

A Foucauldian Ethics of Positivity in Initial Teacher Education

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This article explores ways pre-service teachers learn to work upon their positive emotional conduct during an initial teacher education course. The article argues that education practice today promotes the acting out of positive emotions, creating conditions within which pre-service teachers ethically shape their emotional conduct. Utilising Foucault's four-part ethical framework, the article draws on longitudinal research of pre-service teachers in Western Australia to analyse the crafting of emotional conduct through techniques of the self. The techniques the participants came to employ during their course learning aligned with a telos of the resourceful, positive, and professional teacher. The article argues that this ethical enterprise relies on a certain model of teacher subjectivity which is inseparably linked with normalising governmental power. Such disciplining of emotions, however, is neither one-dimensional nor deterministic; rather, work at the intersection of the government of others and of oneself. We argue this allows pre-service teachers the freedom to care for the self as they seek to foster their own ethical practices as teachers.

Keywords: Foucault, emotions, ethics, initial teacher education.

I loved my first placement experience! I could literally see the difference I was making and this made me feel real joy. I felt like when I was able to be positive, passionate and happy with the students and I could see they responded to that. I was just constantly smiling like an idiot to myself, thinking yes! This is exactly what I'm meant to be doing! When it comes to teachers there should never be a limit on showing happiness. Happiness and passion are always transferable, smiles are contagious and all that jazz. So, my goal for the next prac is to keep doing this, working on it, staying positive and being positive is how I want to approach it.

Pre-service teacher Semester 1, 2015

I'm about to start my next prac in is a really challenging school, behaviour wise. The kids are going to be tough, dealing with a ton of issues, abuse, trauma, neglect and poverty. You definitely have to stay positive as a teacher because you have to be that positive role model for kids, especially those facing issues at home. Like the old saying goes "nothing good comes to bad people", so if you are positive, positive things happen... teachers just have to be positive with the kids, to be that one sense of hope, that one ray of sunshine that they can always turn to and think they believe in me, or it must not be that bad because that teacher is happy and laughing.

Pre-service teacher Semester 2, 2015

(Multiple sources of data from pre-service teachers were utilised in the above semifictional vignette. See 'theory and research approach' section)

Research Context

The opening vignette of this paper is an amalgam of different pre-service teacher voices collected from interviews, diary entries and focus groups for a research study that is the focus of this article. We contend that this composite depicts a significant cultural phenomenon which is described by Ahmed (2010, p. 3) as the "happiness turn". In opposition to an outlook characterised by "pathologies and negative states" (Saari, 2018, p. 149), there has, in recent decades in the post-industrial world, been a shift towards a "promise of happiness" or a "wish" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 3) for an existence defined by positive wellbeing. According to the advocates of the modern positive movement, our innately human virtues, character strengths and positive emotional experiences are what *should* give each of us meaning, purpose, and fulfilment in both our personal and professional lives (see Seligman, 2011; Sheldon & King, 2001). This

positive emotion of happiness is popularised in the mainstream media and on social media with myriad explanations, accounts and testimonies focused on its "science and economics" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 3).

Positive emotions such as joy underpin the multiplicity of "self-help courses that provide instructions on how to be happy" as the pursuit of positivity fosters a "feel-good industry" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 3). Private and public organisations alike are on a mission to 'unlock' the productive capabilities of their staff through the development of "positive emotions". Positive "virtues such as responsibility, nurturance, altruism, civility, moderation, tolerance and work ethic" (Fineman, 2006, pp. 270-271) have become the new managerial tools for directing employees' commitment to organisational outcomes. Most saliently, this shift is evident in the popularity of the "new science of happiness"—positive psychology (A. Miller, 2008, p. 591).

Adherents of positive psychology describe the appellation as an "umbrella term" for the study of "positive emotions and character traits" (Seligman, Steen, Park, & Peterson, 2005, p. 410). An overt and major objective of the movement is to better "enable institutions" by ensuring that members are "lastingly happier" and "less depressed" (p. 420). Positive psychology has struck a responsive chord in education. Its close relationship with the psychological concept of emotional intelligence seems, as A. Miller (2008, p. 592) notes, to "promise achievement and empowerment for all". Psycho-metric tests developed by its practitioners purport to measure, for example, one's "optimism"—conceived by positive psychology as a measure of one's ability to be "positive and look at the brighter side of life" (Bar-On, 2006, p. 21). As Berlant (2011) cautions, however, positive affect is not simply an individual phenomenon but, rather, should be conceived as a both a cultural and political condition. Specifically, this

entails conceiving optimism as possibly being "cruel" when "something you desire is actually an obstacle to your flourishing" (Berlant, 2011, p. 1). Stephens (2015, p. 279) draws on this notion to suggest that optimism is far from universal and is, in fact, only a luxury for some noting that: "for whom the good life is experienced as good are those privileged by existing cultural institutions and knowledge making practices" (Stephens, 2015, p. 279).

Many critical scholars have launched a substantial critique against positive psychology and the positive movement more generally. For example, the work of Martin Seligman, who is viewed as the architect of positive psychology, has recently been critiqued by Peters and Tesar (2020) in the pages of this journal. Peters and Tesar (2020) portray Seligman, whose books are best sellers in the popular 'self-help' genre, having sold millions of copies, as little more than a "snake oil" (p. 1118) charlatan. Even within the discipline of psychology itself, there is an emerging concept known as "toxic positivity" which explains a pattern of behaviour in which a person keeps believing that "everything's great! Even in the face of irrefutable evidence that everything is not great at all" (Cox, 2020).

Criticism such as this is important and, indeed, is vital work, especially in terms of questioning the scientific validity of the movement's truth claims and examining its significant cultural reach (see Ahmed, 2010; Fineman, 2006; McDonald & O'Callaghan, 2008; A. Miller, 2008; Wright & McLeod, 2015). In this paper, we build upon such work by extending its critique to the field of teacher education. We view the science of positivity as an instrument of governmentality and subjectivity. Our argument is not aimed against the scholars of positive psychology; nor do we wish to question positive psychology's potential in a therapeutic context. Rather, our argument concerns the way

the positive movement shapes the emotional "mode of being" (Clarke, 2009, p. 186) for pre-service teachers.

Teachers' emotional lives have been a focus of research in recent years with issues of retention, attrition, wellbeing, and resilience emerging as key themes in this literature (see Bennett, Newman, F., & Hazel, 2016; Mansfield, Beltman, Price, & McConney, 2012; Mason & Matas, 2015). Previous research on emotions in the teaching profession has occurred within a socio-political context of successive policy reforms by governments that have shaped teaching practice to be highly demanding, accountable, pressured and unduly stressful (Clement, 2017). Researchers have noted that novice teachers are particularly susceptible to experiences of negative emotions, as they encounter feelings of guilt, self-doubt, anxiety and exhaustion arising from bullying by experienced colleagues, onerous administration and numerous work load pressures (Gallant & Riley, 2014). Education researchers have argued that teaching results in considerable emotional labour as it is "intensely emotional work" (Bullough, 2009, p. 33) that demands teachers to actively cultivate practices of "enhancing, faking and/or supressing emotions" (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 121). What is less well understood is how pre-service teachers learn that such emotional work is required of them in the role—a gap that this article seeks to address.

A range of research endeavors from different theoretical perspectives have examined pre-service teachers' emotions, yet these studies are "few in number" (Bellocchi, 2019, para. 21). Previous research has shown that learning to become a teacher can be an "intense", "dynamic and ever-changing process" resulting in significant changes to an individual's trajectory into the profession (Bullough & Young, 2002, p. 429). This research shows the initial years of teaching evokes surprising and powerful emotions,

such as fear, vulnerability, hopelessness, anxiety, discomfort, inter-personal conflict as well as pride, joy, care, fulfillment, and even love (Bullough & Draper, 2004; Chang, 2009). Retention of teachers in the early phase of their career is of significant concern in countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States (Buchanan et al., 2013). This is largely due to beginning teachers having a significantly higher attrition rate than experienced colleagues. As many as 50%, it has been reported, reach 'burnout' or simply leave in the first five years (see Arnup & Bowles, 2016; Gallant & Riley, 2014). In response to these workforce issues there have been a number of studies that argue emotional intelligence training is needed in initial teacher education courses (see Turner & Stough, 2019). Governmental programs in Australia have also sought to address the issue of early career teacher burn out by focusing on the individualised emotional practices of teachers (e.g. "Be You," 2021; "MindMatters," 2014). The current Australian Government mental health and wellbeing initiative Be You (2021) explicitly draws from the positive psychology play book. The website outlines that although factors such as "poor working conditions" causes "stress" for teachers, individual teachers can learn to "enhance" their wellbeing by managing stress in "positive ways"—such as through "exercise, relaxation, breathing, yoga and positive self-talk". As noted, the positive movement is also global. In the United Kingdom, a recently launched program aims to use eight million pounds to "boost pupil and teacher wellbeing" in response to "the emotional impact of the coronavirus pandemic" (Department of Education, 2020) In Latin America, the United States, Europe, and South East Asia the International Positive Education Network (2021) has extended the reach of the positive movement to the global North and South.

Taking a Foucauldian approach to the employment of positivity in education, our analysis concerns its "mode of subjectification" (Foucault, 1997b, p. 264) or, what Dean

(1996, p. 224) explains as, "the position we take or are given in relation to rules and norms, with why we govern ourselves or others in a particular manner". The use of Foucault's work in this regard in education has been extensive (e.g. S. Ball, 2015; Keddie, Gobby, & Wilkins, 2018; Niesche & Haase, 2012; O'Brien, 2017; Peters, 2009); this paper's innovation is the use of such theoretical tools to examine emotions in teacher education. We focus on the ways in which the positive scholarship movement has found its way into the granular and particularistic emotional practices of individual selves in a teacher education program. The individuals who took part in the research case study—as portrayed in the vignettes opening this paper—were immersed in a cultural and social milieu of the modern positivity movement in education in which preservice teachers "shape themselves to take up the subject positions that these discourses hold out to them" (M. Ball, 2008, p. 164).

This paper argues that prominent discourses made available to pre-service teachers through their studies establish the role of positive emotions in education, including the benefits of cultivating such conduct. Pre-service teachers use certain positive emotions discourses to discern and arrive at truths about their own emotions, with these 'truths' then guiding their emotional conduct in the process of learning to teach. Importantly, we consider the political and ethical implications of the positive movement in teacher education and the movement's ability to reach into and actively form the emotional lives of pre-service teachers.

Theory and research approach

This paper explores data generated through research of a postgraduate secondary teaching initial teacher education program in Western Australia in 2015-2017. The theoretical approach of this paper is primarily Foucauldian. Foucault (2000b, p. 131)

used the term "regime of truth" to refer to a society's "general politics of truth", or those discourses that people in each cultural context are enmeshed within. We examine one specific regime of truth that seeks to shape patterns of emotional conduct within the personal-professional practices of self-formation undertaken by pre-service teachers. Our approach is responsive to the array of forces—social and historical—that shape "how emotions and their public expressions can become the sites of action by teachers upon their personal-professional self" (Karnovsky, 2020, p. 72). In the opening vignette, for example, we glimpse an insight into how pre-service teachers strive towards an idea that good and positive teachers should conduct their emotional self. Namely this is achieved by using an "agglomeration" of technical skills for "doing things" (Kendall, 2011, p. 72) with their emotions to maintain a positive disposition. The teaching self that is formed by the participants of the research is conceived, as Kendall (2011, p. 72) describes, as a "contingent, transitory, piecemeal and above all, technical" fabrication. Such a fabrication is formed, primarily, through the continuous rehearsing of appropriate "ways of comporting oneself in public life" (Kendall, 2011, p. 72) that, we argue, is an intimately *ethical* exercise. Ethics is here understood as the "the kind of relation one has to oneself" (O'Farrell, 2005, appendix 2).

For Foucault, power is not simply oppressive or dominating, but relational and productive. The exercise of power, be that governmental or institutional, generates forms of conduct, knowledge, or events that can be manifest in a range of possibilities (Kendall, 2011). Power, therefore, operates through discourse, establishing conditions of possibility of action, thought and speech and, in relation to this paper, the rules that shape what can be uttered, recorded, communicated or felt as legitimate knowledge about emotions in the work of teaching (Foucault, 1980; Peters & Burbules, 2003). We, therefore, do not assume human emotions to be predominately private psycho-biological

phenomena. Our perspective on emotions counterposes positive scholarship and its grounding in a liberalhumanist and totalising orientation to human emotions (Chokr, 2007; Gross, 2006). Drawing on Karnovsky's (2020) conceptual framework, we also accept that human emotions comprise both *interactional and performative* (Zembylas, 2007) practices of the self. This understanding of emotion draws upon post-structural, feminist and Foucauldian concepts to theorise how thinking, feeling and acting work as multidimensional "complexes" shaped by cultural *and* embodied forces linked to diverse kinds of power relations (Zembylas, 2007, p. 63). This understanding of emotional complexes foregrounds the performative cultural practices or conduct of emotion which operate in conjunction with embodied sensations and which both inflect one another so that they "flow together in the same mould" (Fineman, 2000, p. 11). This approach seeks to disrupt assumed binaries that are often present in the popular representations of emotions, such as the artificial divisions between culture and nature or the interior self and the external world.

Working from a post-structural theoretical framework involved designing a data collection process that could generate insights on the diverse kinds of social and cultural dynamics that come to shape pre-service teachers' emotional lives. Karnovsky's (2020) collection of data was approached with awareness and sensitivity to the context of the research setting given it is assembled from different social, historical, cultural, political and temporal forces (p. 100). Semi-structured, conversational interviews were chosen as the primary research method with pre-service teacher participants as this would not reduce the participants to mere numbers or statistics (deMarrais & Tisdale, 2002). Other qualitative data collection methods, such as open-ended questionnaires, focus groups and arts-based activities provided powerful tools for "grasping and articulating" (Karnovsky, 2020, p. 99) the "messiness" of the participants' emotional reality and

helped to illuminate the "everyday lived experiences" of these individuals (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 486).

For the purpose of this article, data is largely grouped together from 149 participant preservice teachers who responded to interviews, contributed to questionnaire responses, provided drawings and online diary entries on their emotional experiences over a three-year time frame. This grouping has been done not to universalize pre-service teacher emotional experiences but to illustrate the taken for granted assumptions and culturally prevalent practices of emotional conduct in an institutional context of learning to teach. In some instances, we have used pseudonyms for participants who provided in-depth responses during interviews and other data collection activities. The research context is defined both by teacher performance standards (*Australian Professional Standards for Teachers*, 2014) embedded in course learning as well as professional norms underpinned by "well-worn and commonsensical images of teachers' work" (Britzman, 2003, p. 27) derived from European and North American culture.

We accept that the study's methods influenced what participants consider to be true and false about the role of emotions in their teaching. Only one of us, Saul Karnovsky (the primary investigator), had a relationship with the participants. This relationship was defined only as a researcher and not as an active educator in the participants' course learning program. Moreover, we do not treat the "truths and experiences" expressed by the participants as a "thing" that has happened *to* them but as "something that has been filtered, processed, and already interpreted" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012, p. 28). In doing so, we recognise that power operates through this research.

The researchers analytical framework was informed by Foucault's genealogy of ethics (Foucault, 1997a). This enabled the examination of how pre-service teachers construe

and construct themselves in relation to the emotional norms and rules of teaching, using data drawn from Karnovsky's (2020) research. Foucault's notions of ethical self-formation have been deftly used by education researchers, including in relation to emotions (Clarke, 2009; McCuaig, 2008; E. R. Miller & Gkonou, 2018; Niesche & Haase, 2012; Saari, 2018). For example, Niesche & Haase (2012) provide a nuanced examination of emotional subjectification using Foucault's ethics in the Australian context. The following section examines those parts of the emotional self that the preservice teachers worked on during their studies. We also consider the techniques and practices they used to do this emotional work to create a certain kind of positive professional-emotional self. Following this, an extended discussion explores the ways this work is authorised and legitimated by the positive discourse and the implications this has for initial teacher education more broadly.

Emotions of pre-service teachers

Pre-service teachers who participated in the research study underwent a broad spectrum of emotional experiences. Karnovsky (2020, pp. 164-165) found participants suggested through interviews, diary entries, focus groups and questionnaires that teachers "should practise both mental and bodily techniques aligned with a positive disposition" as a teacher. Emotional conduct aligned with positivity was "conceived as a productive way to achieve one's goals" (Karnovsky, 2020, p. 165) as a teacher by many participants. Positivity was frequently equated with professionalism. There was a substantial focus by participants to conduct ethical work upon the self along a positive dimension. Pre-service teachers suggested specific forms of, what Foucault (1997b, p. 265) termed, "askesis" to cultivate the appropriate emotional "style or attitude" as a

"practice of their selfhood" (S. Ball, 2013, p. 171). Instances of emotional work that the participants suggested should be cultivated included practising 'thinking positively' by 'always looking on the bright side' and 'emphasising happy emotions' (Questionnaire, 2016). Other responses involved recommending that a teacher's 'body language' should convey publicly a 'confident presence'; should 'show positivity' to others; should display a 'love what [the teacher is] doing'; and exhibit a 'friendly gesture' (Questionnaire, 2016).

This ethical work or, as Foucault (1997b, p. 265) termed it, those "self-forming activities" we undertake to "transform ourselves into certain kinds of moral or ethical beings" (Karnovsky, 2020, p. 89), focused primarily on the participants' attitude and professional demeanour—qualities they were "enjoined to make positive during their course learning" (p. 165). Particularly, this involved the participants foregrounding a requirement that they should focus on learning to cultivate a positive emotional disposition to be deemed competent and effective by professional others. Karnovsky (2020) explained that one aspect of this "sharpening of focus" on their ethical work was conceived by the participants "as a *tool* in the service of meeting teaching and learning goals" (p. 165). Participants in the study proposed several ways in which practices of 'positive' emotions "act as an instrument or lever in achieving goals or as markers of role competence" (p. 165). One instance, cited by participants, saw positive emotional conduct as a vector for 'building relationships' and at the heart of a teacher's 'people

¹ Note on style: use of quotation marks for participant data throughout the paper will be shown using single quotation marks around words or phrases in text accompanied with a data source reference. Double quotation marks will indicate use of theoretical literature to support the analysis of data.

skills' (Questionnaire, 2016). Emotions such as 'excitement', 'enthusiasm', 'happiness', 'confidence', 'pride', 'care', 'love', 'empathy', 'calm' and 'passion' were all considered 'appropriate' emotional conduct by pre-service teachers (Emotion diary entries, 2015; Focus-groups, 2015; Questionnaire, 2016).

Pre-service teachers worked on themselves during their course learning and on professional experience placements to be positive in their conduct because they believed this supported development towards being effective and professional teachers. The positive emotions listed above, for example, were understood to 'help' a pre-service teacher 'conduct lessons' to 'encourage and motivate' the 'learning and engagement' of students (Interview, 2015). According to participants, positive conduct in the classroom supported the 'quality of teaching', specifically impacting 'student learning outcomes and objectives' (Questionnaire, 2016). Positive emotional conduct was cited as a key characteristic of an 'approachable teacher' who 'knows what he/she is doing'; is 'more successful and friendly'; and who has an 'ability to deliver content', 'facilitate an enjoyable lesson' and 'impact student behaviour and learning'. As one participant remarked, 'students just learn better when the teacher is in a good mood' (Questionnaire, 2016). A number of responses centred on the benefits of 'positive emotions' in establishing 'student-teacher relationships'. Positive emotions were proposed to affect 'how a teacher reacts', 'engages' and 'connects with students' as these emotions would help teachers 'understand their (students') circumstances and how they learn'. Emphasizing the practical quality of these emotions, one respondent explained that positive 'energy' (as they put it) and was a 'helpful guide' for a teacher to be 'more in tune with the needs and abilities of students' (Questionnaire, 2016).

In these examples, pre-service teachers learn to orientate their emotional practices to

align with the accepted norm of what 'good' and 'professional' teachers *do* with their emotions. To be what one participant described as 'that one ray of sunshine' (Interview, 2015) for students, pre-service teachers were required to undertake significant "work" (Foucault, 1997c) upon the self. In this regard, certain styles of emotional conduct are considered desirable, appropriate, and professional; those, essentially, which allow for the formation of the 'good' or 'quality' teacher (Questionnaire, 2016). We argue that these subjects freely and ethically adopt practices of the self in relation to a constellation of rules, norms, and codes both governmental and ethical.

The tertiary institution in which participants were enrolled plays a significant role in setting normative expectations for emotional conduct in pre-service teaching. Particular emotional rules were "fashioned and prescribed" (Bloomfield, 2010, p. 223) through set texts, course materials and guidance from tutors and higher education staff. This includes more immediate and directly mandated sources, such as the professional experience placement, and associated workplace codes of conduct; the prescriptions of the national professional teacher standards; as well as the various models of the "good" teacher transmitted to participants through course learning. One example of institutional "assumptions and expectations" of what pre-service teachers "should do" and what they "should avoid" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 56) in their emotional conduct are to be found in the thoughts of Samuel².

Karnovsky (2020, p. 198) explains that Samuel stated he felt the 'emotionally mature' pre-service teachers with whom he has worked have an ability to 'cope', are 'more

² Email exchange conducted with professional experience placement officer in 2017.

balanced' and 'measured' and have 'passion, positivity and empathy'. They are also 'less impulsive, 'make better decisions under pressure' and can 'deal better with difficult students' (Email exchange, 2017). According to Samuel these qualities in preservice teachers 'correlates strongly with success on prac' (professional experience). Samuel is communicating the accepted standard of emotional conduct that pre-service teachers are required to achieve. He equates conforming to emotional rules to competency on placement. He opposes these students to those who fail to meet these standards, subtlety labelling their behaviours as undesirable (M. Ball, 2008, p. 74). These "emotional rules" are "legitimated through the exercise of power" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 37) by Samuel's position of authority within the institution and his experience and supposed expertise within the realm of teacher education. Samuel's "regime of practices" (Foucault, 1991b, p. 75) not only supports the pre-service teachers, but also regulates by guiding, directing, modelling and demonstrating professional behaviour (Ambrosetti & Dekkers, 2010).

Institutionally desirable and productive emotional conduct is illustrated in the figures drawn by participants below³. In Figure 1 the mental practice of positive self 'belief' is equated to the physical strength of the body, whilst the physical practice of 'keeping' a smile in Figure 2 represents a type of bodily emotional work upon the self that is deemed necessary by these pre-service teachers (Karnovsky, 2020, p. 135). Positive emotions were foregrounded by numerous participants because these emotions helped to frame productive and professional relations one had to oneself, or with others. As

³ Pre-service teacher participants were asked to "draw a representation of the emotions of teaching"

Figure 3 shows, the understanding that one is 'making a difference' to the lives of young people produces positive affect (smiling face) for the individual in teaching. These individuals, to use Fineman's (2008) words, understand that "far from being an out of control impulse", a teacher' emotional conduct should be performed through "vocal and bodily postures aligned to the micro-structure of the situation" (2008, p. 4). This can also be seen in Figure 4, a visual example of a pre-service teacher working to outwardly conduct themselves in a positive way with a student. Despite the pre-service teacher's best efforts, they are experiencing a range of different emotions some of which are counter-posed to the positive dimension. Karnovsky's (2020) analysis suggests that a "specifically defined model of subjectivity underpins the ethical standards by which pre-service teachers seek to discern, problematise, and conduct themselves emotionally" (p. 148).

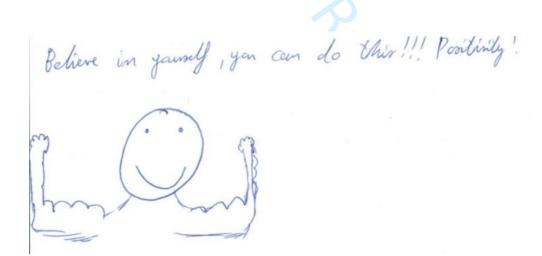


Figure 1: Believe in yourself, you can do this!!!. Positivity! (Questionnaire, 2016)



Figure 2: Just keep smiling (Questionnaire, 2016).



Figure 3: I'm making a difference (Questionnaire, 2016).

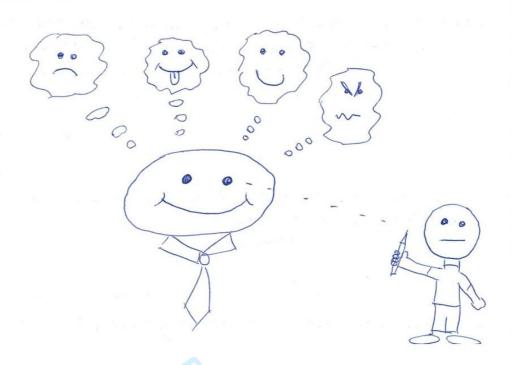


Figure 4: Working to achieve a positive disposition for students (Questionnaire, 2016).

Discussion

For Fineman (2008, p. 1), emotions are not "ideologically neutral, within-the-individual, experience". Rather, emotions are "embedded in the political agendas of organisational life" and "shaped by social structures and the norms and values of the organisation" (2008, p. 1). Pre-service teachers' emotional conduct, as outlined in the previous section, is a form of ethical work related to a perceived reality or image of being a teacher in the present. To achieve a mode of being that is not only 'positive and happy' but also 'professional and effective' (Interviews, 2015; Questionnaire, 2016) the participants scrutinise, monitor, test and transform themselves through thinking and acting positively. The turn towards positivity is a "seductive discourse" (Fineman, 2006, p. 270) to educators and policy makers. Constructions of negative emotions and

thinking are viewed as disruptive or destructive and are "sidelined" or become the target for learning strategies of emotional self-regulation (Fineman, 2006, p. 274). Further to this, the pre-service teachers often proposed that teachers must be self-disciplined and practise self-mastery by 'controlling', 'regulating', 'tailoring' and 'managing' emotions that may be considered problematic (Questionnaire, 2016). Participants also suggested that conduct that indicated a lack of control of negative emotions marked those preservice teachers and teachers as 'crazy' (Lorene; focus group, 2015); as 'being filed under cause for concern' (Jodi; focus group, 2015); or raised questions for assessors that they may 'not be right for the job' (Sharla, interview, 2015). Because this conduct marked teachers as incapable of mastering the emotional rules of teaching, their emotional conduct was governed more strictly, more overtly and in a more explicit manner (Zembylas, 2005).

The positivity movement, typified by the popularity of Seligman's positive psychology, proposes to 'better' society, as Rose (1996, p. 121) describes, through the "calculated transformation of human conduct". It does this by linking the knowledges and "human technologies" (Rose, 1996, p. 121) of the positivity movement—like building one's character—to the sites (e.g. schools) where transformation can happen. We argue that the science of positivity feeds directly into the exploitation of human capital (Sellar & Zipin, 2019). Positivity work, or "happiness as enterprise" (Binkley (2014, p. 5), involves adopting and incorporating a "new emotional and cognitive disposition"—this work is asked of pre-service teachers by others, but it should also create a field of possibilities in which we are free to act. This enterprise is "a point of transfer" or "relay" for the operation of power. The pursuit of happiness is a strategy for governing individuals and groups because it enrols them (e.g. teachers) in the "art of governing one's self, one's own subjectivity and emotional life through one's freely chosen

practices" (Binkley, 2014, p. 5). Through positivity, the self is "impelled to make life meaningful" in a concerted "search for happiness and self-realisation" (Rose, 1996, p. 79). By carrying out this positive ethics of subjectivity, pre-service teachers become "inextricably locked into the procedures of power" (Rose, 1996, p. 79).

Much like the pre-service teacher who states at the outset of this paper, 'if you are positive, positive things happen', the popular discourse of positivity certainly presents "a broad vision of the sunnier side of life, where positiveness can be harnessed for noble individual and organisational needs" (Fineman, 2006, p. 270). Within education, the seemingly honourable intentions of positive scholars, who focus their interventions on "emancipation, autonomy, and individual happiness", can make it "difficult to criticize" (Saari, 2018, p. 150). Karnovsky (2020, p. 171) argues that the "science of human happiness is entangled with relations of power" as this knowledge "relies on a specific model of subjectivity" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 6) where emotions are clearly identifiable and the distinction of what are "good emotions" and "bad emotions" is secure (p. 6). In Karnovsky's (2020, p. 172) study pre-service teachers often delineated "between 'good' emotions in teaching—such as 'love' and 'care' being 'appropriate' to express—whilst 'bad' emotions—such as 'anger' or 'fear'—were considered 'inappropriate'" and, as such, in need of rigorous policing (Questionnaire, 2016). Furthermore, this defined model of teacher subjectivity necessitates a certain kind of work of self-transformation. Pre-service teachers seek to become the kind of professional that the positive movement hopes to create in institutions such as schools—a professional who is defined by the qualities of "positive emotions", "engagement at work", "meaning in life", "success" and "prosperity" (Seligman, Ernst, Gillham, Reivich, & Linkins, 2009, p. 308).

Tertiary and schooling education settings easily provide sites in which a "culture of the

self" (Foucault, 1997bp. 271) can flourish. The various techniques offered by the positivity and wellbeing movement which encourage self-inspection and regulation of one's emotions are considered by the authors of this paper, as an example of "secular technologies of the self where "self-regulation and self-examination comes to occupy centre ground" (Besley & Peters, 2007, p. 17; Reveley, 2015, p. 83). The science of positivity contains a range of "human technologies" that seek to coordinate the "activities of humans" under a calculated and practical rationality (Rose, 1996, p. 153). This program of rationality works to augment the positive capabilities of individuals, families, communities and organisations whilst attempting to constrain negative affect (Amsler, 2011). These programs occur in line with the principles and styles of living proposed by the movement, with the objective of 'better wellness' in the workplace becoming enmeshed in teacher's personal and daily aspects of professional or personal existence. One example is the breathing exercises suggested by the *Be You* campaign to ameliorate workplace stress.

Pre-service teachers, along with many others employed in the sphere of education, may find "energy, initiative, ambition and personality responsibility" (Rose, 1996, p. 154) by adopting the technologies offered by the positivity movement. In a project of becoming they learn to be an "active and calculating self, a self that calculates *about* itself" along positive dimensions and, thus, "acts *upon* itself in order to better itself". These selfmaking strategies aligns with the liberal-democratic "enterprise culture" (Rose, 1996, p. 154) that has found purchase within all aspects of organisational life, including schooling and teacher development (see; S. Ball & Olmedo, 2013; O'Brien, 2017). The language of positivity is enacted by members of school systems through various institutional systems of reward and acknowledgment, forming as Rose (1996, p. 154) explains "an array of rules for conduct of one's everyday existence". The "good

teacher" has been "reconstituted as a self-entrepreneur who adds value to his or her self and school as teachers understand and conduct themselves in terms of operationally defined standards" (Holloway & Brass, 2018, p. 378). One example of this is from Steven, who stated early on in the course that his professional goal was to be teacher who could be 'happy' 'effective', 'professional', and most importantly, someone who could 'give back to the community' (Interview, 2015). Later in the course Steven came to the realisation that, in the face of confronting emotional labour in the work of teaching, he needed to 'reconsider the professional relationship between teacher and student' (Focus-groups, 2015). This required learning 'where he stood' to 'toe the line of the school policy and teacher standards'. In thinking about the ethical work that was necessary, Steven explained that he worked on his conduct to 'come back to this neutral professional teacher that's not fobbed the problem off, but hasn't taken it on board' (Focus-groups, 2015).

The positivity discourses explored in this article "form a rule that is intrinsically ethical" and governmental; "good government is to be grounded in the ways in which persons govern themselves" (Rose, 1996, p. 154). The participants have sought to self-style along a defined positive character regime for a teacher, as this professional disposition is perceived as a "commodity for hire" (p. 137) in a competitive education marketplace. Our argument shows that the positivity movement has created an education culture of individualised wellbeing practices that is "deeply imbued with normalising power" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 24). The "rules, rituals, performances and habits" of positive emotions "act to govern" the emotional conduct of pre-service teachers who are learning to teach. These emotional norms direct their "emotional communication and subjectification along particular lines" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 35). The pre-service teachers in Karnovsky's (2020) research study have constituted their own emotional

conduct to fall in line with this "political dimension" of a competent teacher's persona—a *telos* that is mainly "assigned" to them "through discourses, practices and performances" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 24) guided by a culture of positivity and wellness in education. The work upon the self that is carried out by these pre-service teachers is evidence of what Foucault (1991a, pp. 135-136) describes as forms of "subtle coercion" in which an individual's "movements, gestures, attitudes"—such as 'putting on a smile' (Questionnaire, 2016) and 'showing students you are happy and caring' (Focus Group, 2015)—are held within "an infinitesimal power over the active body".

The technologies of the modern positive movement in education seek to discipline preservice teachers according to certain norms of what *ought* to be practised emotionally. This is not to say, however, that such technologies are necessarily negative. In fact, the human technologies of positive emotional conduct in teaching might be more maturely considered as producing and enframing pre-service teachers as "certain kinds of being whose existence is simultaneously capacitated and [emphasis added] governed" (Rose, 1996, pp. 26-27) by the organisations of the university and the school. The ways in which the pre-service teachers in the research study are emotionally capacitated is best understood in terms of Foucault's (1997a) notion of the ethical "care of the self" (p. 287). Such capacitation presupposes a free and self-determining subject—the subject of liberal government such as those in the research study. This is a subject that, in 'caring for itself', is enjoined to pursue goals that offer not only personal reward but professional benefit and perhaps even national gain and advantage. The pre-service teachers in the research study, for instance, are simultaneously capacitated and governed as they practise their freedom to cultivate skills of both personal relevance and national significance. This includes, not insignificantly, showing 'enthusiasm and energy' to 'help students learn' (Questionnaire, 2016). The discourses examined in this paper

demonstrate the ways in which pre-service teachers ethically engage such governmental imperatives as a deliberate strategy—professional survival amongst others—to complete their qualification. Keeping a 'sunny' disposition and maintaining a façade that 'all is well' are certainly productive in the face of juggling numerous assessments and relatively short encounters with professional others who are tasked with making judgements of the individual's capacity to enter the profession.

In this analysis, the pre-service teachers in the research study are undertaking work "on the self" to achieve a positive professional disposition. It is, in other words, a "practice of freedom to take shape in an *éthos* that is good" (Foucault, 1997a, p. 287). For Foucault (1997a), *éthos* may be conceptualised as "a way of being and of behavior" (p. 284)—"a mode of being for the subject, along with a certain way of acting, a way visible to others" (p. 284). The emotional practices of pre-service teachers examined in this article correspond with such practices as described by Infinito (2003, p. 165): "a series of technologies, activities, and reflections by which one gains self-knowledge and skill in the practice of relating to and improving oneself". In the study, a significant number of participants can be seen to be conducting a project of self-formation—of forming themselves into positive teachers within the sphere of education with others. To bring about a "positive, creative, and productive freedom" (Infinito, 2003, p. 157) is dependent on how these pre-service teachers act with others, along with who they wish to be in relation to those others and to the world (2003, p. 157).

In this more nuanced theorisation, the self's relation to the self requires the cultivation of positive emotional techniques and routines as part of a regime of "self-care" in which the self searches for a more meaningful life—in this case, within education. Indeed, in relation to the practice of self-care, Foucault (1997a) reminds us that "the care of the

self is ethical in itself; but it implies complex relationships with others insofar as this ethos of freedom is also a way of caring for others" (Foucault, 1997a, p. 287). This is apparent in the remarks made by the pre-service teachers' where they suggest they are working on themselves to 'be positive and happy' in relation to supporting and building a relationship with the students that they are teaching. These positive and caring practices extend beyond the professional relationships established with students. Sharla, for example, spoke of experiencing a 'really positive work environment' during her preservice professional experience as being critical to her general wellbeing. Sharla added that on a 'daily' basis the 'staff room' would be 'supportive' by 'saying something about how great it was to have such a good team' or by reminding each other of 'something positive about the kids' (Focus-groups 2, 2015; Emotion Diaries, 2015). In this way. Sharla points out that, amongst teachers, developing such "commitments to active caring" (Hargreaves, 2001, p. 523) in relationships can strengthen both "emotional and intellectual understanding" amongst all parties involved (Hargreaves, 2001, pp. 523-524). Hargreaves (2001a) argues that such "strong sources of positive emotion" (p. 523) in teachers' work is vital for collegial support, social acceptance "as well as creating the energy and commitment for joint work" to occur (p. 523).

Teacher educators can also commit to fostering more open and caring practices within initial teacher education courses. The authors of this paper recommend that teacher educators critically reflect on *how* emotional rules and norms are embedded in everyday practices of initial teacher education such that they become natural and taken-forgranted. We argue it is vital for teacher educators to critique norms for emotional conduct and hold up for examination the conditions under which pre-service teachers learn "the rules one prescribes to oneself and the reasons one ascribes" (Bacchi, 2012, p. 4). This approach can allow for safe conversations focused upon how pre-service

teachers go about constructing "who they are and what they know" about their emotions (Bacchi, 2012, p. 4) as emerging professionals. We believe that institutions offering initial teacher education should re-shape course learning by adopting a pedagogy of both support and experimentation by which pre-service teachers might explore and learn about emotional rules of conduct.

Concluding remarks

The pre-service teachers in the research study worked on themselves using the discourses of positivity in their initial teacher education course. Their practices of positive conduct within a professional setting were seen to contribute to strengthened relationships with others, such as students or mentor teachers. The ethical work of crafting a positive disposition was conceived by the participants in the study as hallmarks of competent and professional teachers, who can meet expected requirements of an enterprising educator. We have detailed a range of ethical work that was cultivated by the pre-service teachers as they learnt to enact various mental and bodily practices of the self to sustain a positive emotional disposition in course learning experiences. The article argued that these technologies are certainly imbued with a subtle form of normalising power which makes such discourses difficult to resist. We have also argued that self-formation of a professional teaching persona along positive dimensions can support care of the self as these novice teachers learn to navigate the complex emotional terrain of the course.

We have argued that a Foucauldian approach to understanding emotional conduct in initial teacher education is an important one at present. This theorisation recognises that in exercising freedom to care for oneself, whilst caring for the wellbeing of others,

requires pre-service teachers to practise forms of emotional conduct in resistance to "that which threatens to control" (Infinito, 2003, p. 158). Zembylas (2005, p. 24) argues such practices can take form in negotiations of "subjectivity and emotion" to allow space for "self-formation and resistance" (p. 24). It is clear that the subjectivities of preservice teachers addressed in this article are informed by "rule-governed discourses that govern the intelligible" conduct of positive emotions, yet, we have also shown this subjectification should not preclude the possibility of different kinds of professional selves to emerge (Zembylas, 2005, p. 31). Our theoretical approach in this article demonstrates that subjectification need not occur "in opposition" to professional selfformation; rather, this negotiation of discourses may come to produce an ethical teaching self which is "a necessary reciprocal element of the political valorisation of freedom" (Rose, 1996, p. 98). We agree with Foucault (2000a, p. 342) when he explains that the "crucial problem" of the "power relationship" should be located upon the "recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom", conceived as a necessary "agonism"—a "relationship of mutual incitement and struggle". In other words, the askesis pre-service teachers learn to enact within their course can be thought of as a "permanent provocation" or "double bind" of governmental power (S. Ball, 2013, p. 151).

We suggest that both pre-service and in-service teachers can engage in such agonism through a "renunciation of our intelligible self"—specifically, for example, the individualising self-improvement strategies offered by positive scholarship movement —and by being ready to "test and transgress the limits of who we are able to be" (S. Ball, 2015, p. 1141). One aspect of such work could involve both pre-service teachers and in-service teachers cultivating open and safe dialogue that foregrounds emotional understanding between one another, where *both* collective joy and pain can be felt

together. Teacher leaders and teacher educators can also work at creating safe spaces for the sharing of emotional vulnerabilities, without fear or shame of professional harm. Such practices of collective emotional transgression in the face of cultural and professional norms and institutional pressure—without disregarding the "contextual character of power" (Zembylas, 2005, p. 31)—comprise a crucial space we should be exploring as scholars and teacher educators.



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