The emotions of foreign language teachers in relation to students

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Tämä pro gradu -tutkielma on osa pitkittäistutkimusta, joka on seurannut 11 vastavalmistuneen vieraan kielen opettajan kehitystä noin kymmenen vuoden ajan. Seitsemän opettajaa jatkoi tutkimuksen parissa tänä vuonna ja uusimmat haastattelut toteutettiin keväällä 2014. Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli selvittää millaisia oppilaisiin liittyviä tunteita kieltenopettajilla on ja ovatko kyseiset tunteet mahdollisesti muuttuneet vuosien saatossa.

Tutkimus lähestyi tunteita relationaalisesta näkökulmasta. Sen mukaan tunteet ovat pääosin sosiaalisia ja syntyvät vuorovaikutuksessa ympäristön ja muiden ihmisten kanssa. Tunne on reaktio sosiaaliseen, ihmisen tärkeäksi kokemaan tapahtumaan ja tunne myös vaikuttaa ihmisen toimintaan. Relationaalinen lähestymistapa tunteisiin sopii koulumaailmaan, kun pohditaan opettajien ja oppilaiden välisiä suhteita.

Tutkimuksen aineisto koostui opettajien vanhoista ja uusista haastatteluista. Analyysissä käytettiin apuna dialogista laadullisen tutkimuksen metodia, joka mahdollisti kuvitteellisten dialogien luomisen osallistujien välille. Opettajien vastausten muokkaaminen dialogiksi myös tiivisti laajan aineiston helpommin lähestyttävään muotoon. Dialogeja tarkastelemalla löytyi viisi tunteisiin liittyvää teemaa: negatiiviset tunteet, sekalaiset tunteet, positiiviset tunteet, muutos tunteissa sekä käsitykset oppilaista.

Teemoja tarkastelemalla selvisi, että kieltenopettajien urien alkuvaiheita leimasivat negatiiviset tunteet oppilaita kohtaan. Positiiviset tunteet olivat läsnä kaikissa vaiheissa, mutta enenevissä määrin mitä pidempään opettajat olivat olleet työelämässä. Tunteissa näkyi muutoksia, esimerkiksi negatiiviset tunteet vähenivät ja laimenivat ajan myötä. Syinä tähän olivat muun muassa lisääntynyt oppilaantuntemus, ammatillinen kehitys ja perheellistyminen. Käsitykset oppilaista muuttuivat pikku hiljaa kokonaisvaltaisemmiksi ja tämä puolestaan vaikutti ymmärryksen lisääntymiseen oppilaita kohtaan.

Tulosten perusteella voidaan ehdottaa, että tunteita käsiteltäisiin enemmän aineenopettajakoulutuksessa. Esimerkiksi negatiivisten tunteiden kirjo ja voimakkuus tulivat usein yllätyksenä uraansa aloitteleville kieltenopettajille, joten niiden huomioiminen etukäteen voisi helpottaa ensimmäisten työvuosien henkistä taakkaa.

Asiasanat – Keywords emotions, relational approach, foreign language teacher

Säilytyspaikka – Depository

Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1   INTRODUCTION

Teachers experience a variety of positive and negative emotions daily during their careers. Teaching is indeed an emotional profession; it is a form of emotional labor requiring emotional understanding (Hargreaves 1998). The past few decades have witnessed an increased interest in teachers' emotions and the present study joins this area of research. The study is a part of a longitudinal research project in Finland, which investigates newly qualified foreign language teachers and their development. The project was originally started by Professor Pauli Kaikkonen and has been later continued by Tarja Nyman and Maria Ruohotie-Lyhty. They have studied the teachers' early years in the profession (Nyman 2009; Ruohotie-Lyhty 2011). Emotions were never the main interest in the studies, but since they were repeatedly described by the teachers, a study concerning emotions was conducted. Nyman & Ruohotie-Lyhty (2008) examined what kind of emotions the teachers experienced in the beginning of their careers. The present study continues to explore the topic, offering a longitudinal aspect to emotions. Ten years have now passed: has anything changed regarding the teachers' emotions?

Students are at the center of teaching and can have a great influence on teachers. It is not uncommon to hear teachers say that students are the best teachers. Countless shared moments in class undoubtedly affect teachers one way or another. Students can, for instance, generate strong emotions in teachers that influence even their career plans (Poulou 2007). To explore further the effect of teacher-student relationships, I have chosen teachers' emotions in relation to students the main focus for this study. Furthermore, the purpose is to find out whether these emotions change as the teachers move forward in their careers.

It is challenging to get a grasp of emotions scientifically due to their subjective and multifaceted nature. Also, emotions were mostly neglected in research during the twentieth century, since they were viewed as separate from reason, even interfering with it (Damasio 2005). It is still quite common to view emotions as irrational. At least in everyday speech emotions are disconnected from logical thinking: "use your brain, not your heart". Despite the undermining views in the past, emotions have gained ground in scientific research. There are various approaches to emotions one can choose from, ranging all the way from biological to cultural. Each approach has its own focus. For example, the psychological approach has been interested in emotions within the individual mind and brain (Keltner, Oatley & Jenkins 2014). In order to understand emotions teachers experience in relation to students, I have chosen an approach that recognises the social role of emotions: the relational approach. The relational approach means that emotions are understood as a social phenomenon in that they occur through interaction between the individual, the environment and other people. This approach recognises that whilst emotions can be experienced individually, nevertheless emotions indicate that the individual is in relation to someone or something other (Keltner et al. 2014). This approach works as a framework for this study and it will be looked at in detail in the next chapter.

The structure of this thesis will be the following. Chapter 2 discusses emotions and the relational approach further. It also introduces a definition for emotions and addresses the concepts of positive and negative emotions. Chapter 3 critically examines recent research related to emotions in teaching with a focus on teacher-student relationships. Emotions of language teachers in relation to students are discussed in Chapter 4. Studies reviewed in Chapter 3 and 4 focus mainly on secondary school teachers, since the language teacher context usually concentrates on secondary or higher levels. In addition, I have chosen studies from the current and past decade to further narrow the vast selection of literature related to teachers' emotions. Moving forward, the methodology of the present

study is explained in Chapter 5 and the results are introduced in Chapter 6. Finally, Chapter 7 discusses the results, including implications for further research.

2   EMOTIONS

As humans we all know what emotions feel like, unless we are unable to experience them, say, due to brain damage. We know what emotions are – yet emotions are challenging to define. Since Darwin, researchers have tried to come up with a proper definition for emotions. While attempting to define emotions, research has focused on investigating the inner experience: what happens in the human body when emotions occur (Campos et al. 2011). This intrapersonal approach has dominated emotion research for decades. Even though emotions have been examined from various points of view in the past, the main interests have been the human body and brain. The psychological and biological approaches, for example, have been particularly interested in the bodily effects of emotions. (Keltner et al. 2014).

Despite the earlier dominance of the intrapersonal approach, there has been a growing interest in a more social approach: the relational approach. This is a rather modern approach, differing from the previous ones by being interpersonal instead of intrapersonal. The interpersonal dimension changes the earlier focus of research from individual to social. According to the relational approach, besides being experienced individually, emotions are seen as occurring between people (Keltner et al. 2014; Campos et al. 2011). By viewing emotions as mainly social, this approach explains what causes emotions and why they occur, whereas the intrapersonal approach focuses more on the physical effects emotions have on us. Both approaches to emotions are needed, yet the relational one is more useful in this case due to the nature of the study.

Before being able to define emotions, we have to take a closer look at the relational approach. After all, the definition for emotions always depends on the

approach and the field of study. Therefore the following section discusses the relational approach further, introducing briefly its history and some current ideas. Section 2.2 then defines emotions according to the relational approach.

2.1   The relational approach to emotions: a brief history

The relational approach[1] has a history of roughly three decades. It has its roots in the functionalist approach, which emphasizes the connection between emotions and what a person is trying to do. The functionalists already saw emotions as social, highlighting the connection between the person and the environment. (Campos et al. 1994). Perhaps two of the most cited scholars whose ideas have shaped our understanding of emotions towards a more social approach are Hochschild (1983) and Lazarus (1991). Hochschild (1983) considered emotions a sense similar to hearing or sight, through which we make sense of the world. Lazarus (1991) was close to functionalism describing emotions as reactions to relationships with the (typically social) environment. Both views emphasised the social nature of emotions and considering emotions as social is now known as the relational approach.

At the moment the relational approach is being promoted by many scholars. In the most recent edition of their book, Keltner et al. (2014) represent a relational approach to emotions. According to them, emotions are related to action, and are for the most part social. The relational approach has been supported also by, for instance, Campos et al. (2011: 3). They argue in favour of the social aspect of emotions as follows: "What makes a relational view of the study of emotion

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[1] The term 'relational' can, and has, varied depending on the context. Nevertheless, the terminology suggests that there is a social foundation for emotions, whether emotions are referred to as, for example, *sociocultural constructions* (Lupton 1998: 15) or *social movements* (Fischer and Van Kleef 2010).

essential is the simple reality that the human being is embedded in a context that is primarily social." Campos et al. (2011) describe emotions as registrations of important events, and these registrations then generate an effect in the person.

2.2 Defining and understanding emotions from the relational point of view

My current understanding of emotions follows the ideas of Campos et al. (2011). According to them, emotions are our responses to social events of importance to us and these responses influence our actions. This definition is suitable when investigating teachers, since social events take place non-stop in the school environment. Furthermore, not only occurring in settings with other people, emotions are often visible to others and regulated because of our relation to others (Fischer and Van Kleef 2010). To clarify how emotions work according to the relational approach, here are two personal examples from classroom situations:

Example no. 1
A student says something nice to the teacher (social event).
The teacher smiles and feels happy (response=emotion).
The teacher talks to the whole class in a nice manner (action).

In this example a social event takes place as the student says something nice to the teacher. The teacher registers this as an important event and a response, an emotion, arises and makes her smile. Experience of happiness affects the teacher and causes her to talk nicely to the whole class. It is worth noting, that if the teacher had not appreciated the student's words, no particular emotion would have occurred.

Example no. 2
The teacher gives corrective feedback to a student (social event).
The student gets mad and upset (response=emotion).
The student violently pushes a desk and threatens the teacher (action).

The second example begins with the teacher giving corrective feedback to a student. The student finds this feedback important and therefore registers the event. This event raises a negative response and the student starts to feel upset. The anger affects the student's behavior and he begins to act violently. Once again, if the student had not cared about the teacher's feedback, he might have just sat still. After all, according to Campos et al. (2011), emotions occur if the social events matter to us.

The preceding two examples have hopefully clarified the way emotions work from the relational point of view. I do not suggest, however, that emotional responses are the only ways of responding to social events, nor are they always acceptable. Understanding the role of emotions and the way they work can, however, help us regulate them and recognise the role they play in our relationships with others in pedagogical settings.

2.3   Positive and negative emotions

Other concepts related to emotions that will appear later in this study are positive and negative emotions. This division is often the case. It is worth mentioning, however, that emotions usually serve a purpose – even the negative ones. Kokkonen (2010: 11-14) gives examples of the various possible purposes of both positive and negative emotions. Love makes us want to spend time with people dear to us, shame can help to restrict socially undesirable behavior and

jealousy can fuel ambition. When addressing emotions as positive or negative, the established, understandable terminology is being used. Calling emotions positive or negative does not imply that some emotions are better or more useful than others. Still, if the volume and quality of a particular emotion does not match with the situation at hand, the emotion can be regarded as useless (Kokkonen 2010). In this sense, emotions are not always useful.

3 TEACHERS' EMOTIONS IN RELATION TO STUDENTS

Research on teachers' emotions in general education has a number of directions, focusing for example on emotional labour, professional identity and educational reforms. In the 1990s and early 2000s the works of Hargreaves (1998, 2000) and Nias (1996) drew attention to teachers' emotions. Since then, the significance of emotions in teaching has been acknowledged progressively. Next, I shall discuss some studies focusing on teachers' emotions in relation to students from the current and past decade due to the limited space in this study. The studies chosen represent the relational approach to emotions.

The emotions teachers experience in relation to their students have been studied recently by a number of scholars. At times the emotions regarding students have been examined indirectly, since they have not been the original main interest of these studies. For example Zembylas (2004) conducted an ethnographic case study of one experienced primary school teacher in order to examine the emotional characteristics of teaching. The topic was to some extent open, set out to seek any emotional aspects of teaching. The data included field notes, video recordings, interviews, emotion diaries and teaching documents and it was gathered during three years. The vast data was then analysed using coding. Three themes regarding emotions were discovered, describing the teacher's emotions as evaluative, interpersonal and political. The interpersonal aspect concerned primarily students: the teacher's emotions were for the most part related to the relationships in the classroom. The relational aspect of emotions had an effect on the teacher's decision-making and planning, since emotions informed the teacher whether she should change something in her teaching. Although the study portrayed only one teacher, its strength is the longitudinal

aspect, which gives the reader an in-depth view of the different characteristics of emotions related to teaching.

In contrast to Zembylas' study (2004), Hargreaves (2000) investigated a large group of teachers. Hargreaves compared the emotional geographies of 53 primary and secondary school teachers. By emotional geographies he means the "spatial and experiential patterns of closeness and/or distance in human interactions and relationships". The approach to emotions in the study was relational, as emotions were explained to exist in interpersonal relationships. The data consisted of 1-1.5 hour interviews, which were then inductively analysed with the help of a computer program. After the coding the data was grouped into larger themes. The findings suggested that primary school teachers experienced both positive and negative emotions in classrooms, but the emotions were more intense than those of secondary school teachers. In the secondary level, the emotional connection in teacher-student relationships had a major influence on teachers' work, affecting almost everything the teachers did. In addition, the results acknowledged how difficult it can be for secondary school teachers to have close relationships with their students due to large groups and curriculum policies. The diverse sample of participants can be considered one of the strengths of this study. However, I would question the fruitfulness of comparing primary and secondary school teachers, since the teaching contexts are fairly different from one another. The nature of the relationships teachers have with children in primary school is inevitably more nurturing. On the other hand, contrasting the two can help to uncover the reasons behind the differences in teachers' emotions in primary and secondary levels.

Secondary school teachers' relationships with their students have been examined recently also in the light of job satisfaction (Veldman et al. 2013). Although the study examined job satisfaction, one could say that it studied emotions, since satisfaction can be regarded as a result of positive emotions. The four participants

in this case study were all experienced secondary school teachers with high job satisfaction. Data was gathered using a narrative-biographical method, as the teachers were interviewed once. The interviews were then combined with the data on students' perceptions of teacher interaction. The students' perceptions had been collected via a questionnaire beforehand. The findings suggested that good relationships the teachers had with their students were a significant source of teachers' job satisfaction. Furthermore, teachers could obtain high job satisfaction even if students did not share the teacher's perception of a good teacher-student relationship. Similarly to the previously discussed literature, this study highlights the important role the teacher-student relationships have on teachers' emotions. However, little is said about *how* exactly the teachers maintained the relationships that had such a positive effect on their emotions and professional well-being. Analysing how experienced teachers with high job satisfaction interact with students could offer valuable information for teacher education.

How teachers actually care for their students is a question that has been looked at recently by O'Connor (2008). In O'Connor's study emotions were considered social in nature and the focus was on the teachers' affective interactions with students. O'Connor examined three mid-career secondary school teachers and their emotional experiences using a series of two semi-structured phenomenological interviews. Limited information is given with regard to the analysis, except the mention that the first interviews implied areas of focus for the second interviews. The results indicated that caring about students was an essential part of the teachers' work, being both motivating and demanding. Emotions involving kindness and caring were a necessity for work. Still, to be kind and to care was also a professional choice the teachers made. All in all the study gives a detailed look into the emotional, caring, professional lives of the participants, demonstrating the effect teacher-student relationships had on the teachers. The study does not, however, explore questions about the possible lack

of caring. Perhaps a larger sample would be needed in order to reveal a more varying scale of emotions related to caring for students.

In their review, Spilt, Koomen and Thjis (2011) introduced studies that recognise also the negative emotions of teachers. The review examined the significance of teacher-student relationships for teacher well-being, using the Transactional Model of Stress and Coping by Lazarus (1991) as a starting point. The review used empirical evidence to highlight the relevance of teacher-student relationships in understanding teachers' emotional experiences. Several theoretical approaches were introduced, ranging from the attachment theory to mental relationship models. Spilt, et al. (2011) pointed out the fact that even though humans have a basic psychological need for relatedness, there are differences in the depth of this need. Not all teachers experience caring emotions related to their students in the same way. Furthermore, not all teachers develop caring relationships with every student. This aspect of variation in emotions seems to be occasionally neglected in the literature.

4   FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHERS' EMOTIONS IN RELATION TO STUDENTS

Based on the literature reviewed, it is evident that teacher-student relationships make a considerable contribution to teachers' emotions. This, surely, applies to language teaching context as well. Still, there is limited research on foreign language teachers' emotions related to students. One study of this kind was conducted by the researchers responsible for the longitudinal project mentioned in the introduction. Nyman and Ruohotie-Lyhty (2008) investigated the emotions of eleven newly qualified foreign language teachers in Finland. The approach in the study was phenomenological. Emotions were described as functional as well as relational. Data consisted of at least two interviews per teacher and the interviews were conducted during the first few years of the teachers' careers. The analysis focused on the parts in the interviews in which the teachers referred to emotions. The purpose of the study was to discover what kind of emotions the teachers described and what topics did these emotions concern. Four major themes were found: teachers' emotions were related to teaching, students, parents and colleagues. The findings were consistent with those from general education, since a large variety of emotions was related to the teacher-student relationships. Some of these emotions were positive, including emotions related to caring for students and empathising with them. Other emotions related to students were more negative consisting of, for example, disappointment, annoyance and fear. Often the negative emotions were, however, related to interactions with colleagues and parents. All in all, experiencing a variety of emotions was considered both empowering and exhausting for the teachers. The study gives a comprehensive look into the emotional lives of novice foreign language teachers, even though there were more data on some of the participants

than there were of others. Nevertheless the minimum of two interviews per teacher gives an extensive amount of material for analysis.

English is taught worldwide and therefore the rest of the chapter focuses on emotions of teachers of English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Research on emotions in the EFL context has focused often on learners, investigating for example anxiety (Na 2007; Liu and Jackson 2008; Thompson and Lee 2013). Despite the little attention EFL teachers' emotions have had, some scholars have pioneered in the field. Recent studies on EFL teachers' emotions have focused for example on stress experienced by native vs. non-native teachers (Mousavi 2007) and emotional intelligence (Rastegar and Memarpour 2009). Two studies from the current decade (Cowie 2011; Xu 2013) address EFL teachers' emotions related to students. These studies are discussed in the following.

Cowie (2011) examined the role of emotions in the professional lives of nine experienced EFL teachers in Tokyo universities. The data consisted of a series of three phenomenological interviews, the last one of which concentrated on emotions. The interviews were analysed using content analysis with a categorical-content perspective. The content categories were defined, material was sorted into the categories, and conclusions were drawn from the results. The findings suggested that a considerable amount of the teachers' emotions were related to students, involving themes such as emotional warmth, student progress, anger, and teachers as moral guides. Emotions towards students were found more positive than emotions towards colleagues and institutions. According to Cowie, emotions are a significant part of EFL teaching. In addition, Cowie proposes that emotional warmth towards students and collaborative teacher talk ought to be encouraged. The study is limited to a higher education context with experienced participants. Furthermore, addressing and discussing a major key concept, emotion, is left out. Still, the analysis in the study has been

carried out thoroughly and reliably adding knowledge to the field of EFL teachers' emotions.

Instead of an expert point of view, Xu (2013) investigated the emotional experiences of three novice male TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) teachers. The participants were Chinese and came from the same middle school (senior high school). Xu adopted the framework of emotional geographies by Hargreaves, including political, moral and physical aspects of emotions. The teachers were examined using narrative inquiry and the data consisted of two semi-structured interviews and self-reflection journals of the teachers. The transcribed interviews were sent back to the participants to be checked for any misunderstandings. After revisions, Xu used content analysis and found four major themes surrounding emotions: interaction with students, parents, colleagues and administrators. The relationships with students were sources of joy and satisfaction, particularly when involving care, love and friendship. Negative emotions related to students, such as anger and frustration, were also acknowledged as a part of the emotional lives of the teachers. Based on the results Xu suggests further research on teachers' emotions in other socio-cultural contexts. In addition, emotional preparation for teacher training is proposed. The study gives a voice to male teachers thus offering valuable insights into the emotions of a minority among EFL teachers. The findings contribute to the significance of emotional awareness of teachers and requests attention for emotions in teacher education. However, the study is limited to a certain cultural context and one school. Also, it offers only a novice teacher point of view.

Overall, it appears that foreign language teacher emotion research lacks a longitudinal perspective. The present study aims at providing knowledge longitudinally therefore beginning to fill the current gap in knowledge.

5   THE STUDY

This qualitative study aims at understanding foreign language teachers' emotions in relation to students and the possible changes in those emotions over the years. The study is a part of an on-going, longitudinal research project investigating eleven newly qualified foreign language teachers and their development. The project began in 2004 and during that decade the teachers wrote essays and they were interviewed 2-4 times. Emotions were never the main theme in the interviews. Instead, the teachers were mostly asked about their everyday life at work. Studies drawn from the data have concerned themes related to pedagogical thinking, agency and professional development (Nyman 2009; Ruohotie-Lyhty 2011). Also, as mentioned earlier, one study examined the emotions of the teachers (Nyman & Ruohotie-Lyhty 2008). Now, ten years after the first interviews, the research project continues as new interviews took place spring 2014.

5.1   The participants and ethics

Seven of the original eleven teachers were able to continue in the project this year. The participants currently work in primary, secondary, upper secondary and vocational schools. The participants have given a written consent in the beginning of the project allowing their answers to be used for research purposes. The longitudinal nature of the project has also been explained to them. All the names as well as a few of the word choices of the participants have been changed in order to protect their anonymity.

5.2 Data

Data consisted of both the previous and the most recent interviews with the seven teachers. The previous interviews took place annually between 2004 and 2008 when the teachers were in the beginning of their careers. There were 2-4 interviews per teacher. The average duration of the interviews was 1-1.5 hours and the language used was the participants' mother tongue, Finnish. The most recent interviews took place in spring 2014. Along with the two researchers behind the project, I interviewed the participants using a semi-structured interview. The interviews were similar to the previous ones and again emotions were not specifically focused on, nor were they asked about directly. I was confident that the teachers would naturally bring up emotions concerning students and if not; I could then ask more specific questions. I did have to ask some detailed questions, but they were not directly about emotions. One of the seven interviews failed to record due to a technical malfunction. Therefore we, that is the three interviewers, made notes immediately after the interview and later combined our reports. All the other interviews were transcribed verbatim, following the style Nyman & Ruohotie-Lyhty (2008) used in their study.

5.3 Methodology and research questions

This study represents a dialogical approach to qualitative analysis, adapting one of Sullivan's (2012) methods. He introduces a re-writing technique inspired by Bakhtin, which puts different participants' answers and views in dialogue with each other. This is done by choosing quotes, or 'sound bites', and re-arranging them into the form of dialogue. I chose this approach, because I wanted to use a method which would allow a dialogue between the past and the present. Not only using the re-writing method between the participants, I first created

dialogues for each individual participant, making their previous and current ideas communicate. To illustrate this method, shortened examples of these dialogues can be found in Appendix A. I had a vast amount of data and being able to present it compactly in the form of short dialogues assisted me in detecting possible changes in the emotions. The research questions guiding the actual analysis were:

1) What kind of emotions related to students do the teachers describe?
2) Do the emotions related to students change as the teachers' careers progress?
3) What are the reasons behind the possible changes?

5.4 Analysis

The analysis contained six steps. The following section explains every step and finally a summary of the analysis is found at the end of the section (Figure 1).

I read the interviews one teacher at a time and marked all the parts in the transcriptions that concerned the teachers' emotions related to students (Step 1). From those parts I chose the most informative ones to act as sound bites. I translated the sound bites into English, trying to capture the tone in the originals. To improve fluency I cut away any hesitations and filler words (Step 2). Then, I arranged each teacher's sound bites into an imaginary dialogue between the "novice teacher" and the "current teacher" (Step 3). This technique helped to compare the early thoughts and emotions of each teacher to their current ideas. As mentioned before, short examples of these dialogues can be found in Appendix A.

Later, I compared all of the seven individual dialogues and tried to discover what they had in common. Some issues were clearly present in each dialogue. Eventually, five broader themes could be categorised: negative emotions, mixed emotions, positive emotions, change in emotions and perceptions of students (Step 4). I also made some calculations: I counted the references to negative, mixed and positive emotions interview by interview, then calculating them year by year (Step 5). This way the number of references could be presented in a table, seeing also quantitatively whether changes had taken place. Since only some of the teachers had been interviewed more than three times, I only made the calculations based on the three interviews everyone had participated in: the first, second and final interviews. I labelled the interviews as Interview 1, Interview 2 and Interview 5.

Having done the counting and identifying the five themes, I re-wrote a dialogue between the participants under each theme. In other words, I chose the most interesting sound bites regarding each theme and arranged them to appear as a dialogue (Step 6). During the re-writing process I had to edit the dialogues many times in order to make them as fluent as possible. Going back to the original interviews was sometimes necessary to make sure I had not lost the initial meanings of the sound bites. All the participants were involved "discussing" each theme. However, it ought to be remembered that the dialogues only try to imitate actual conversations, but are not real. They are merely tools which help to understand the bigger picture around the teachers' emotions. The voices in the dialogues are basically quotes from the original interviews, since minimum changes have been made, if any.
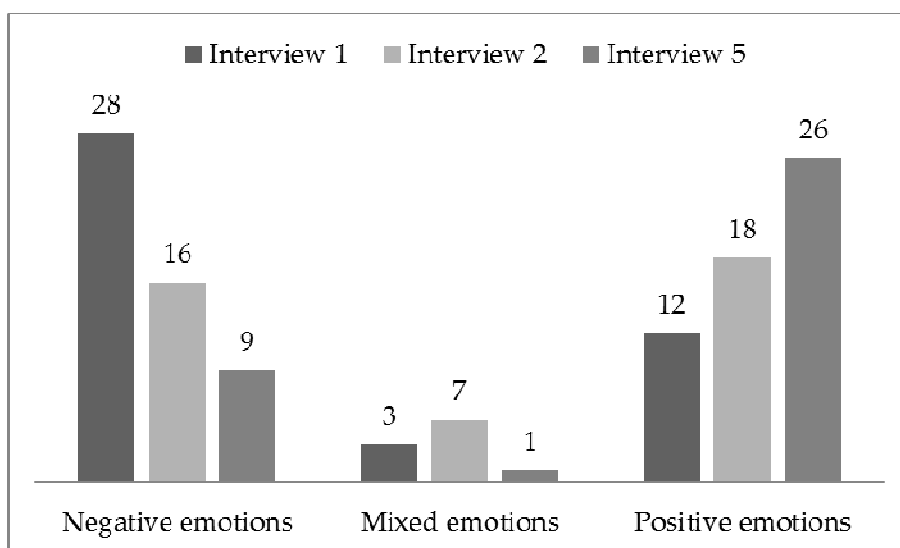
Figure 1. A summary of the analysis step by step.

Step 1	Marking all the references to emotions related to students.
Step 2	Choosing sound bites out of the references and translating them.
Step 3	Re-writing dialogues for each teacher (previous vs. current ideas).
Step 4	Comparing the dialogues, finding 5 themes.
Step 5	Counting the number of references to negative, mixed and positive emotions.
Step 6	Re-writing new dialogues under each of the 5 themes.

6 RESULTS

First of all, the emotions the teachers experienced in relation to students were varying. Negative, mixed and positive emotions were described throughout the interviews over the years. Secondly, the emotions did change. To illustrate this, Figure 2 depicts the amount of references to certain emotions in Interview 1, Interview 2 and Interview 5. There is a steady decline in the number of negative emotions mentioned, whereas mentions of positive emotions increased. Mixed emotions were talked about mostly in the second interview.

Figure 2. Emotions compared.

In order to reach a better understanding of the nature of these emotions and the reasons behind them changing, each of the themes is now introduced with the help of the dialogues between participants. There is a short introduction before and a further analysis after each dialogue. The number in brackets after each line represents the interview: whether the sound bite is taken from the first (1), second (2), third (3), fourth (4) or latest fifth (5) interview.

6.1 Negative emotions

In the early interviews negative emotions related to students were often mentioned. The volume and nature of these emotions had surprised some of the teachers. This dialogue was created using sound bites from the early interviews, since the teachers' descriptions of negative emotions were the most informative during that period. The dialogue illustrates the scale of negative emotions from the beginning of the teachers' careers.

Jenna   Somehow students demand a lot from the teacher. Almost as if the teacher is their servant. (1)

Taina   They have less manners than I had expected and I am amazed daily how the students can be so mean and ignorant about everything. (1)

Saila   It irritates me when some students come to class and think they will get off easy as if nothing needs to be done and they are just not bothered. (2)

Tuuli   To be honest, students are lazy. I thought it was bad in my previous job, but here it is unbelievable. It's a miracle if someone has done their homework. (2)

Jenna   It is awful to teach passive groups. (1)

Taina   I don't mind, if a student has poor skills, but when they really do nothing, when they make no effort whatsoever, that is the most irritating thing in class. (3)

Jenna   I remember that autumn, when there were such lessons, and I was like "oh shoot it's this again"! Those emotions were new to me. (1)

Anu   They were strange emotions, that I could hate a student. (1)

Reetta   If it happens, that you have to nag and tell the students off all the time "be quiet, be quiet", then it gets irritating and almost gives you a headache, when you are grumpy and things aren't working, then it's not nice, it won't work. (2)

Taina   If my future career would be like this in secondary school… it cannot be the purpose of life, for me to be upset almost every day because I have to patrol and nag and get a headache because a student is winding me up. I thought: I cannot take this anymore, how can it be like this? (1)

Tuuli   Unfortunately here you often feel like: does this make any sense for either side? (3)

Anu   Young kids downtown have started to irritate me more. I have perhaps become more cynical towards teens, not everyone, you cannot generalise, but towards some. (3)

Tuuli   I could list a number of curse words here, but yeah, the upbringing should have been taken care of already, preferably at home. (3)

Linnea   Sometimes I seriously think about how I'm going to be able to do this until I retire. (1)

As seen above, the negative emotions were at times strong, including anger and disappointment. These emotions were mostly related to students' lack of behaviour and passiveness. Also, the teachers were sometimes disappointed in the extra work: they were not allowed to be foreign language teachers, since a great amount of time and energy was consumed by classroom management. Moreover, frustration was often present in the secondary level since the teachers' had to spend time parenting. However, it seemed that the emotions were always tied to a certain group or individual students. As can be seen in Figure 2, it did not matter whether it was Interview 1 or Interview 5: negative emotions could be present any time. All in all the negative emotions, especially in the early years, affected the teachers' ability to cope. The teachers were occasionally exhausted.

6.2   Mixed emotions

All of the teachers described emotions towards students as varying. As seen in Figure 2, mixed emotions were especially mentioned during the second year in the profession. Therefore, it is natural that most of the sound bites are from the second interview or with some of the participants the third interview.

Tuuli   Sometimes a lesson goes really well and you can feel satisfied a long time after, until you experience a poorer lesson. (2)

Jenna   At times it is so wonderful to teach. When you have many nice lessons in a row, you feel great; it's lovely to be a teacher. Then you face a group of students with no motivation, and they behave terribly. You simply readjust and try to be stricter next time. The emotions vary from side to side. (3)

Tuuli   Occasionally you feel furious, like "help!", and other times you are so happy over a ridiculously small thing. (3)

Taina   Luckily it's not only me whose mood swings from lesson to lesson. (2)

Anu   There are two sides of the same coin; sometimes they give me so much strength so I can carry on. And from time to time I feel like I walk to the storeroom boiling with fury and would like to smack things around. Sometimes one person can drive me mad and other times cheer me up like never before. (2)

Saila   The group I have been working with is mainly nice, but there is this one student, who I would like to throw to the wall every single time we meet. I cannot understand how a person comes in with an "I couldn't care less" attitude. (2)

Anu   You dare to show your positive emotions, but not the negative ones. (3)

Linnea   But they know me. They know that I might lose my nerves sometimes and the next time I'll be in a good mood. They know how to deal with it. (2)

Taina   They can tell by the look at my face whether I am in a good or bad mood and when I am going to snap. One day it's fun with them, and the next day it's something else. (2)

Reetta   The students you know yourself, are nice, but I cannot claim that I am excited about every student. (2)

Anu   I have learned to get on with it. After all, not everybody likes me, so I don't have to like everybody. (5)

Tuuli   It's mainly that they're unable to be quiet, but it's not that big of a deal. (1)

Reetta   But when you are with them in class, you just cope somehow, you always do. (5)

As seen in the dialogue, the emotions varied sometimes from lesson to lesson. Occasionally individual students would trigger the emotions and other times a

whole group was behind the changing moods. Knowing the students was often the key for positive emotions, while unfamiliar students could generate irritation. Emotions of students were seen as varying too, affecting the teacher as well. The mixed, varying emotions of teachers and students brought a level of uncertainty to the teachers' lives – one could not always predict what was going to happen and what the atmosphere in each lesson was going to be like.

6.3   Positive emotions

Positive emotions in relation to students were mentioned throughout the interviews over the years and some of the teachers talked more about the positive emotions in their latest interview compared to the earlier ones. These sound bites are from across the teachers' careers. Arranging them was straightforward, since many teachers had similar experiences of positive emotions and they complemented one another.

Jenna   It is rewarding to notice, that students liked something. And things they say can be rewarding. (1)

Linnea   When both I and the students feel relaxed, that is most rewarding. (2)

Taina   It is immensely rewarding to be yourself with students, be relaxed and do things calmly. It gives you so much. (2)

Reetta   I think I can connect with the students rather well. (1)

Anu   Some groups are almost like your own children, in a way that you are really close to them. (3)

Jenna   Students bring you satisfaction. To see them develop. Or just the joy and enthusiasm they have in their eyes. (5)

Saila   When you see that your students are excited, even just a little, at least from time to time, it is important because that keeps your own enthusiasm going. (2)

Tuuli   If everybody has been in a good mood and things run smoothly, that cheers you up. (1)

Reetta   You feel better, when the students are happy about the stuff they have learned. (2)

Tuuli   In my opinion they give you a lot. (5)

Taina   Mostly the students are really nice. In that sense, it is always nice to come to work and class. (5)

Anu   I put them first. Surely colleagues are important, but students are even more important. I work with them, more than I work with teachers. (5)

Reetta   They are quite important people, after all I would not have a job without them. And they are such a joy sometimes. (2)

Jenna   They demand and affect your mood, but I feel like they are the reason for me being here. Partly they are so lovely and I think the challenging students are wonderful to work with too. (3)

Taina   They are mainly good guys. (5)

Saila   They are such. Such dear sweethearts. (5)

Often a relaxed atmosphere and easygoing interactions with students were satisfying for the teachers. The teacher-student relationships clearly mattered and when smooth, they were considered rewarding. Also the students' enthusiasm and development brought about positive emotions for the teachers. All in all students were found mostly important and frequently sources of joy. The students were, ultimately, the spice of the teachers' work life.

6.4   Change in the emotions

As seen in Figure 2, the negative emotions decreased interview by interview while the positive ones increased. In this dialogue, some of the reasons behind

the changes are present. Some changes are taking place already in the second interview.

Saila   At first I was like shut up, of course I did not say that, but now I perhaps chill a bit more, like go in one ear and out the other. (2)

Taina   Compared to last year, I let stuff pass more easily. I'm not left worrying about things they say. (2)

Linnea   As long as they pretty much behave and do not hassle about, I am satisfied. That has changed. It's easier to loosen up when you have been strict at first. (2)

Anu   You know, the emotions have become milder, the negative ones. The positive emotions are sometimes rather strong, but these negative emotions, they are less and less present. Those emotions turn a lot milder, once you get to know the students. (5)

Linnea   Sometimes I think it would be good, that teachers would know more about students, in order to be more sensitive. When something has happened at home and we don't know about it, those are awkward situations. (2)

Tuuli   Actually I am somewhat interested in how the students are doing. (4)

Reetta   And I might be a bit more interested in the students nowadays. (5)

Linnea   Perhaps I have gained a better understanding of their lives. (2)

Jenna   You cannot do this job if you don't do it with your heart. I have noticed it many times this autumn after a challenging lesson. (3)

Taina   In a way I miss comprehensive school: even though they are undisciplined, the lessons are filled with life and energy, which is good on the other hand. (3)

Reetta   I mean if the language learning won't work with some of them is it really such a disaster, you don't have to get depressed over it. (5)

Anu   I have become more relaxed regarding this issue. I have become more understanding. (5)

Tuuli   What comes to behaviour issues and such, I just think that anything can happen and you deal with it one way or another. (5)

Jenna	The biggest change for me has been putting things in perspective. You consider: what is the significance of this for the child or teen? So that it isn't just my professional ambition at stake. In this issue I have grown. (5)
Tuuli	I don't take this job so seriously anymore, because well, I have a family now. (5)
Reetta	I would start to think, that I had been a safe adult to some of them, something they had not had at home. I had not realized this before. (2)

Like Mary described, the negative emotions tended to become milder over the years. Many issues affected this: getting to know the students better, professional development and having a family. The teachers themselves described a change: they took their job less seriously and became more relaxed and understanding. "In with one ear and out the other" was an attitude many had acquired. Some mentioned an increased interest towards students which worked in the teachers' advantage, as they could build closer relationships with them.

6.5   Perception of students

The perceptions of students clearly affected the teacher's emotions towards them. The following dialogue presents some of the comments the teachers made about their students. For some of the teachers, perceptions changed and broadened.

Taina	The students are guinea pigs at this stage. In a way they are tools for work. (3)
Linnea	I try to notice students as individuals. Students are the main thing in this job. (5)
Reetta	Yes, you raise them to be a part of the society. I haven't thought about it much, I just work there. (1)
Tuuli	What is important in teaching, well, maybe the co-operation with students. And second, that they like languages and it's fun to teach them. (5)

Saila	I'm human, they're human and that is the primary level in which we operate. (1)
Reetta	After having a child of my own, I'm like: this is just language learning. Since before, you had a narrower view, you just looked at the students and saw them as learners of the language. (5)
Anu	A student might have some serious problems and that's why he/she isn't able to do homework. (5)
Jenna	Even before I looked at students more comprehensively, not just from within my own subject. It was my mission, not to categorise students based on their performance in my class. I do it more and more now. (5)
Anu	Well, sometimes I feel like teaching is beside the point. From time to time we just talk about stuff that puzzles the students. (5)

At first some of the teachers experienced a "guinea pig stage" with the students and there was less warmth towards them. Later as the teachers developed professionally, they saw more in their students than just the language learning side. This helped the teachers to take work less seriously and sooth their negative emotions. Furthermore, having a more comprehensive perception of students increased the teachers' understanding towards them. Also, the increased interest for the students some of the teachers reported already in the previous dialogue probably helped to revise the perceptions.

7   DISCUSSION

The negative emotions were at times strongly present in the early years and experiencing those emotions was exhausting for the teachers. This raises questions for foreign language teacher education: are emotions included already in teacher training? Considering that the negative emotions had surprised some of the teachers, it seems they had not been discussed sufficiently in advance. If the novice teachers would be better prepared to face negative emotions, perhaps the first years in the profession would be less exhausting. Furthermore, although the negative emotions became milder later, they were still present to some extent. This means that also current teachers could benefit from further training regarding emotions and emotion regulation.

The findings concerning mixed emotions were similar to those in previous literature. Mixed emotions towards students have been identified by Xu (2013) and Nyman and Ruohotie-Lyhty (2008) whereas Cowie (2011) found the emotions towards students mainly positive. The university context with more mature students might have influenced Cowie's (2011) study and therefore explain the slight difference in the results. Nevertheless, this study showed that the emotions were varying and mixed, especially during the second interview. Also, the results suggested that teachers do not express care for all students and if they do, they are mostly the ones they teach themselves.

Relationships with students can be caring and sources of joy (O'Connor 2008; Veldman et al. 2013; Cowie 2011; Xu 2013). The results of this study support the previous findings concerning positive emotions related to students. The teachers found relaxed interactions with students empowering. Warmth was from time to time highly present as the teachers described their students. Studying positive

emotions further might increase, for instance, our understanding of teachers' job satisfaction.

Perhaps the most significant research question concerned change and whether the emotions in relation to students altered as the teachers' careers progressed. Clearly, there were changes: the negative emotions decreased and became milder while the positive emotions increased. Reasons for the changes varied. Further research is needed as this was the first longitudinal study regarding foreign language teachers' emotions in relation to students. It remained unclear, for example, which of the following issues was the most prominent behind the change: knowing the students better, professional development, or having a family. All in all, taking things less seriously seemed to affect the emotions of the teachers.

One remarkable change concerned the teachers' perceptions of students. Seeing them first as only language learners and later as children, teens and individuals evidently affected the teachers' emotions as they shifted in a warmer direction. In this issue I hope that foreign language teacher training could develop. Subject knowledge is crucial for the teachers, but often their work includes multiple other aspects such as classroom management. Responsibilities related to upbringing are not unusual in secondary school; therefore this point of view should be taken into account in foreign language teacher training. As one of the teachers said "Situations occur where you have to be something else than a language teacher."

The present study has certain limitations. The study has investigated teachers of different languages. It remains uncertain whether there are major differences in the teachers' emotions depending on the target language. Also, the study has relied on the teachers' memories and emotional incidents that have been salient enough for them to be mentioned during interviews. Therefore, the results are

not generalisable to reflect the everyday emotional lives of teachers. Journals could reveal more about teachers' emotions in this respect. Still, this study offers a new longitudinal perspective to foreign language teachers' emotions in relation to students.

To conclude, a major source of teachers' emotions is relationships with students. It is no surprise, considering that emotions arise in social situations (Fischer and Van Kleef 2010; Campos et al. 2011; Keltner et al. 2014). Whether it is general education or language teaching, the pattern is the same from the relational point of view. Teachers' emotions occur in interaction with others. This study has given a voice to a range of foreign language teachers from different levels. The longitudinal aspect has made it possible to shed light on their development and learn about the emotional roller coaster language teaching can be. Having studied the teachers' stories and emotional journeys, I consider myself more prepared for what is ahead as I am about to enter the work life. It has been comforting to notice that the negative emotions can turn milder. Also, learning about the broadened perceptions of students has touched me. Seeing the students beyond the subject taught is something that is never emphasised enough. With these results in mind I believe that I can pay better attention to the emotions students awake in me as a novice foreign language teacher.

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APPENDIX A

A shortened version of Jenna's dialogue:

- It is awful to teach passive groups. (1)

- If there is a nice atmosphere in class, then teaching is the nicest thing in this job. (2)

- It is interesting and rewarding even though it can be burdensome. (3)

- You cannot do this job if you don't do it with your heart. I have noticed it many times this autumn after a challenging lesson. (3)

- Suddenly the system can fall apart, when you would like to be that humane teacher even for a little bit, but then you have to draw back. You always work on it, how to be with the students. (3)

- Pupils are very important to me. (10)

- Pupils bring you satisfaction. To see them develop. Or just the joy and enthusiasm they have in their eyes. (10)

A shortened version of Tuuli's dialogue:

- If everybody has been in a good mood and things run smoothly, that cheers you up. (1)

- Sometimes a lesson goes really well and you can feel satisfied a long time after, until you experience a poorer lesson. (2)

- My basic duty is to arrive in class, teach languages and that, in my opinion, is the stuff I'm here to do. (3)

- I think this job keeps you up to date, because you are in touch with youth. (10)

- I don't miss having my own group at all, it is just extra work. (4)

- In my opinion they give you a lot. (10)

- Actually I am somewhat interested in how the students are doing. (4)

- Maybe I have a better attitude now towards all the extra stuff I did not like before. (10)