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CLIL teachers in Finland: The role of emotions in professional identity negotiation

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Research on emotions has yielded many theoretical perspectives and many concepts. Yet, most scholars have focused on how emotions influence the transformation and maintenance of teacher identities in the field of teacher education and novice teachers, with little research being conducted on either experienced or foreign language teachers. This study explores emotions in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) teachers' work and their role in identity negotiation. The data is based on interviews with thirteen CLIL teachers working at six different primary schools around Finland, while the analysis draws on Meijers' (2002) model of identity as a learning process. According to this model, a perceived boundary experience usually generates negatively accented emotions, which are negotiated in light of one's professional identity by means of two complementary processes, i.e. intuitive sense-giving and discursive meaning-giving. The predominant emotional experiences that were identified were, on the one hand, hurry and frustration, and on the other hand, contentment and empowerment. Intuitive sense-giving mostly entailed reasoning, self-reliance, resilience, and empathy. Discursive meaning-giving mostly entailed the ideas of autonomy and of the CLIL team. This study highlights the need for sensitivity toward teachers' emotions and their influence on teacher identity. It concludes with suggestions for theory, further research and teacher education.

Keywords: professional identity, teachers' emotions, identity negotiation, content and language integrated learning (CLIL), Finnish primary education

1 Introduction

Teachers' professional identity has been increasingly acknowledged in contemporary educational research. Recent research argues for teacher identity or self-understanding as a lifelong process of negotiation of who teachers perceive themselves to be as individuals and as professionals within their immediate and wider socio-cultural contexts (e.g. Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Coward et al., 2015; Gu & Benson, 2015; Huhtala, 2015; Kelchtermans, 2005;

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Mora, Trejo & Roux, 2016). This connection is effected by means of power, structure, and agency as well as social, cultural and discursive practices (Song, 2016; Zembylas, 2003). However, the role of emotion in teachers' work life and cognition has only fairly recently been included as an essential element in teachers' identity negotiation (Golombek & Doran, 2014; Uitto, Jokikokko, & Estola, 2015), and deemed a topic serious enough for academic consideration (Nias, 1996).

Research on emotions has yielded many theoretical perspectives (Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006), and many concepts. Goleman's emotional intelligence, Hochschild's emotional labor, Hargreaves' emotional geographies, affective events, emotional contagion and crossover theory are only some of these concepts (Ashkanasy, 2015; Becker, Goetz, Morger, & Ranellucci, 2014; Goleman, 1995; Hargreaves, 2001; Yin, Lee, Zhang, & Jin, 2013). Yet, most scholars have focused on how emotions influence the transformation and maintenance of teacher identities in the field of teacher education and novice teachers, with little research being conducted on either experienced or foreign language teachers (see Ruohotie-Lyhty, Korppi, Moate, & Nyman, 2016; Schutz & Lee, 2014). Especially in English language teaching (ELT), research on emotions has examined student language anxiety and language motivation, while the few exceptions investigating comprehensive emotions and ELT tend to adopt a pathogenic, rather than salutogenic, perspective on emotions (Cowie, 2011; Nilsson, Ejlertsson, Anderson, & Blomqvist, 2015; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Skinnari, 2014). This paucity of empirical research on emotions extends to Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), a European pedagogical innovation which seeks to integrate the learning of a foreign language with subject learning, often implemented in contexts in which the language of instruction is an additional language for teachers and pupils (Coyle, 2007). Beyond Europe, CLIL is being adopted in a broad range of educational contexts, such as Argentina, Japan and Taiwan (e.g. Banegas, 2016; Ikeda, 2013; Yang & Gosling, 2013).

While neither bilingual nor foreign language teaching in the traditional sense, CLIL provides an interesting context in which to examine emotions. CLIL in Finland lacks overtly explicit curricular outlines, while encouraging a bottom-up, school-based approach (e.g. Bergroth, 2016; Nikula, Linares, & Dalton-Puffer, 2013). This grass-roots approach is coupled with teacher autonomy and CLIL teacher education initiatives. While there are many schools that test pupils prior to CLIL classes, others, like the participants' schools, did not select pupils by such means at the time of the interviews. Meanwhile, CLIL is more demanding in terms of resources, and may create disjuncture between what teachers are doing and who they feel they are as professionals and educators (Pappa, Moate, Ruohotie-Lyhty, & Eteläpelto, 2017a). For example, teachers may find preparation for CLIL classes more time-consuming than for regular ones, or re-evaluate their educational role in foreign-language mediation (Moate, 2011, 2014). Thus, CLIL presents an opportunity for teachers to rethink both regular and foreign-language mediated teaching, while offering a range of professionally and personally meaningful opportunities. At the same time, however, it may cause teachers to experience uncertainty and other emotions of a more negative nuance. CLIL, then, may become a 'boundary experience' (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012), prompting cognitive as well as emotional engagement with these opportunities in a manner conducive to individual and career development.

If emotion lies at the heart of teaching, teaching implies an ethical responsibility involving the teacher personally and not merely as an instrument of curriculum goals; thus, the experience of both positively and negatively tinged emotions are important for CLIL teachers' self-understanding, well-being and job satisfaction, in addition to retention and professional development (Hargreaves, 2001; Hong, 2012; Kelchtermans, 2005; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Shapiro, 2010; Yin et al., 2013). By addressing emotions in CLIL, we seek to address not only teachers' sense of self and the ways these emotions are instrumental in constructing, sharing and positioning one's identity as a teacher, but also ways CLIL can be successful. However, although this issue has been scantly investigated in ELT (e.g. Cowie, 2011; Giovanelli, 2015; Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2017; Song, 2016; Wolff & De Costa, 2017; Yuan & Lee, 2015), it has received negligible attention in scholarly work in CLIL. This study investigates the role of emotions in teacher identity, with a focus on primary CLIL education in Finland. In particular, we examine the emotions present in CLIL teachers' work and how they are rendered meaningful for identity negotiation in their professional lives. In the following section, we elaborate on the view of identity and emotions that provide our orientation, and extend the discussion to identity development as a cyclical learning process (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012), which serves as a lens for our analysis.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Emotions and identity

Emotion as a concept pertinent to teachers' professional lives has garnered much attention in recent decades (for an overview, see Uitto et al., 2015). Despite the many theoretical perspectives taken, including 'physiological, philosophical, historical, sociological, feminist, organizational, anthropological, and psychological' (Van Veen & Sleegers, 2006, pp. 86–87), there is no concrete consensus as to what emotions are. Defined on a psychological and physiological basis, emotions are experiences of how the body physically responds to events in our environment, preparing us for subsequent action (Ashkanasy, 2015). They are the embodiment of the mind in the way they psychophysically parallel or represent ideas in the mind (Watkins, 2011). At the same time, emotions are socially constructed, yet personally enacted ways of performing within an 'external' environment in a transactional and relational manner, so as to attain goals or maintain standards or beliefs (Cross & Hong, 2012). These transactional performances are of temporal, social and political character, reciprocally mediated by our self-understanding, meaning-making and decision-taking (Kelchtermans, 2005; Zembylas, 2005). Emotions, then, have come to be understood in broader terms which transcend dichotomies prized in the past (Zembylas, Charalambous & Charalambous, 2012), while acknowledging the physical and intellectual presence of the individual within their particular political, historical, socio-cultural and interpersonal contexts. It is within these contexts that social interaction and emotion connect with self-knowledge, thus rendering identity (re)construction meaningful (Zembylas, 2003).

Similar to emotions, identity has been a concept difficult to define in educational research. In their review of research on teacher identity, Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004) argue that there are four essential features. First, teachers' identity is an ongoing process, during which teachers reinterpret experiences in light of 'personal' and 'professional' biographies. Second, it is complex and dynamic, as it involves a negotiation between person and context, whereby prescribed professional characteristics are adopted depending on the personal value they hold for the individual teacher. Third, it is multifaceted, as it consists of core or peripheral subidentities related to teachers' different settings and relationships. Fourth, it involves exercising agency according to teachers' goals and available resources, while trying to resolve perceived tensions between the personal and social dimensions of teaching. Adding to this view of teacher identity, Day and Kington (2008) discuss the culturally embedded and unavoidable interrelationship between how teachers make sense of themselves, the image they present to others, and the way they are perceived by others. Nonetheless, for a holistic definition of teacher identity, psychological, emotional and personal aspects have to be considered alongside legitimate professional ones (Bukor, 2015). This becomes all the more important, considering the role emotions play in shaping teachers' identity in regular teaching (Nichols, Schutz, Rodgers, & Bilica, 2016; Uitto et al., 2015) as well as foreign language teaching (Golombek & Doran, 2014; Varghese, Motha, Park, Reeves, & Trent, 2016). Emotions are as much an embodied experience as a cultural tool situated in the discursive, social and institutional frameworks that raise questions for identity (Zembylas, 2003).

Through the situatedness of teachers' emotions, we can better comprehend not only the complex space emotions afford teachers for self-transformation and self-understanding, but also overcome a presumed separation of teacher identity in terms of public and private (Meijers & Lengelle, 2012; Zembylas, 2003). In this study, we understand emotions as embodied and subjective experiences that are a personal response to the events and contexts individuals engage in. Although the subjective experience and its manifestation in the form of emotional expression may be heavily shaped by the lived contexts, we argue that neither is privileged over the other. Rather, they are two vital elements that dynamically develop a mutually mediational relationship. We use this socio-psychological understanding to qualitatively explore the relationship among emotions and identity negotiation in primary education CLIL teachers' work. To understand this relationship, we draw on Meijers' (2002) framework of identity as a learning process.

2.2 Identity as a cyclical learning process

In contrast to past eras of institutional socialization into a particular occupation, there is increasing pressure for employees to be flexible and mobile, able to construct a career identity while considering a larger array of possibilities and one's own feelings and emotions (Meijers, 2002). CLIL presents an opportunity for teachers to rethink both conventional and language teaching, while offering a range of professionally and personally meaningful opportunities. At the same time, however, it may cause teachers to experience uncertainty and uncomfortable emotions. Therefore, in the process of creating, sustaining and reconfiguring their overall teacher identity to include that of the CLIL teachers', the presence and management of emotions have to be addressed. In order to do so in this

paper, we draw on Meijers' (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012) suggestion of identity as an ongoing learning process that couples experience, emotion, and occupational conditions, something that has been largely overlooked by social-cognitive and career learning theories.

In line with recent depictions of identity (e.g. Akkerman & Meijer, 2011), Meijers (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012) argues that identity is the continuous negotiation and construction of a more or less consistent sense of self, adding that this can be effected in a relational and dialogic way in which emotions and cognition are mutually and gradually adjusted. He further explains that identity formation is making sense of oneself through activities and experiences that are situated in the temporal and spatial, structural and institutional, social and historical. This situatedness and the (re)configuration of interpretations individuals attach to themselves are mediated not only by specific cultural practices and corresponding artefacts, but also by the agency individuals use in positioning themselves, controlling their behavior and negotiating action possibilities. As a result, individuals develop conscious and objectified identities in relation to their socio-cultural contexts, and the interpretations of semiotic and situated resources existing therein (e.g. concepts, metaphors, emotions, symbols). Yet, identity learning takes place only when culturally available concepts and meanings are related to experiences, hence being ascribed personal meaning and identified with.

According to Meijers (2002), despite its intellectual and relational aspects, identity formation involves emotions in an instrumental way. An emotionally safe environment, rather than shelter from pain and uncertainty, may help an individual to productively and creatively handle emotions if emotions are acknowledged, valued and respected (Meijers, 2002). On an individual level, emotions coupled with meanings become the vehicle of imagination to insightfully appreciate a possible turn of events and one's role in them (Meijers, 2002). Similar to Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop (2004), who proposed that identity formation is an outcome of struggle, Meijers (2002) suggests that identity development occurs when a demarcation point in one's life course, or boundary experience, causes a shift in one's, and possibly others', perspective. Emotion signals the beginning and is the product of this change in perspective. A boundary experience occurs when the individual, in 'trying to participate more fully (centrally) in a social practice', cannot 'fully identify with the new situation and its exigencies' and, consequently, 'experiences the boundary of his [sic] existing self-concept' (Meijers, 2002, p. 158). According to Meijers (Meijers, 2002; Meijers & Lengelle, 2012), this is often an emotional rather than a cognitive problem, yet it can lead to learning and growth irrespective of whether the emotion elicited is positive or negative. That said, for emotions to become fruitful in identity negotiation, a balance between emotions and cognition can be restored by means of two complementary processes, namely 'intuitive sense-giving' and 'discursive meaning-giving' (pp. 158–161) (see Figure 1).

'Intuitive sense-giving' refers to an introspective dialogue that creates space for the (role-coupled) exigencies of a situation to be reconfigured in one's identity. This intrapersonal process of identity configuration is achieved by rendering a situation personally (emotionally) meaningful, thus motivating and enabling the individual to act. 'Discursive meaning-giving' refers to the engagement of the individual with the existing discourse, in which concepts and shared meanings are heuristically used. During this interpersonal process, the

individual tries to restore a sense of self in light of new elements and experiences by 'finding – together with others – the concepts that give an explanation that is logically and emotionally satisfactory for all involved in this dialogue' (Meijers, 2002, p. 158). In this study, intuitive sense-giving is understood as the intrapersonal dialogue by means of which the individual interprets an instinctive and subjective emotional response to an experience. Discursive meaning-giving is understood as the interpersonal dialogue by means of which the individual discursively and reflectively constructs and renders meaningful an emotional experience in light of their identity. Both of these intrapersonal and interpersonal processes or dialogues are integral to shaping one's identity.

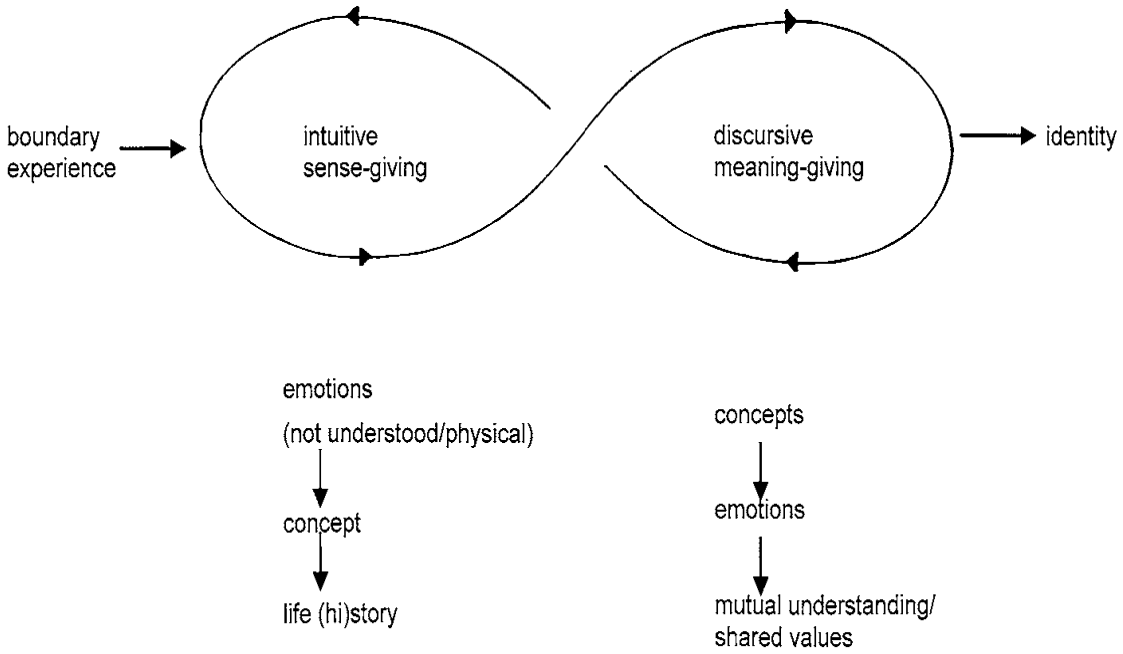

Figure 1. Identity as a learning process (Meijers, 2002).

Similar to regular and language teaching, CLIL teaching is a sociocultural phenomenon. In other words, it is not merely an individual endeavor, but also a quality of the particular collegial communities in which it is practiced (see Vygotsky, 1978). As such, it is lifelong process of professional development and learning in which the individual CLIL teacher and the CLIL teacher community alike take into consideration meanings and concepts in negotiating who they are as educators. On the one hand, this may be empowering in reaching a rounder professional identity as teachers, one that supports their well-being at work. On the other hand, this may cause boundary experiences that challenge a currently held sense of self within the profession and its respective community. The emotions that indicate and are employed in attributing meaning to such experiences are worth elaborating further in educational research. This study investigates on what emotions CLIL teachers experience and how they make sense of them in light of their teacher identity. In particular, we seek to examine:

1) What are the emotions present in Finnish primary school teachers' CLIL work?
2) What is the role of emotions in these CLIL teachers' identity negotiation?

3 Methods

3.1 Participants

Working at six different primary schools around Finland, thirteen CLIL teachers participated in the study. Twelve of these teachers were Finnish, while one was a teacher from another European country, using English as a foreign or additional language. All participants were female teachers and fluent in English, with varying teaching experience and fairly similar educational backgrounds (see Table 1). Their particular experience of teaching CLIL was not directly asked during the interview, yet it was evident from their responses that they identified themselves as CLIL teachers. Participants' familiarization with CLIL took place during their undergraduate studies, internship or change of school, and they generally shared a positive outlook on CLIL. All participating teachers were contacted via email. Information about the aims of the study was provided and a confidentiality form was signed prior to each interview.

Table 1. Information on participants.

Information on participants			
Teacher	**Qualifications**	**Preparation for CLIL**	**Years of experience**
1	class teacher	minor studies in English	1
2	class teacher	specialization in Music, Art and English	20
3	subject teacher; special education teacher	PhD, CLIL courses after starting teaching CLIL	30
4	class teacher	specialization in English	30
5	class teacher	learning CLIL from colleagues	20
6	class teacher	PhD, specialized in English and German	26
7	class teacher	minor studies in English	8
8	special education teacher	minor studies in English	13
9	early childhood teacher	specialization in English	21
10	class teacher	specialization in Music and English, CLIL teacher qualification exam	27
11	class teacher	specialization in English, in-service CLIL training	16
12	bilingual education teacher	BA in bilingual education, internship at bilingual school	5
13	class teacher	minor studies in English	3

3.2 Research approach and data collection

In order to examine emotions and their relation to teacher identity, the qualitative approach chosen sought to bring forward participants' own understandings and perception of their experiences as lived within particular social and relational contexts (Labuschagne, 2003). This study draws on data initially collected from October to December 2015 for the exploration of teachers' professional identity and agency. The semi-structured interviews conducted for these concepts were based on corresponding literature in educational and other

occupational contexts. In particular, questions were designed to address concepts in relation to biographical and idiosyncratic, contextual and socio-cultural facets of teachers' professional lives. The teachers' answers to these questions provided significant insights into their work as pedagogues, colleagues and professionals. Although there were initially only two questions directly related to emotions in CLIL, participants' responses indicated the presence of emotions throughout their professional lives. The open-ended questions asked included:

- What are the most cost common positive feelings you have when you teach CLIL? What are the most common negative ones?
- Do you feel like being the same teacher when you teach through a different language?
- How do you respond to changes at work that affect your day-to-day reality in the classroom?
- What are the challenges in CLIL teaching?
- How would you describe your relationships with colleagues at school?

To research emotions, we looked at emotion talk and emotional talk in participants' responses (Bednarek, 2009). Emotion talk was understood as the explicit reference to and naming of an emotion (e.g. anger, guilt, frustration). Emotional talk was understood as language indirectly related to and conveying an emotional experience. For example, we looked at affectively charged or stative language, implicit or explicit calls for validation or help, juxtapositions and metaphors (Golombek & Doran, 2014). Rather than representing the participants' internal affective state, emotion and emotional talk are considered discursive strategies that help construct a social reality (Bednarek, 2009).

3.3 Data analysis

The audiotaped material was transcribed by the first author. Written in Times New Roman, font 12, with single-line spacing and a break between each speaking turn, the transcripts yielded an average of 14 pages (10 to 20 pages). To identify patterns of emotional responses and identity negotiation, Braun and Clarke's (2006) model of Thematic Analysis was followed. The already familiar content was systematically coded in light of the research questions. After each code description, the codes were organized into seven subthemes and later into three main themes, i.e. emotions, self and community. We understood a theme as the implied unit comprising recurring patterns reflective of textual content (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016). Thus, 'defensive', 'empathy', 'perseverance' and other codes denoting strategic action were initially grouped under *agency*. This subtheme was joined along with that titled *identity* (comprising 'person' and 'profession') under the main theme *self*. To determine the relationship between emotions and identity negotiation, connections among the main themes were drawn according to internal relevance of their subthemes. Peer debriefing helped to regularly monitor and review data analysis, and reporting on research was supported by members' familiarity with the data and expertise in the concepts addressed (Creswell & Miller, 2000). No alterations were made to the either the recorded or transcribed data set, although repetitions, indicated by […], have been omitted from the presented excerpts for

easier reading. In the following section, the identified emotions and identity negotiation processes are reported.

4 Findings

In the first subchapter, we answer the first research question, outlining what emotions were expressed in CLIL teachers' interviews. Then, we answer the second research question, turning to the ways CLIL teachers used emotions within intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogue to negotiate their identity.

4.1 Negative and positive emotions

Although some participants' responses included emotionally ambiguous experiences, there were experiences that teachers shared which implied either more negatively or more positively accented emotions. That said, positively or negatively experienced circumstances do not necessarily trigger corresponding emotions, which subsequently translate into strictly positive or negative consequences for identity development. While emotions will be discussed in the following subchapters, it is worth noting that negatively accented emotions tended to derive principally from the curriculum and issues of time. On a secondary level, they derived from teachers questioning themselves as competent professionals as well as from their pupils' negativity toward CLIL. On the other hand, positively accented emotions overwhelmingly derived from CLIL and pupils' involvement, and secondarily from teachers themselves and from exercising their profession.

4.1.1 Negatively accented emotions

The most prevalent negatively accented emotions were a sense of hurry and frustration. Most participants (10/13) referred to feeling rushed and not having enough time to prepare properly for lessons or invest in social relationships at the workplace. This may have been aggravated by feeling deeply disappointed and dissatisfied with current situations at work. For instance, when asked to describe relationships and collaboration with colleagues at school, Teacher 9 explains that:

> because we have trainees in our school, so most of our time goes in our own classrooms, dealing with the trainees. So, we are very loaded with work like that. So, for example, part of the teachers go to the teachers [' room] once a day for coffee. *Once* a day. And some go even very seldom, because they are so busy. So we don't, like, see very often in that way.

While Teacher 9 talks about time-consuming tasks additional to those of teaching as such that do not afford the time to meet colleagues in general, let alone CLIL colleagues at work, Teacher 8 shows her disappointment with the inevitability of a packed timetable that limits her desire to offer more through CLIL:

> I would like to have a bit different schedule to be able to focus on different things. And at the moment, well, I'm a little bit unhappy, because of the language issues. I haven't been able to teach as much in English and also because I only have certain […] subjects for my

> class, so I think that it's very limited, the things that I can teach through English. I would like to do more, but at the moment my hands are kinda tied because there's so many, so many lessons that I have to teach in Finnish. […] So that's what I'm unhappy with.

Frustration seems to extend emotionally in the form of stress and pressure (3/13) as well as confusion and feeling overwhelmed (6/13). At the same time, participants felt pressure from changes they were struggling to deal with or from curricular/school expectations (e.g. completing 25% of the curriculum through CLIL instruction), they seemed to constantly worry about not having enough time to teach more in depth, particularly CLIL subjects. Moreover, some teachers felt disoriented with changes that came suddenly or felt lost in preparatory work, while others felt confused concerning the curriculum and the effect of language on one's teacher self. For example, talking about the perceived emphasis on technology in the curriculum, Teacher 2 describes it 'like a big wave, whoosh', making her feel 'like [she's] in a washing machine at the moment with all this' and the need to 'protect' her subject. Moreover, when Teacher 7 is asked why she thinks something changes when she starts speaking English, she claims:

> I don't know. […] I think it, kinda like, it's really hard. I haven't, kinda like, figured it out. It's something I've tried to think what it is. It's not that I would be scared or anything, but I don't know if it's my second persona or something. […] It's really hard to say. But I can't say that I'm definitely the same in Finnish as I am in English.

This is not echoed in all other participants' responses, yet shows how the involvement of a foreign language may sometimes create boundary experiences that put one's identity into question.

Participants may also have experienced feelings of regret in relation to certain situations and their being difficult to change (7/13). For instance, Teacher 5 reports students not speaking English together, but only to her; Teacher 7 regrets the changing Finnish culture and paucity of resources, especially in light of the more demanding 2016 curriculum; and Teacher 10 wishes for 'different kind of resources' that are not designed solely for native-English children. Moreover, although only Teacher 3 explicitly stated feeling angry with timetable management and subsequently guilty for acting out of character, six of the participants expressed irritation as a more transient or mild expression of anger, stemming from feelings of being restrained and charged with too much work. This may be understandable by not only the inherent difficulty of the teaching profession, but also the fact that teachers in Finland are paid for teaching hours, rather than according to a whole day model, when they are fulfilling educational needs that go beyond their traditional teacher role.

Within this emotional climate, some participants (5/13) raised concerns about being right for the teaching profession, having enough capabilities as a person, and adequate language skills. Self-doubting moments were sometimes coupled with anxiety about doing their job right (e.g. doing the right thing, doing something well enough). Other concerns were loneliness in doing CLIL (4/13), because of lack in sufficient collegial support at school, as well as a sense of vulnerability (3/13) originating in a perceived inadequacy of language skills, feeling that pupils' attitudes are volatile toward CLIL, and the belief that there isn't much one can do, but accept things as they come.

4.1.2 Positively accented emotions

The most prevalent positively accented emotions were contentment and empowerment. Almost all participants (11/13) felt efficacious and satisfied, mainly due to their pupils' accomplishments or progress, and their joy in CLIL lessons. These emotions were also strongly connected to participants' pedagogical methods and outcomes of their work, as well as their workplace or school placement. While this may hold true for teachers in general, it is even more so for CLIL teachers. CLIL itself becomes a tool or a lens for making sense of their work, and is situated in the recent 2016 curriculum and new demands. Thus, it becomes a concept that renders how and with whom CLIL teachers work meaningful. For instance, Teacher 8 states:

> I think the biggest change is that when you start teaching in alo- another language, you really need to take a look at how you do things and how you want to get things across. […] So, in that sense, really it is a tool for me. A tool for change, this teaching in English.

while Teacher 7 shares:

> I'm pretty happy with what I do, actually. […] But I think I've been observing my students and seeing different ways of leaning and encourage different strategies to learn and we use different kind of methods on learning and, and I've been trying to, kinda like, set some English words and phrases every now and then.

Coupling such an emotional experience with feeling able to exert influence over one's work either directly or indirectly, through CLIL, through in-service training, and being the teacher you want to be (10/13), can be very powerful motivation for continuing teaching CLIL (5/13). Teacher 8 posits:

> And I think it's good to get new challenges and- That's what I think, that this CLIL teaching, that's definitely a challenge, a new challenge. And I think you always, as a teacher, you always need new things that you get to work on, cause otherwise, you know, if you get bored as a teacher, you might as well quit.

Such feelings may be supported by a hopeful outlook (7/13) on the current state of things, CLIL in the future, pupils' overall learning, and participants' own professional development. Professional development, in particular, seemed to resonate with the participants, as they felt rewarded or confident about being effective or successful in doing CLIL (6/13), as well as excited about their work (5/13). This may have not only allowed the positive reception of the changes brought about with the 2016 curriculum or using new teaching methods, but also facilitated feeling that it is normal or natural (5/13) to use CLIL or a foreign language, and to experience difficulties in being a guide in pupils' (language) learning. Such emotional dispositions are exemplified in Teacher 2's experience:

> CLIL in a best way is just another tool to explore the world. So it would be so natural, kind of, way to connect with the other people. […] I think we have bridged something very important and wonderful when the children, we don't realize ourselves that the language changes and, especially with the children, so I can, I can see that, O.K., it changed, he or she changed the language and they didn't notice that, so it's so natural, natural tool.

Other participants implied feeling inspired by CLIL and its learning outcomes (6/13). For example, Teacher 9 related a visit from a former student she did not deem 'actually brilliant in English', but who was successful after secondary school; 'he was very good and he felt that it given him a lot, you know'. While some participants took pride in their own professional development and pupils' learning (4/13), many felt joy in response to pupils' attentiveness, enjoyment and achievement in CLIL (8/13). Last but not least, there was one participant (Teacher 10) who felt relief to have changed school, because her child attending the same school felt inappropriate. Although this is not directly linked to CLIL teaching, the relevance of having a comfortable balance between life and work can be significant for teachers if they are to concentrate on their work.

4.2 Negotiating emotions

As teachers' emotional responses varied in strength and range, so did their meaning for teacher identity negotiation. This subchapter attempts to explain how teachers themselves made sense of emotions and how their collegial community emotionally supports them in their work. As Meijers' (2002) model suggests, intuitive sense-giving, here understood as intrapersonal dialogue, represents the individual interpretation of an intuitively felt emotion in response to an experience. Discursive meaning-giving, here understood as interpersonal dialogue, represents the emotional experience discursively constructed in response to or through reflection on an experience. In CLIL teachers' responses, four ways of sense-giving appeared to be used more often, while the concept of the autonomous teacher and collegial cohesion at school seemed to be very influential in helping teachers cope with negatively accented emotions.

4.2.1. An intrapersonal dialogue

In participants' responses, four primary ways of sense-giving were recognized. Eleven teachers employed reasoning as a means to rationalize and make sense of situations and changes. Teacher 3, for example, tries to remind herself of the meaningful and rewarding nature of teaching at the same time she acknowledges teaching as core knowledge, despite not enjoying it as much as doing research:

> I've done research work and I have to say that, in a different way, I've enjoyed it more, in a way, and still, like, I might miss teaching, in a way. I kind of know how to teach, so I- I'm more comfortable when teaching and, uh, sometimes in classroom I, specially when you do kind of the main thing in the classroom, the core thing, there are the kind of rewards, uh, that make you understand why you do this, why- because it's, it's *deeply* meaningful.

The majority of teachers also explained how they relied upon themselves as a resource and built their confidence (9/13), while also persevering in the face of difficulties (9/13). For instance, they would change the teaching approach or material (Teacher 9), attempt to reason with pupils (Teacher 1), or simply be merciful towards themselves if a lesson plan did not work as anticipated (Teacher 6). Such actions point to the teachers' agentic practice, and indicate

flexibility in conjunction with practice-related and affective responsiveness on the part of these teachers (see also Pappa et al., 2017a).

In addition to self-reliance and resilience, teachers used empathy (8/13) to explain pupils' reluctance or rebelliousness in light of how difficult CLIL may be for them. While reflecting on her CLIL pupils, Teacher 7 says:

> I don't find it hard. I do find it somewhat challenging, because, […] I have four students who have difficulties in language development, even in their own first language. So then, of course, this teaching in another language is a whole different challenge for them.

Teacher 13 adds to this by saying that students 'don't believe […] in themselves and then using another language makes it even more difficult'. Such examples show how CLIL teachers can and should be sensitive to their pupils' difficulties and beliefs about themselves as learners. Yet, empathy extended to being understood by fellow teachers regarding one's emotions and lived situations in the classroom. For example, what helped Teacher 1 was '[t]o say it out loud, and then usually get practical ideas, like what you could do, or you just get support, like "Yeah, that happens, we understand"'. Not only sharing one's emotional experience with others, but also having it validated may help counter feelings of frustration and encourage those of normality.

Although it seems that few participants used the other five intrapersonal processes identified in their responses, they are worth mentioning, especially since three of them show dissonance. Only two teachers seemed to internalize changes and goals related to their CLIL teaching, by acknowledging and embracing them, while Teacher 9 used intuition as a tool for estimating pupils' coping and learning. However, four teachers exhibited an inquisitive attitude as to CLIL being worthwhile and the effect of the foreign language on teachers' behavior. While Teacher 6 ponders 'what kind of role you have in different languages. […] Do you think you're different? Do you act as students have thought?', Teacher 3 imparts that:

> there have been times when I have thought that is it worth it? Or is this natural? Or h-how do different children, what do they get out of it? […] Ah, lots of things went, kind of, through my mind during this, uh, lots of things. Yeah. Like why am I teaching?

Such reflective actions link CLIL to existential inquiries about one's professional identity and sense of purpose. Rather than deal directly with negatively accented emotions, they seek to make connections between the positively accented ones that shape teachers' practices and render them meaningful. However, there were three participants who responded defensively to parental, school and curricular expectations, while others (3/13) seemed to detach themselves physically and mentally from the school and happenings therein.

4.2.2 An interpersonal dialogue

On the level of the school, most teachers (12/13) addressed autonomy in a positive manner, indicating that the concept of the autonomous employee was part of the shared school culture. This concerned not only working according to one's beliefs and ethical principles, but also being free in pedagogical decision-making and following the curriculum without strictly following the book:

> it's possible to organize and, em, develop your work, what you do and how do- it's, it's so free. It's so free […] and I think that we all have some kind of ambitions to, you know […] to teach pupil better and better and, and to get them better work, so it's some kind of eagerness to things, like we do. (Teacher 6)

> I think the curriculum kinda gives you the building blocks and then, as a teacher, you kinda have the freedom of then maybe using those building blocks as, as you see fit. But you kind have to use all the building blocks, because that's not a choice that you can make. (Teacher 8)

This autonomy may be supported by the enthusiasm (6/13) or trust (3/13) invested in participants by the headteachers, the parents and colleagues, as well as a sense of safety (7/13) in the form of support from headteachers and colleagues as advisors or guides. Indeed, many teachers (8/13) expressed gratitude towards colleagues that have helped them in the beginning and along the way, or felt lucky for their current work placement. Teacher 13 characteristically says:

> So, learned a lot from [parents] as well. And from my colleagues. We have very good team here. The CLIL team. It's been amazing. [laughs] For the last two years.

The presence of the community in teachers' work is further evident in the acknowledgement of one another's work, ideas and potential (10/13). While belonging or negotiating that right to belong to their collegial community (i.e. both CLIL and subject teachers) and within their classroom (with pupils) was mentioned by many teachers (8/13), all participants experienced connectedness primarily with colleagues. Reiterating Teacher 6 and 11's experiences, Teacher 13 claimed that 'in the CLIL team we can share [...] our knowledge, […] share experiences and we can give ideas to each other'. Moreover, Teacher 10 explained how 'hopefully, with the new curricula, we will have new working groups inside this school and these CLIL class teachers will be one group'. The significance of such positive views on collegiality are underlined by Teacher 5's experience, who applied to be transferred to a CLIL teaching school, because she had no one to reflect on ideas with, while being the only one doing CLIL would even 'generat[e] *bad* feelings in [her] colleagues'. Through cooperation and the act of sharing, teachers co-constructed and made available the concept of the CLIL group that collaborates and shares the same principles. This, in turn, helped build rapport and made new and former members feel valued and included. Such a concept, coupled with that of the autonomous teacher, has the potential to strengthen feelings of empowerment or inspiration about what the CLIL projects teachers are working on as well as alleviate feelings of loneliness and rush.

5 Discussion

This study drew on Meijers' (2002) theoretical model to explore the presence of emotions in CLIL teachers' work lives and their role in identity negotiation. The predominant emotions were, on the one hand, hurry and frustration, and on the other hand, contentment and empowerment. Participants' intrapersonal dialogue mostly entailed reasoning, self-reliance, resilience, and empathy. Their

interpersonal dialogue mostly entailed the concept of autonomy and that of the CLIL team. Although this study was conducted within the Finnish context, in which teachers enjoy autonomy as professionals, we would argue that our findings can provide insights into the emotions involved in teacher identity development within other educational contexts as well. In this chapter, we discuss implications with regard to theory and practical considerations.

In terms of theory, the role of communal, discursive tools has to be more explicitly addressed in the intrapersonal dialogue. Although Meijers' (2002) model contrasts intuitive sense-giving with discursive meaning-giving, in the teacher identity negotiations examined here, discursive resources were extensively present in intuitive sense-giving processes as well as in discursive meaning-giving ones. This suggests that discursive tools are important in individual as well as in shared meaning-giving processes. Our findings highlight, however, the ways in which different discursive tools are used in intrapersonal sense-giving to those which are used in more explicitly interpersonal contexts. Therefore, although it may be analytically helpful, a mere distinction between the intrapersonal and the interpersonal is not sufficient. It should be complemented by a distinction between an individual using discursive tools from the wider context as an intrapersonal process, and an individual engaging with others to make sense of emotions as an interpersonal process. While we cannot altogether disregard the socially shared discursive tools in teachers' intrapersonal dialogue, we can differentiate between the different spaces within which they are being used as well as the different tools that are being used individually. What is more, in practice, intuitive and discursive processes of understanding emotion and negotiating identity are mutually constitutive, rather than reciprocal. The more these processes appear to merge, the more the convergence of the embodied and social nature of emotion is highlighted. Thus, the intuitive lens of interpretation should be made more explicit, while the discursive one should be more explicit and more flexible in shifting from individual to community, with one's life course underscoring identity negotiation.

The use of discursive tools in the intrapersonal dialogue for identity negotiation is made clearer when taking a micro view of present situations. Meijers' (2002) model on identity development adopts a more longitudinal perspective, whereas the teachers in this study offered shorter timeframes in which present and near-past events have been meaningful to them. This allowed seeing more clearly the use and significance of discursive tools in teachers' negotiation of emotions at work in light of their professional identity. For example, before becoming part of one's work history, positively and negatively accented emotions may be juxtaposed and evaluated through not only collectively upheld values and concepts, but also one's aims and sense of purpose. Intuitive sense-giving, then, comprises the felt with the perceived and envisioned. To enrich teacher identity with insightful meanings which go beyond contribution at an individual level, discursive practices can create space for mutual understanding by accepting the emotional complexity of CLIL teaching, and by fostering a culture of inclusion and inspiration (see also Moate, 2014). This is all the more important, because while discursive tools can be meaningfully used in teachers' intrapersonal dialogue, their use in interpersonal dialogue embedded in the community yields a broader picture of one's work. Nonetheless, for both dialogues to be fruitful the individual needs to be actively

engaged with the opportunities offered in the – ideally – collaborative community of practitioners (see also Pappa, Moate, Ruohotie-Lyhty, & Eteläpelto, 2017b).

Emotional responses ultimately hold both transformative and regressive potential for one's teacher identity, largely depending on how they are addressed by individual and community alike. As with professional identity research until fairly recently (e.g. Zembylas, 2003), emotions seem to be conceptually regarded in terms of a public-private dichotomy, according to which emotions, in practice, are seen as an individual's own resource or burden. Yet, as the teachers in this study were able to share, in the social networks of the workplace, while positively accented emotions can be a resource for the whole community, negatively accented ones can either inhibit learning and collaboration, or become a resource for collective change. CLIL, with its versatility and flexibility, allows for a range of emotions to be experienced, discussed and acknowledged. While this is important for validating teachers' emotions and, by extension, identity in CLIL teaching, it should also indicate that persistent considerations are a matter of much wider impact. Particularly the matters of time and collegial support invested in response to curricular goals, CLIL practice and CLIL provision across educational contexts are two such topics to reconsider. This extends to reassessing the Finnish school day, when Finnish teachers are expected to fulfill additional professional roles within a traditional system that fails to match effort with compensation. Moreover, while legitimizing the expression of emotional experiences like self-doubt, loneliness and vulnerability among CLIL colleagues may be liberating, their presence should be addressed by both local and national professional communities, as they affect wellbeing, efficacy and efficiency in CLIL teaching.

As far as teacher training is concerned, the connection between emotions and identity should be part of teacher education syllabi. One way of doing this is indirectly, such as by including emotions as a subtheme in courses. However, a more direct approach to this topic could prove more fruitful. This could be effected by lectures specifically on identity and emotions, accompanied by workshops, which would allow student-teachers room for self-exploration and projection. Aside from taking a dialogic approach to lectures, guided discussion sessions or reading circles could take place at the university in a formal or informal manner. Blog posting and subsequent online discussions could be an alternative solution, which would also connect student-teachers across universities, thus building a wide network of expression, inquiry and, possibly, support. The aim of these physical or virtual spaces would be to problematize one's notion of self as a teacher and to help student-teachers recognize emotions as part of their personal and professional life, eventually leading to a general preparedness for the emotional aspect of teaching in the form of openness to new experiences with a critical mind. Moreover, it would serve to make various discursive tools available to student-teachers early on as well as to make them more aware of their current positioning in relation to ongoing discourses in education. Such discourses should be identified, evaluated, and negotiated not only in relation to student-teachers' contemporary context, but also in comparison to foreign educational contexts. A further suggestion would be maintaining a reflective diary from the beginning of the teacher education program, spanning the whole study course. These reflective writings could also be part of student-teachers' portfolio compiled during practicum. Once teachers

have entered the profession with full classroom responsibility, and assuming that not all schools comprise a nurturing collegial environment, tutoring during those early induction years between the newly-appointed teacher and a young, yet more experienced, teacher could prove beneficial in self-regulation and professional self-awareness. Finally, methods or strategies for recognition and constructive management of emotions could be developed as a result of tighter cooperation between the department of teacher education and that of psychology, and made available to both pre- and in-service teachers.

In the future, research with a focus on emotions and identity negotiation could be complemented by classroom observations for a more detailed explanation of the interplay between emotion and identity. It can also be developed by widening the scope of the research, by taking a more explicit emotion-oriented approach to research design. In addition to that, although teaching is a female-dominated profession, male teachers' voices should also be heard within scientific discourse on emotions in teaching. Moreover, this study was conducted within a particular socio-cultural context. Although the emotions expressed might be shared with teachers in general, the participants' background and workplace colored their emotional experience and its interpretation on a personal and interpersonal level. Whether this experience and interpretation holds true for other settings, for example when teachers are obliged to implement a pedagogical innovation, and whether it raises the same issues for successful teaching, may be explored by further research into emotions in teaching under different working circumstances. Last but not least, the extent to which positive and negative emotions influence or are connected to shaping professional identity needs to be studied more in depth. For instance, intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues need not commence only when negative emotions constitute a boundary experiences that bring the self into question. Positive emotions or experiences should also be critically considered for their intrinsic or applied meaning as well as how aptly they are reflected in teachers' general and day-to-day courses of action. In addition, positive and negative emotions could be researched in light of teachers' years of experience in CLIL teaching. This study could not provide any specific information on the participants' years of CLIL teaching experience. The aim was to examine the emotions present in CLIL teachers' work, which may not necessarily be related to more or less teaching experience in CLIL per se. This, however, needs to be addressed in the future, as meaningful variations in emotional experiences between different career stages can bear on the shaping of teacher identity in CLIL. Despite its limitations, and taking into account what it intended to examine, this study highlights the connection of emotions and identity development in foreign-language mediated teaching. If we are to maintain teachers' job satisfaction and enhance the long-term viability of CLIL or, indeed, any pedagogical investment and professional change in teachers, addressing emotions should be on the agenda of educational and school policy.

6 Conclusion

This study does not claim to be comprehensive, but to make more prominent the need for sensitivity toward teachers' emotions and their influence on teachers' identity negotiation, when implementing a pedagogical innovation, such as

CLIL. More than complementary, intrapersonal and interpersonal dialogues serve as shared resources between individual and social elements present at the workplace. With emotions being present in both such dialogues, their expression among colleagues affords CLIL teachers the potential for validation and acknowledgement of their affective experiences, while it also allows for a shift of managing these experiences from the individual teacher to the school community teachers collectively sustain. Emotions are an integral part of CLIL teaching, whose attributed meaning and value affects teacher identity negotiation. Similar to other teaching, CLIL as a context for professional action and identity construction entails emotional experiences whose implications for the understanding and enactment of the professional self merit attention amidst the literary discussion on foreign language teaching.

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