact them beforehand to make an appointment for a mutually convenient time. In this way you will have their undivided attention.” (Newsletter T3_Wk7_2017).

“If you have any questions regarding this please contact 1W class teacher [email address]” (Newsletter T3_Wk1_2017).

“If you have any questions, contact [Deputy Principal email address].” (Newsletter T2_Wk10_2017; T3_Wk1_2017).

“The teachers concerned will be sending an email to the parents of children in their class with information about the arrangements.” (Newsletter T2_Wk2_2017).

The inclusion of email addresses for staff members was evident on 6 of 8 newsletters. **Emotional Rule 3** is clear in documents and in Kate’s reported interactions with parents. However, it is also clear that this rule requires much emotional navigation. Kate stated that *‘we use email but it’s all over the place. Some teachers email all day, others don’t check it at all... Different teachers have different rules.’* (K_Interview_One). In light of **Emotional Rule 3**, Kate positions herself and Mayford school staff within a complex power relationship:

‘Once that freedom has been given to parents, which I guess is our fault - in that they have our email addresses. They have our numbers. They have the ability to come in and demand a response. It’s going to be very hard to put something in place that stops that’ (K_Interview_One).

The ambiguity around communication procedures in Mayford school was evident throughout all SCMs where Kate experienced anger, frustration and irritation. In K-SCM-9, a parent *'called the school angry [that Kate] had not returned his phone call within a day'* (K.9). In K-SCM-3, Kate felt anger, frustration and irritation, and disappointment when parents were dissatisfied with the Year 1 homework and reflected:

'What upset me more was that no one came and spoke to me, none of the parents came and said, hey can I have a chat about the homework? No emails, no meetings, nothing' (K.3.5).

Within this SCM, Kate told that the homework had been resolved leading to her reported experience of 'cheerfulness', enjoyment and/or amusement' and 'happiness and/or joy'. Kate told that she used a blog to communicate the changes to homework:

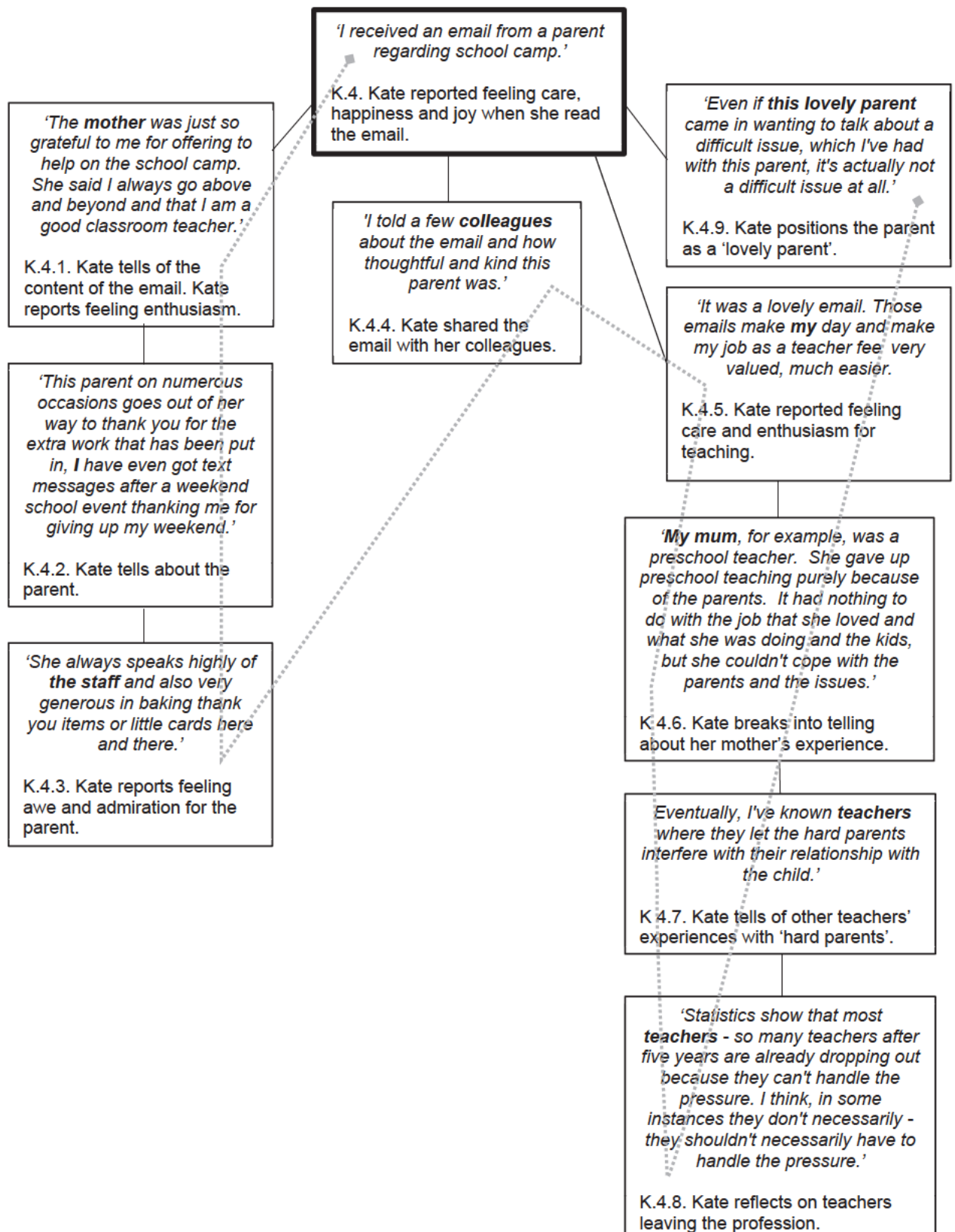
'The reason I set up this stage blog is I was receiving emails from parents asking questions like, what time is the excursion tomorrow? What do I need to bring? Which, from a teacher point of view, is frustrating, when you have already sent a note home. You've already sent an email copy of the note and that information is on the school website. I do sometimes feel like you're a secretary to these parents, filling them in on information they should already have___ The blog has over a hundred parents and a hundred students on it, where we're able to communicate.' (K_Interview_One).

Kate explained that there was no school procedure around the use of class blogs. It is clear that Kate's 'negative' emotions are constructed in light of the pragmatic challenges associated with **Emotional Rule 3**, and that Kate has sought means to navigate her emotional responses through various solutions, such as a class blog. However, this rule did not always produce 'negative' emotions, but also 'positive' emotions.

In the analysis of Kate's positive emotions, it was clear that Kate's experience of 'cheerfulness' and other positive emotions in K-SCM-3 were a result of interactions with parents in which her work had been acknowledged. In another story constellation map, K-SCM-3, a father '*emailed [Kate] personally to say thank you*' (K.3.18). In K-SCM-4, a mother sent a '*lovely email*' (K.4.5) stating her gratefulness for Kate (see Figure 12).

Figure 12

Kate – Story Constellation Map 4



Positive emotions were also reported in K-SCM-6 and K-SCM-7, two separate parents had congratulated Kate on her hard work in the school dance program. In her tellings, Kate makes the linguistic choice in her use of the term 'lovely' in several tellings (K.4.5; K.6.4; K.7). This iteration is evident and Kate makes a clear intertextual link of her positive emotions with **Emotional Rules 1 and 2**:

'You get some really lovely parents, some really supportive and involved parents' (K-SCM-6; K.6.15).

Kate's recorded 'positive' emotions in K-SCM-3, K-SCM-4, K-SCM-6 and K-SCM-7 are constructed by the socio-political context of Mayford school in which the emotional rules state that parents should be supportive, active and informed as well as attend and volunteer at various school events. This is evident Kate's telling and in her positioning of the parents in K-SCM-4 and K-SCM-7:

'She always speaks highly of the staff and is also very generous in baking thank you items or little cards here and there' (K.4.3).

'She was my Class Parent; I have known her a long time. She knows me well and knows that I do and so is very encouraging of me.' (K.7.4; K.7.6).

Such parents *'make [Kate's] job as a teacher feel very valued, much easier'* (K.4.5) through their compliance to **Emotional Rule 1 and 2**. In K-SCM-3, K-SCM-4, K-SCM-6 and K-SCM-7 in which Kate recorded 27 'positive' emotions, Kate did not express any need to control these emotions. Conversely, Kate did express the need to control 'negative' emotions she experienced. As Kate reflected on her practice of responding to emails, she identified her practice of emotional labour:

Kate: There is no point fighting fire with fire. There is no point being emotional, it will get you nowhere. Better to take a breath, sit on it a while, talk to a colleague or someone else supportive about it, and then respond with a clear head. That is what I believe. I think that is best practice.

Facilitator: Why is it you feel that being emotional will get you nowhere?

Kate: Well I mean showing the emotion. As in, it's normal to feel emotional and upset over things, that is just human nature. But it will get you nowhere if you express those emotions to the parents. They will just think you're emotional and not professional.

Facilitator: That's interesting. When you say emotional and not professional do –

[Over speaking]

Kate: What I mean is that you have to be professional if you want to be treated like a professional.... For me, I have to keep the anger and frustration inside, remain calm and composed in order to be the professional in the situation. To take the high road. (K_Interview_Four).

Kate's comments reveal the fourth emotional rule in Mayford school. Evident in the *Australian Standards for Teachers'* (AITSL, 2018), teachers are required to maintain "professional practice" and to "engage professionally with... parents/carers" through the establishment and maintenance of "respectful... relationships with parents/carers". The fourth emotional rule is: **4) Teachers must engage professionally with parents by not expressing 'negative' emotions.** Kate's emotional labour in light of this rule is discussed in the next section.

5.5.3 – Kate's Emotional Control

Kate seeks to control her emotions through seeking collegial support and by referring to past interactions and existing relationships with parents. Kate broke into tellings of receiving collegial support in K-SCM-1, K-SCM-3, K-SCM-5, K-SCM-8, K-SCM-9 and K-SCM-10. In each of these SCMs, Kate recorded experiencing

'negative' emotions such as anger, frustration and irritation, anxiety and fear, disappointment, disgust and sadness and grief. Kate also spoke of receiving collegial support in K-SCM-6 where she chose to tell a previous interaction in a small story telling of an *'angry email'* she once received (K.6.8). Kate did not tell of seeking collegial support in any interactions where she had experienced 'positive' emotions (K-SCM-4, K-SCM-7) but rather reflected on the need for collegial support when experiencing 'negative' emotions:

'If a parent says something that is critical or I receive a bad email, I don't keep it to myself, I usually go straight to my colleagues for support and comfort because I take it so personally and well professionally too, as in it knocks my confidence' (K.6.5)

This statement shows the emotional navigation of **Emotional Rule 3** and **4**. In K-SCM-1 and K-SCM-9, Kate told of feeling *'very supported'* (K.9.16) by the principal and deputy principal. In reflection upon K-SCM-1, Kate stated that *'it definitely helped that my principal was on my side... That gave me to confidence I needed to face the day. Helped me maintain some confidence in myself'* (K_Interview_2). Despite the support from these members of Mayford school, the major theme was Kate's support received from other teachers. Kate told of collegial support in the taleworlds of her tellings. In one telling, where Kate received an email that caused her to experience 'negative' emotions, she *'walked straight into [her] colleague's classroom and started to cry'* (K.6.9). In K-SCM-3, Kate stated that *'after getting support from [her] colleagues and them helping [her]'* (K.3.17) she was able to address a parent's query. Similarly, after approaching her colleague and expressing her emotions, Kate *'felt a lot better after getting [her] frustrations out... Then [she] was able to address the situation a little better'* (K.8.21). In K-SCM-5, one of Kate's colleagues *'helped [Kate] gain perspective and not take [the email she had received] too personally'* (K.5.8). In K-SCM-6, Kate *'went to [her] colleagues because [she] had a rough day'*

(K.6.6) and in K-SCM-8. Kate frequently broke from the taleworld to reflect upon the need for collegial support in her here-and-now tellings. In relation to the support she had received within the taleworld, Kate reflected and broke into tellings regarding this support:

'I couldn't get through the school year without [the colleague] and my other friends in the school who are all such a huge support' (K.5.9)

'I always share difficult emails with my close colleagues. I think every teacher needs somebody at school that they can download and talk to; ... Other teachers understand what you're going through' (K.8.18; K.8.19).

'I'm very lucky to have colleagues around that I can talk to' (K.9.16)

'Once word spreads about these parents, a lot of us... will ask for support from teachers that have dealt with them...' (K.10.11)

In her role as Assistant Principal, Kate reflected on not only being the recipient of collegial support but also the importance of her providing this support:

'The whole executive has to be support of the teachers, they have to have the teachers backs. I take that really seriously, as an AP, I want the teachers that I oversee to know that I have their back. Particularly when it comes to parents, obviously if they are in the wrong I will discuss that with them. But it is important they know they have my full support in all things' (K_Interview_One).

It is clear that Kate seeks to navigate **Emotional Rules 3** and **4** through managing her emotions by seeking collegial support.

The second way that Kate sought to manage her emotions was by referring to past interactions and existing relationships with parents. Kate provided contextual information about the parents as characters in her taleworlds in K-SCM-1, K-SCM-3, K-SCM-4, K-SCM-5, K-SCM-6, K-SCM-7, K-SCM-8, K-SCM-9 and K-SCM-10. Kate *'really believe[s] in developing strong foundations and connections with families'* (K.7.6) and as a result, when Kate has interactions with *'...a parent I do not know*

and don't have that firm foundation with, I can easily feel threatened or just anxious'

(K.7.14). This became evident in the first interview, where Kate stated:

'If I have a very close connection with the parents, and a very open connection with them, it is easier to get across to parents when their - when issues arise.'

(K_Interview_One).

This 'close connection' that Kate values is evident in various small story tellings:

'I know this mother very well. We get along well...' (K.3.8)

'...I even got text messages [from the mother] after a weekend school event thanking me for giving up my weekend' (K.4.2)

'[The mother] was my class parent and I've just built a really nice foundation, you know, some sort of friendship I would say...' (K.7.4)

When a 'close connection' was not present, Kate referred to contextual information about the parent. In K-SCM-1 and K-SCM-7 Kate told tellings with no clear link with the current telling such as: *'the parent had a son in my class'* (K.1.3), *'I had this parent's child in kindy'* (K.7.3). Similarly, Kate tells of a history of relationship in K-SCM-9 and K-SCM-10 where she stated she that it had *'been two years [Kate's] been involved with this family'* (K.9.15) and that she had *'dealt with this particular family all of last year with their older child'* (K.10.3). In K-SCM-8, Kate told contextual information about a parent stating that *'...this parent is often wanting further explanation...'* (K.8.6). In these examples, Kate provides contextual information in relation to her current telling. At times, Kate told of her lack of knowledge and interactions with parents stating that the parents are *'never around, I never really saw them or got to know them'* (K.5.2) and that *'I don't know [the mother] that well...'* (K.6.2). The telling of and acknowledgment of this lack of interactions was used to navigate her emotional experiences. Similarly, in an 'extreme case' (K_Interview_Two) Kate's previous interactions with a parent lead to organisational structures of distance between Kate and the parent:

'Her daughter is in year 3 and on her student file now, it says that I will not teach this student for all the staff to see. I just can't do it, my confidence was totally shattered' (K.1.12).

In this telling, Kate managed her 'negative' emotions in order to adhere to **Emotional Rule 4** through referring to past interactions and the managing the relationship with the parent.

In conclusion, the analysis of Mayford school documents and Kate's SCMs showed the emotional rules evident in Kate's school context:

- 1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents are supportive, active and informed.
- 2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents fulfil their duty to attend and volunteer in school events.
- 3) Teachers are supported when parents communicate by email in a respectful manner.
- 4) Teachers must engage professionally with parents by not expressing 'negative' emotions.

Parents who adhere to **Emotional Rule 1** and **2** are positioned as 'supportive' while the parents who do not adhere to these rules are positioned as 'difficult'. Kate expressed challenges in emotionally navigating **Emotional Rule 3** and discussed ways in which she has sought to reconstruct this rule and her communication with parents. In her interactions with both 'supportive' and 'difficult' parents, Kate sought to adhere to **Emotional Rule 4** by seeking collegial support and referring to past interactions and existing relationships with parents.

5.6 – Summary of Findings

A total of 648 small stories were analysed from Brooke, Carmen, Jocelyn and Kate's tellings of their interactions with parents in the respective school contexts. As evident in Table 4, all participating teachers were female, and all had been teaching in schools for less than 10 years. All teachers practised as classroom teachers, and two participants, Jocelyn and Kate, also held the role of Assistant Principal in their schools. As evident in Table 3, all school settings held an above average ICSEA score ranging between 1146 to 1180. This was purposefully selected to consider the school contexts that serve middle and higher socioeconomic background communities. All schools held large enrolments ranging from 526 to 746 with LBOTE student ranging from 30% to 55% of total enrolments.

Through an analysis of each teacher's emotional experience at the intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup level, as well as an analysis of the way of telling, sites and tellers, themes emerged from the data. The analysis of documents further highlighted the contextualised emotional rules within each school setting, and the ways in which documents can have subjective and cultural implications within each school (Saltmarsh, 2015). An overview of the findings is displayed in Table 10.

Table 10

Overview of findings

	Brooke	Carmen	Jocelyn	Kate
Emotional Rules	<p>1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents fulfil their responsibility to attend school events</p> <p>2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents undertake their duty to support school events and initiatives.</p> <p>3) Teachers should show care for student wellbeing and share this responsibility with parents.</p> <p>4) Teachers are to engage professionally with parents through suppressing 'negative' emotions.</p>	<p>1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents support, attend and volunteer in school events and activities.</p> <p>2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents are aware of and fulfil their role and responsibilities within the school community.</p> <p>3) Teachers feel gratitude when the Class Parent(s) takes responsibility of communicating with other parents.</p> <p>4) Teachers should control 'negative' emotions to facilitate the responsibility and care for children.</p>	<p>1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents fulfil their responsibility to support, be involved and attend school events.</p> <p>2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents volunteer their time to help and assist in the running of school events and activities.</p> <p>3) Teachers must not express 'negative' emotions in order to maintain professional engagement with parents.</p> <p>4) Parents should not impede the teachers' maintenance of safe emotional environments within classrooms.</p>	<p>1) Teachers feel gratitude when parents are supportive, active and informed.</p> <p>2) Teachers feel gratitude when parents fulfil their duty to attend and volunteer in school events.</p> <p>3) Teachers are supported when parents communicate by email in a respectful manner.</p> <p>4) Teachers must engage professionally with parents by not expressing 'negative' emotions.</p>
Positioning of parents	Parents are 'involved' and 'supportive'.	Parents are 'engaged' and have specific roles and responsibilities.	Parents are 'active', 'supportive' and 'involved'.	'Supportive' parents and some 'difficult' parents.
Emotions recorded	<p>Negative – 19</p> <p>Positive – 5</p> <p>Other emotions – 2</p>	<p>Negative – 24</p> <p>Positive – 23</p> <p>Other emotions – 0</p>	<p>Negative – 28</p> <p>Positive – 7</p> <p>Other emotions – 1</p>	<p>Negative – 35</p> <p>Positive – 27</p> <p>Other emotions – 0</p>
Emotional labour (following negative emotion)	<p>Referring to past interactions with parent(s) or prior knowledge of parent(s).</p> <p>Suppressing/hiding the emotion.</p> <p>Collegial support.</p>	<p>Recalling past interactions with or information about the parent(s).</p> <p>Collegial support.</p>	<p>Recalling previous interactions with parent(s).</p> <p>Collegial support.</p> <p>Creating distance between herself and parents.</p>	<p>Referring to past interactions and existing relationships with parent(s).</p> <p>Collegial support.</p>
Emotional labour (following positive emotion)	<i>No reported emotional labour</i>	<i>No reported emotional labour</i>	<i>No reported emotional labour</i>	<i>No reported emotional labour</i>

The first major theme that emerged concerned the positioning of parents. Across all four cases – that is, within all four school contexts and four teacher recorded experiences – parents were positioned as ‘supportive’, or ‘engaged’ and ‘involved’. However, parents who did not conform to these ‘positionings’ either through their absence in the eyes of the teacher, or disagreement with the teacher, invoked negative emotions and significant emotional labour through the censure, anger and frustration of the teacher. This was observed through the positioning statements Brooke, Carmen, Jocelyn and Kate made in their tellings, but was also confirmed by the emotional rules of each school context.

The second major theme was that all teachers in this study reported the need to control ‘negative’ emotions, but no need to control ‘positive’ emotions. Emotional labour was evident in the tellings of the teachers when they had reported feeling ‘angry, frustrated and/or irritated’ or ‘anxiety and/or fear’, however in all recordings of ‘positive’ emotions, no emotional labour was evident. These reported ‘negative’ emotions were experienced as a result of parents not adhering to emotional rules, or as a result of the teaching navigating a specific emotional rule within their context.

The third major theme was that amongst the methods of emotional labour discussed by the teachers, two methods of emotional labour were reported by all four teachers. These two methods were reported when negative emotions were experienced, these were (a) seeking collegial support and recalling or (b) referring to previous interactions with parents or knowledge they had of specific parents. In accordance with Georgakopoulou’s (2015) heuristic, teachers *recalled* and *referred* to past interactions, with the former being evident when the teller broke from the current telling and created intertextual links with a previous recalled small story. Referral was less impulsive, and was identified when teachers simply provided further tellings in order to position themselves and characters within the told world.

Whilst there was slight difference in the way of telling, both recalling and referring is discussed as one theme of recollection of past interactions.

These themes are discussed in the next chapter and are considered in addressing the research questions.

Chapter 6 – Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings of the thesis. The key findings are discussed in three parts and address the overarching research questions in this thesis. The first part considers how teachers' emotions are informed by the positioning of parents in the school. The second part discusses the emotional experiences teachers have when engaging with parents in daily interactions, and how these emotional experiences are shaped by emotional rules. The third part discusses how teachers play a part in their own emotional control when interacting with parents. This is followed by a discussion of the implications for future research that supports the use of small story research and advances the multicomponent understanding of emotion and emotional rules in schools. Implications for policy development and teacher professional development are discussed, followed by the limitations of the study. Finally, this chapter concludes the thesis.

6.1 – The Positioning of Parents

*“The mother probably feels guilty
because she can't be picking him up and
being involved in his schooling.”*

– Jocelyn

The findings illustrate the positioning of parents in the school context through the analysis of documents and through the analysis of teachers' emotional diary entries, interviews and Story Constellation Maps [SCMs]. Teacher accounts and the teacher's tellings of their interaction with parents, along with the ways in which they told these tellings, revealed the way parents were positioned within the specific school context. Emotional rules emerged in each teacher's tellings in that teachers reported positive emotions when parents complied with being supportive and

involved in the school context. In all four school contexts, parents were positioned as ‘involved’, ‘supportive’, ‘engaged’ and ‘active’. These positioning statements show a direct correlation with the parent involvement and parent engagement literature propagated in the last two decades (see *Chapter 2*), school-based policy and documentation as well as Australian government policy and documentation, such as the *Code of Conduct* (NSW DoE, 2006), *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* (AITSL, 2018), the *Curriculum Planning and Programming, Assessing and Reporting to Parents K-12* (NSW DoE, 2019) and the *School Excellence Framework – Version 2* (NSW Government, 2017). The correlation of the teachers’ tellings regarding the positioning of parents and the analysis of documents affirms the importance of considering how such policy documents are enacted and implicated in the everyday cultures of schooling (Boler, 2015; Saltmarsh, 2015).

A key finding regarding teacher accounts of the positioning of parents from this study showed that teachers held to the emotional rule that required parents to show their involvement and support through *physical presence* at school events. Noncompliance with this emotional rule was a significant source of negative emotion and use of pejorative and dismissive language about such parents. The teachers’ expectation of parent support, expressed through physical presence, aligns with the widely accepted definition of parent involvement. That is, parent involvement constitutes school-related activities, attitudes and behaviour that occur (a) at school (such as parent volunteering) or (b) within the community (such as parent attendance at school events) (Emerson et al., 2012; Epstein et al., 1997). However, these teachers’ perceptions neglect the third environment, that is (c) the home. Although research has confirmed the value of engaging parents in their child’s learning beyond school-based activities (Epstein et al., 1997; Emerson et al., 2012; McKenna & Millen, 2013; Pushor, 2014), the teachers in this study told of the support or lack of support they experienced in school-based interactions (such as formal and informal

meetings) or through school-based communication (such as teacher-initiated phone calls). Emerson and colleagues (2012) argue that there is an important difference between involving parents and engaging parents, and that the latter encapsulates a broader conception of the role of the parent in their child's learning. However, they argue that "promoting engagement in the home often requires communication between teachers and parents that may take place in the school environment and which then fosters positive changes at home and elsewhere" (p. 26). In this sense, parent-teacher interactions show evidence of parent involvement that precedes parent engagement. The teachers in this study viewed their interactions with parents within the framework of *involving* parents in school-related activities, not necessarily *engaging* parents in learning beyond the school environment. Many researchers have sought to address this by arguing that the school environment and the home environment be mutually reinforcing (Emerson et al., 2012; Epstein et al., 1997; Epstein, 2010; Pushor, 2014). In order to move away from 'schoolcentric' approaches, Epstein's and colleagues (1997) developed the *Parent Involvement Framework*. Over a decade after this development, Epstein (2010) stated that approaches to involving parents still emphasised "conflict and views of the school as a battleground [where] the conditions and relationships in this kind of environment guarantee power struggles and disharmony" (p. 94). This is problematic and it is argued that involving parents should not be marked by power struggles, but rather should emphasise partnerships (Epstein, 2010; Pushor, 2014). The overwhelming number of negative emotions arising from interactions with parents reported by teachers in this thesis, a further 10 years on from Epstein's (2010) report, speaks to this analogy of schools as a battleground more than it speaks of partnerships. McKenna and Millen (2013) confirm that current engagement models continue to "suppose parents are actors whose role in schools, whenever a role exists, is to support the teacher and/or school, as opposed to participating in an integrated

partnership with the goal of helping children develop their full potential” (p. 11). Pushor (2014) argued that the partnerships between teachers and parents, commonly cited in literature, is often understood by teachers to reflect compliance of parents to do the things which teachers request of them. This is problematic because the “educator’s expectations and understandings of parent involvement... are often disconnected from the reality of students’ home lives” (McKenna & Millen, p. 9). In this thesis teachers remarked and commented, sometimes derisively, on the ‘absent parent’ but no participating teacher ever reflected on or reported an understanding of these parents or their absences. Some teachers engaged in transference and assumed guilt if a parent could not attend school, such as Jocelyn who stated that “the mother probably feels guilty because she can’t be picking [her son] up and being involved in his schooling.” When teachers did make the very occasional reference to the home environment of students, it was often expressed negatively as frustration with parents who did not reinforce the home environment as a learning environment, such as one parent who did not ensure their child completed homework. More work is required to develop positive partnerships between parents and teachers in their daily interactions both within the school and also within the home.

When teachers reported that parents did *not* adhere to emotional rules, such as volunteering or attending school events, the teachers in this thesis experienced negative emotions. The teachers believed that parents showed their support through volunteering and attendance, that is, by their involvement in ‘schoolcentric’ activities (Epstein, 1997, 2010; Pushor, 2014). However, these teacher perceptions of parent involvement may be constricting. McKenna & Millen (2013) found that teachers views of parent involvement are often narrow, and called teachers to “beyond traditional expectations [that include] being involved through attending parent-teacher conferences, volunteering in the classroom, helping with projects and homework, and reading at home... to a more inclusive understanding of parent engagement,

specifically the constituent pieces of parent voice and parent presence” (p. 43). Research confirms that even though most parents are seeking to be active in the education of their children, this does not always equate to traditional models of involvement (Addi-Raccah & Grishtain, 2018; Daniel, 2016; McKenna & Millen, 2013). This may be due to a lack of teacher invitation (Daniel, 2016; McKenna & Millen, 2013) or teacher attitudes and perceptions of the parent-teacher relationships (Addi-Raccah & Grishtain, 2018). In their study, McKenna and Millen (2013) found that parents discussed their current involvement in their child’s learning as well as “those ideas which [the parents] articulated as things they *wish* to do but are not invited, allowed, or asked about in the current educational climate” (p. 15). Daniel (2016) identified that one reason parents may not attend, or volunteer in school-based events is due to a lack of teacher outreach. Teachers in this thesis did not report on their levels of outreach and invitation to parents, and this would be an area worthy of further consideration as parent involvement is often dependent on the teacher’s effectiveness in building trusting relationships with parents (Daniel, 2016; Emerson et al., 2012). The teachers in this study held to traditional views of parent involvement, and further research on teachers’ perceptions of untraditional and evolving views would be worthy of consideration.

Teacher accounts of the positioning of parents in this study is considered in regard to the higher socioeconomic context of the schools. In a study that focused on an affluent community, Addi-Raccah and Grishtain (2018) found that teachers serving high-socioeconomic communities viewed relationships with parents as either collaborative or as threatening. It is argued that teachers may view parents as collaborative partners or as a threat in light of “neo-liberal policies in education [that] have challenged teachers’ relations with parents” in which parents “have become significant and powerful interest groups in schools” (Addi-Raccah & Grishtain, 2018, p. 633). The negative teacher emotions reported in this thesis may be a result of the

teachers feeling threatened by the parents in the middle-class affluent school communities that were studied. Whatever the reason may be for barriers to parent involvement, McKenna and Millen (2013) argue for a more robust vision of parent presence, parent voice and parent engagement that extends beyond “traditional models of parent-teacher interactions [and]... supports fluid bidirectional dialogue among teachers and parents” (p. 27-28). While Australian government documents express value for the involvement of parents in their children’s schooling, the analysis of the school documents in this thesis exhibited communication that was one directional and mainly alluded to invitations to attend a school event, followed by expressed gratitude for this attendance. Newsletters were not bidirectional in that they did not illustrate parent contributions or voice but were means of communication from the school to parents. Even when allusions to parent voice were discussed, namely in the role of the Class Parent in some schools, these appeared to be regulatory rather than collaborative in operation. The teachers and documents describing the role of the Class Parent in this study presented the role of a Class Parent as a regulatory mechanism for controlling communication between the teacher and other parents, preventing the general parent milieu from contacting the teacher directly. A narrow field of ‘involvement’ was evident in the analysis of documents, further acknowledging the embeddedness of emotional norms and rules of emotional expression in parent-teacher interactions (Boler, 2015).

The varying mechanisms or approaches to parent involvement in schools raises an important question to be considered by educational communities in terms of by what standard and by what metric are parents positioned as ‘involved’, ‘supportive’, ‘engaged’ and ‘active’. Clearly, the teacher perceptions and expectations expressed in this thesis are a source of significant emotional labour, potentially causing ineffective parent-teacher interactions and may ultimately damage or alter the relationship between teachers and parents in school communities. The

subsequent and associated constitution of the label or positioning of the ‘difficult’ parent, that is, the parent who caused teachers to experience negative emotions, requires closer scrutiny in school communities and further investigation in research. An alternative parent positioning was suggested by Christianakis (2011) who argued that parents should not be viewed as simply supporters and helpers, but rather should be positioned as decision makers and collaborative partners. It could be argued that this is what much of the parent engagement research and literature is trying to achieve. However, if collaborative interactions and effective partnerships between parents and teachers are to be achieved, shared perspectives and understanding must be held by both teachers and parents (Ellis et al., 2015). For the four teachers in this study, this may require reimagining and negotiating emotional rules that pertain to parent involvement expressed through physical presence in schools. Parent-teacher interactions may benefit from an understanding of parent involvement that extends beyond the traditional school-based interaction, and that also considers the emotions experienced by both the teacher and the parent.

6.2 – Teachers’ Emotional Experiences

*“If a parent is stressed, I get stressed about the
parent being stressed, and think, what did I do
wrong? Did I cause the stress?”*

– Carmen

A striking finding of this thesis related to the markedly disproportionate level of negative emotions reported by teachers. Teachers had the choice to indicate a range of positive and negative emotional labels. An equal proportion of positive emotions and negative emotions were evident in the emotional diaries, but teachers overwhelmingly reported negative emotions in their interactions with parents. This is

concerning because recent research has confirmed that negative emotional experiences can contribute to teachers' low self-efficacy (Koenen et al., 2019), job dissatisfaction (Spilt, Koomen & Thijs, 2011), emotional exhaustion (Goertz et al., 2015; Keller et al., 2014), burnout (Chang, 2009, 2013) and stress (Yin et al., 2017;). An example of the experience of stress is evident in Carmen's telling. This thesis found two reasons for teachers' reports of negative emotions in relation to emotional rules. Firstly, negative emotions were experienced firstly when parents did not adhere to emotional rules that required fulfilment of parent duties. The second reason teachers experienced negative emotions was due to their own navigation or resistance of emotional rules that lead to significant negative emotional labour.

Firstly, as discussed in the previous section, the teachers in this study reported experiencing negative emotions when parents did not adhere to emotional rules that required them to be 'supportive', 'involved' and to 'attend' and 'volunteer' at events. These findings are similar to those found by Lasky (2000) and Chen and Wang (2011). Lasky (2000) found that teachers reported experiencing negative emotions when parents were uncaring, irresponsible, not supportive and not respectful of teacher professional judgement. Chen and Wang (2011) reported that teachers experienced negative emotions when parents criticised their teaching practice and when parents did not share the same moral purposes. Lasky (2000) highlighted the emotional rules that constructed negative emotions in acknowledgement that teachers were "more comfortable with parents who filled a related set of expectations and who shared their value systems [and] felt demoralised, angry and discouraged with parents who did not fulfil this set of expectations and values" (p. 857). While Lasky (2000) and Chen and Wang (2011) clearly demonstrated the role of teachers in expressing and positioning parents in this way, this thesis makes an additional and important contribution in the detailed analysis of school documents and broader policy directions. This analysis has

revealed that these documents do in fact support a climate of expectations about parent-teacher interactions through prescriptive discourses, and these in turn shape the emotional rules within the school.

Secondly, negative emotions were experienced due to teachers seeking to navigate the emotional rules in their school. Teacher's values and expectations are shaped by the school culture and wider socio-political context. As discussed in *Chapter 2* and *Chapter 3*, emotional experiences are a result of the connectedness of the individual reality, social interactions and the socio-political context (Zembylas, 2005). These broader socio-political contexts of schools and schooling shaped the emotional rules that resulted in much of the negative teacher emotions and indeed led to significant emotional labour on behalf of all teachers in this thesis. As evident in documents and supported by the analysis of teacher small stories, the emotional rules in this thesis concerned shared responsibilities between teachers and parents, prescribed duties to be fulfilled by teachers and parents and affirmed the requirement to maintain teacher professionalism. The four teachers experienced negative emotions in their nuanced tellings that reflected a struggle or resistance to comply with such emotional rules, evident in the emotional labour so clearly expressed by all teachers. This intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup experience of emotion and the resulting emotional labour was reported by all teachers, and at times, teachers were surprised by their emotions in these interactions. For example, a parent interrupted one teacher's lesson, causing the teacher to feel angry, irritated and frustrated because the parent had violated an emotional rule. However, the teacher then realised that the parent was interrupting only to bring the teacher a cool glass of water, which left the teacher feeling grateful and cared for, as well as surprised by her initial negative emotions. This example shows the multifaceted experience of teacher emotion in daily interactions with parents in socio-political school settings.

This thesis has highlighted the ways broader socio-political contexts, evident in policy level discourse and school level discourse, shape the emotions experienced by teachers. Documents such as the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers* do indeed shape the emotional rules within school settings in their outlining of expectations for teacher competence and behaviour in this regard. More research is required to consider how teacher emotions are influenced by such readings and interpretation of policy and regulatory documents, in order to better understand how to enact and implement such policy into practice (Bourke et al., 2018; Spillane et al., 2002). Boler (2015) argued that discourses contained in organisational documents and policies shape the understanding and navigation of emotional rules and the expression of emotional labour. However, it can also be argued that the *absence* of organisational documents and policies also shape emotional rules and emotional labour through enforcing ambiguity in teachers work. All teachers in this study worked within a school context that had *no* document stipulating procedures for teacher interaction or communication with parents. There was no evidence of school-level policies or procedures to assist teachers in the emotional work involved in parent-teacher interactions. This thesis argues that such ambiguity and lack of socio-political context applicability led to intense teacher emotional labour. This finding is similar to Bourke and colleagues (2018) who argue that government policies should not be viewed as simply regulatory, but should be reimagined and transformed in practice and be used developmentally and productively. By viewing documents in this light, parent-teacher interactions may benefit from a collaborative understanding and negotiation of the emotional rules that exist within their school setting.

6.3 – Teachers' Emotional Control

*"It's normal to feel emotional and upset over things,
that is just human nature. But it will get you nowhere
if you express those emotions to the parents. They
will just think you're emotional and not professional."*

– Kate

A key finding of this research is that teachers reported practising emotional labour when they experienced negative emotions but felt able to express positive emotions. When teachers reported experiencing 'anger', 'anxiety', 'frustration' and 'irritation', they suppressed and hid these emotions. When teachers reported experiencing 'cheerfulness', 'contentment', 'gratitude' and 'satisfaction', they expressed these emotions and did not report the need to hide these emotional experiences. As discussed in the previous section, teachers reported strikingly more negative emotions than positive emotions in their interactions with parents, and the ensuing act of self-control meant that emotional labour was evident in all four teachers' lives. This finding is supported by Keller and colleagues (2014) who similarly found that "teachers regularly suppress or fake their emotions" (p. 7). This is unsurprising, as the process of regulating emotions and external expressions, that is, emotional labour, appears to be expected in teachers' work. This is evident in Kate's statement above. It is not the *existence* of emotional labour that deserves attention, rather it is the exercise and practices of emotional labour that requires greater study. As discussed in *Chapter 2*, the exercise of emotional labour can influence teacher wellbeing (Yin et al., 2017), can lead to emotional exhaustion (Goetz et al., 2015) and lead to teacher burnout (Chang, 2013). This thesis suggests that this is particularly problematic when the exercise of teacher's emotional labour is demanded by the school emotional rules.

In this study, teachers in some school contexts held emotional rules that required the maintenance of professionalism that involved the direct suppression of negative emotions. Teachers reported experiencing emotions, such as anger and anxiety, but practised emotional labour and suppressed these emotions in order to remain professional in interactions with parents. This was an emotional rule evident not only in teacher tellings and school-level documents, but also in government-level policy such as the *Australian Professional Standards for Teachers*. Saltmarsh (2012) argues that this government-level policy document and other “neoliberal regimes of governance” are “generally executed at a personal level in those multiple relations between self and self, self and other” (p. 78). Embedded emotional rules in documents concerning professionalism governed school contexts and the teachers’ emotions within these contexts as evident in parent-teacher interactions. Similar findings were reported by Yin and Lee (2012). In their study of Chinese teachers’ work, Yin and Lee (2012) found an emotional rule that required teachers to hide their negative emotions, and that the exercise of “hiding the... negative emotion, to control it and its impact, [was] one of the professional requirements of teachers’ work” (p. 61). This thesis found that when teachers experience negative emotions in their interactions with parents, they needed to suppress these emotions and practise emotional labour, in order to adhere and comply to emotional rules within their teaching context. Zembylas (2005) argues that this suppression of negative emotions is contingent upon power relations that leave teachers in a state of vulnerability.

It has been argued that teachers “are subject to a myriad of judgements, measures, comparisons and targets [producing] a high degree of uncertainty and instability... unsure whether we are doing enough, doing the right thing, doing as much as others, or as well as others, constantly looking to improve, to be better, to be excellent” (Ball, 2003, p. 220). Kelchtermans (1993) found that teachers felt very vulnerable against the judgement of the outside world. It was reported that “they feel

permanently observed and judged by others... certainly parents” (Kelchtermans, 1993, p. 453). Kelchtermans’ (2005, 2016) argued that teacher vulnerability is a fundamental and structural characteristic of teaching that is “rooted in the teaching profession as such and there is no escape from it” (2016, p. 38). Zembylas (2005) argues that this structural vulnerability is a result of the emotionality of teaching and this is also influenced by policy changes and expectations for teacher standards (Kelchtermans, 2005; Yin & Lee, 2012). The structural vulnerability of teachers is evident in Australia in numerous contexts including media representation of teachers. In a study of teacher representation, Shine and O’Donoghue (2013) reported that while Australian media coverage “acknowledged the challenges facing teachers, it also presented a negative image of teaching as a profession” (p. 394) with several reports blaming teachers for the perceived decline in educational standards and questioning teachers’ resistance to increased accountability measures. Such teacher representations are perplexing when “a strong sense of moral purpose and positive emotional professional identity and agency are crucial to teachers’ own motivation and capacity to teach to their best” (Day & Gu, p. 5). The tension between vulnerability and positive emotional professional identity was evident in the teacher tellings within this thesis, and is an area worthy of further investigation.

Day and Gu (2010) argued that “it is the complexities and subtleties of the emotions that many teachers experience and manage in every school day that makes what they do unique” (p. 175). The teachers in this thesis demonstrated this with the rich array of emotional experiences and small story accounts they reported as evident in Story Constellation Maps. Within these, the teachers reported ways in which they sought to cope with the emotionality of their interactions with parents. Zembylas (2005) identified that teachers seek to cope with and understand their emotional experiences through creating ‘spaces for coping’ where the intersection between the intrapersonal experience of emotion and social power relations can be reviewed. Chang (2009)

argued that teachers must be afforded time to acknowledge, identify, reflect and regulate their negative emotions through reappraisal strategies and coping strategies. In this thesis, teachers adopted coping strategies for the emotional labour involved in suppressing negative emotions within parent-teacher interactions. These coping strategies included seeking collegial support and recalling previous interactions with parents. These supports, or spaces for coping, have practical implications for the practice of classroom teaching.

6.3.1 – Collegial Support

“I always share difficult emails with my close colleagues. I think every teacher needs somebody at school that they can download and talk to. Other teachers understand what you’re going through”

– Kate

All teachers in this study told stories of seeking support from colleagues within their school context when experiencing negative emotions. Support was sought from principals and others in leadership positions and, to a much greater extent, fellow teachers.

Support from staff in school executive roles, such as principals and deputy principals was sought by teachers when seeking to control negative emotions after an interaction with a parent. Australian research has confirmed that school principals play a central role in shaping school climate (Povey et al., 2016), that leadership style contributes to school success (Drysdale et al., 2009), that leadership communication, attitude and expectation can facilitate parent engagement (Gordon & Louis, 2009) and that parents are more likely to engage with schools where principals are welcoming and supportive of parent involvement (Barr & Saltmarsh, 2014). Principals

and school executive teams hold power and influence over parent-teacher interactions in schools. In their study, Povey and colleagues (2016) found that principals ($N = 386$) reported that they held an integral role in promoting parent engagement in schools. Communication between the principal and parents occurred via fortnightly newsletters, weekly assemblies that parents were invited to attend and parent information evenings that occurred a few times a year (Povey et al., 2016). Similar findings were found in this thesis where schools distributed newsletters fortnightly and newsletters consistently welcomed parents to attend school events. All newsletters contained messages from the principal and deputy principals. Saltmarsh and Barr (2014) stated that principals are key agents of parent engagement in schools “establishing symbolic displays of connection and genuine invitation that are consistently followed through in the practices of the school” (Saltmarsh & Barr, 2014, p. 499). The emotional discourses evident in school documents represent the principal’s definition and vision for parent involvement and engagement in the school. It was found in the documents analysed for this thesis that communication in newsletters was one directional, and that the emotional rules embedded within these documents prescribed clearly defined duties and roles for parents to fulfil. In this sense, the principal held power not only over school climate regarding parent engagement, but also over the emotional rules within the school context. This is a key implication for further research, particularly because teachers in this thesis sought support from other teachers more than from principals and executive staff, despite the power that principals hold. It would be a worthy endeavour to further investigate the role of the principal and those in school leadership roles in constructing the socio-political culture and emotional rules that inform practices of teacher emotional labour.

Teachers seeking support from fellow teachers and developing positive collegial relationships with one another is supported by research (Ballet et al., 2006;

Chen, 2016; Löfgren and Karlsson, 2016; Nias, 1998; Shah, 2012). Ballet and colleagues (2006) describe collegiality as the quality of the relationships among staff members in school. This definition is also used by Löfgren and Karlsson (2016) who sought to bridge the study of teacher collegiality and teacher emotion. They found that “collegiality is a matter of how common values and norms take shape as a result of processes of conflict and consensus in local school contexts” (p. 279). Within this thesis, such “common values and norms” were investigated using the theoretical lens of emotional rules. When these emotional rules were not adhered to teachers sought collegiality from other teachers as a way to confirm and legitimise their emotional experience, evident in Kate’s quote. This confirmation and legitimisation of negative emotions may mitigate the development of effective parent-teacher interactions in schools, particularly because parent involvement requires teacher recognition (Emerson et al., 2012) and teacher outreach (Daniel, 2016) in order to engage these parents. Further research is needed to consider whether seeking support from teachers, in fact perpetuates emotional rules that promulgate perceptions of ‘difficult’ and ‘hard’ parents.

The relationship between collegial support and emotional labour is important because “schools that do not support collegiality among their staff... contribute to disenchantment with teaching as a career” (Shah, 2012, p. 1244). Despite the vast amount of literature on parent involvement in schools (*see Chapter 2*), little is known about the collegial support amongst teachers in their interactions with parents. This is an important implication for future research as “parent engagement strategies are more likely to be successful when teachers know how to communicate effectively with parents, where dedicated school staff work with parents, and where there is strong support from the principal for this work” (Emerson et al., 2012, p. 12). Principals, others in school leadership, and teachers all make up the socio-political

context of the school and as such, all have the power to perpetuate or challenge existing emotional rules.

6.3.2 – *Recollection of Previous Interactions*

“I see [the parent] every day around, at drop off and school pick up. And then we've had lots of informal chats in the playground.”

– Brooke

The second coping strategy for emotional labour that teachers reported was the practice of recalling previous interactions with the parent. Each of the four teachers in this study often broke from the taleworlds to the here-and-now telling to tell of their relationship with the parent. All four teachers also disclosed information about the *lack* of relationship they had with the parent. All teachers reported on the varying nature of parent interactions depending on how often they were in contact with the parent.

In research on teacher emotion and parents, Lasky (2000) found that teachers held standardised and stereotypical views of parents due to the episodic and sporadic nature of their interactions, for example, at parent-teacher interviews or at school-based events. It is not surprising then, that the teachers in this thesis recalled previous interactions, or episodes, with the parent under discussion as a way of reflection and positioning of the parent and themselves. Activating prior knowledge can be beneficial, however, research (Christianakis, 2011; McKenna & Millen, 2013) has found that teachers can hold narrow views and position parents in unhelpful ways. In the study of teachers' ($N = 15$) perceptions of parent involvement, Christianakis (2011) found that teachers “identified various kinds of help as parent involvement at school, all of which required the parents to be available, generous, and flexible with their time” (p. 165). This was confirmed in the findings of this thesis in teacher tellings about ‘supportive’ and ‘involved’ parents. Moreover, teachers in Christianakis’ (2011) study “viewed lack of homework help, lack of literacy practice,

and the expression of negative comments about schooling and teachers as evidence for lack of parent involvement” (p. 169). This reflects the ‘hard’ and ‘difficult’ parents reported by the four teachers in this thesis. Teachers prescribed these labels to parents based on their past interactions with the parents, employing positive emotions or negative emotions based on their own, possibly biased, recollections. Bamberg and Demuth (2016) state that each small story telling in which teachers make “something past... relevant to the here and now of the ongoing conversation” (p. 20) forms teacher identities and perceptions. Opportunities for teachers to consider how past experiences influence current emotional experiences, and to challenge the fixed nature of such perspectives, may avoid the unhelpful positioning of parents and alleviate unproductive parent-teacher interactions.

6.4 – Implications for Future Research

The findings of this thesis raise several implications, the first being implications for future research. This thesis has contributed to the development of small story research and analysis in understanding the daily lived emotional experiences of teachers. Secondly, the value of developing an interactionist approach to understanding teacher emotion that considers the individual reality, social reality and socio-political context is discussed. Finally, the implications for identifying emotional rules within socio-political school contexts is explored.

6.4.1 – Small Story Research and Analysis

*“Thinking about this though, just makes me want to be
better for him, for them all. You know, be a great teacher
that helps my kids to know that they are cared for.”*

– Carmen

This thesis has made a significant contribution to the use of small story research and analysis. This is significant in the context of narrative research as the analysis of small stories can enable the researcher to report the teacher's navigation of their social interactions with parents. These small stories also reflect the teacher's navigation of self and identity within these interactions and, as Moissinac (2007) has argued, do indeed support teachers to become "more and more adept at discursively or rhetorically navigating ever more complex situations" (p. 247). The identification and analysis of small stories within emotional diary entries and interviews demonstrated that "the processes of emotion formation are fundamentally interrelated with the formation of identity" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 29). This is evident in Carmen's reflection. The recorded everyday interactions between teachers and parents captured the 'identity work' that was being conducted. This thesis has taken a step in answering the call for the "need to dig deeper into the 'messy' everyday relational and emotional aspects of teachers' work" (Löfgren & Karlsson, 2016, p. 279). As suggested by Löfgren and Karlsson (2016), future research could focus on the "social interactions of a group" within which "the actual 'work' that is being conducted by individuals in interactive engagement... feeds into a sense of self – in the form of a continuous process within which this sense comes to existence" (p. 379). To further understand the socio-political and interpersonal dynamics of emotions within school contexts, as revealed in this thesis, future research could explore teacher emotion in parent-teacher interactions by explicitly analysing the dialogue within these interactions.

This thesis has created a unique method for capturing the 'messiness' that comes with small story analysis in the development of Story Constellation Maps. These maps were specifically developed for this thesis and proved a useful way to capture and depict the telling of small stories and this provided an avenue to more detailed analysis of teachers' emotions and identity work. The Story Constellation

Maps give a beneficial and visual understanding of the “experiential, affective, and subjective ways in which people make sense of their self over time” (Georgakopoulou, 2015, p. 257). This can be further developed in future research on teacher emotion through considering the messy nature of emotional experiences occurring throughout the school day, with consideration of the fluency and conditions of changing emotions in teachers lives.

6.4.2 – Interactionist Approach to Studying Emotion in Schools

“Statistics show that... so many teachers after five years are already dropping out because they can't handle the pressure. I think, in some instances... they shouldn't necessarily have to handle the pressure.”

– Kate

This thesis has contributed to feminist poststructural scholarship in the study of teacher emotion, in the accounts of the psychological and socially constructed experiences of teachers occurring in parent-teacher interactions within the sociopolitical context of schools. In accordance with Zembylas (2005) theorisation of emotion, this study has sought to recognise the social, cultural and political components of the teachers' emotional experiences in their interactions with parents. Emotions were explored and understood to be embedded within culture, ideology and power relations, and evident in embodied aspects of teacher tellings.

This thesis has made an important contribution to the study of teacher emotion by using a multi-component, interactionist approach to the study of emotion in interactions with parents. The use of the interactionist approach enabled the study of teacher emotion at the individual, social and socio-political level with an understanding that emotions were constructed in accordance with emotional rules embedded within the school culture. School culture influences and is influenced by

not only teachers but several stakeholders, including school principals and parents. Further study of the emotional experiences of school principals would be beneficial as persons in this position are those “setting the parameters and guiding the culture of the school” (Barr & Saltmarsh, 2014, p. 502) and thus have power to consider the emotional culture, and to reflect upon and reimagine emotional rules that apply to parent-teacher interactions. Research confirms that principal leadership has a “significant impact on school climate, and the extent to which parents engage” (Povey et al., 2016, p. 138), however, future research could focus on the emotional work involved in creating and sustaining a healthy emotional culture. All four teachers in this thesis acknowledged the support they had received from their principals, and as such future research on the ways principals support parent-teacher interactions with a focus on the emotional labour would be beneficial in light of rates of teacher burnout (Chang, 2013) and career drop out as reported by Goertz and colleagues (2015), Nichols and colleagues (2017) and acknowledged by Kate.

This thesis focused on teacher perceptions of the parent-teacher interaction, and it is important that future research consider the parents’ perception of this interaction. The study of emotional experiences of parents regarding these parent-teacher interactions could be beneficial in strengthening these relationships through a shared understanding of emotion at the individual, social and socio-political level. Several studies, discussed in *Chapter 2*, have considered the experience of parents in parent-teacher interactions (Daniel, 2015, 2016; Daniel et al., 2016; Ellis et al., 2015; Landeros, 2011, McKenna & Millen, 2013; Miretzky, 2004). This thesis shows how such research on the parents’ perspectives could be improved by considering the emotionality of the parent within the parent-teacher interaction. A consideration of the parent’s emotions as an individual, within the parent-teacher interaction and in the context of the school community and home would be advantageous to further understand this phenomenon.

6.4.3 – Emotional Rules in Schools

“None of us have any idea how to navigate the unpredictable nature of working with parents.

You learn it on the job”.

- Kate

This thesis has made a key contribution in the application of the concept of emotional rules to the understanding of parent-teacher interactions. Through the analysis of over 600 pages of documents, this thesis has built upon Zembylas' (2005) Foucauldian-inspired notion of discourse analysis to closely study school documentation and communication. The analysis of discourse in school documents was an effective method of discovering embedded emotional rules within ethical codes, professional guidelines and pedagogical practices. In this thesis, the analysis of school documents (school websites, newsletters, news bulletins, policy documents, procedures) and government documents (codes of conduct, standards, policy and procedures) led to an identification of contextualised emotional rules regarding parent-teacher interaction. This can ultimately lead to teachers, school leaders, principals and policy makers to consider and reformulate emotional rules that shape the often negative parent-teacher interactional context. After all, as noted by Ball (1994) policy is not just documents, it is “text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended” (p.10). This reconsideration of emotional rules embedded within documents is particularly necessary within the current Australian educational climate, where successive government reforms have meant schools have been subjected to new market forces and new systems of quality assurance and teacher regulation (Saltmarsh, 2016). As such, Australian schools are now affected by choice and competition which has resulted in all sectors making local decisions about how to best meet the needs of their school community

(Daniel et al., 2017; NSW Government, 2018). Further, teachers face increased professional scrutiny and relation against standards, which do indeed refer to the quality of their interaction with parents. This is further problematised by the *absence* of documents and procedures. All four teachers stated that their respective school context did not have any policy or procedures on how to interact with parents. As Kate states, the absence of this requires teachers to learn effective ways of interacting with parents within the parent-teacher interaction itself. Developing an awareness of emotional rules is necessary for teachers who “yearn for guidelines: when to show what emotion, how to reduce expressions of frustration, and how to enhance emotional expressions that are accepted by the school” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 52). Therefore, an area for future research would be to consider how teachers understand their emotional experiences, build awareness of emotional rules, and negotiate and challenge these in order to develop proactive effective parent-teacher interactions.

6.5 – Implications for Policy Development and Teacher Professional Development

Teacher emotion in relation to parent-teacher interactions contributes to the ways that parents are positioned in school contexts, to the emotional experiences of teachers and to the ways in which those teachers manage their emotions day-to-day through emotional labour. Teachers require support in the emotional landscape of teaching through policy development and professional development.

This thesis found no school-based documents that support teachers in how to interact with and communicate with parents. The absence of such policy documents and procedures produce a silence that forces teachers to navigate emotional rules across ambiguous terrain, leading to intense emotional labour. Policy development is required to foster effective parent-teacher interactions and to improve parent

involvement and engagement in schools. Policy development is required to assist teachers in interacting with parents in the current Australian landscape because “we are spoken by policies and we take up the positions constructed for us within policies’ (Ball, 1993, p. 14)”. Engaging and involving parents in education is a priority in Australia, (AITSL, 2018; Saltmarsh, 2015; Skourdoumbis, 2018), and as such this thesis calls for greater policy development at the local school level.

This thesis has found that teachers require further development on how to navigate the emotional work of the teaching profession. Koenen and colleagues (2019) recently suggested the implementation of emotion-focused interventions that enable teachers to recognise and monitor their negative emotions in order to build awareness of how these effect interactions. These suggestions can be developed for parent-teacher interactions (Daniel, 2015, 2016). However, it is important to implement such professional development and emotion-focused interventions in consideration of emotion at the individual, social and socio-political level. Therefore, this thesis supports a call for professional development of teachers that addresses their emotion at the intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup level. The intrapersonal experience of emotion can be addressed through the telling of stories. The telling of stories of emotional experiences in interactions with parents increases the awareness of the emotionality of teaching and supports teachers building a reflective capacity (Bamberg & Demuth, 2016). Professional development involving reflective practices can consider the interpersonal level of emotion by ensuring this occurs within collegial environments. Zembylas (2005) argues for the “establishment of teacher-teams as forums for creating emotional and professional bonding” (Zembylas, 2005, p. 40). This thesis found that teachers cope with their suppression of negative emotions by seeking collegial support and as such, emotion-focused professional development should focus on teachers’ stories told in a collegial and collaborative setting. Moreover, the highly contextualised nature of teacher emotions,

deeply embedded in the socio-political context of their schools, suggests that this professional development needs to acknowledge and reflect the local school context (intergroup level). Teacher professional development should consider the socio-political context and emotional rules that construct social and individual emotional experiences within teacher-parent interactions. Moreover, Bellocchi (2018) argued for emotional literacy development in teachers that is “collective at the ontological level... existing between persons” (p. 342). Emotion-focused professional development that addresses teacher emotion in parent-teacher interactions should be collective and should consider how the unavoidable practice of emotional labour – the daily expression or repression of emotions in teaching – is assisted by the voice of parents also.

6.6 – Limitations

While this thesis is the first known to apply the theoretical lenses of emotional rules and emotional labour investigate teacher emotion in their interactions with parents, there are several limitations that should be accounted for. Limitations are acknowledged in regard to sample size, complimentary cases, participants and the use of teacher accounts.

6.6.1 – *Sample size*

In accordance with the multiple-case study design, the number of participants is four ($N = 4$) meaning that the research was not intended to lead to statistical generalisations that go beyond the phenomena and type of teaching context examined in the study. Case studies are generalisable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes (Farouk, 2014; Yin, 2014). The aim of case study research is not to consider a group of cases as a sample of a larger population of like cases; rather, the aim is to discover patterns and processes within the cases and to

use analytic generalisation to extract lessons that may be learned. As such, the findings of this study can be generalised “at a conceptual level higher than that of the specific cases” (Yin, 2014, p. 41). Indeed, the purpose of this study was to understand how an individual teacher experiences a particular event in order to provide conceptual insights that may relate to other teachers living and working within similar circumstances (Farouk, 2014).

6.6.2 – Complimentary cases

Further limitations to this research are evident in the purposeful selection of deliberately complementary cases. The schools selected to participate were from a similar socio-economic area, namely a middle-class area of Sydney, noted for increased school competition from a dense market of independent and government funded schools. As discussed (see *Chapter 4*) the schools had above average ICSEA values and this is related to higher levels of parent involvement and parent pressures (Fitzgerald et al., 2018). As such, the parent-teacher interactions were perhaps particularly influenced by what Saltmarsh (2016) referred to as “the anxieties and desires of middle-class parents” (p. 50). The reason for this selection of homogenous cases was to further understand teacher-parent interactions in middle to higher socioeconomic settings (see *Chapter 2*). Thus, the small stories and narrative accounts and the socio-political context of each school may not reflect the concerns of teachers and parents in varied socio-economic areas, particularly those in low socioeconomic communities. Furthermore, all schools had similar percentages of LBOTE students enrolled, ranging from 30% to 55%, and all schools had 0% of Indigenous students enrolled. Therefore the small stories and narrative accounts and documentary analysis of the socio-political context do not reflect the experiences of teachers in all New South Wales schools.

6.6.3 – Participants

All teachers in this study were female and this thesis therefore does not express the views of teachers who identified as a gender other than female. All teachers who participated in this study taught students in the early years of primary education. Research has confirmed that parent involvement is higher in the early years of schooling (Daniel, 2015; Daniel et al., 2016). Parent involvement changes as children grow older and this may be a result of the “reduction in teacher outreach as their children moved through the early years of schooling” (Daniel, 2016, p. 564). It was therefore appropriate for this thesis to consider parent-teacher interactions in the early years, however, the findings may not be applicable to higher levels of schooling such as upper primary school and secondary school contexts. Moreover, a limitation of this study was the short amount of time the participants had been teaching which ranged from 18 months to 8 years. The participants have trained and entered the teaching profession alongside government reforms and the development of accountability measures evident in the national standards for teachers and principals (Saltmarsh, 2015). A broader range of years teaching may provide different accounts of emotions experienced in teachers interactions with parents.

6.6.4 – Teacher accounts

The data collection naturally relied on teacher self-report and interpretations of their own emotions and lived experiences of interactions with parents. As such this study reflects a teacher’s account of the phenomenon of parent- teacher interactions and the insights from teachers about teachers’ beliefs and working lives cannot be applied to understand the needs, wants or behaviours of other stakeholders such as parents, school Principals, school administrators or indeed the students who were often the subject of parent-teacher interactions. As discussed, future research could

consider these other stakeholders to further understand the many layers of the intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup levels of emotion in school contexts.

6.7 – Conclusion

This thesis makes a novel contribution to our understanding of teacher emotion and teachers' emotional experiences in their interactions with parents. The findings show that the positioning of parents in school contexts situates parents as 'supportive', 'engaged' and 'involved' in the life of the school albeit in narrow, school-centric ways. In contrast, this positive positioning of the role of parents, plays a dominant role in the frequently negative emotionality of teachers. As such, this positioning of parents was open to negotiation in teacher tellings, and small stories revealed the many ways this emotional rule of positivity and happiness regarding parent involvement at the school resulted in significant emotional labour and an emotional 'toll' on the teacher.

Parent-teacher interactions are infused with emotion on an individual, social and socio-political level. The teacher's individual emotional experiences are inseparable from social parent-teacher interactions which are inseparable from the school context that constructs the cultural and political experience of emotion. Schools instigate and endorse the emotional work undertaken by teachers and this undeniably directs the nature of parent involvement and engagement. The effectiveness of parent-teacher interactions must be considered beyond the individual reality of teachers and beyond the social interactions themselves, toward an understanding of the emotional rules within the socio-political culture. When policy makers, principals, school leaders, teachers and parents work together to consider the emotional rules in schools, effective parent-teacher interactions can be realised, and the emotional work of teachers can be better supported.

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Appendix A – Ethics Approval Macquarie University

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Research)

Research Office
Research Hub, Building C5C East Macquarie University
NSW 2109 Australia
T: +61 (2) 9850 4459 <http://www.research.mq.edu.au/>
ABN 90 952 801 237



15 March 2017

Dear Dr McMaugh

Reference No: 5201600870

Title: *Teacher experiences of interactions with parents in NSW primary schools*

Thank you for submitting the above application for ethical and scientific review. Your application was considered by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities)).

I am pleased to advise that ethical and scientific approval has been granted for this project to be conducted by:

- Macquarie University

This research meets the requirements set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007 – Updated May 2015) (the *National Statement*).

Standard Conditions of Approval:

1. Continuing compliance with the requirements of the *National Statement*, which is available at the following website:

<http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research>

2. This approval is valid for five (5) years, subject to the submission of annual reports. Please submit your reports on the anniversary of the approval for this protocol.

3. All adverse events, including events which might affect the continued ethical and scientific acceptability of the project, must be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.

4. Proposed changes to the protocol and associated documents must be submitted to the Committee for approval before implementation.

It is the responsibility of the Chief investigator to retain a copy of all documentation related to this project and to forward a copy of this approval letter to all personnel listed on the project.

Should you have any queries regarding your project, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on 9850 4194 or by email ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) Terms of Reference and Standard Operating Procedures are available from the Research Office website at:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) wishes you every success in your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Karolyn White

Director, Research Ethics & Integrity,
Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities)

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007) and the *CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice*.



Dear Mrs Walker

I refer to your application to conduct a research project in NSW government schools entitled *Teacher experiences of interactions with parents in NSW primary schools*. I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved.

You may contact principals of the nominated schools to seek their participation. **You should include a copy of this letter with the documents you send to principals.**

This approval will remain valid until 07-Apr-2018.

The following researchers or research assistants have fulfilled the Working with Children screening requirements to interact with or observe children for the purposes of this research for the period indicated:

Researcher name	WWCC	WWCC expires
Michelle Walker	WWC0303854E	09-Mar-2019

I draw your attention to the following requirements for all researchers in NSW government schools:

- The privacy of participants is to be protected as per the NSW Privacy and Personal Information Protection Act 1998.
- School principals have the right to withdraw the school from the study at any time. The approval of the principal for the specific method of gathering information must also be sought.
- The privacy of the school and the students is to be protected.
- The participation of teachers and students must be voluntary and must be at the school's convenience.
- Any proposal to publish the outcomes of the study should be discussed with the research approvals officer before publication proceeds.
- All conditions attached to the approval must be complied with.

When your study is completed please email your report to: serap@det.nsw.edu.au
You may also be asked to present on the findings of your research.
I wish you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Robert Stevens
Manager, Research

7 April 2017

School Policy and Information Management
NSW Department of Education

Level 1, 1 Oxford Street, Darlinghurst NSW 2010 – Locked Bag 53, Darlinghurst NSW 1300
Telephone: 02 9244 5060 – Email: serap@det.nsw.edu.au

Appendix C – Principal Information and Consent Form

Department of Human Sciences
Faculty of Education
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109



Principal Information and Consent Form

Teacher experiences of interactions with parents in NSW primary schools

You are invited to have staff members of your school participate in a study of teacher and parent interactions and how teachers and your school manage and respond to these day-to-day events. We would like to understand more about how teachers respond to these events and the thoughts, feelings and emotions experienced as a result.

The study is being conducted by Mrs Michelle Walker to meet the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy under the supervision of Dr Anne McMaugh and Dr David Saltmarsh of the Department of Education of Macquarie University.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to allow the co-investigator, Mrs Michelle Walker, to interview staff members throughout one school term and to invite staff members to write diary entries regarding their interactions with parents. You will be asked to allow the co-investigator access to school documents (including policies, procedures, newsletters or briefing documents) that are related to the study of teacher and parent interactions. It is anticipated that these documents are publicly available, however, where they are not, you will be asked to provide access for the co-investigator.

Staff members will be invited to participate and must meet the inclusion criteria which includes working within a position that requires daily communication with parents. One staff member will be selected to participate in the study. This staff member will be asked to record his or her feelings in a weekly diary entry and participate in interviews throughout one school term.

Diary entries involve the completion of an online form once a week. The participating staff member will complete 10 online dairy entries throughout the duration of the study – one entry per week of the school term. The online diary entry will be accessible online, will take a minimum of 5 minutes to complete and will regard the participating staff members experiences of working with parents.

The participating staff member will be asked to participate in 4 interviews within the school term. Each interview will take no longer than 1 hour, will be conducted in the researcher's office at negotiated times. The interview questions asked would be in regard to your experiences with parents and the thoughts, feelings and emotions involved in these experiences. Each interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed. If at any stage throughout the study the participant feels distressed or uncomfortable, they may access counselling through an external counselling service – The Employee Assistance Program (02 9707 6225) or Lifeline (13 11 14).

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential, except as required by law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Only the chief investigator, Dr Anne McMaugh, the adjunct supervisor, Dr David Saltmarsh, and the co-investigator, Mrs Michelle Walker, will have access to the data. A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request. Please contact Mrs Michelle Walker [REDACTED] if you require a summary of the results of the data. The results of the data will be represented in a research paper submitted to Macquarie University.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: staff are not obliged to participate and if you decide to have your school participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

I, _____ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to have my school and staff members participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: _____
(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Please return this completed form to Mrs Michelle Walker by email. [REDACTED]

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics & Integrity (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S [OR PARTICIPANT'S] COPY)

Appendix D – Participant Information and Consent Form

Department of Human Sciences
Faculty of Education
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY NSW 2109



Participant Information and Consent Form

Teacher experiences of interactions with parents in NSW primary schools

You are invited to participate in a study of teacher and parent interactions and how you and your school manage and respond to these day-to-day events. We would like to understand more about how teachers respond to these events and the thoughts, feelings and emotions you experience as a result.

The study is being conducted by Mrs Michelle Walker to meet the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy under the supervision of Dr Anne McMaugh and Dr David Saltmarsh of the Department of Educational Studies of Macquarie University.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to record your thoughts and feelings in a weekly diary and participate in follow up interviews about key events that involved your work with parents such as parent-teacher interviews or reporting to parents through preparing school reports.

The diary entries will involve the completion of a simple online form on which you can record any significant interactions or memorable events and check a box to indicate thoughts, feelings and/or any emotions you experienced. The online form will be accessible through a URL link that the researcher will send you via email. You will be asked to submit 10 diary entries, one diary entry per week for one school term. You will be asked to participate in 4 interviews at negotiated times within the school term. The interviews will be conducted in the researcher's office. The interview questions you will be asked would be in regard to your experiences with parents and the thoughts, feelings and/or emotions involved in these experiences. Each interview will take no longer than 1 hour and will be audio-recorded and transcribed. If at any stage throughout the study you feel uncomfortable, you may access anonymous counselling through an external professional counselling service – The Employee Assistance Program (02 9707 6225). This service is a free service. You may also choose to access Lifeline (13 11 14).

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential, except as required by law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. Only the chief investigator, Dr Anne McMaugh, the adjunct supervisor, Dr David Saltmarsh, and the co-investigator, Mrs Michelle Walker, will have access to the data. A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request. Please contact Mrs Michelle Walker [REDACTED] if you require a summary of the results of the data. The results of the data will be represented in a research paper submitted to Macquarie University.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

I, _____ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: _____

(Block letters)

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Investigator's Name: _____

(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Please return this completed form to Mrs Michelle Walker by email. _____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics & Integrity (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S [OR PARTICIPANT'S] COPY)

Appendix E – Emotional Diary Questionnaire Form

Emotional Diary

Adapted from Zembylas (2005)

Participation in this diary entry is completely voluntary. If at any stage you feel uncomfortable, you may stop this entry. You may access counseling through an external counseling service – The Employee Assistance Program (02 9707 6225) or Lifeline (13 11 14). These services are anonymous.

We are interested in the type of parent interactions you experience during your day-to-day work at school. We are also interested in how these interactions affect you in your daily work. We would like you to use this diary to describe any emotions that you experience during your daily work that involves interactions with parents or discussions at school about parents.

This may include interactions such as:

- formal or informal meetings with a parent
- conversations or discussions with a parent face-to-face or over the phone
- incidental interactions that occur every day at the school gate or during pick up and drop off times
- online interactions with a parent
- any workplace conversations or planning involving the subject of parents

You can recognise an emotion associated with these events when:

- a bodily sensation happens (such as your heart beating faster; butterflies in the stomach), or
- you have thoughts coming into your mind that are hard to stop, or
- you find yourself acting or feeling like acting emotionally.

Please complete a diary entry as soon as possible after any emotions occurs (that is strong enough for you to notice) in relation to an experience with a parent.

Answer all questions when you have an emotion associated with an experience or interaction with a parent.

1. Please describe briefly the experience or incident that occurred to start the emotion(s).
Please do not identify any individuals.

2. By what channel of communication did this interaction occur?

☐ Face-to-face

☐ Over the phone

☐ Online. Please provide details:

☐ Other. Please provide details:

3. Would you call this any of the following? (Please select one or more appropriate boxes)

☐ Anger/Frustration/Irritation

☐ Anxiety/Fear

☐ Care

☐ Cheerfulness

☐ Confidence

☐ Despair

☐ Disappointment

☐ Disgust

☐ Disillusion

☐ Enjoyment/Amusement

☐ Enthusiasm

☐ Gratitude

☐ Guilt

☐ Happiness/Joy

☐ Inspiration

☐ Interest

☐ Loss/Powerlessness

☐ Pride

☐ Sadness/Grief

☐ Satisfaction/Contentment

☐ Other: _____

4. When did the emotion(s) start? (During the interaction; after the interaction...)

5. On a scale of 1 to 10, how strong was your emotion(s)? (Please slide the bar to indicate your rating)
- Not noticeable – 0 – 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – 6 – 7 – 8 – 9 – 10 – Extremely intense
6. How did you act or feel like acting during or after this interaction?
7. Did you feel the need to suppress a certain emotion(s)? Please explain why this was the case.
8. Did the thought(s), feeling(s) and/or emotion(s) make it harder or easier for you to continue activities after the experience or incident occurred?
- ☐ Made activities more difficult
- ☐ Made no difference
- ☐ Made things easier
9. Did you share your emotion(s) regarding the experience or incident with anyone? Please explain who (e.g. colleagues, friend) and in what context. Please do not disclose any names or personal information.
10. How did/will you manage your thought(s), feeling(s) and/or emotion(s)?
11. Approximately how long after the emotion(s) are you entering this information into this diary? _____ Hours _____ Minutes
12. Are there important things about your thought(s), feeling(s) and/or emotion(s) that you have not been asked about? Please write any further comments.

Thank you for contributing your diary entry!

Appendix F – Interview Guide

Research Script: *I am going to ask you a series of questions regarding your recent experiences and interactions with parents. I will focus on the thoughts, feelings and emotions you have experienced and recorded in your Emotional Diary. You have consented to this interview however, at any time you are feeling discomfort, you may stop the interview or refuse to answer one of the questions.*

Research Script: **[INITIAL INTERVIEW]** *The initial questions are related to your engagement with parents in your daily work. This engagement concerns interactions you have with parents which may include interactions such as: Parent-teacher interviews or meetings; Phoning a parent about a child's progress; Incidental interactions that occur every day at the school gate or during pick up and drop off times; Any workplace conversations or planning involving the subject of parents; or any other informal or non-specific interaction with or concerning parents. As you answer these questions, please consider all facets of interactions you may have experienced.*

1. Can you tell me about your experience as a teacher in the context of your school?
2. How would you describe parent involvement in your school?
3. Can you describe your typical engagement with parents during a school term?
3. How much of your average day is spent on engaging with parents as well as preparation for engaging with parents?
4. Can you please explain what type of activities of parent engagement you enjoy and what activities you do not enjoy? Please explain why this is the case.
5. Overall, how do you feel when you consider working with parents?

Research Script: *I am now going to ask you some questions related to your personal emotion(s) regarding a recent experience or interaction you have had with a parent. Emotion(s)' refers to the large range of emotive responses possible. For example, possible emotive responses may be happiness, joy, frustration, sadness, disappointment, anger, irritation, disillusion, anxiety, fear, guilt, pride, enthusiasm, despair, loss and powerlessness – to name a few. As you consider these questions please take your time to consider the various emotive responses you may have experienced.*

4. Please describe a recent experience or interaction you have had with a parent.

5. Can you describe the emotion(s) you felt in this experience and why you believe you felt this?

6. What emotion(s) did you feel you were able to express in this experience and why do you believe you were able to express these?

7. What emotion(s) did you feel you were able to suppress in this experience and why did you suppress these?

8. If this experience or incident occurred again, how do you believe you would feel emotionally and how would you respond?

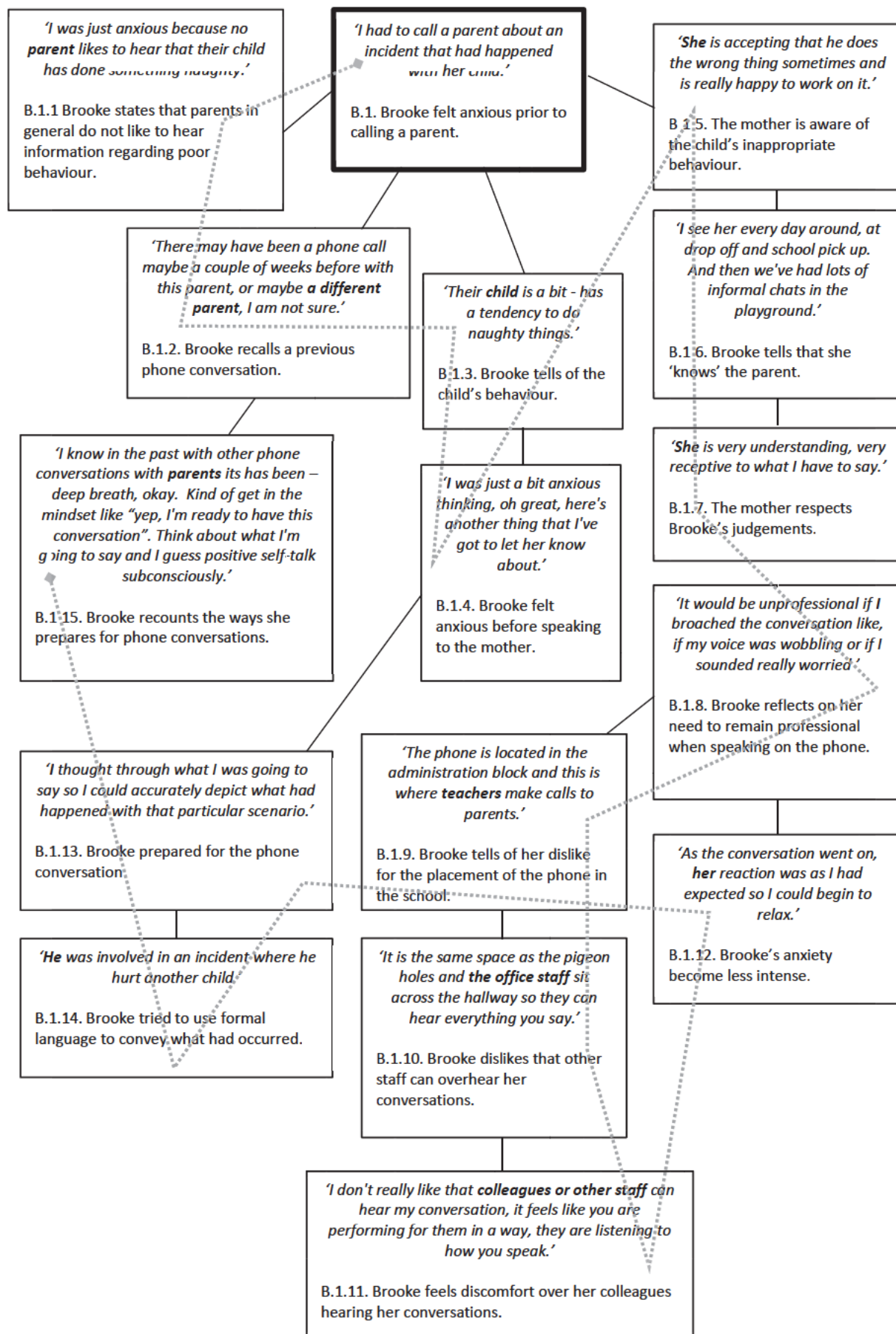
NOTE TO RESEARCHER:

Questions 1 to 5 will be asked at the first initial interview. These questions may or may not be required in following interviews.

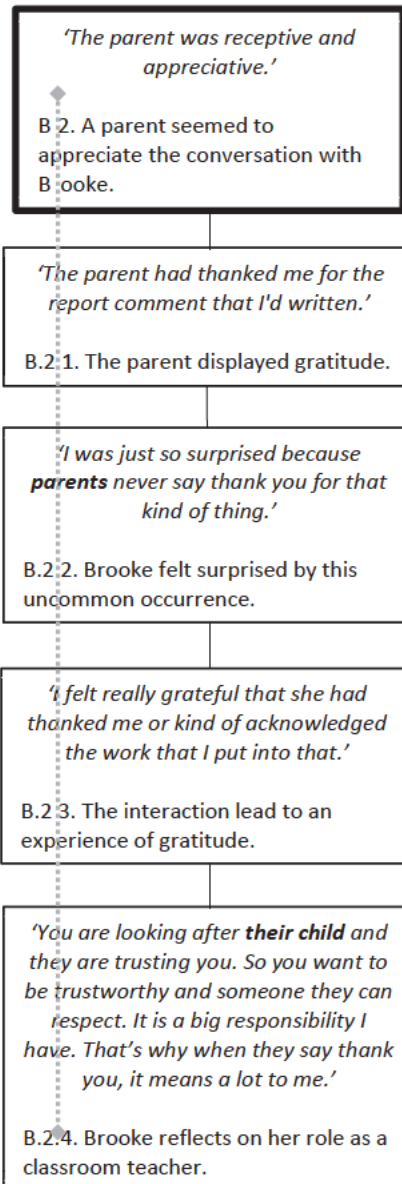
Questions 6 to 8 may be repeated if the participant has had more than one experience or interaction with parents. The facilitator may ask these questions in relation to an experience or interaction that the participant has previously recorded in the Diary Entry form.

Appendix G – Brooke's Story Constellation Maps

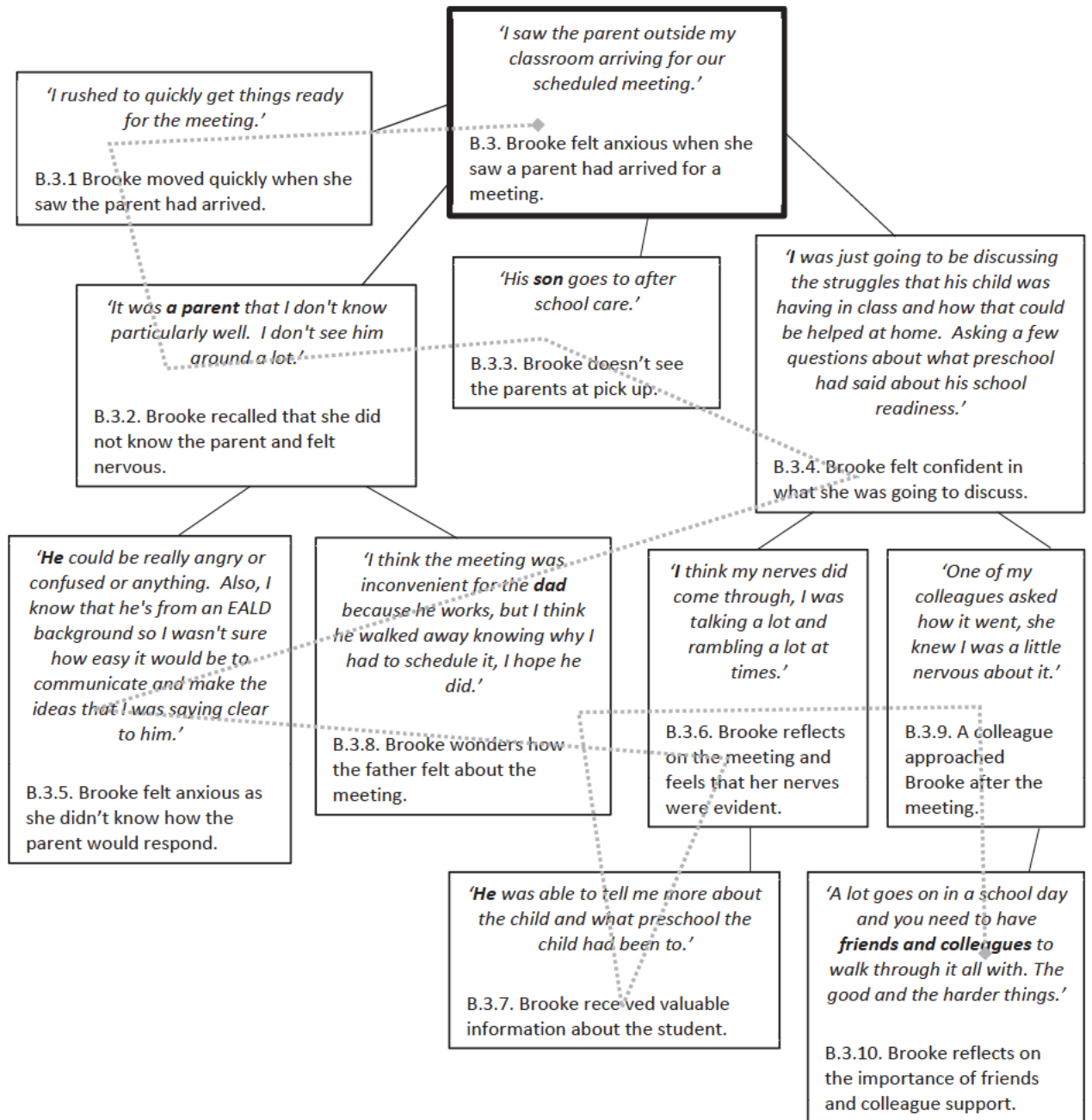
Brooke – Story Constellation Map 1



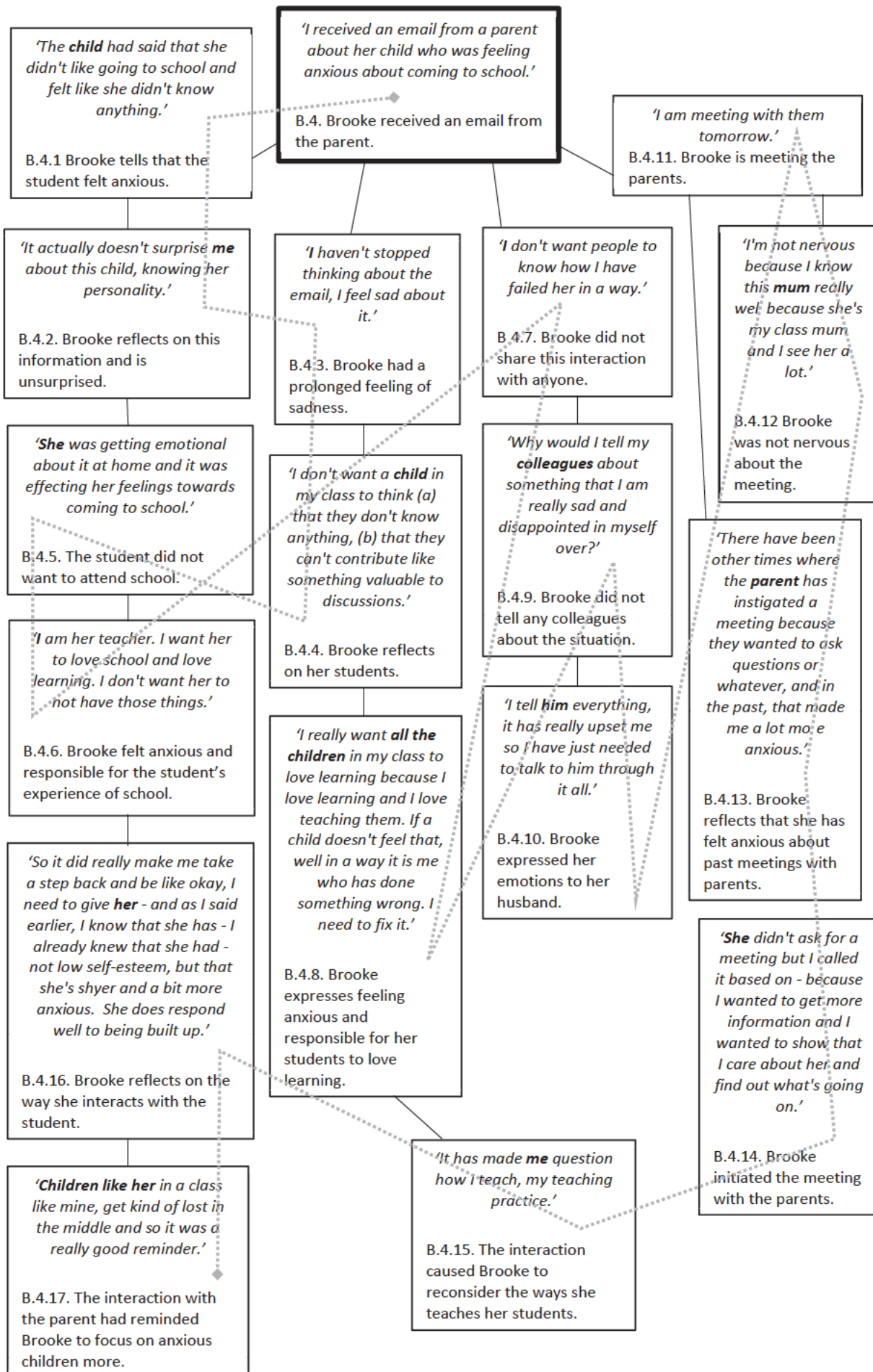
Brooke – Story Constellation Map 2



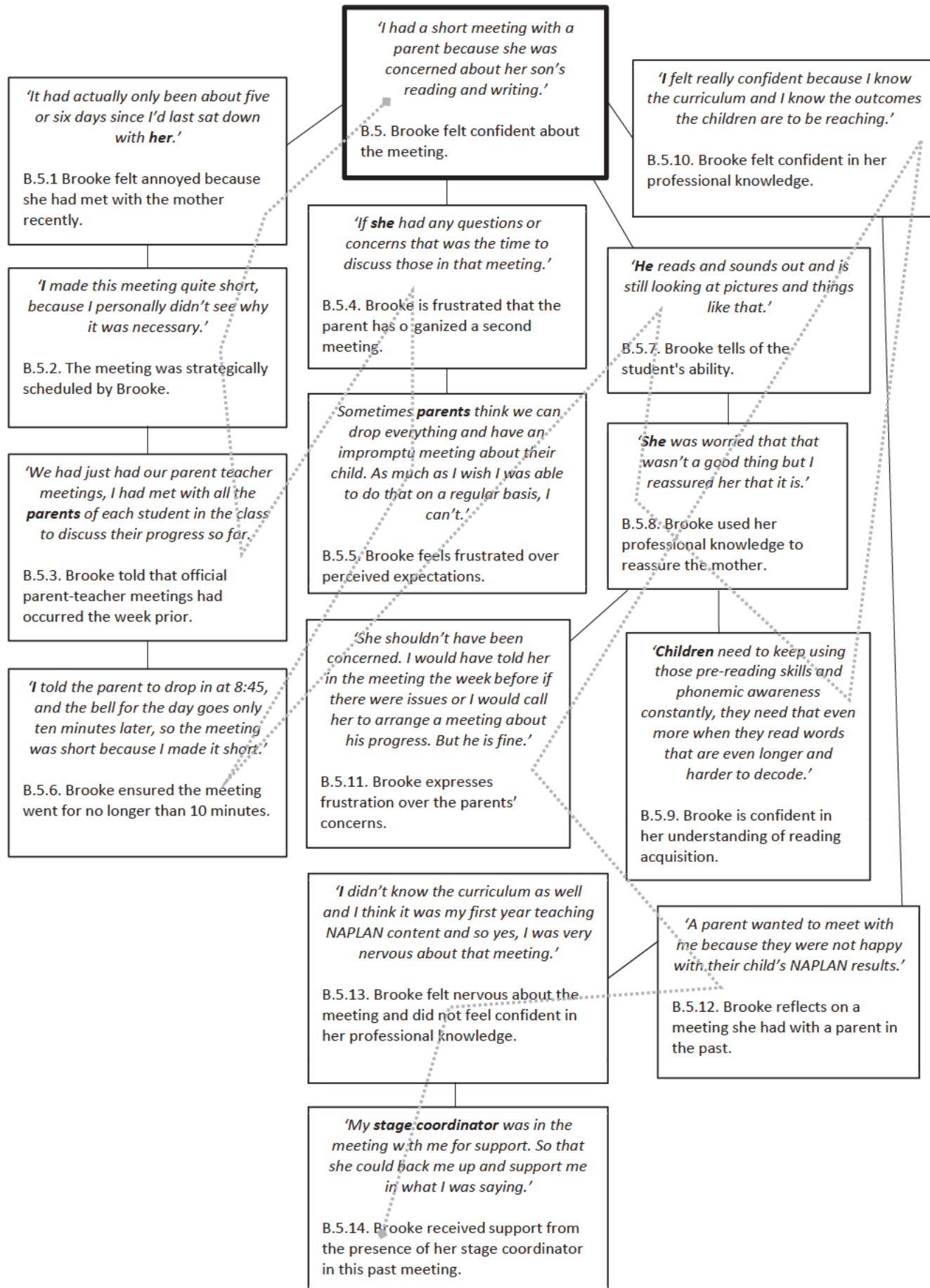
Brooke – Story Constellation Map 3



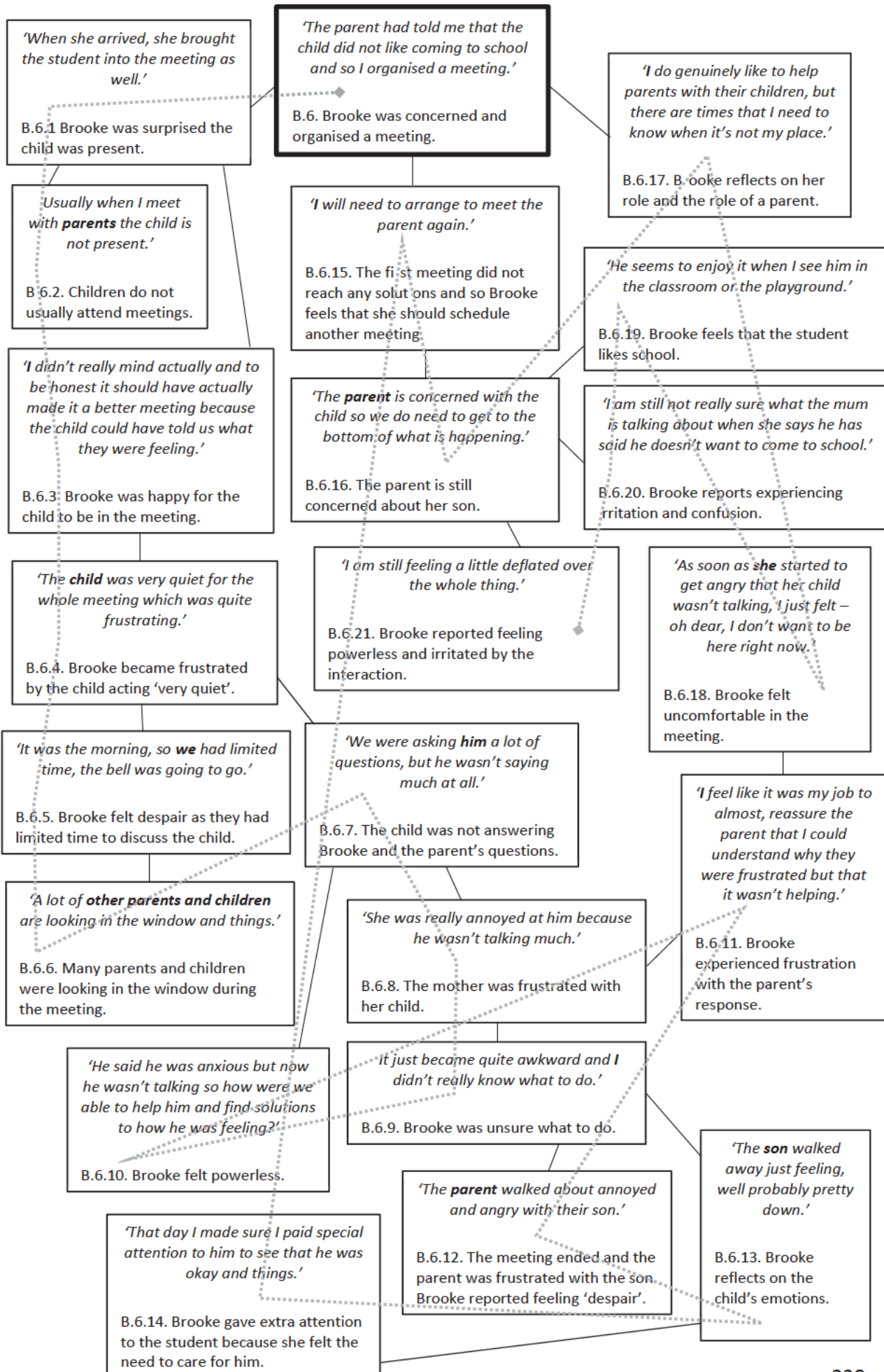
Brooke – Story Constellation Map 4



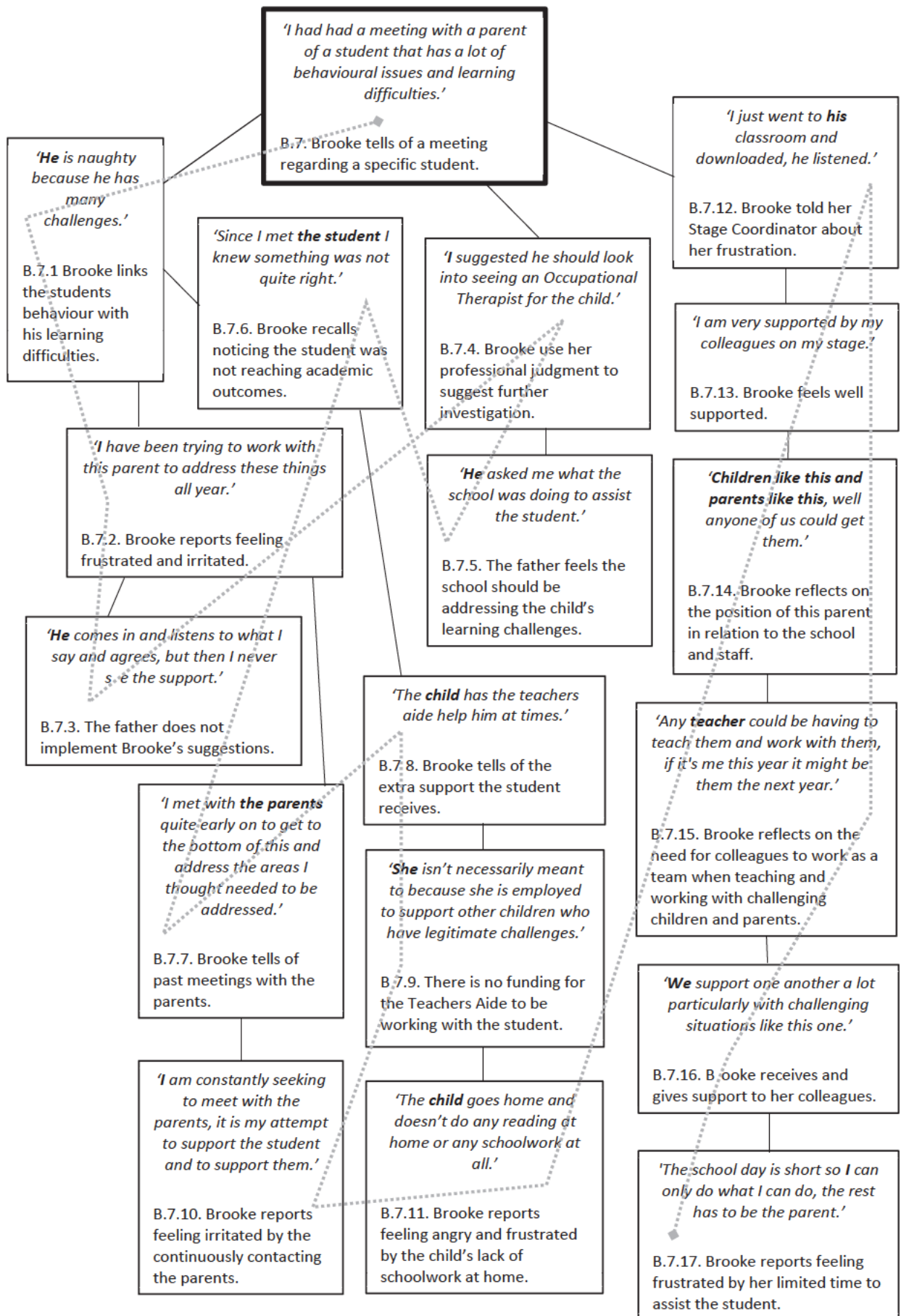
Brooke – Story Constellation Map 5

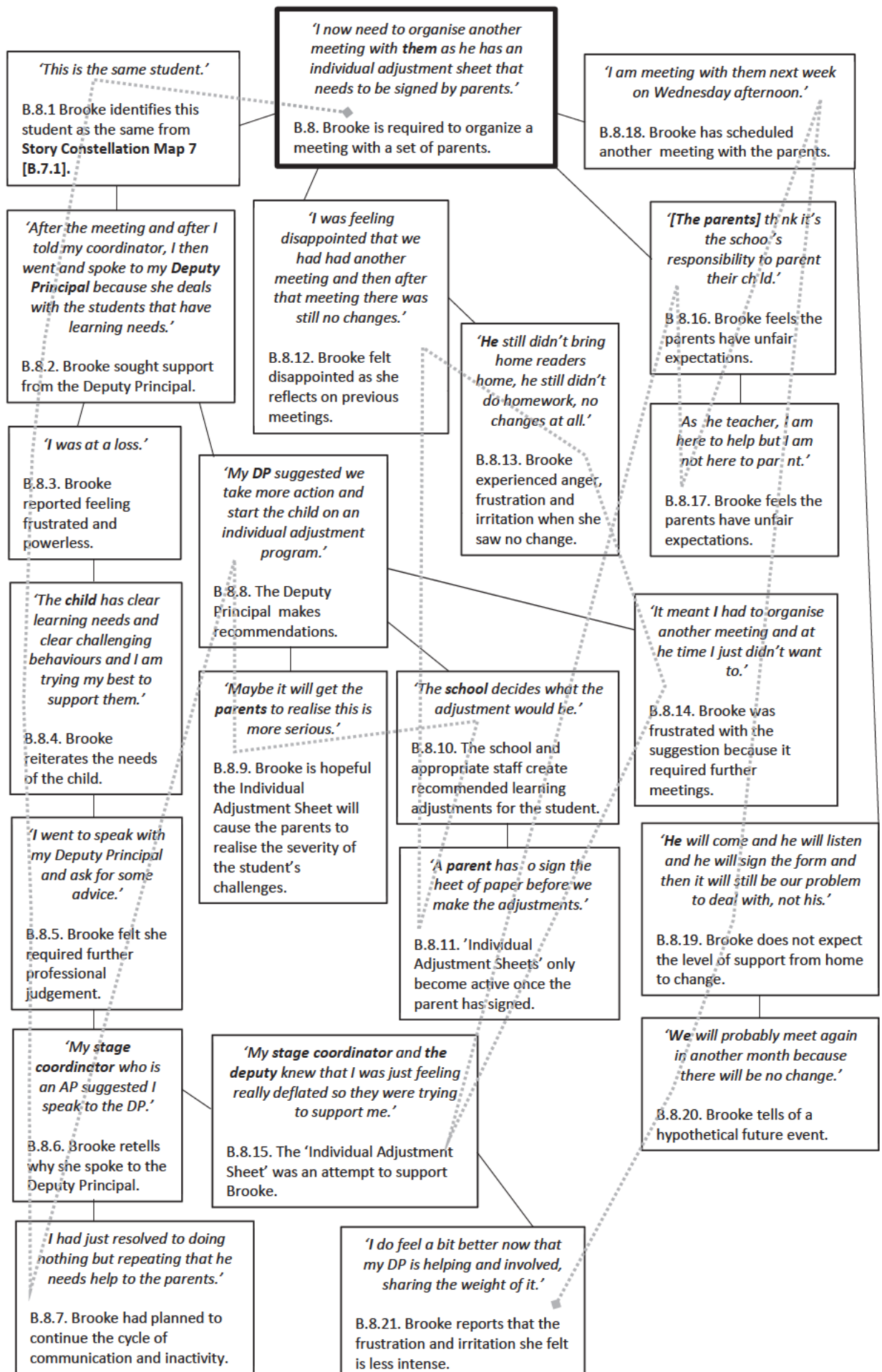


Brooke – Story Constellation Map 6

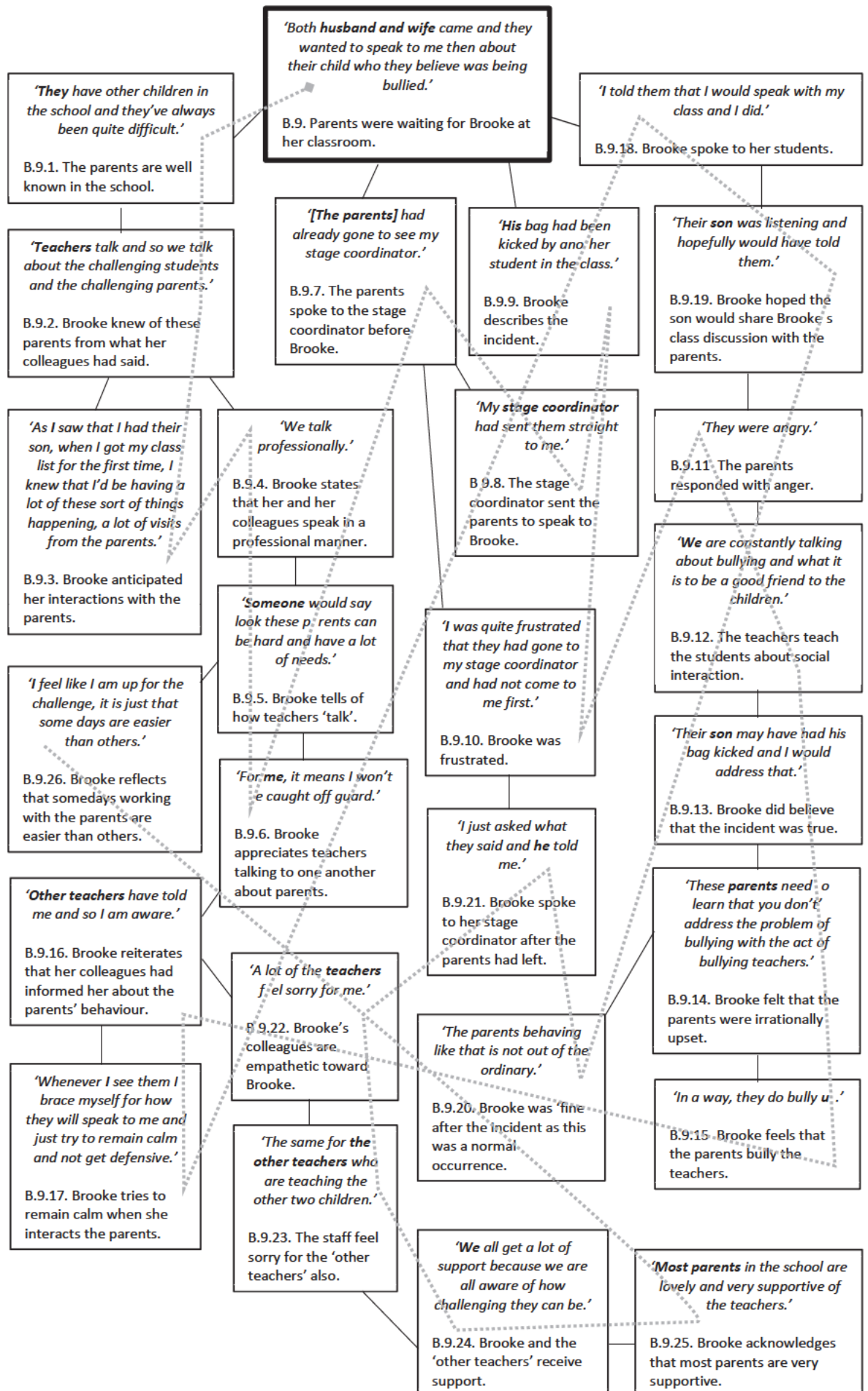


Brooke – Story Constellation Map 7



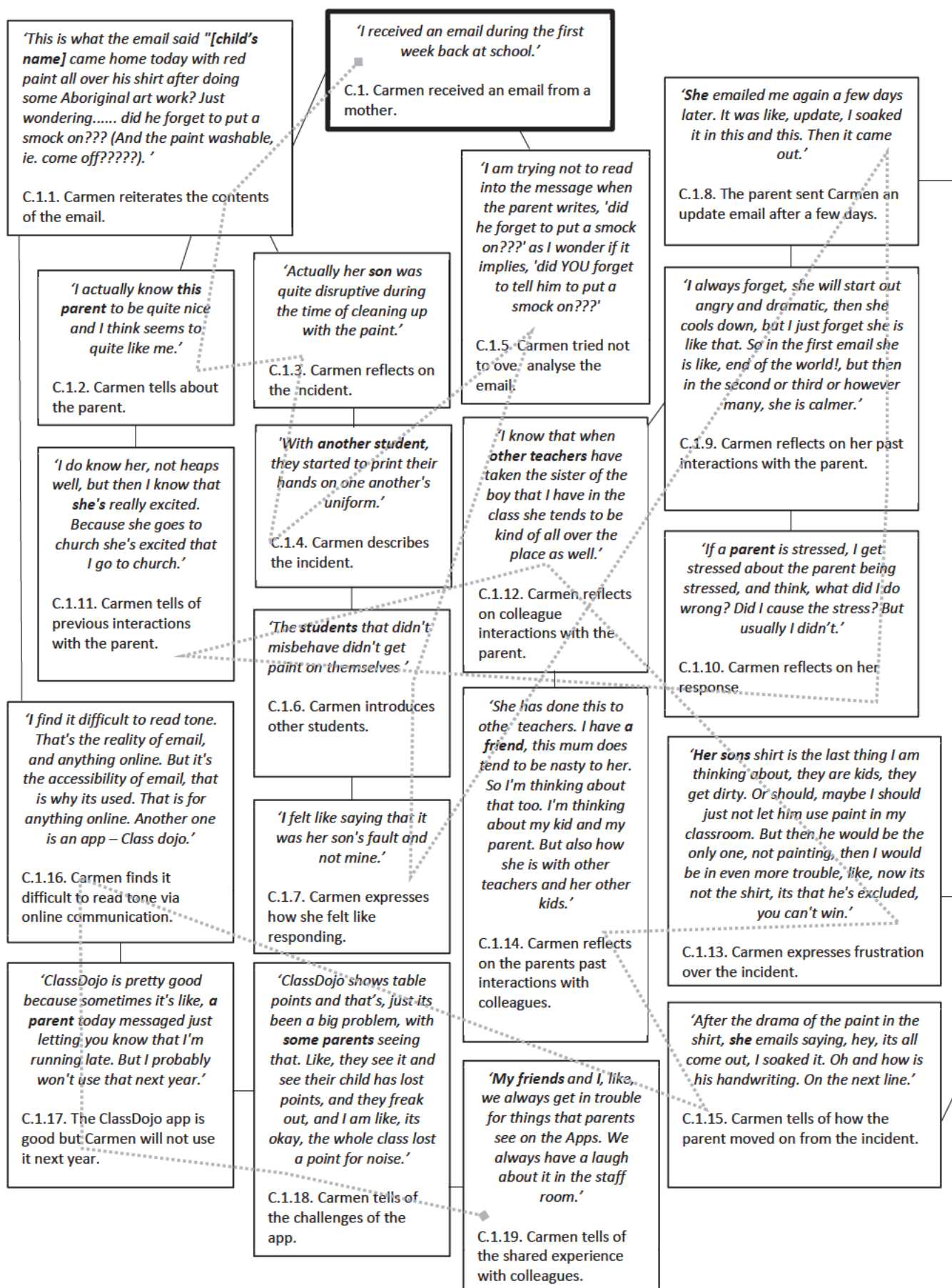


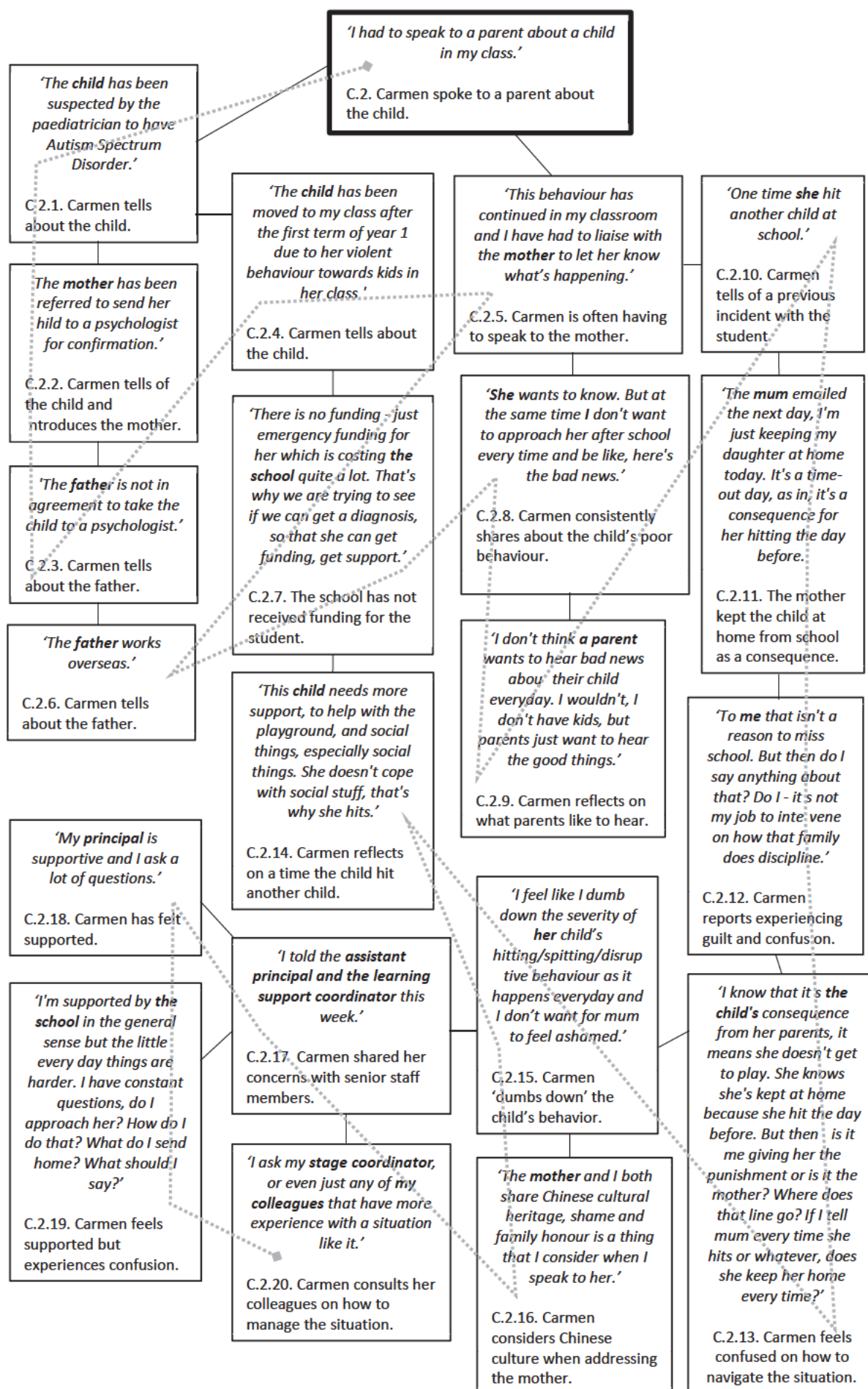
Brooke – Story Constellation Map 9



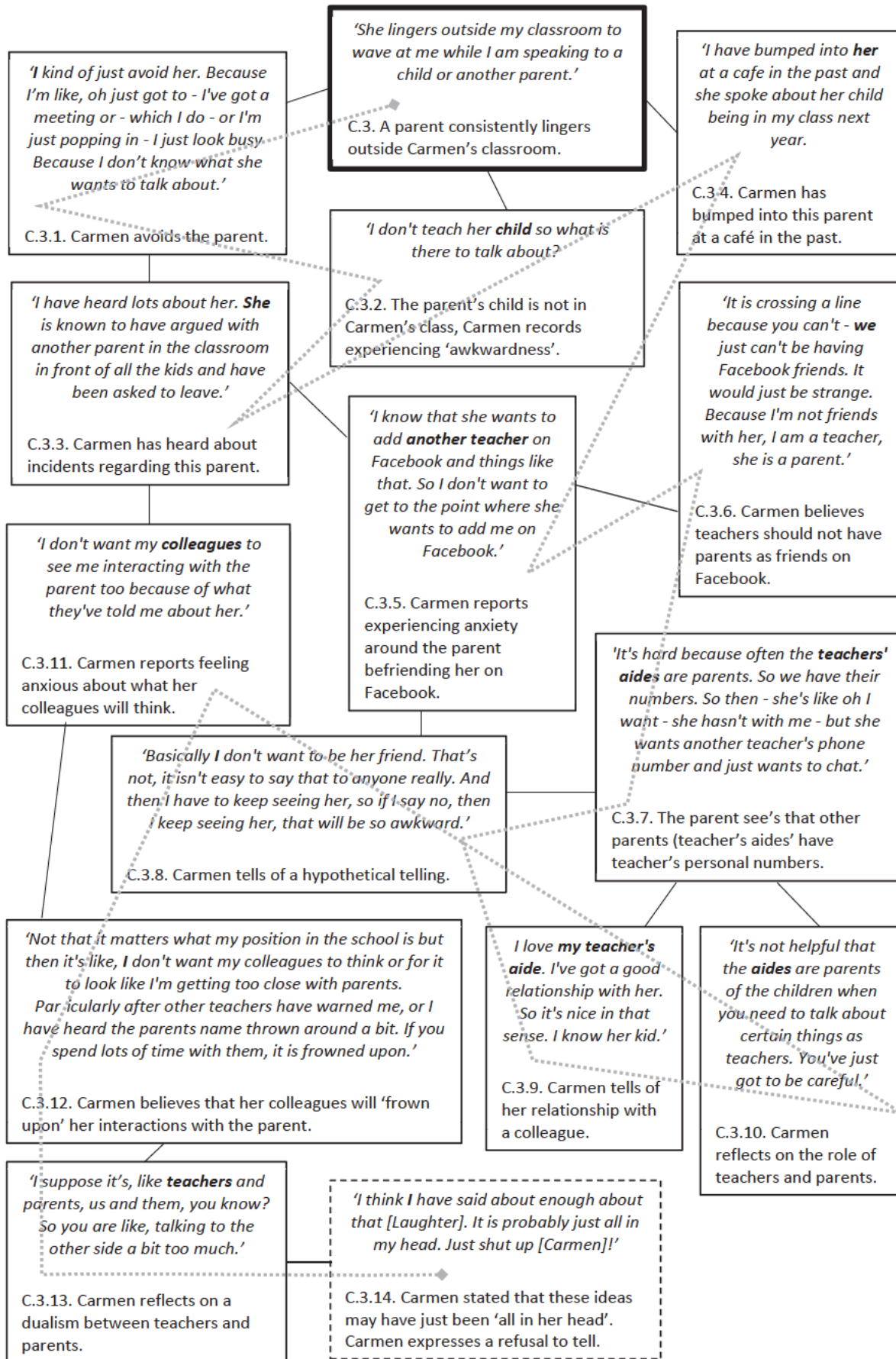
Appendix H – Carmen's Story Constellation Map

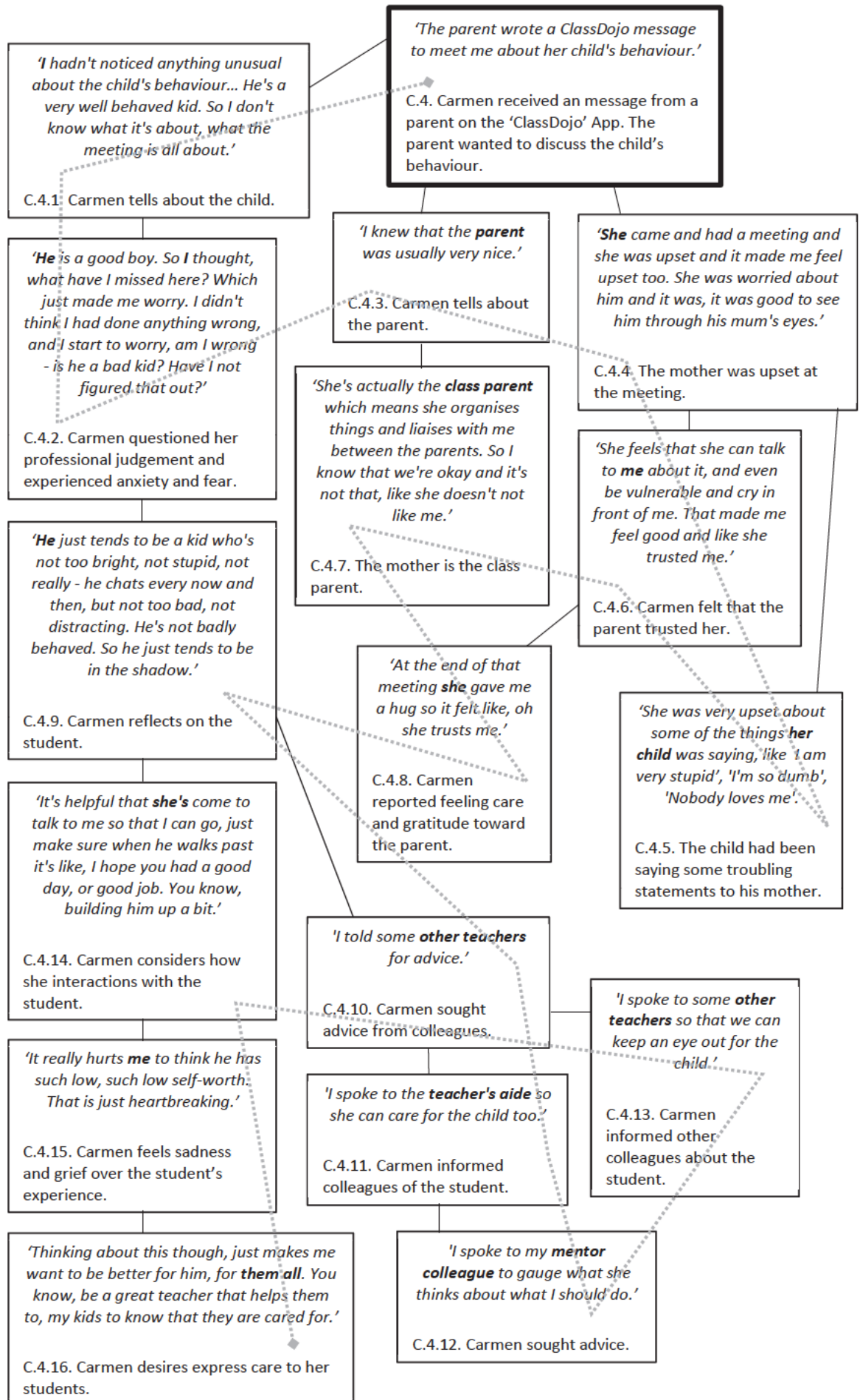
Carmen – Story Constellation Map 1



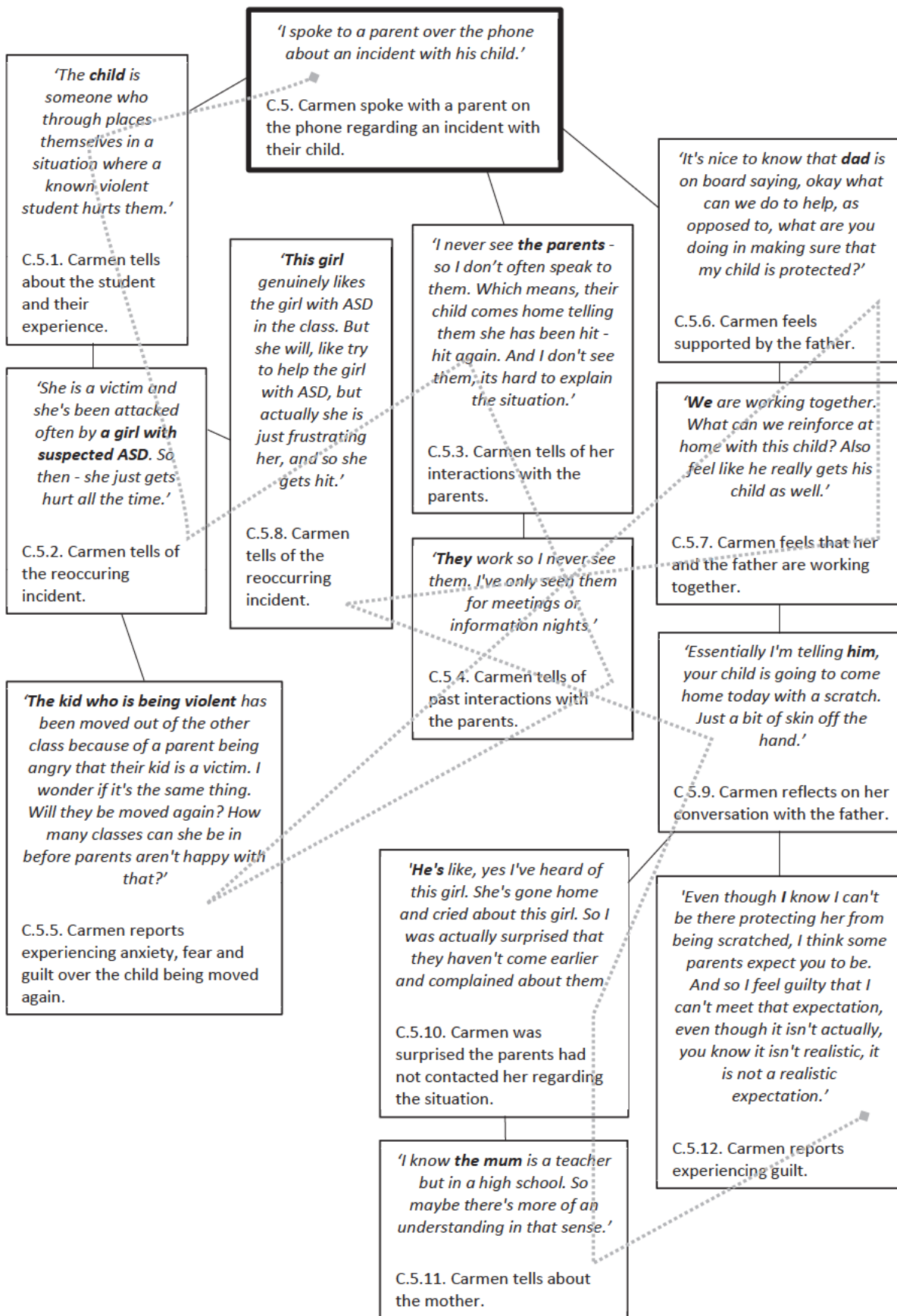


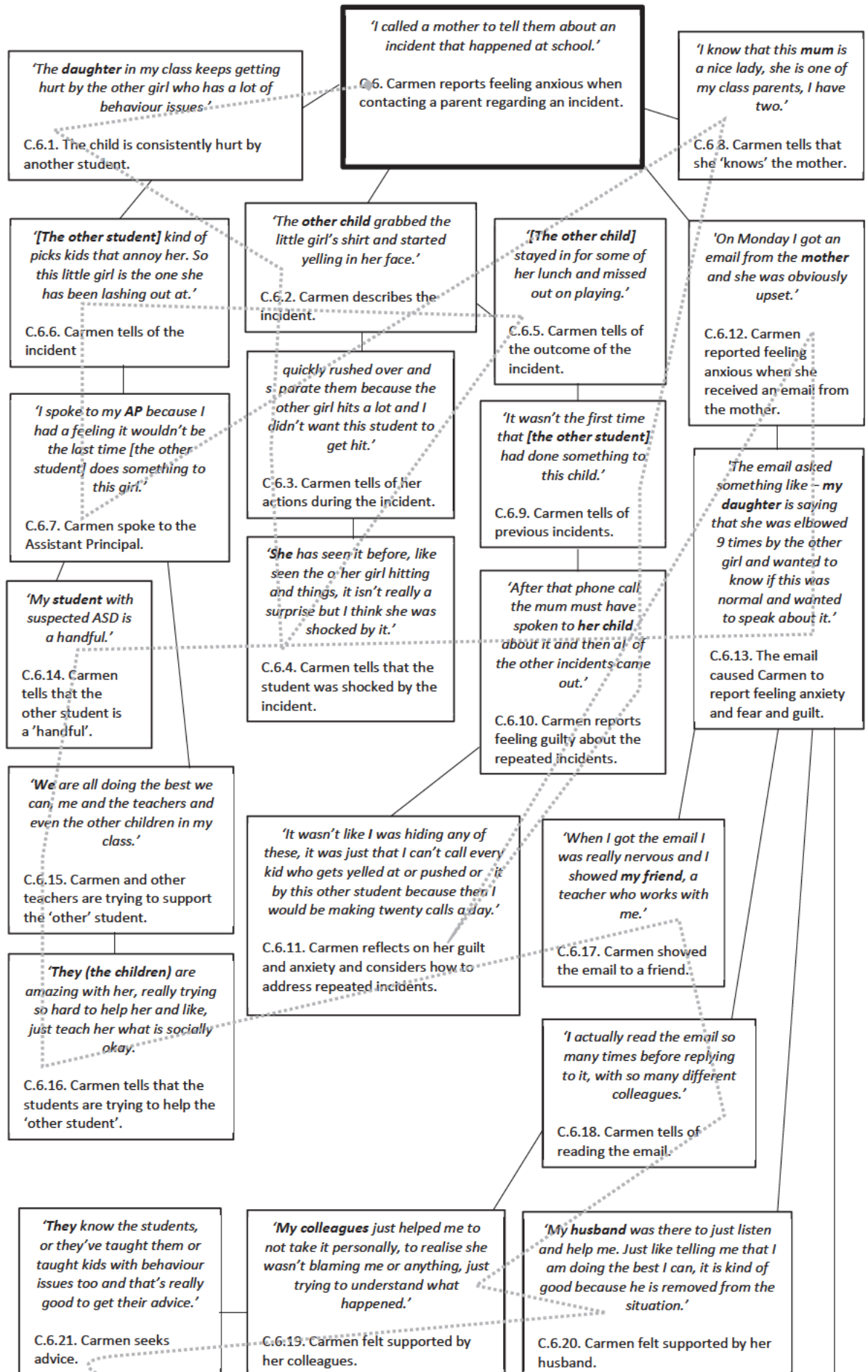
Carmen – Story Constellation Map 3





Carmen – Story Constellation Map 5





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'The mum and the dad came to the meeting.'

C.6.22. Carmen reported feeling anxious about the meeting.

'I got my AP to come because, well just for support and she's been so involved in this student, the one with suspected ASD.'

C.6.23. Carmen arranged for her Assistant Principal to attend the meeting.

'I feel like a bit of a mess in front of her sometimes but she is really good at just helping me and giving me advice on what to do and things.'

C.6.30. Carmen feels supported by the Assistant Principal

'The [other] student has already had to move classes once.'

C.6.24. Carmen tells of previous information regarding the 'other student'.

'I wanted the parents to know I was in control even though I don't really ever feel like I am in control because the other girls behaviour is so bad.'

C.6.27. Carmen expressed the desire for the parents to view her as 'in control'.

'We can't just keep moving this student, like each time a parent is angry.'

C.6.25. Carmen reports feeling guilt over the consistent challenges with the 'other student'.

'I wasn't sure what to say and not to say because the other student is a sensitive thing too, it is a confidential thing that we cant just talk about.'

C.6.26. Carmen reports feeling uncertain during the meeting with the parents.

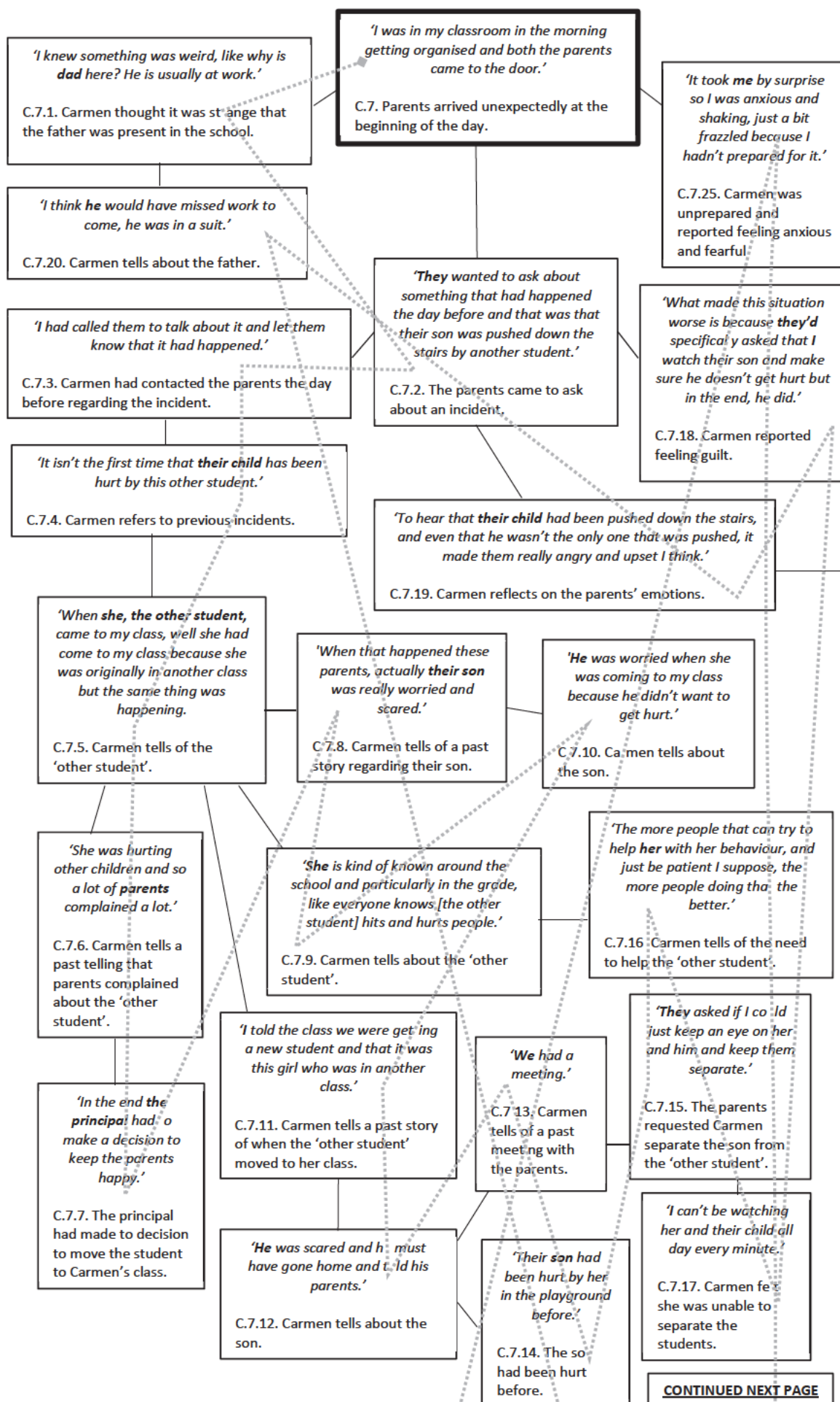
'There isn't a day that goes by that I am not dealing with another child being upset over something [the other student] has done.'

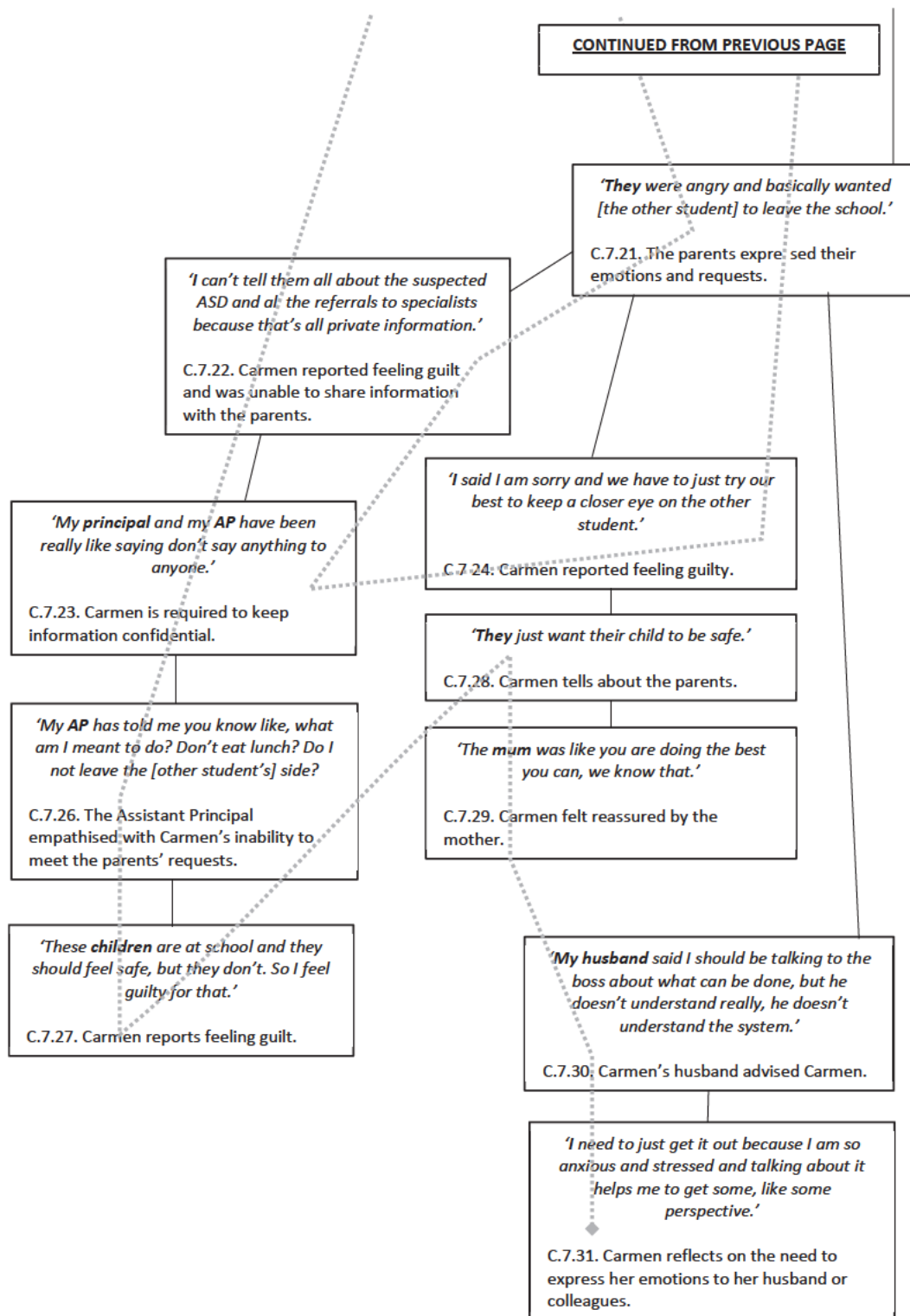
C.6.28. Carmen tells of the repetitive nature of this incident.

'The mum said "well done", "you are doing a good job despite how hard it is". That meant a lot to me.'

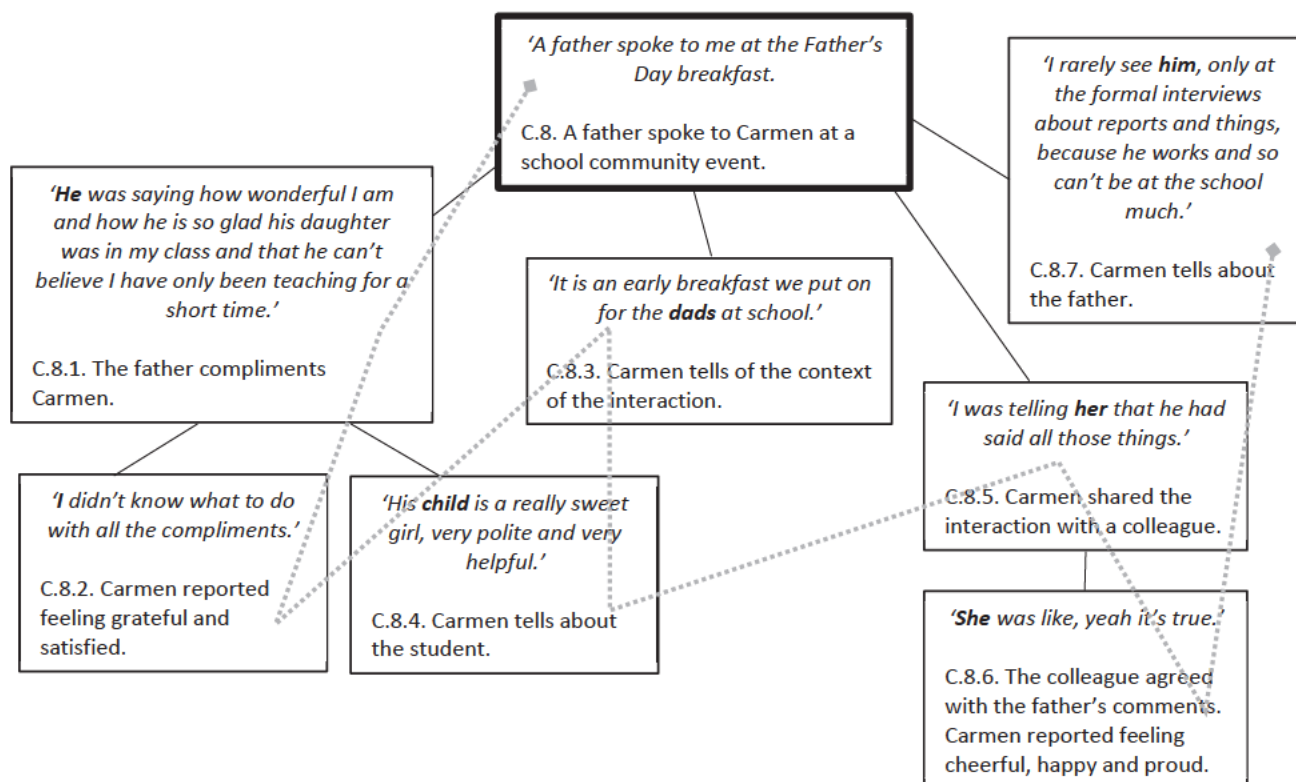
C.6.29. Carmen felt contentment when the parent acknowledged her work.

Carmen – Story Constellation Map 7

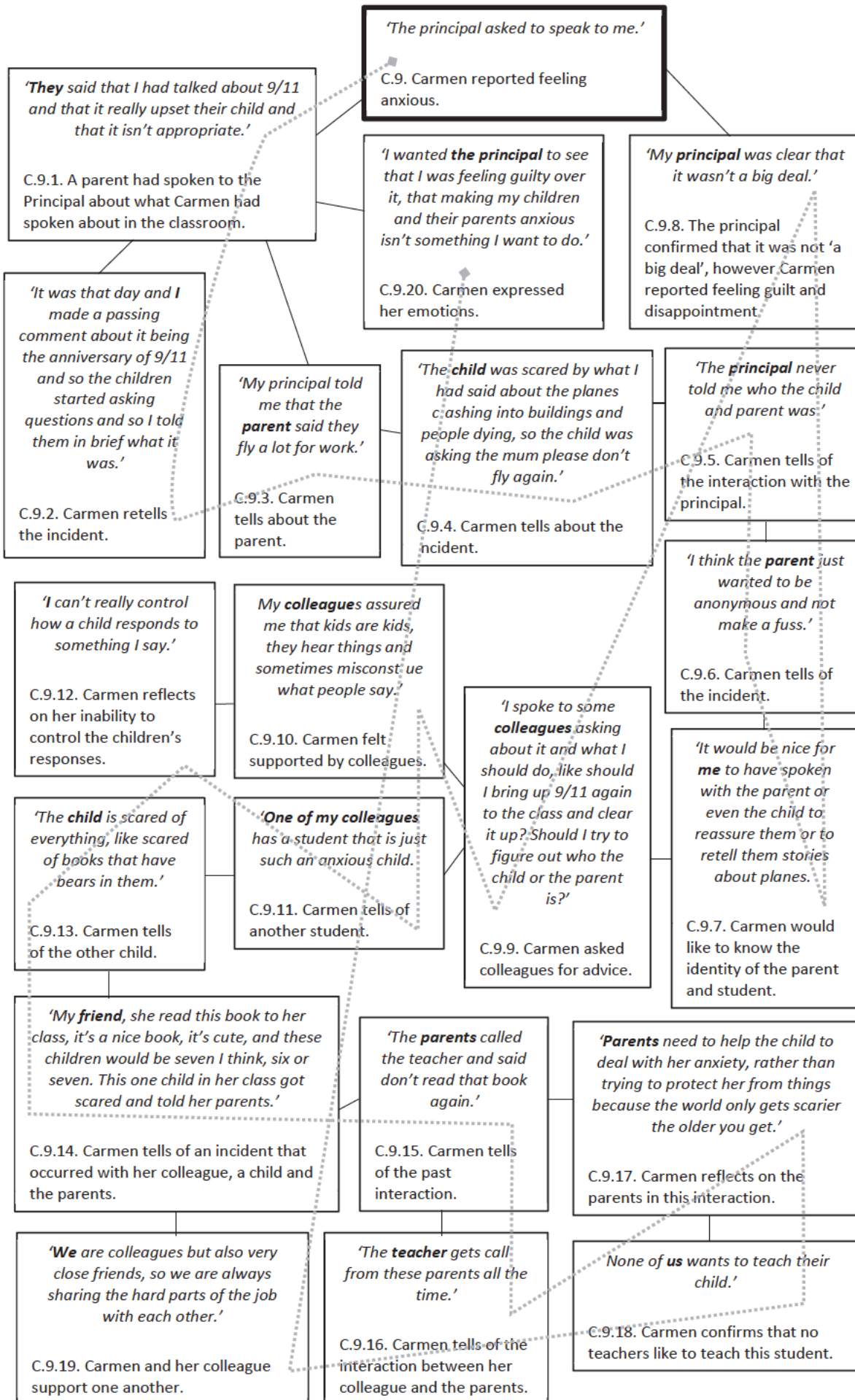


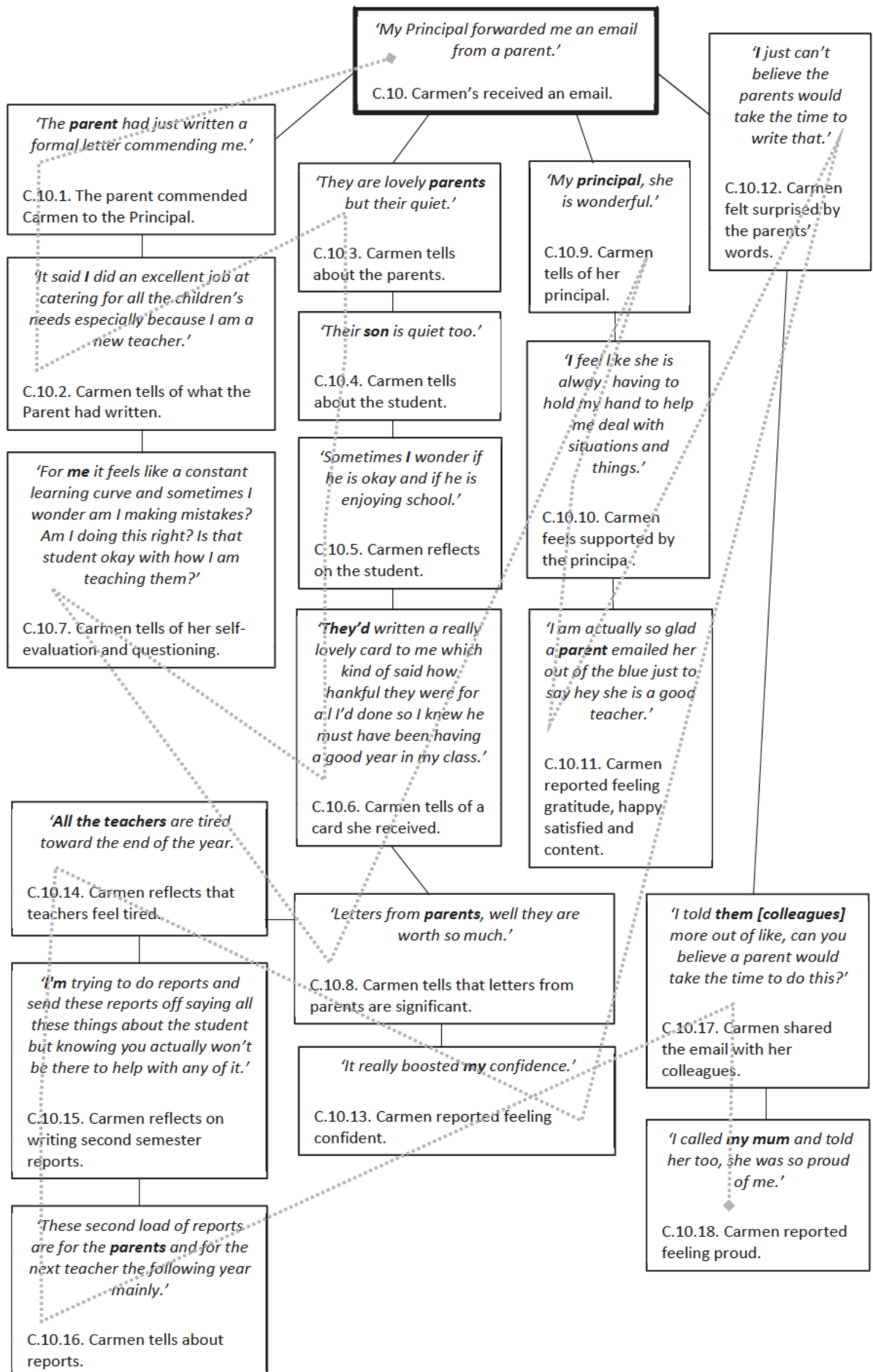


Carmen – Story Constellation Map 8



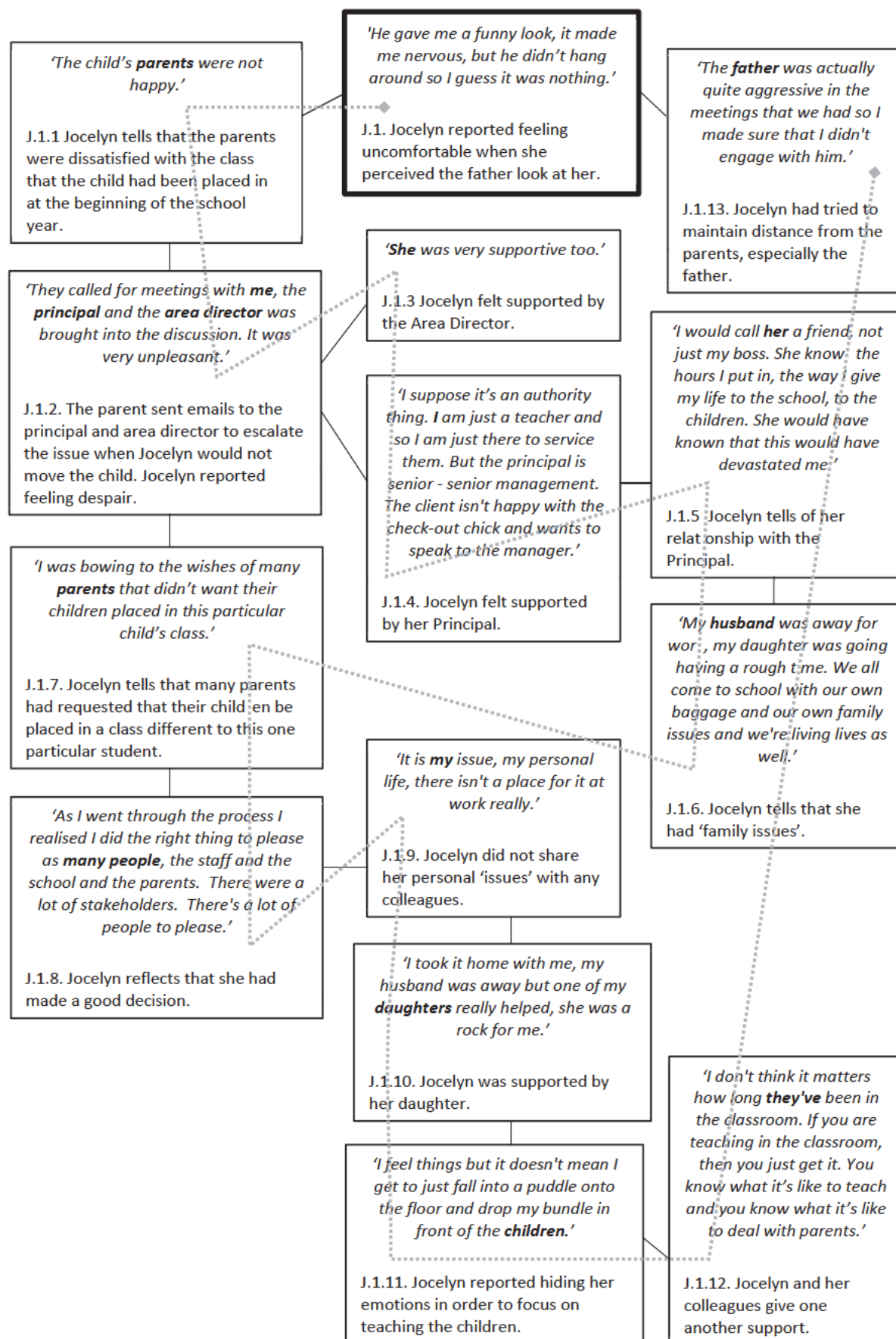
Carmen – Story Constellation Map 9



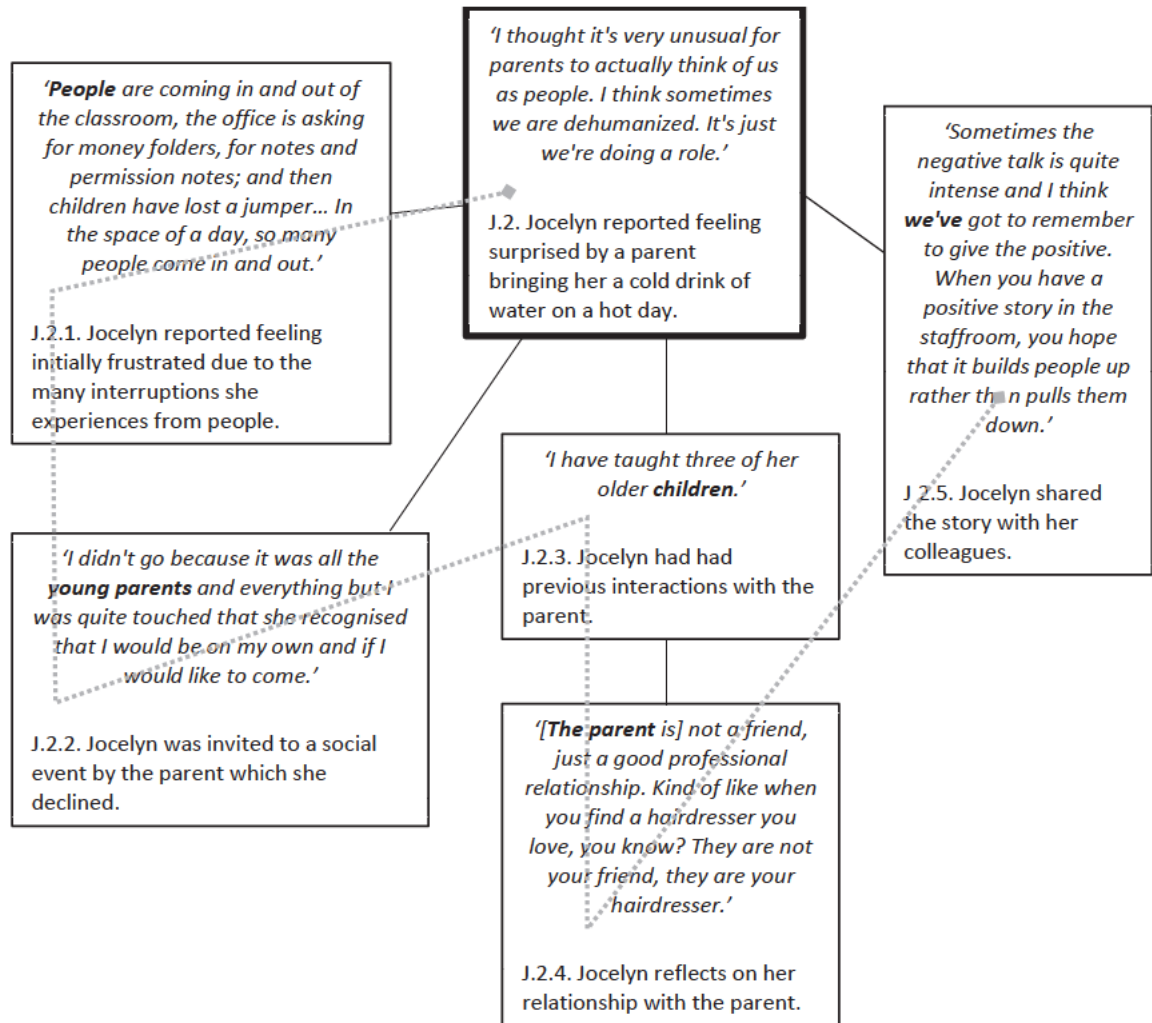


Appendix I – Jocelyn’s Story Constellation Map

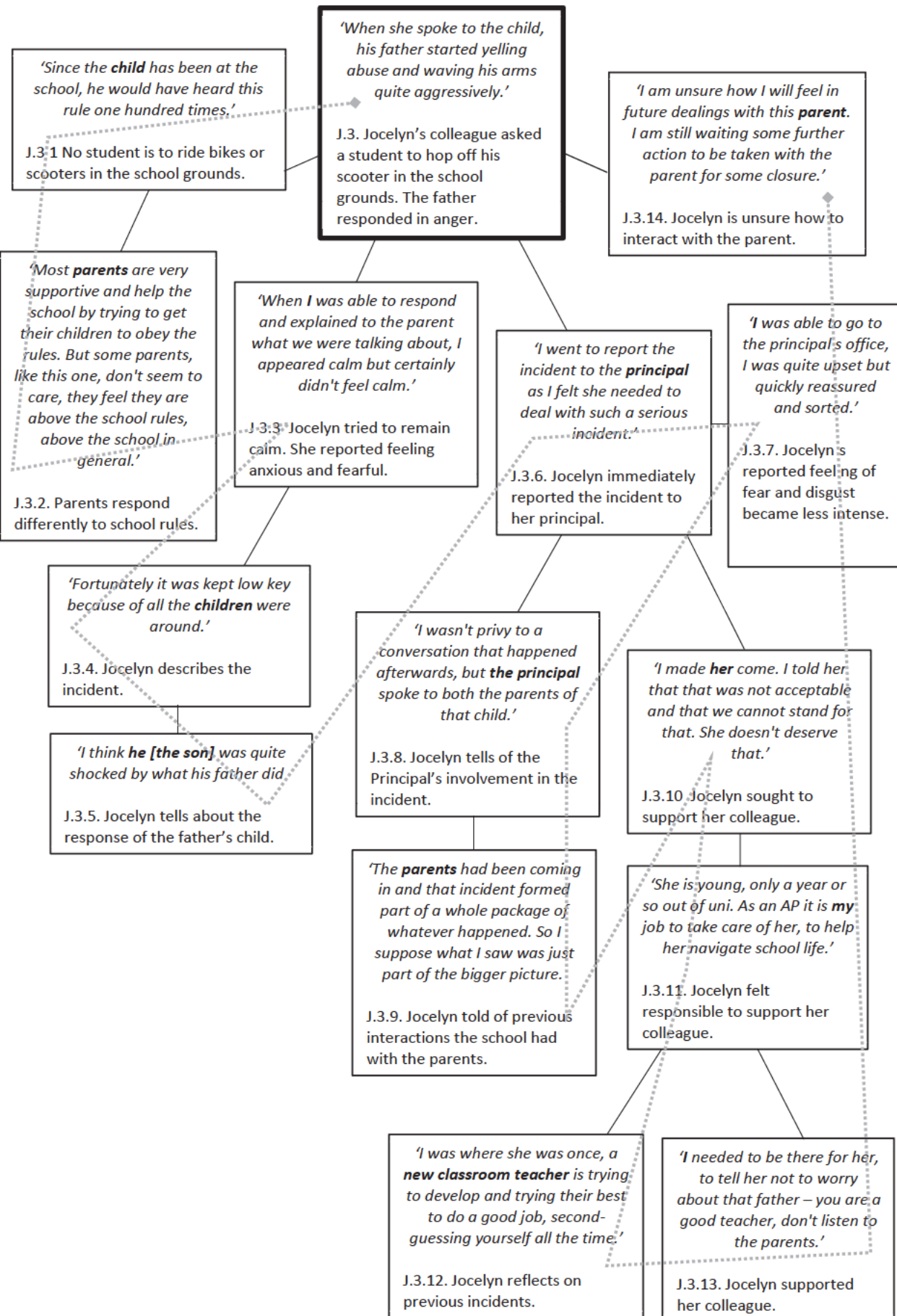
Jocelyn – Story Constellation Map 1

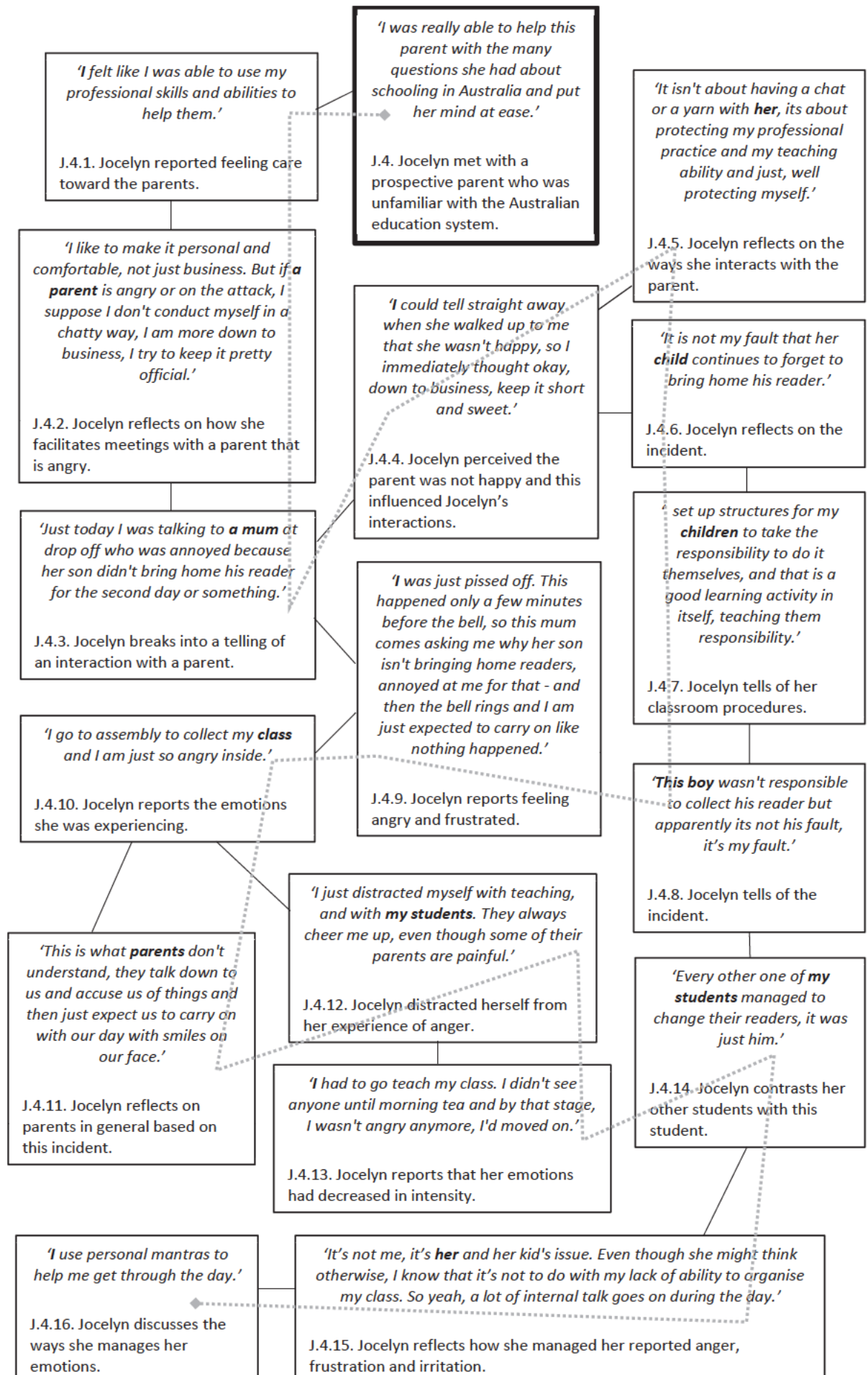


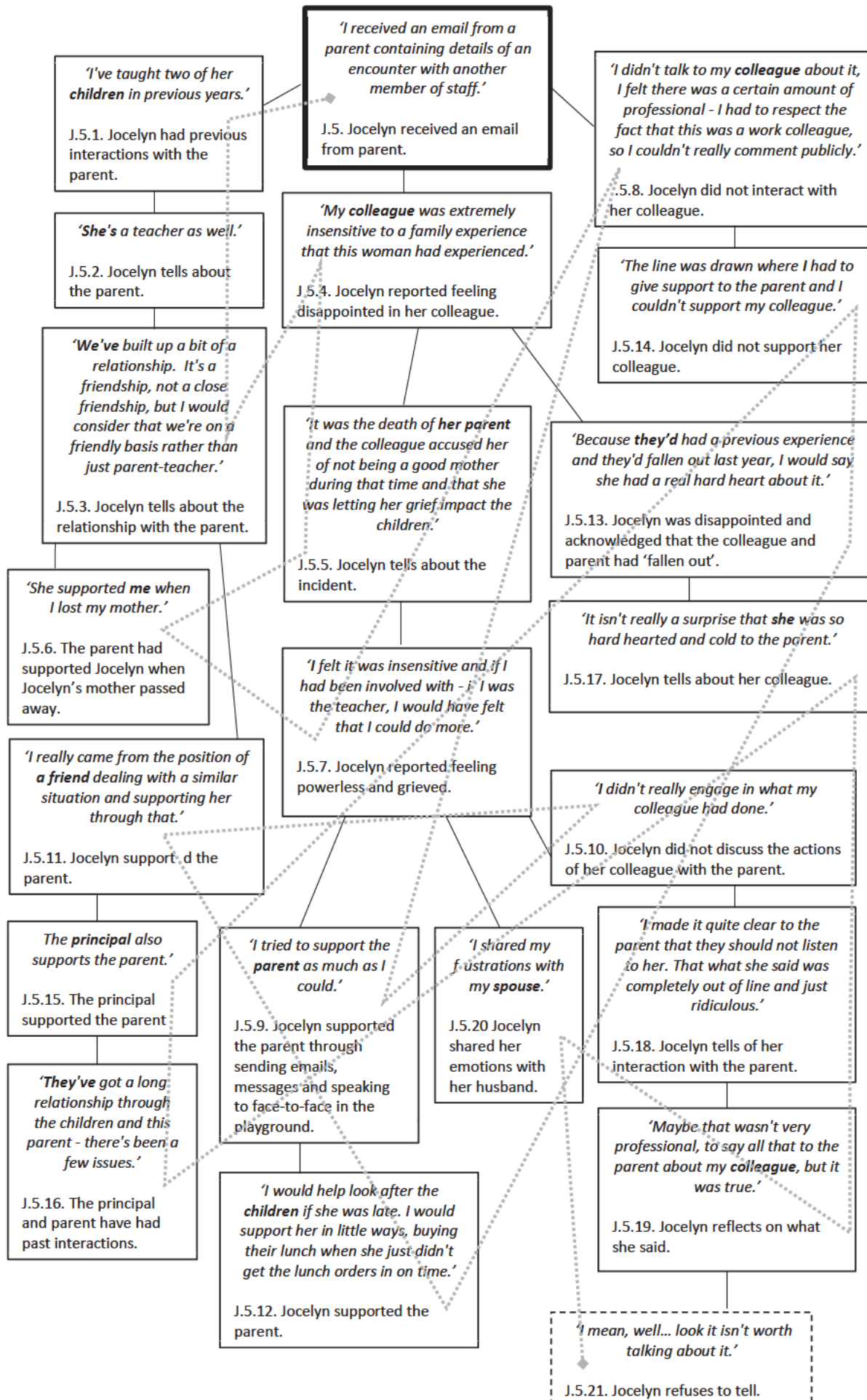
Jocelyn – Story Constellation Map 2

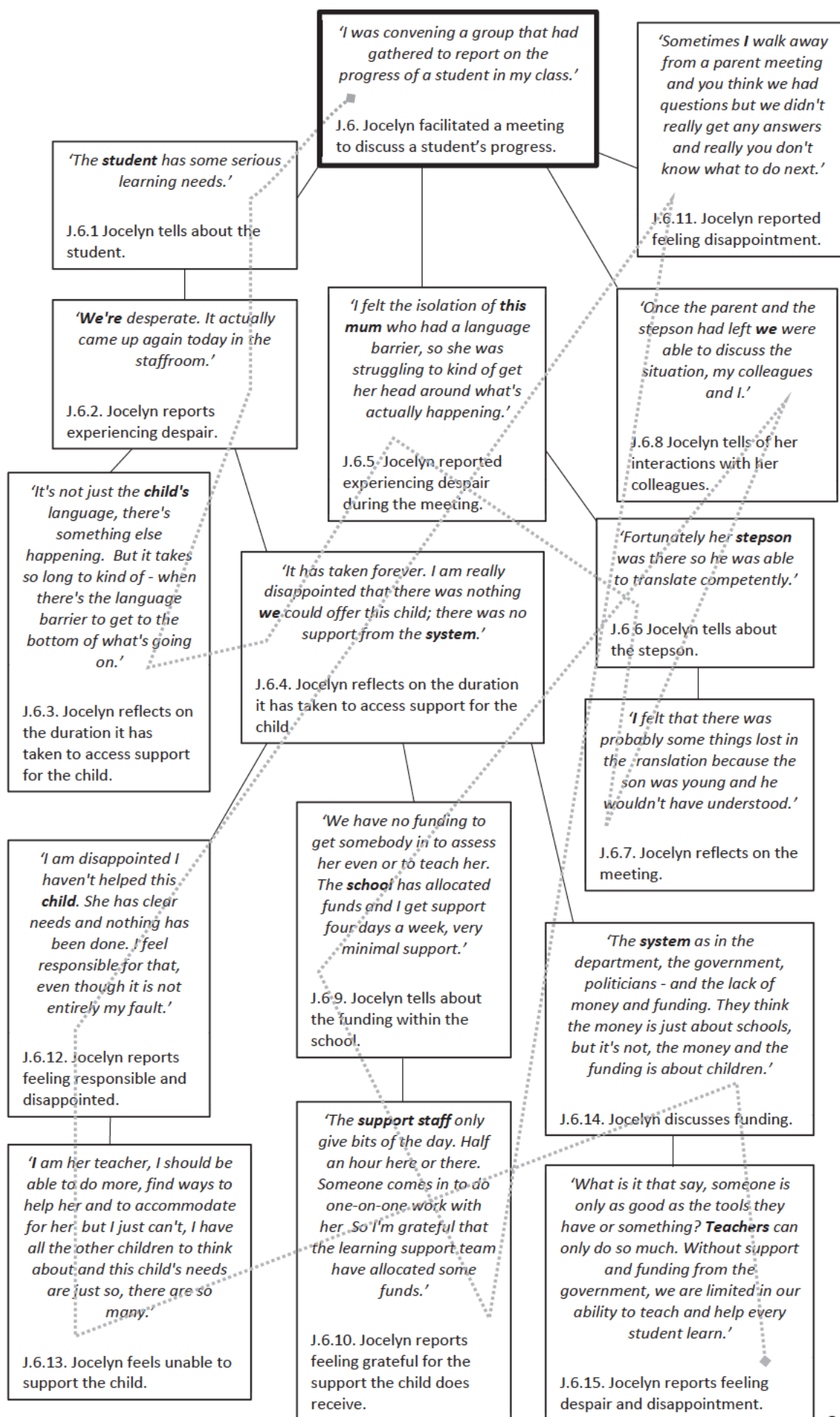


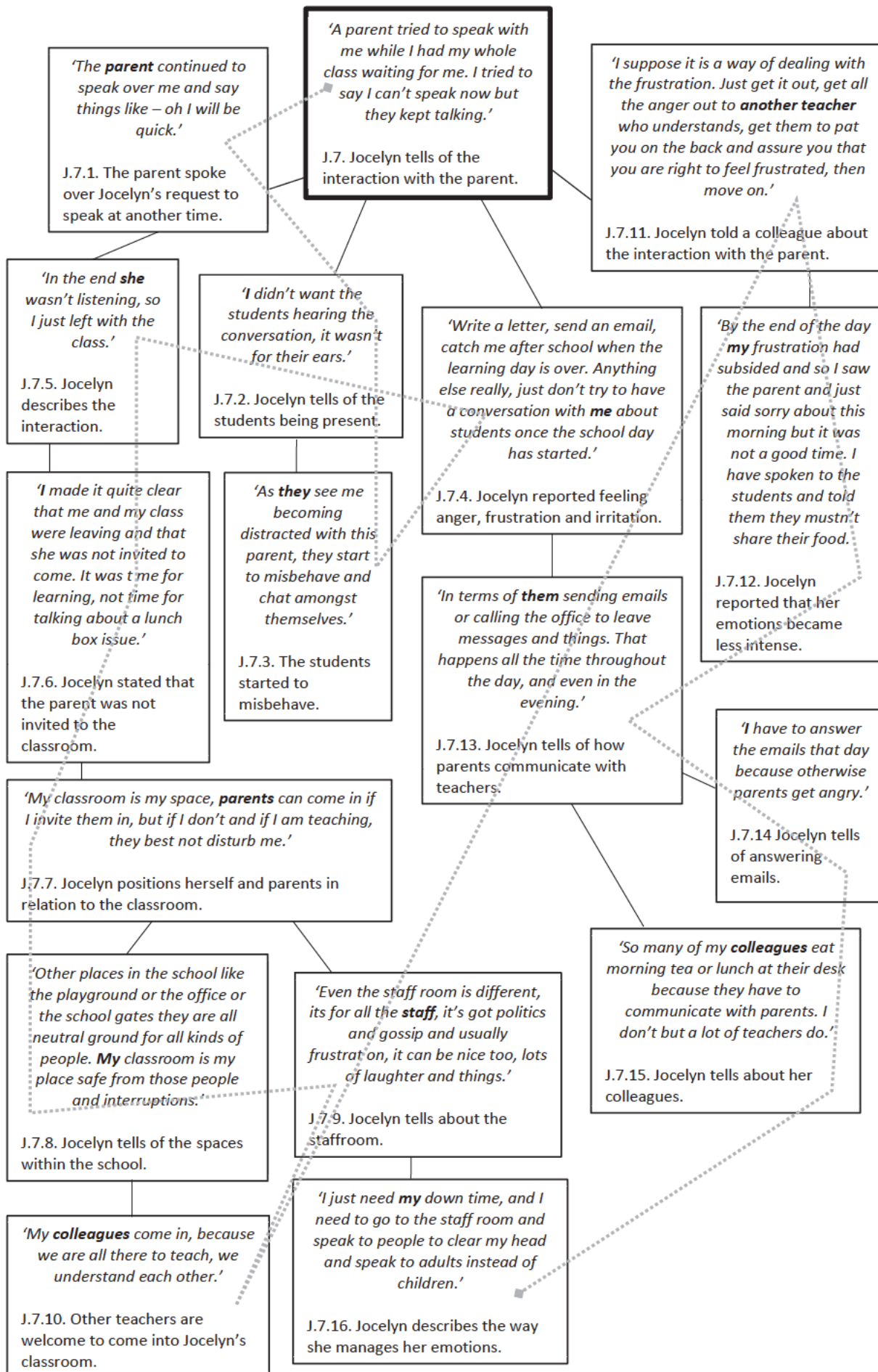
Jocelyn – Story Constellation Map 3



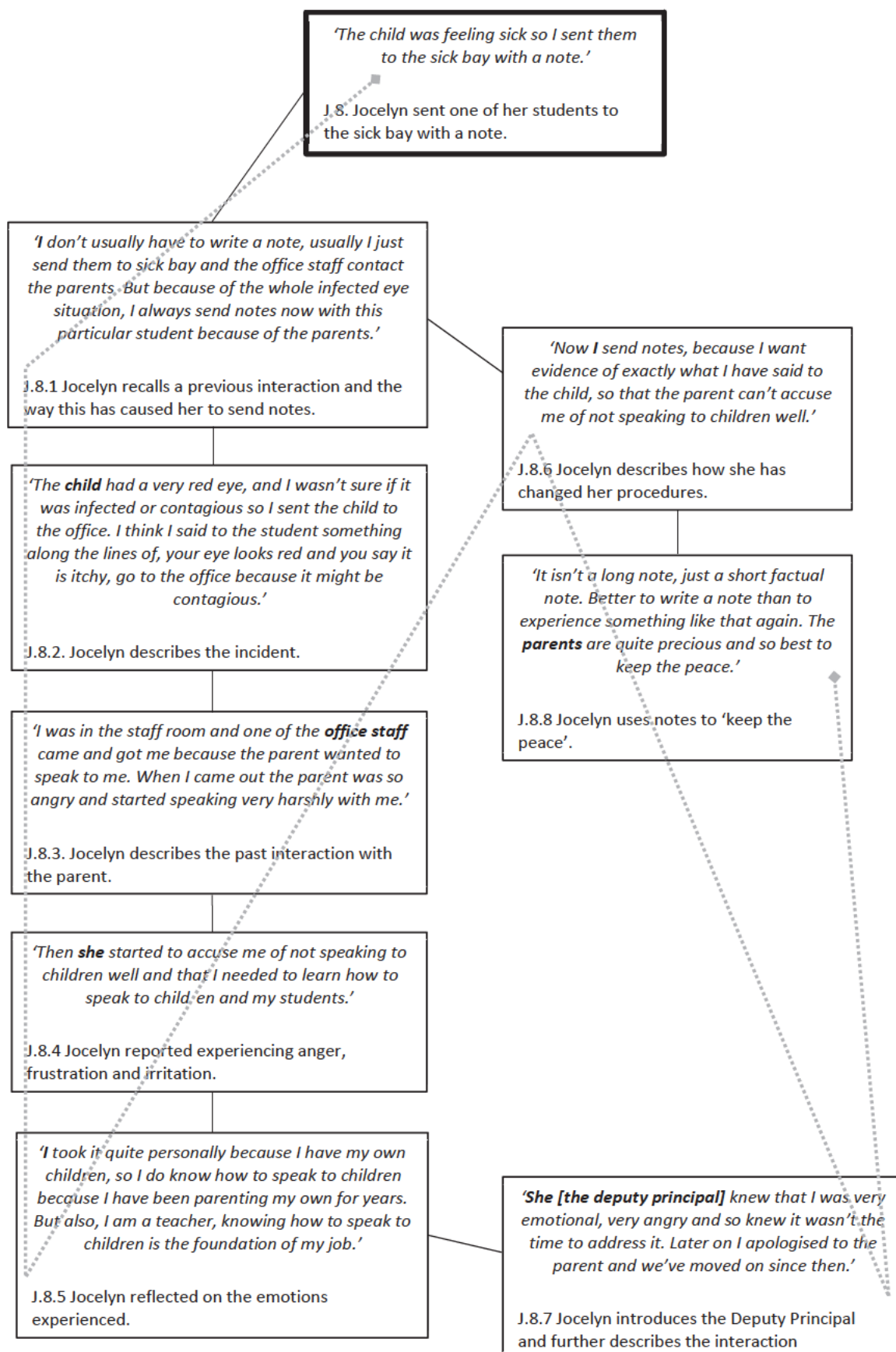






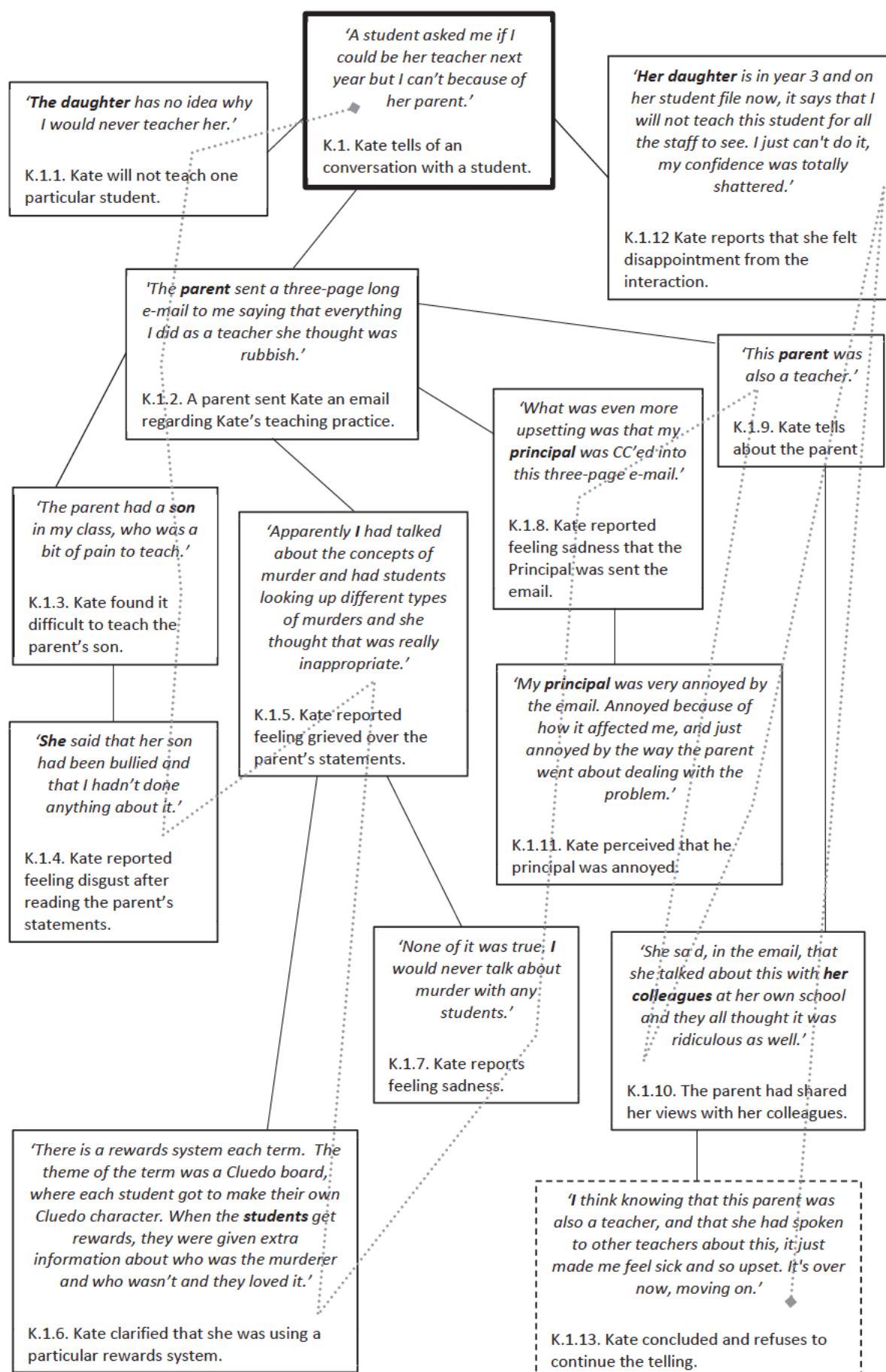


Jocelyn – Story Constellation Map 8

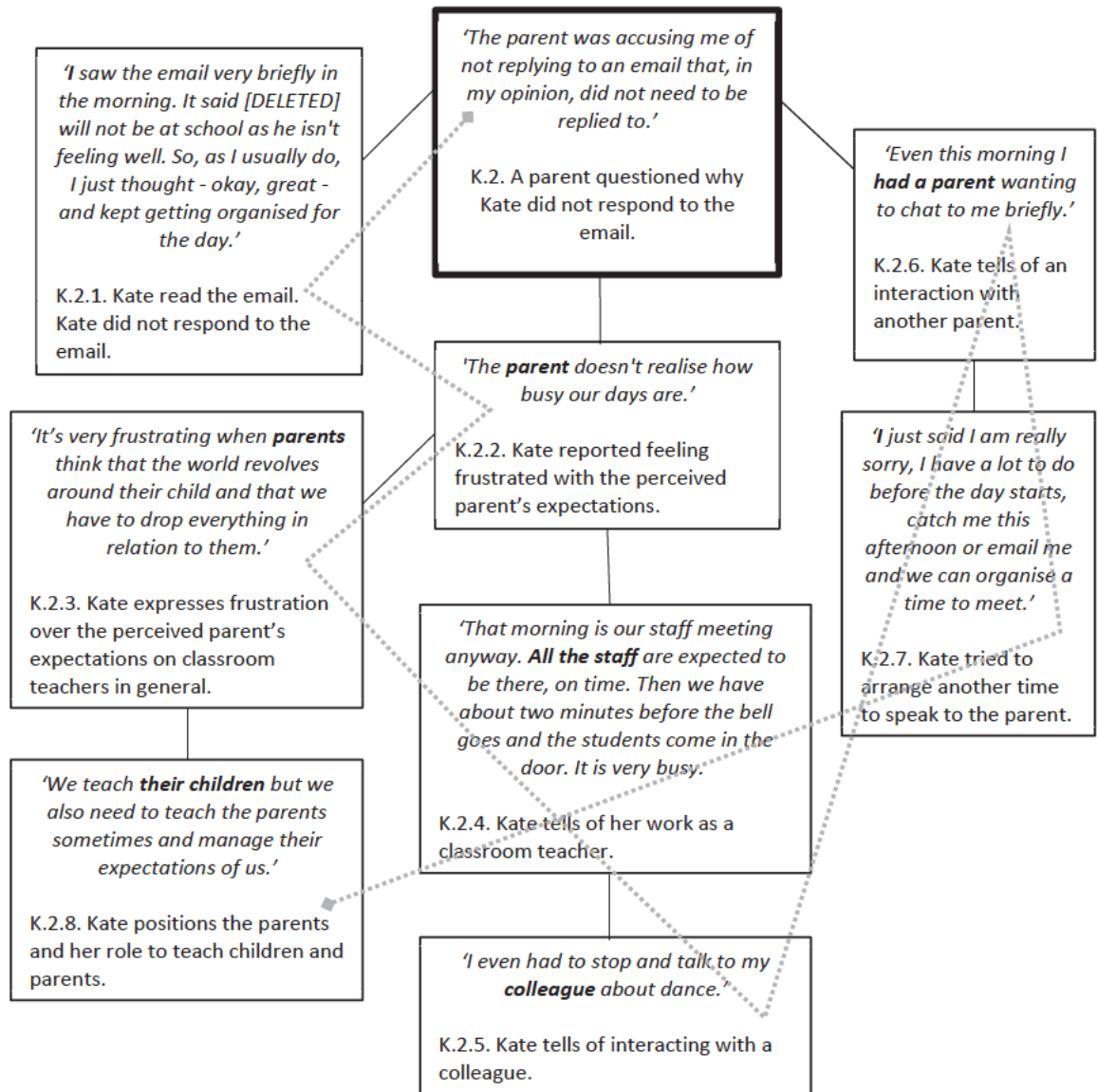


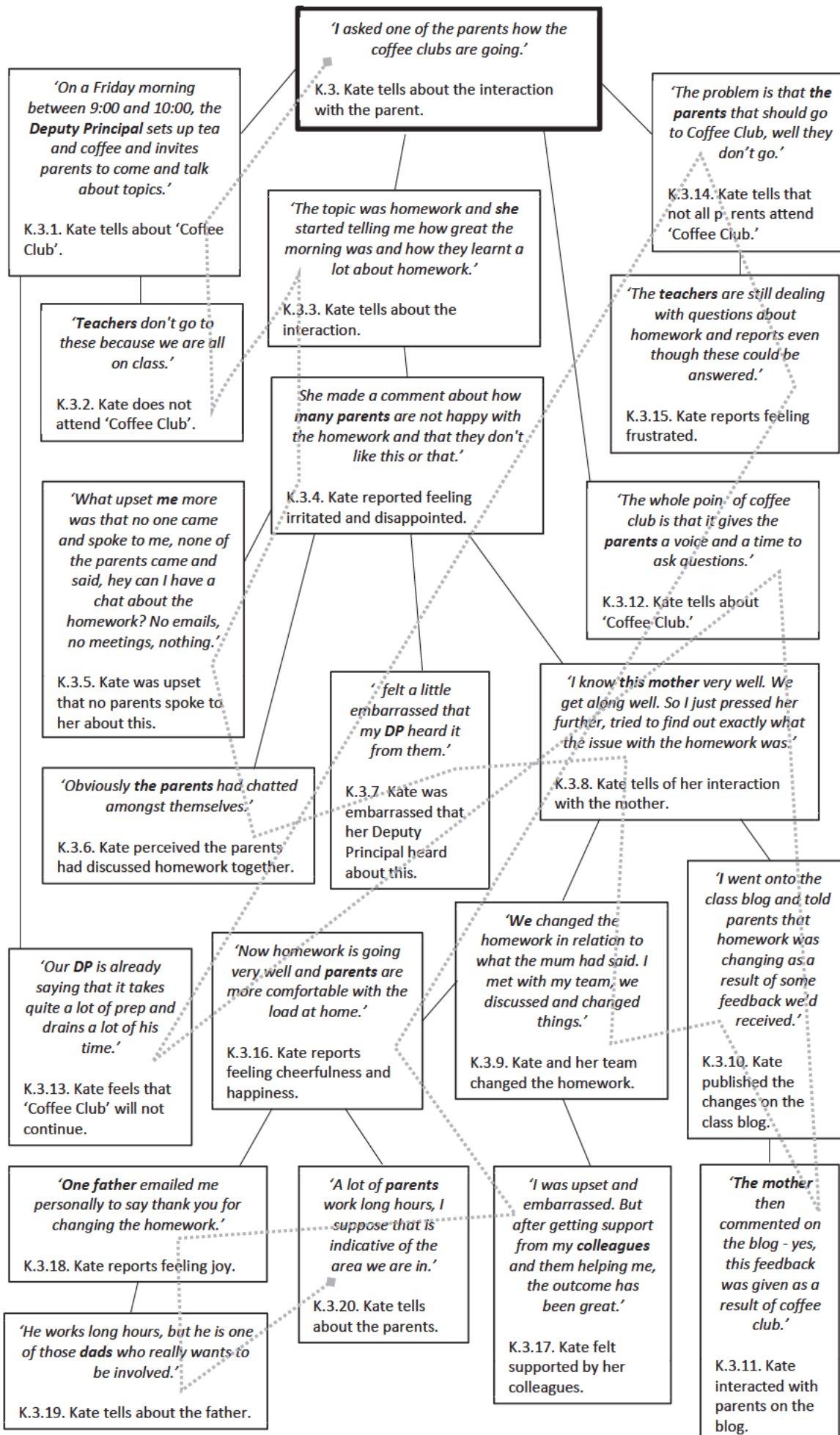
Appendix J – Kate’s Story Constellation Map

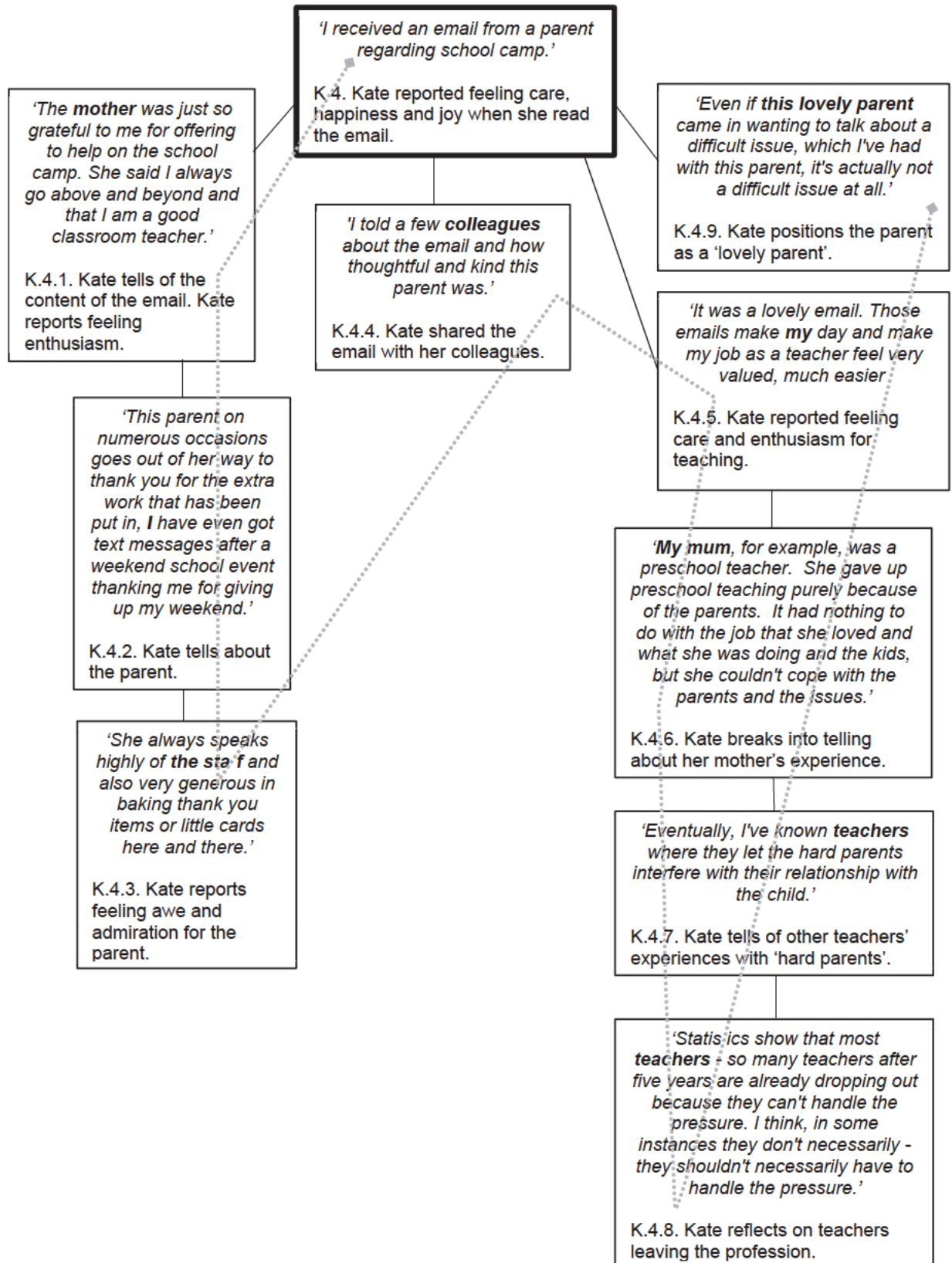
Kate – Story Constellation Map 1



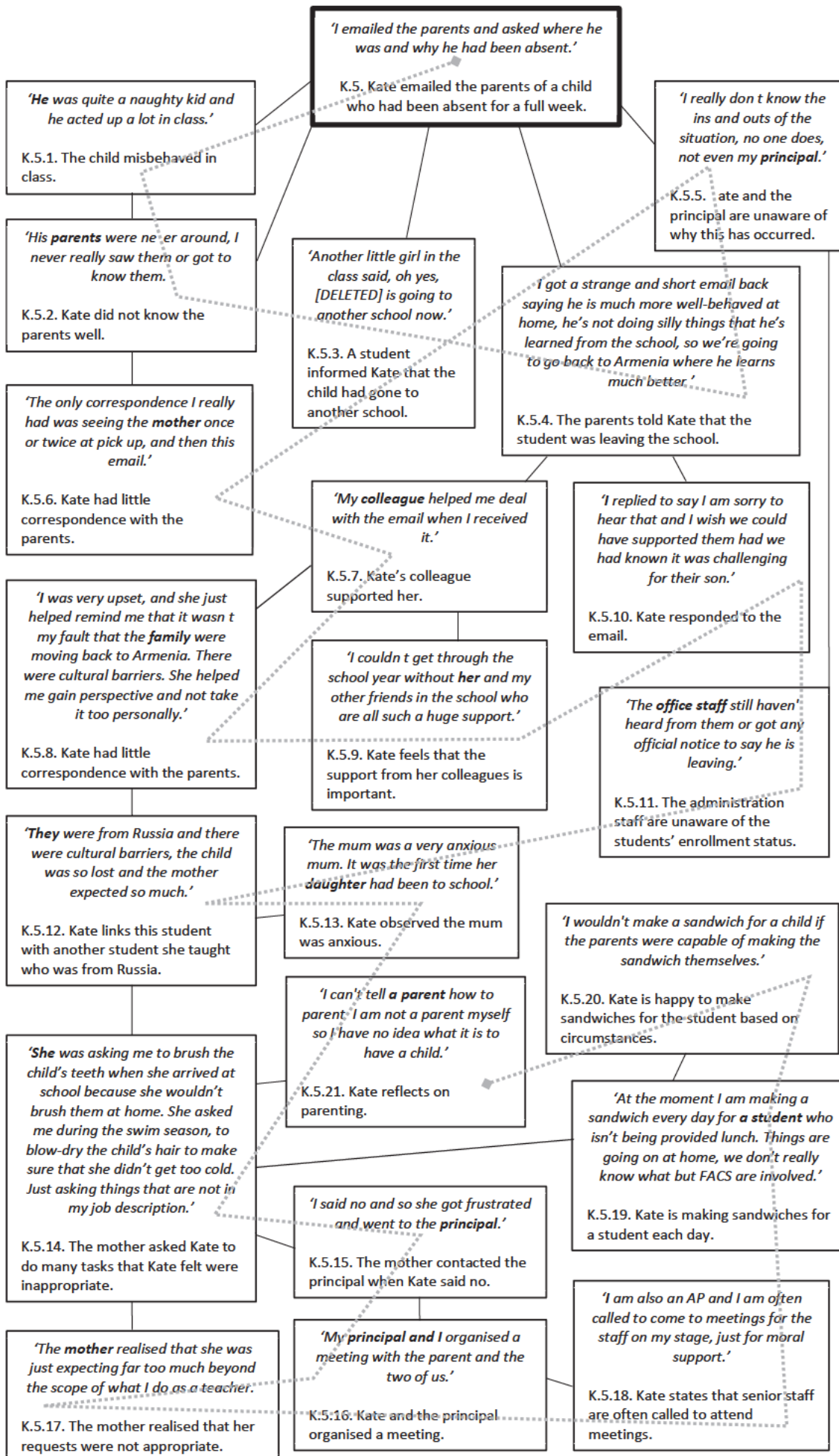
Kate – Story Constellation Map 2



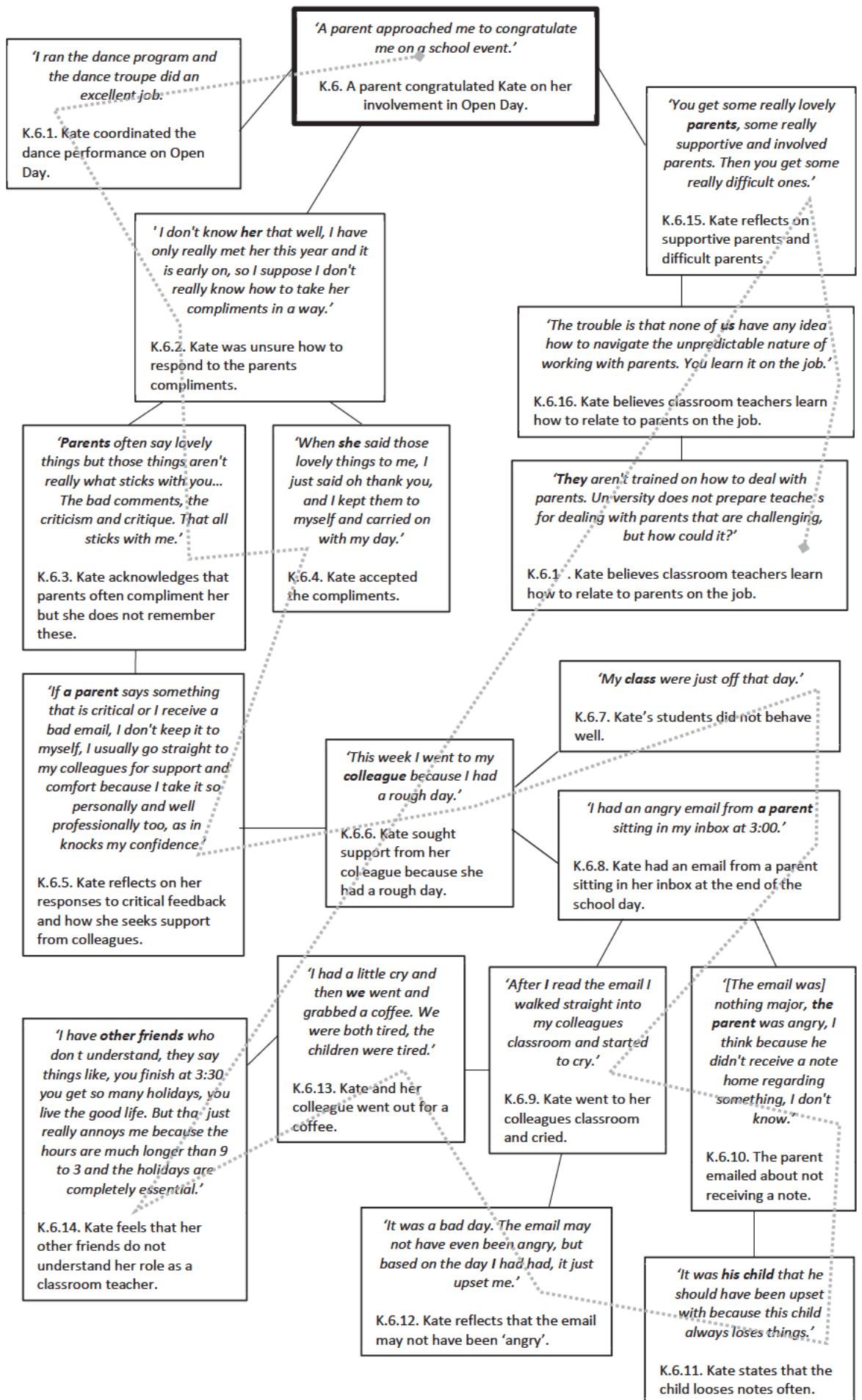




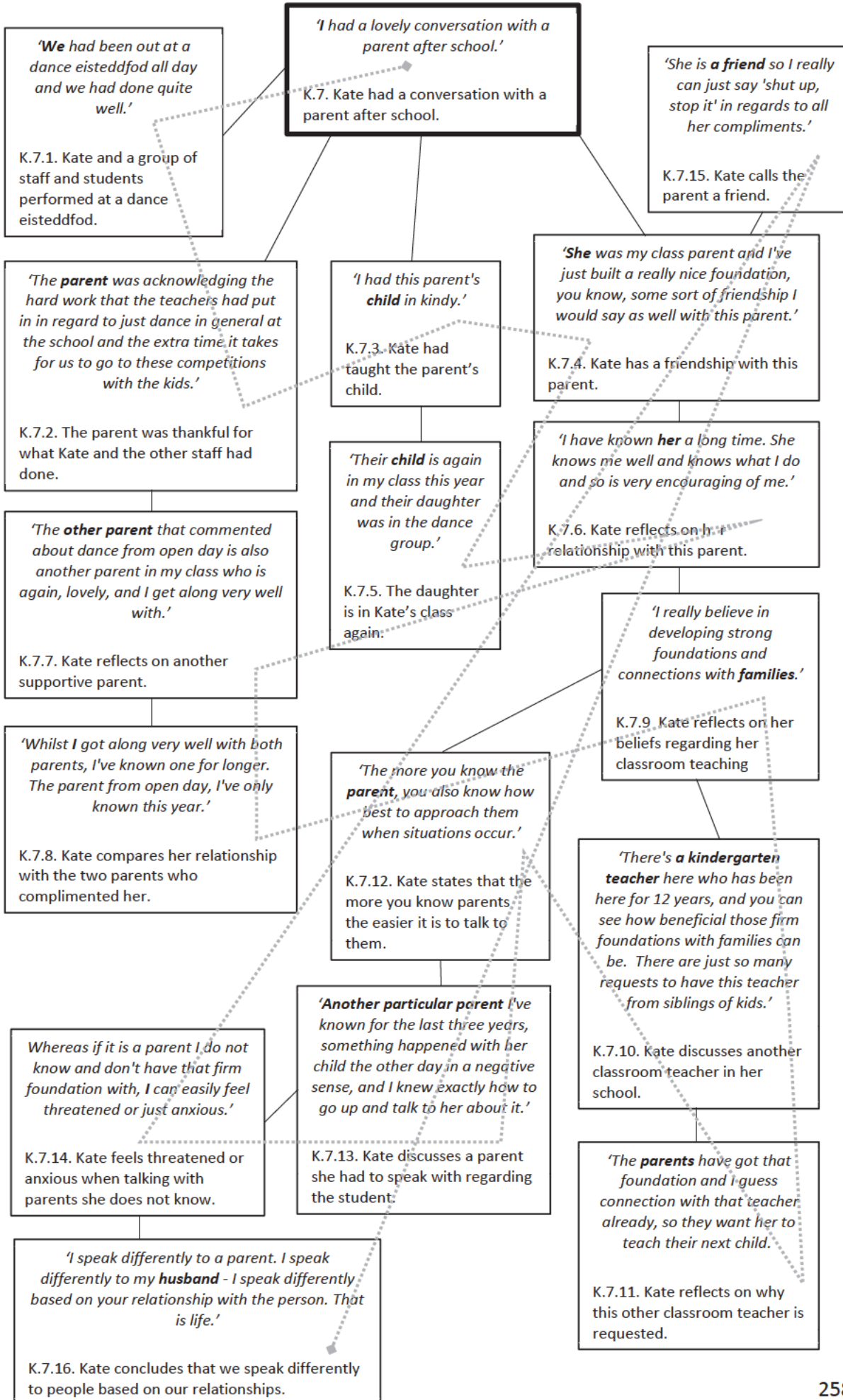
Kate – Story Constellation Map 5

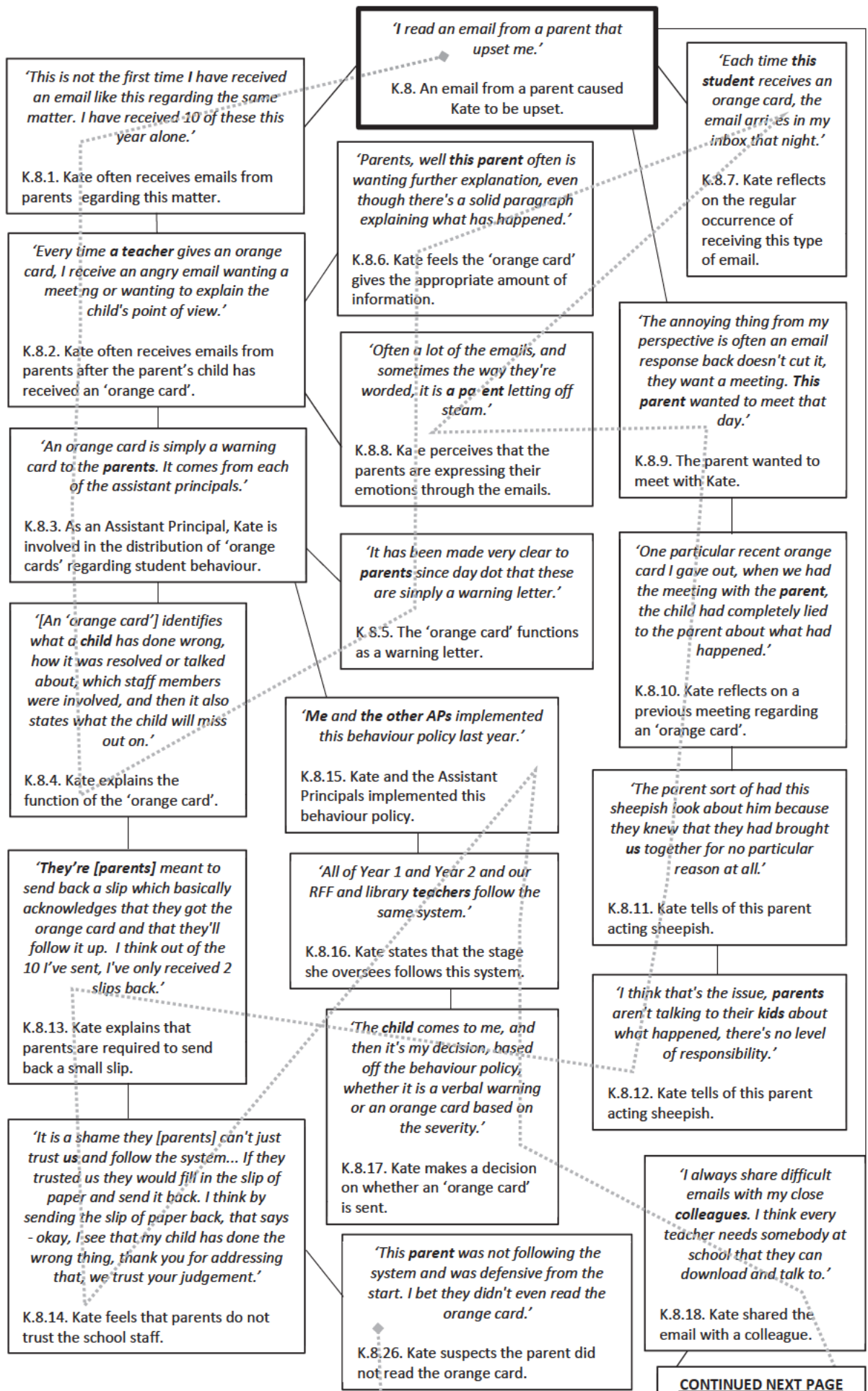


Kate – Story Constellation Map 6



Kate – Story Constellation Map 7





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'I was so angry and I went to my colleague that morning and just let it all out. I felt a lot better after getting my frustrations out and her agreeing, I suppose empathising with me. Then I was able to address the situation a little better.'

K.8.21. Kate appreciated being able to talk to her colleague.

'Whilst it's important to have those connections with friends at home or outside school, other teachers understand what you're going through'

K.8.19. Kate believes it is important to have other teachers as connections.

'If I had have handed out an orange card and then had a parent on my doorstep 20 minutes later wanting to talk about it, I wouldn't have had a chance to prepare... Sometimes emails are good.'

K.8.23. Kate reflects that emails are good at times.

'If that parent had of turned up on my doorstep and verbally said all the things they'd written, well I don't know how I would have responded'.

K.8.22. Kate was glad the parent communicated via email.

'Already this year, we, the executive team have actually started talking about setting up a buddy system here at school with experienced teachers and new teachers to kind of help them through these things, like emails and conversations with parents.'

K.8.20. Kate and the executive team of the school are considering setting up a 'buddy system' for the staff.

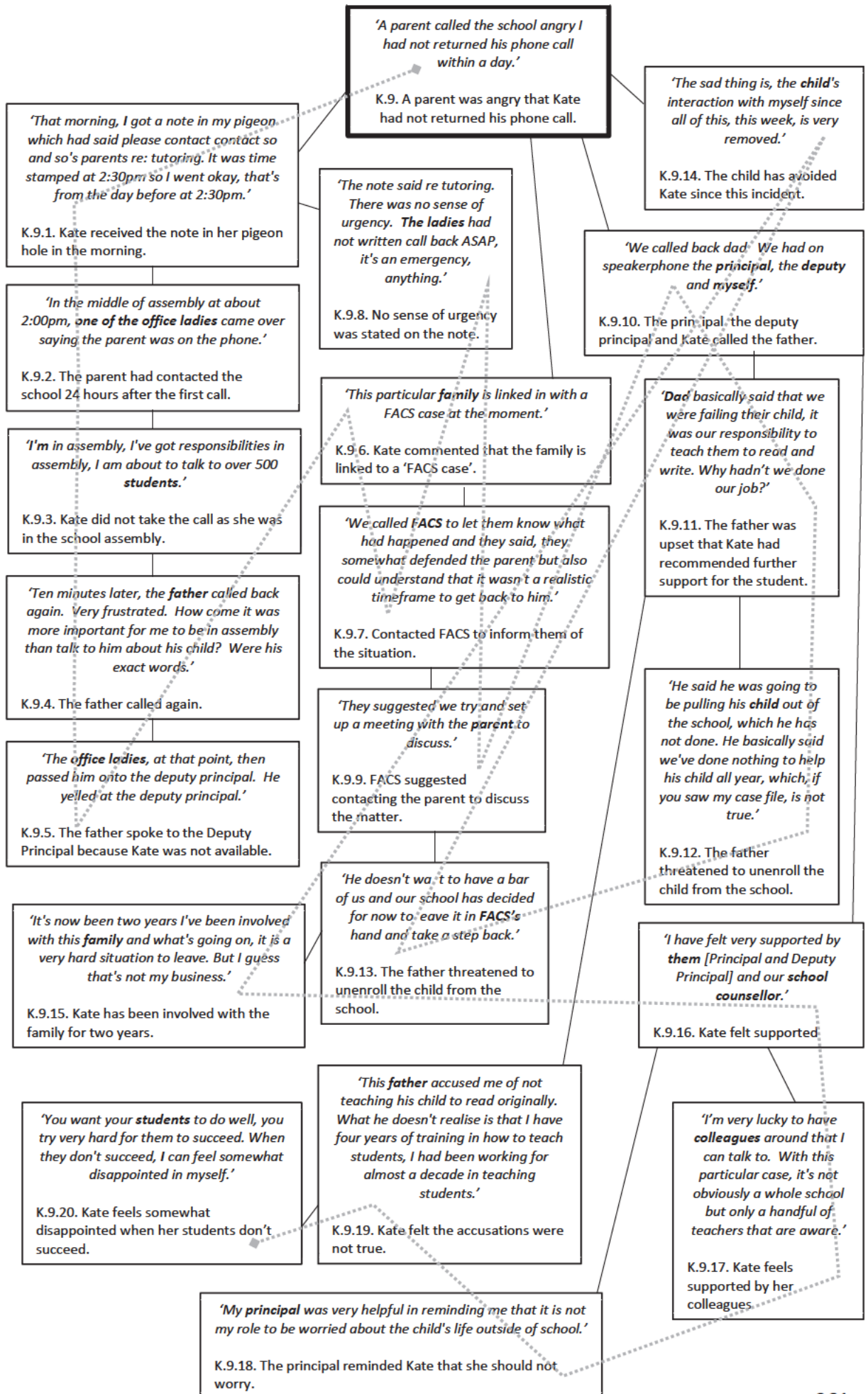
'I tell the staff on my stage not to read emails after 4pm. We are not working then'.

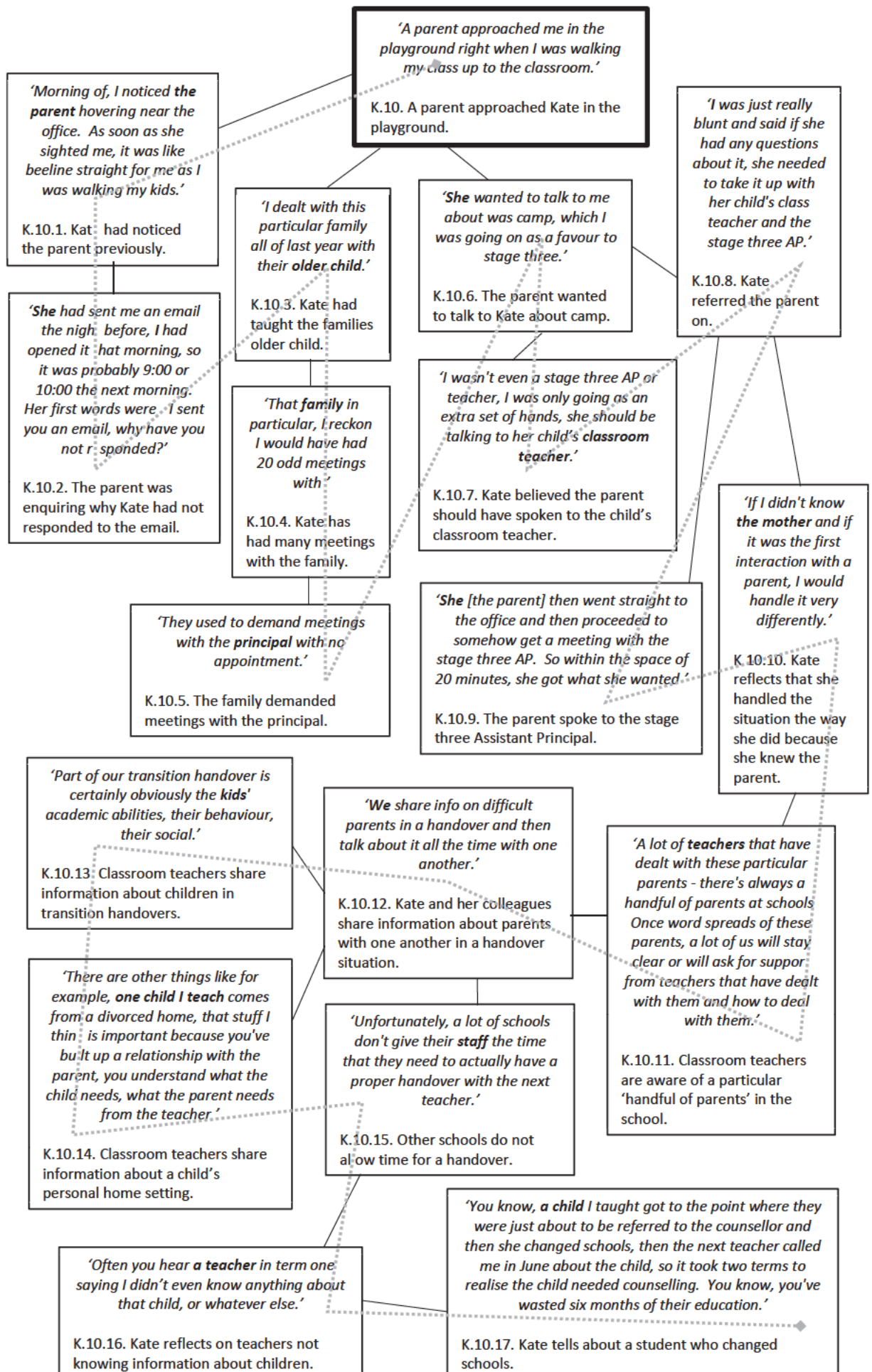
K.8.24. Kate tell her staff not to read emails after a certain time.

'If you were to read the email at 4pm and then bottle it up until 8am the next morning, that just isn't healthy. I know, because sometimes I still do it.'

K.8.25. At times Kate 'bottle up' her response to emails.

Kate – Story Constellation Map 9





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