POWER FEELIN G Emotions and Education B MEGAN OLE R FOREWORD BY MAXINE GREENE

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# FEELING POWER

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# Emotions and Education

MEGAN BOLER

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for my mother Deetje B. in honor of her rebel spirit, poet's soul, and relentless and inspiring struggle for a just world

#### FEELING POWER

#### Emotions and Education

#### MEGAN BOLER

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# *Foreword* by Maxine Greene

TONI MORRISON, writing in The New Yorker, tells of coming upon an old fisherwoman fishing off the seawall at the end of a neighbor's garden. They talk; the woman says she will be coming back; but the writer never sees or hears of her again. She begins to tell about the difficulty of dealing with the stranger, of the "resources available to us for benign access to each other, for vaulting the mere blue air that separates us...." At the end she concludes that there are no strangers; rather, we are likely to be seeking some missing aspect of ourselves. "For the stranger is not foreign, she is random, not alien but remembered; and it is the randomness of the encounter with our already known-although unacknowledged-selves that summons a ripple of alarm. That makes us reject the figure and the emotions it provokes—especially when these emotions are profound. It is also what makes us want to own, govern, administrate the Other. To romance her, if we can, back into our own mirrors. In either instance (of alarm or false reverence), we deny her personhood, the specific individuality we insist on for ourselves."<sup>1</sup> In many senses Megan Boler's book moves us to confront the mystery of the stranger, "to close the distance," rediscover singularity, the to "the community. the inextinguishable sacredness of the human race."1 She does this by provoking her readers to explore the "gendered rules of emotional conduct" and the "politics of emotion," to recognize what a rediscovery of the place of emotion in education can signify. She takes us on a remarkable journey through landscapes frequently invisible-landscapes on which the place of social control and of resistance to such control show themselves. Because emotion plays such an important role in both, as this book makes so clear, we may find in ourselves a numbness or passivity due to our denials, to our not reading the landscapes Boler brings within our sight.

Surely women and girls have suffered most frequently from the subordination of emotion to formal conceptions of rationality. Megan Boler not only points to the ways in which they have been embarrassed and demeaned by being thought of as "emotional" beings, incapable of the kinds of conceptual ization, logical thinking, and controlled behavior assumed to make men and boys more effective citizens, producers, or administrators. She points as well to the role of feminist theory and feminist thinking in reconceptions of critical thinking and pedagogy. Few scholars have taken heed, as Boler does, of the influence of the consciousness-raising movement on such pedagogies as Paulo Freire's, or the kinship of feminist theorists to the great thinkers in the civil rights movement. Nor (not surprisingly) have our best known workers in the domains of critical literacy named the explorations and articulations of emergent feminist scholars as contributory to poststructuralist, postmodern, and neo-Marxist modes of thought.

Probing the importance of emotion (and its unquestionable neglect) Boler does not try to reconstitute old dualisms. At once she is wholly aware of what is called "binary opposition." Her argument for the recognition of emotion in discourse and praxis makes more understandable the claim that, in patriarchal society, "man" is the founding principle and "woman" the excluded, the opposite, the other. The critical operations intended to undermine such oppositions must include, according to the text that follows, attentiveness to the exclusion of emotion from the Enlightenment conception of the human being in addition to the discoveries stemming from consciousness-raising, an opening between the public and the private spaces that may allow for new modes of collaboration, particularly where emotion is concerned.

It is difficult not to refer to poetry in pondering the bringing of the life of emotion into the open, fresh air, instead of confining it to enclosed rooms. Adrienne Rich, most particularly, has grasped what is involved. In a poem called "Mother-Right," she writes:

The man is walking boundaries measuring He believes in what is his the grass the waters underneath the air the air through which child and mother are running the boy singing the woman eyes sharpened in the light heart stumbling making for the open <sup>2</sup>

Megan Boler's work suggests images of break through, suggestions of what the woman released by the power of emotion (no longer apologized for) can do. Her goal is not guaranteed; but she is "making for the open"; and that seems to be the end in view that Megan Boler and the women who are and have been her colleagues and sisters have in mind in educational settings. Reading this book, one scents a kind of wonderful incompleteness

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Toni Morrison, "Strangers." The New Yorker, 12 October, 1998, p. 70.

along with a consciousness of unrealized possibility. This is the consciousness of resistance, resistance in the name of some new coherence, some new wholeness. Just as the being of many men is dependent on their exclusions and subordinations, on images of what they are not, so may an acknowledgment of the "power of emotion"—not to speak of an integration of emotion into education—make such negation less and less necessary.

Megan Boler speaks of violence and the various efforts being made to find ways of controlling it. She speaks of the shortcomings of approaches founded on a concept of ideology or a concept of the unconscious; and, in doing these things she goes beyond the empirical and the rhetorical. Her work lurches readers into what may be a new concern for transforming praxis, even in the face of others' protests. Appropriately, Megan Boler speaks about the importance of "testimonial reading," of challenges to passive and self-indulgent empathy. As she sets before us her "pedagogy of discomfort," the fundamental notion is ethical; since education for her is a deeply ethical project. We are asked to take responsibility we could not take if it were not for the recognition of the importance of connection, the meanings of power, the necessity of an affirmation of the place of emotion in a fully lived life. Again, this book takes its readers on a journey. The tracks inevitably need repair; but even the discomfort is empowering. We may look out at the landscapes with more and more self-awareness, more and more commitment to "the inextinguishable sacredness of the human race."

> Maxine Greene Teachers College, Columbia University

### *Preface* Feeling Power: Emotions and Education

Until the philosophy that holds one race superior and another Inferior, is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned... Until basic human rights are equally guaranteed to all, Until that day the dream of lasting peace... will remain but a fleeting illusion to be pursued, and never attained

-BobMarley<sup>1</sup>

"Your people contain incredible potential, but they die without using much of it." (an alien's words to an earthling woman saved after the destruction of the earth)

-Octavia Butler<sup>2</sup>

A STUDY OF emotions requires acute attention to differences in culture, social class, race, and gender. The dominant culture applies inconsistent norms and rules to different communities; likewise, each culture reflects their own internal norms and values with respect to emotional rules and expression, and variable modes of resistance to the dominant cultural values. Yet I have learned as I have lectured in different communities on the politics of emotion, in New Zealand and in the United States, that women and men from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds recognize similar patterns of gendered rules of emotion.

Within Western patriarchal culture, emotions are a primary site of social control; emotions are also a site of political resistance and can mobilize social movements of liberation; and feminist theories and practices, in the last three decades, have developed pioneering studies of emotion, gender, and power. As in this book, these are the three main points of a lecture on the "Feminist Politics of Emotions" I have delivered to audiences of students in New Zealand and the United States.<sup>3</sup>

In response to this lecture, students express engaged recognition of how the "politics of emotion" shape their lives. The terrain of gendered rules of emotional conduct is intimately familiar to them yet, they say, rarely named. The analysis of how emotional rules can be challenged and how emotions can be "reclaimed" as part of our cognitive and ethical inquiry seems to provide the students hope for changing the quality of their lives and taking action towards freedom and social justice. In their written responses to the lecture, dozens addressed experiences in which their emotions had been pathologized; further, most had been taught to view emotions as their private problem rather than as a sign that something is wrong with the outside world. Less familiar to them but greatly appreciated were the strategies, developed particularly by feminist theorists and pedagogies, to challenge and resist this privatization and pathologizing of emotions.

One student writes in response:

I found rnyself relating (though not able to recognize until suggested by others in class) to a lot of the "rules of emotions." The rule that "women don't get angry" for instance. I never found myself letting my emotions out by getting angry at those who hurt me. The rule of not showing emotions in public resulted in me waiting until I was alone and just crying and crying until I was almost sick.... When I went to a doctor, he set me up for a counseling appointment and an appointment with a psychiatrist, and lots of medication, I really thought I'd lost it.... To prevent situations like this, I believe there needs to be some kind of awareness program in schools to establish the understanding that physical illness is not the only way people can be sick.... Kids also need to be aware that overpowering emotions are a result of circumstance rather than character.... It is something that I *will* address in my classroom, be it part of the curriculum or not.

As though a floodgate had been released, the journals revealed in sum dozens and dozens of pages of students' analyses and interpretations of the politics of emotion.

One student left a note at my office in which she described how her actions were affected after thinking about the politics of emotions:

[The] lecture...extended my thinking beyond the time taking notes.... I was angry [with a friend] over something they had done. The next time I spoke to that person was after your lecture, and I know that I handled the situation differently by letting my anger be known. As normally I would reduce it to having a bad day, etc., which is not the reason.... Your words have altered my outlook, after thought on how to deal with the emotion of anger.

I open *Feeling Power* with these examples to make the point that the "risky" business of addressing emotions within our classrooms is a productive and necessary direction for the exploration of social justice and education. The social control of emotions, and emotions as a site of resistance to oppression, are underexplored areas of study in most scholarly disciplines as well as within pedagogical practices. "When people cannot name alternatives, imagine a better state of things, share with others a project of change, they are likely to remain anchored or submerged, even as they proudly assert their autonomy" (Greene 1988:9). In order to name, imagine and materialize a better world, we need an account of how Western discourses of emotion shape our scholarly work, as well as pedagogical recognition of how emotions shape our classroom interactions.

#### AN ORIGIN STORY OF FEELING POWER

I FIRST BECAME interested in emotion's *absent-presence* as a student of philosophy. Theories of subjectivity (accounts of our identities, our sense of relation to others and to the world) and epistemology (the study of knowledge, how we know and perceive) were undergoing radical change as philosophies of science had begun to question the relationship of the scientist to his production of knowledge.<sup>4</sup> Positivism, science committed to the possibility of objective, neutral inquiry and universal truths, was being increasingly challenged-for example, by theories of relativism. Yet even these challenges rarely explored emotion. Why didn't these new theorists of knowledge explore the role emotions play in shaping our perceptions, our selection of what we pay attention to, and our values that in turn determine what seems important to explore? In the many years since that awakening to emotion's absence, I have searched countless indexes and tables of contents in texts where emotion would seem to be undeniably a relevant or central area of inquiry; I have read text upon text; I have even read "between the lines" to find mention of emotion. With important and invaluable exceptions, I have come up empty-handed.

It began to dawn on me that emotion's exclusion from philosophy and science was not a coincidence. I discovered that the exclusion was part of an ancient historical tradition. The boundary—the division between "truth" and reason on the one side, and "subjective bias" and emotion on the other—was not a neutral division. The two sides of this binary pair were not equal: Emotion had been positioned on the "negative" side of the binary division. And emotion was not alone on the "bad" side of the fence —women were there too. When I raised the question of emotion with my predominantly male colleagues, I discovered that not only was emotion not considered a worthy topic for their agenda, but also my mention of emotion was a faux pas. I had stepped directly into an ancient trap, a trap in part set precisely for me. As a woman, I was already marginalized as a philosopher; I did not qualify as a man of reasons<sup>5</sup>, perhaps most particularly in the philosophy of science. By raising the specter of emotion publicly, I confirmed my disqualification from their club. And I fulfilled the common cultural stereotype of it being only the "unreasonable" woman who speaks, inappropriately, about emotion in the hallowed halls of academe.

In the bigger picture, their masculine, rational inquiry into subjectivity *required* my "hysterical" voice as the feminine repository of emotion.<sup>6</sup> Emotion—best kept silent—is nonetheless required as a foundational presence, the crucial counterbalance and reflective mirror-opposite to reason's superiority. The denigration of emotion and women is what enables reason and masculine intellectual mastery to appear as the winner in the contest for truth.

I realized that given my scholarly interests I could not pursue my investigation of subjectivities and emotion within the disciplinary confines of philosophy. I turned to an interdisciplinary graduate program, History of Consciousness, where I was able to pursue more broadly the history of ideas—for example, how the disciplinary boundaries and divisions, which I had encountered in terms of reason and emotion, had come to be instituted in Western patriarchal thought. Cultural studies, semiotics, and feminist theories provided approaches that take into account many disciplinesphilosophy. sociology. psychology. psychoanalysis. literature. anthropology, history-and how they overlap. I was taught to read not only as an activity for absorbing information and ideas but simultaneously to question texts as representations of far more than a unidimensional transmission of "truths." I learned to investigate how meanings, truths, and authority are produced: Who is the intended audience? How was the book itself, as a material product, being marketed? What does its cover, blurbs, picture, categorization, price, publishing location tell us? What is the author assuming? What contradictory agendas and ideologies shape the text itself? How do countless cultural values, teachings, assumptions, and ideologies mediate our interpretations of the text? Exposed to interdisciplinary approaches, I began to acquire the tools I needed to pursue emotion's absent-presence.

As someone deeply aware of the injustices that define our world, I began also to consider how my scholarship might be applied to reshape our social and political experience. Indeed my interest in emotion was by no means purely theoretical. By rethinking the absence of emotion, how emotion shapes how we treat other people and informs our moral assumptions and judg ments, I believe we have the potential to radically change our cultural values and violent practices of cruelty and injustice, which are often rooted in unspoken "emotional" investments in unexamined ideological beliefs. In short, what is the effect of affect in the classroom?<sup>7</sup>

How could I productively apply my study of emotion to a social or political site of struggle? The family had been theorized by psychoanalysis; the work-place by Marxists; but what about education? Most in the United States undergo twelve compulsory years of schooling. Each of us can recount at least one if not many horror stories about our schooling experience which exemplify humiliation, shame, cruelty, fear, and anger and sometimes joy, pleasure, and desire. I myself had attended eighteen public schools as I grew up. As soon as I began teaching in 1985, I discovered these explorations of emotion made sense in my own teaching work. I care deeply about my students, and I consider teaching a profoundly ethical undertaking with aims and effects that require ongoing scrutiny. I was able to expose students to new modes of social inquiry, critical thinking, and self-reflection, and to help them discover ways of approaching their education with passionate engagement. Thus I arrived to the study of emotions and education.

#### EDUCATION AS THE SOCIAL CONTROL OF EMOTIONS

THE FIRST PREMISE of *Feeling Power* is that within education, as in the wider culture, emotions are a site of social control. Education is by no means merely "instruction" and transmission of information. Education shapes our values, beliefs, and who and what we become. Education is a social institution that serves the interests of the nation-state and functions to maintain the status quo and social order. It is therefore a primary mode of enforcing social control of the nation's citizens. Total social control is referred to as *hegemony*—control achieved not only through explicit force, violence, and coercion but by engineering our "consent" to this control.

I argue that the social control of emotions is a central and underexplored aspect of education in relation to hegemony. Contradictory rules of emotional conduct and expression n function to uphold the dominant culture's hierarchies and values—for example, women are excluded from education on the grounds of their "irrationality"; and women are also assigned to teach the young because they are naturally caring and nurturing. In this book I seek to show how students and teachers have been controlled and shaped by dominant discourses of emotion, which I identify as the moral/religious, scientific/medical, and rational discourses of emotion.

Education is also a potential site of critical inquiry and transformation, both of the self and of the culture. Education offers us the opportunity to reinterpret and become reflective "if education is conceived as a process of futuring, or releasing persons to become different, of provoking persons to repair lacks and to take action to create themselves" (Greene 1988:22). Education aims in part to help us understand our values and priorities, how we have come to believe what we do, and how we can define ethical ways of living with others. Emotions function in part as moral and ethical evaluations; they give us information about what we care about and why. Thus a primary and under-explored source for this transformation and resistance is our emotional experience as it informs both our cognitive and moral perceptions. Our emotions help us to envision future horizons of possibilities and who we want to become.8 Thus the second thesis of Feeling Power is that emotions are a mode of resistance-to dominant cultural norms, for example, or to the imposition of authority. Given these aims of critical inquiry, educators and students require systematic accounts of how emotions shape the selectivity of our cognitive and ethical attention and vision.

My project thus has multiple agendas. I envision Feeling Power as a theoretical intervention as well as a set of directions for further inquiry into this underexplored terrain of emotion and power. As a theoretical intervention, I explore how and why scholarly disciplines omit, erase, denigrate, and devalue emotions particularly within the cognitive and moral domain. I hope that scholars will examine how emotions shape our inquiries and analyses, how and why we are taught to strive to leave emotions out of our scholarship, and why emotions so rarely are the subject of our studies. In terms of educational practices and theories, I hope that educators can consider how their pedagogies are informed by their own emotions, moods, and values; how the inexplicit subtexts of emotion impact students; how curricula that neglect emotion (for example, teaching students never to use the word "I" in writing as it is "too personal"-a phobia in part reflecting the fear of emotion in higher education) deny students possibilities of passionate engagement. I hope students can recognize how, for example, the competitive individualism that so often defines education fosters fear and isolation, and that these traumas are *not* a necessary part of education.

I am not arguing that a pedagogy of emotions requires confession, that we must all bare our souls. I am arguing that we consider the reasons emotions have been systematically discounted, and develop more creative alternatives for emotions' roles in educational practices.

#### **DEFINING EMOTIONS**

Emotions are notoriously difficult to define. One finds little agreement, across disciplines, or even within a given discipline, on how to define emotion. Philosophical psychology and philosophies of education often

examine emotion's role in relation to three different *domains:* cognitive, moral, and aesthetic. Different schools of thought consider different kinds of questions, including:<sup>9</sup>

- Do we analyze specific occasions of emotional response, or generalized moods? How do we identify an emotion's presence: Are emotions a measurable, physiological sensation? A behavior or action or verbal articulation? A report from one's own private introspection? A necessary component of belief and perception? A form of moral judgment?
- Are there universal emotions, or do we only feel what we have been given the language to describe?
- To what extent do emotions "exceed" language, exist beyond any possible description? Why do we so often use metaphors to describe emotional experiences?
- To what extent does culture or personal idiosyncrasy shape emotions? How does "individual personality" (e.g., "I'm just naturally shy"); our particular family upbringing; our culture and religious beliefs; our social class, gender, and ethnic positions shape what we learn to express, how we interpret emotions, and how we assign value and meaning to different emotions?

Philosophers, and some educators, have debated these questions for centuries.<sup>10</sup> In *Feeling Power* I examine emotions not in terms of any one of these isolated questions or schools of thought. Rather, I set out to explore how scholarly disciplines and cultural rules have taught us to think about and experience whatever it is we call "emotions."

Very few of the theories I draw upon define emotion in terms of the classical, philosophical, psychological definitions. Because I am interested to understand emotions as they are embedded in culture and ideology, as "embodied and situated,"<sup>11</sup> an inclusive definition is useful as a launching point. Emotions are in part sensational, or physiological: consisting of the actual feeling—increased heartbeat, adrenaline, etc. Emotions are also "cognitive," or "conceptual": shaped by our beliefs and perceptions. There is, as well, a powerful linguistic dimension to our emotional awareness, attributions of meanings, and interpretations. My own philosophical conception of emotion, if it must be categorized, resonates with cognitive accounts of emotion that understand emotions and cognition as inextricably linked. My view is also resonant with "evaluative" theories of emotion, which understand emotions as moral evaluations or judgments and thus central to our ethical reasoning.<sup>12</sup>

From the countless, varied, and inconsistent definitions of emotions across the interdisciplinary literatures I study, I have elected to use the term *emotion*, rather than *feeling*, *affect*, or *passion*. My reason is primarily that *emotion* is a term found frequently in our common language. Arguably,

*feeling* is also commonly used in our everyday language, but in scholarly definitions *feeling* is often reserved to refer to the "sensational" experience of an emotion. In the book title I aidopt *feeling* in part because it functions as both a noun and a verb; *Emotional Power* would not have the dual meanings.

The book is structured to identify distinct Western cultural discourses that shape different disciplinary conceptions of emotion. Each chapter offers a different perspective on the terrain of emotion and power. My purpose is to investigate both how different scholarly disciplines have shaped what we commonly "experience" as emotions, and how these disciplines do or do not legitimize emotions as a worthy object of inquiry.

I emphasize throughout that emotions need to be brought out of the private and into the public sphere; that emotions are a site of oppression as well as a source of radical social and political resistance; and that feminists have developed largely unrecognized, grassroots analyses of the politics of emotion, which cultural studies and social theorists continue to neglect. As a result of Western cultural discourses, which on the whole do not value emotions, even the most radical social theories tend to overlook this most silenced terrain of social control and resistance.

#### FEELING POWER

To address the contradictions embedded in our views of emotion, I organize this book into two parts. Part 1 focuses on "Emotions as a Site of Social Control." "Feeling power" refers in the first instance to how we learn to internalize and enact roles and rules assigned to us within the dominant culture. We "feel power" in the sense that we understand and enact our appropriate roles of subordination and domination significantly through learned emotional expressions and silences. For example, the clichés that "boys don't cry" and "girls shouldn't get angry" reflect gendered roles, which have far-reaching implications as a way of organizing access to power in our culture. These emotional expressions and silences are arbitrary, in the sense that they are culturally specific rather than universal. For example, there are cultures in which the rule is not "boys shouldn't cry." In patriarchal and capitalist culture, we learn emotional rules that help to maintain our society's particular hierarchies of gender, race, and class. In this sense the emotional rules we learn are not arbitrary; they are systematically designed to enforce our acceptance of gendered divisions of "private" and "public," of women as emotional and men as rational. These divisions justify social stratifications and maintaining power in the hands of an elite few. The first four chapters offer a theoretical framework, historical accounts, and close analysis of contemporary modes of the social control of emotions.

Part 2, chapters 5 to 8, focuses on "Emotions as a Site of Political Resistance." "Feeling power" refers in a second sense to the power of *feeling* as a basis of collective and individual social resistance to injustices. In the United States, the second wave of feminism and the civil rights movement "politicized" anger, for example-and this anger formed the basis for the collective social movement's resistance to injustice. I credit the women's liberation movement (which drew from the civil rights movement) and feminist pedagogy with developing the first collectively articulated feminist "politics of emotion," particularly through the practices of consciousness-raising. Feminist theories developed in the last three decades have systematically worked to challenge the divisions of emotions and reason, private and public, in contemporary discourse usually argued through analyses of "situated" or embodied knowledges.<sup>13</sup> In the last three chapters I explore specific ethical dilemmas faced in higher education classrooms and attempt to outline pedagogies that engage both critical inquiry and collective, historical analysis of emotions as part of this inquiry process.

Chapter 1, "Feeling Power: Theorizing Emotions and Social Control in Education," provides an overview of theories that help to understand emotions as embedded in culture, ideology, and power relations. Drawing on diverse feminist theories, I understand emotions as neither entirely "public" nor entirely "private," but rather representative of a socially and collaboratively constructed psychic terrain. Feminist theories are especially helpful to a study of emotions and power for two reasons. First, feminist theories have challenged divisions of "private" vs. "public," and in so doing have offered us new approaches to considering how emotions-long considered solely "private" experience-are public and political terrain. Second, the division of public/private has historically been mapped onto a parallel division of masculine/feminine. Feminist political movements and theoretical analyses of gender have reconceptualized emotions as a public object of inquiry. By examining how historical, political, and cultural forces and differences shape emotions, feminist approaches challenge the view of emotions as individualized, "natural," or universal. Drawing as well on poststructuralist theo ries, I suggest "economies of mind" as a framework for understanding emotions, a "mutual transaction" between larger social forces, and the "internal" psychic terrain of the subject/ person. Michel Foucault's studies of the subject and power offer concepts (which he did not apply to a study of emotions per se nor to women's oppression) useful to a historicized approach to the study of emotions and discipline in education.

In Chapter 2, "Disciplined Emotions: Locating Emotions in Gendered Educational Histories," I attempt to "locate" emotions in educational histories. I examine emotion's visible and less visible traces in educational history as represented in historical examples from the period of the

mid-1800s to the 1930s. Emotions are a feature always present in educational environments, yet rarely do we find educational histories that systematically explore, or even mention, the significant role of emotions as a feature of the daily lives of teachers and students. I argue that within educational practices, emotion most often is visible as something to be "controlled." The control of emotions in education occurs through two primary ideological forces: explicit rules of morality, strongly influenced by Protestant values; and explicit values of utility and skills measured through the "neutral" gaze of social sciences which frames the virtuous student in terms of efficiency and mental health. I examine instances of the explicit social control of emotion in nineteenth-century curricula. I analyze how emotional rules function to uphold gendered divisions and roles, here focusing on women's association as the virtuous mother/schoolteacher, and the simultaneous absence of emotion in "masculinized" representations of educational histories. I conclude with an analysis of the "mental-hygiene movement" and its targeting of the "overemotional" student as the major cause of social ills.

Chapter 3, "Capitalizing on Emotional 'Skills': 'Emotional Intelligence' and Scientific Morality," examines the contemporary discourse of "emotional intelligence," introduced by popular science and psychology as "emotional quotient" or the new version of "IQ." I examine the overlap of the early-twentieth-century mental-hygiene movement with the contemporary popularity of emotional intelligence. Through the increasing authority of cognitive science and the applied use of behavioral psychology we are faced with a new conception of the moral individual: a self premised as biologically predisposed to make the "right" moral choices if properly educated. I argue that "emotional intelligence" reflects a contemporary example of pastoral power: the individual seduced to police his or her emotions in the interest of neoliberal, globalized capitalism.

The study of "emotional intelligence" provides a backdrop for Chapter 4, "Taming the Labile Student: Emotional Literacy Curricula," in which I analyze contemporary emotional literacy curricula, which I have studied and observed in K-12 schools in the United States and Australia. Emotional literacy curricula offer both promise and cause for alarm. In this chapter, I analyze the social and legislative climate that supports the emergence of these curricula. I outline the historical roots of emotional literacy programs. I evaluate emotional literacy curricula programs in terms of the risk of "individualizing" emotions on the one hand, and the promise of expanding our capacities to analyze the sociocultural context of emotions on the other.

Chapter 5 explores how practices of consciousness-raising and feminist pedagogy represent a historical first in the form of a collectively articulated "political" discourse of emotions. In "A Feminist Politics of Emotion," I analyze emotions both as a site of women's oppression as well as a basis

for catalyzing political change. I explore the phenomenon that feminist invocations of emotions are denigrated as "touchy-feelie," and ask why similar invocations of consciousness-raising by radical and critical theorists are not denigrated or dismissed as in the same way. Given that critical, feminist, and poststructuralist educational theories tend to distance themselves from analyses of emotion, I suggest how educational theory and feminist philosophies of emotion might productively cross-fertilize to expand our pedagogical theories of emotion.

Chapter 6, "License to Feel: Teaching in the Context of Wars," explores the challenge of developing pedagogies that effectively invite critical inquiry in the midst of social crises. I analyze my experience of teaching during the Persian Gulf War: Do we simply proceed with "business as usual," or do we consider the effects of U.S. military aggressions and our campus's own debates and protests against the war? I examine how students' expressions of "powerlessness and numbness" evoked by the crisis of war contribute to an absent sense of "community" in our classroom. I investigate how powerlessness and numbness reflect in part a response to mass media representations of the war. I explore the impossible challenge of engaging in critical inquiry when faced with our collective numbness and lack of community ethos. I conclude with an analysis of how the differential power relations between educator and students prohibits community, and how students' primary mode of agency when feeling powerless is to resist the educator's attempts to engage critical inquiry.

Chapter 7, "The Risks of Empathy: Interrogating Multiculturalism's Gaze," explores the shortcomings of empathy, embraced since Aristotle as a means of cultivating virtuous behavior and "social imagination." Engendered particularly through the use of literature, educators have hoped to resolve social conflicts and xenophobia, fear of the other, through empathy. I argue that "passive empathy," as traditionally conceived, does not contribute to social change but encourages a passive form of "pity." I contrast what I call "confessional" vs. "testimonial" reading, and outline a mode of reading which calls upon us instead to "bear witness" and to actively engage in an examination of ethical responsibilities through our own emotional self-reflection.

In the final chapter, "A Pedagogy of Discomfort: Witnessing and the Politics of Anger and Fear," I outline a pedagogy that explores the emotional dimensions of our cognitive and moral perception. Focusing on controversial issues of race and sexual orientation as addressed in some curricula, I explore what both educators and students stand to gain by engaging in the discomforting process of questioning our learned values and assumptions. A pedagogy of discomfort invites us to examine how our modes of seeing have been specifically shaped by the dominant culture of our historical moment. I suggest the strategy of learning to recognize when we "spectate" vs. when we "bear witness" as a guiding framework for understanding the selectivity of our vision and emotional attention. I explore the predictable emotions of "defensive anger" and fears of losing our cultural and personal identity encountered as we learn to inhabit a more ambiguous sense of self and recognize the complexity of ethical relations.

The "fate" of emotions in education has, so far, been largely one of discipline and subjugation. I have hope that this fate is not a determined destiny but a historically specific confluence of social forces which is being altered. But education—specifically, relations between educator and student, relations between peers, and the creative expression within our work—also engenders passion, creativity, and joy. I choose to think of the millennium as marking a turning point with respect to emotions and education. We may, collectively, be in a position to "recuperate" emotions from their shunned status, and reclaim them in new ways through embodied and ethical practices located in the mutual interrogation of emotions as a site of control and resistance.

- 1 "War," from recording Natural Mystic Island Records, (1995).
- 2 Dawn, NY: Warner Books ([1987] 1997).
- 3 Most recently I have delivered this lecture to students in women's studies and education at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, and to an audience of one hundred students enrolled in Feminist Perspectives in Education at the University of Auckland, New Zealand.
- 4 In 1983, I was reading the work of Karl Popper, Paul Goodman, Thomas Kuhn, Richard Rorty, Richard Bernstein, and Alastair MacIntyre. I had not yet been directed towards feminist epistemologies of science such as Donna Haraway (1991), Sandra Harding (1986), or Evelyn Fox Keller (1985).
- 5 See Genevieve Lloyd (1984).
- 6 See Elaine Showalter (1997).
- 7 I am grateful to Deetje B. for this pithy sentence.
- 8 Maxine Greene, a preeminent philosopher of education of our time, should be credited with most consistently pursuing the question of how education invites us to explore what it means to seek freedom—as she says, not merely freedom from "negative restraints" but freedom towards who and what we want to become. These questions are pursued throughout her work; see Greene (1973, 1986, 1988).
- 9 See Calhoun and Solomon for a valuable overview of the questions addressed in philosophical psychology, and excerpts from philosophers' work on emotion from Aristotle to the present.
- 10 Calhoun and Solomon (1984) list "ten problems in the analysis of emotion." These are: what counts as an emotion; which emotions are basic; what are emotions about (intentionality); explaining emotions; the rationality of emotions; emotions and ethics; emotions and culture; emotions and expression; emotions and responsibility; emotions and knowledge (23–40).
- 11 "Situated knowledges," the embodied qualities of epistemology and knowing, has been a central focus of feminist theories and philosophies.

Particularly following Donna Haraway's articulation (1991), this concept has been explored by countless feminist writers. For my own project, such feminist analyses of subjectivity have been both inspiring and frustrating. Frustrating, because more often than not these articulations do not systematically explore emotions, although emotion is frequently mentioned in passing. In philosophy of education, Greene also articulates "partiality" and "multiplicity" of our vision (1988, 21 and throughout). I explore feminist theories on these questions further in the next chapter.

- 12 I am also strongly compelled by theories of affect, developed in Spinoza's philosophy, and in the work of Gilles Deleuze (1987), and the overlap of these accounts with psychoanalytic object relations theory (Stern, 1985). Particularly useful for this direction is the contemporary work of Massumi (1996) and Gatens (1996b). However, I do not fully explore these accounts in *Feeling Power* but have left this for my next project. I explore the implications of some of these philosophies in Leach and Boler (1998); and in an essay titled "Affecting Assemblages: Towards a Feminist Theory of Emotion," Deleuze: A Symposium, The University of Western Australia, 6 December, 1996.
- 13 I refer here to Haraway (1990) and the vast adoption of her concept "situated knowledges" throughout feminist and cultural studies.

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## CHAPTER ONE Feeling Power

Theorizing Emotions and Social Control in Education

We refuse to be what you wanted us to be we are what we are and that's the way it's goin' to be. You can't educate us, with no equal opportunity (Talkin' bout my freedom, people's freedom and liberty.)

-Bob Marley<sup>1</sup>

#### **INTRODUCTION**

TWO EXAMPLES OF resistance to education from popular culture evidence how emotion and power are intertwined. Bob Marley's popular songs consistently express his passionate protests against injustice. In this song, "Babylon System," he expresses on behalf of the colonized people of the African Diaspora a collective refusal and resistance to the rhetoric of "equal opportunity education," which he recognizes has not, in fact, led to his people's freedom and liberty. Marley's call for revolution is conveyed through strong emotions—anger, empathy, hope, and joy, as he envisions a better world. Marley expresses what have been called "outlaw emotions" emotions such as anger that are perceived as threatening by the dominant culture.

In a different popular representation of refusal, a *Calvin and Hobbes* cartoon, Calvin hands a book back to his mother and says, "I read this library book you got me." She responds, "What did you think of it?" Scratching his head, he answers, "It really made me see things differently. It's given me a lot to think about" In the last frame, Calvin's mother says, "I'm glad you enjoyed it," and Calvin, walking away, says, "It's complicating my life. Don't get me any more." Calvin's refusal is meant to be humorous: We may identify with Calvin's desire not to "complicate his life" by reading books; we may identify with his mother in our role as

parent, educator, or friend who wants to encourage others to engage in critical inquiry about how they "see their world."

How is Calvin's resistance to "seeing the world differently" shaped by his emotional investments? Is his resistance "political," like Marley's? Social theorists such as Paolo Freire, Frantz Fanon, and Albert Memmi would likely answer yes: Calvin's resistance can be interpreted as his "fear of freedom,"<sup>2</sup> but unlike Marley's expresses the desire to remain within the "comfort-zone" of unquestioned beliefs. Calvin's refusal is the mirror-side of Marley's call for revolution: Calvin likes things the way they are.<sup>3</sup>

Some may say, "Give Calvin a break! It's not that he's afraid of changing his comfortable worldview. He just doesn't like books, doesn't like to think, or is resisting his mother like any normal child does!" But why might we see Calvin's resistance as simply his "individual preference," as a "normal" child's behavior, when we see Marley's resistance as angry and political? Calvin's resistance to change represents an invisible conformity to the status quo, though it is nonetheless an expression of resisting education. In contrast Marley's resistance to education is seen as angry, visible, and potentially threatening.

These introductory examples are meant to evidence that the relationship between a person and their educational experience is fraught with different emotions and histories. Certain emotions are culturally classified as "natural," benign, and normal, while others are seen as outlaw forms of political resistance. The determination of the normalcy and deviance of emotions can be generalized to some extent according to social class, gender, race, and culture, but are also highly determined by particular social contexts and power dynamics between given subjects in a situation. This highlights the impossibility of generalizing about emotional expressions: Resisting education, for example, means different things in different contexts.

Throughout this book, I question the Western philosophical and psychological tendencies to think of emotions as "natural," "universal" responses, located solely within the individual. Rather, in each case an emotion reflects the complex dynamics of one's lived situation. The two resistant responses above each reflect particular reasons and perceptions; and we understand the significance of the two different situations by understanding the different "histories" of resistance (anger, passion, fear, rigidity) that shape the emotional expressions. Emotions are inseparable from actions and relations, from lived experience. On the whole, education is impoverished in both theory and practice in accounting for the particularities of emotions in relation to lived power relations.

Resistance to change is only one example of the complicated emotional terrain of educational work. One can think of myriad other examples, including the following:

- The inevitable fears of judgment that occur in a competitive climate of grades and evaluation.
- The joy and Eros that are part of inquiry and interaction with others.
- Self-doubt and shame, common especially to women's experience within higher education: women with Ph.D.s who experience the "imposter" syndrome and continue to be plagued with doubts regarding their intellectual authority.
- Anger, alienation, and hopelessness experienced by those who don't "conform" and who thus emerge as "losers" in the education game.
- The "emotional baggage" we all carry into the classroom, stemming from our different cultural, religious, gendered, racialized, and social class backgrounds.

While one might want to speak in generalized terms about how emotion and education intersect, each of these examples would need to be examined in its culturally and historically specific context, which would include accounting for the idiosyncratic differences of each person. Emotions are slippery and unpredictable, as educators have long recognized.<sup>4</sup> In the early decades of this century, social scientists and educators crusaded the "mentalhygiene movement," in which they targeted the "labile" student (she or he who did not emotionally conform) as the cause of society's troubles. Despite their efforts, they didn't succeed with a prescription for the social control of emotions. It is perhaps this slipperiness which in part contributes to education often evading the subject of emotion.

In this chapter, I begin by stating my approach to understanding emotions in relation to power relations. I summarize why a theory of emotions and power is needed for theorizing education and developing effective pedagogies. I then turn to feminist theories from different disciplines that contribute to a theory of emotions and power. I summarize why it is particularly difficult to develop "histories of emotion." Finally, I outiine concepts borrowed from post-structuralist thought which inform my approach to the study of emotions and education.

#### **"FEELING POWER"**

A PROMISING AND underexplored approach to this muddy undertaking is a study of how emotions are a site of social control. *Feeling power* means at least two things: Feeling *power* refers to the ways in which our emotions, which reflect our complex identities situated within social hierarchies, "embody" and "act out" relations of power. *Feeling* power on the other hand also refers to the *power of feeling*—a power largely untapped in Western cultures in which we learn to fear and control emotions. Feeling *power* suggests an approach to the question of social control. Behavioral and expressive conduct is developed according to socially enforced rules of power. How does one learn not to express anger at one's boss, or that doing so is a very risky business? How are people taught to internalize guilt, shame, and fear as ways of guiding "appropriate" social conduct?

Feeling power, on the other hand, directs us to explore how people resist our oppression and subjugation. For example, what gives women the courage to publicly challenge sexual harassment? If we choose to resist the social control of emotions as part of the fight for freedom and justice, we are challenged to understand when and how that resistance and courage arise. But resistance, as a version of *feeling* power, takes many forms. Education is an environment governed by rules of power and authority. Ironically, one may discover that students (like Calvin) may resist the educator's suggestions, no matter what that suggestion is. The parental cliché "Do what I say because I know what's best for you" is in part an invitation for the young person to rebel and say "No, I'll decide what's best for me!" In education, then, resistance is complicated as young people find themselves in a climate where one of their few spaces of power available to them is to resist authority.<sup>5</sup> Thus however well-meaning or liberatory one's educational directive, sometimes the most creative option for students is to resist. To analyze the emotional dimensions of resistance in education thus poses an exceptionally complicated question.

A challenge within education is to provide creative spaces to develop flexible and creative modes of resistance involving emotional breadth and exploration that are not prescriptive. In *Feeling Power* I call for collectively self-reflective, historically-traced understandings of our emotions as part of a public process—a project that involves the educator as well as the student undertaking the risky process of change.

#### Approaching the Labile Terrain

An interdisciplinary approach to emotions and education serves a particular purpose. It helps to illuminate how emotions are visibly and invisibly addressed within education, and how emotions reflect particular historical, cultural, and social arrangements. Thus rather than exhaustively studying one view of emotions and education,<sup>6</sup> I am interested in how different views of emotion and education reflect distinct social and political agendas, related to the language and discourses available at any given historical moment.

In the philosophy of education we find emotions most consistently addressed in the aesthetic realm,<sup>7</sup> sometimes addressed in the moral realm, and less frequently addressed in the cognitive realm. In my interdisciplinary map, the approaches to emotions through moral or aesthetic education each represent different philosophical discourses and historical moments. While my work is strongly shaped by these philosophies of education, I am interested in how different educational schools of thought conceptualize emotion.<sup>8</sup> What conception of emotion underlies any given educational agenda?<sup>9</sup>

The specific focus of my study is how affect occurs in the specific site of the classroom, as mediated by ideologies and capitalist values and its entailed gendered forms. What I contribute that has not been offered before is a detailing of the specific historical logic of this education of emotions, as it has met the needs of Western capitalist cultures over the last century.

I am specifically interested in a theory of emotions and education that begins from an examination of power relations: how structures and experiences of race, class, and gender, for example, are shaped by the social control of emotion, and how political movements have resisted injustice by drawing on the power of emotions. Rather than attempt to summarize the traditions of philosophy and emotion, I begin from analyses of power. Analyses of power that bear most directly on theorizing emotion are found in feminist theories developed over the last three decades, and most systematically from the 1980s to the present.

#### TENSIONS BETWEEN "POWER" AND "EMOTIONS"

Emotion has most often been theorized as a "private," "natural," and individual experience that is "essentially" located in the individual.<sup>10</sup> Despite the increasing embrace of emotions over the last two decades as "socially constructed," the view of emotion as individualized is deeply embedded in our language and conceptual frameworks. As a result, I fear we still do not have a theory of emotions that adequately understands them as collaboratively constructed terrain.

The primary objects of study throughout *Feeling Power* are "discourses." Rather than assuming that utterances and language are transparent or self-explanatory, "discourse" refers to the culturally and historically specific status of a particular form of speech, and to the variable authority and legitimacy of different kinds of languages or utterances. I analyze specific discourses on emotions, and how they are *contested*.

These range from *media* discourses like television and news, to *institutionalized* discourses like medicine, literature, and science. Discourses are structured and interrelated; some are more prestigious, legitimated, and hence more "obvious" than others, while there are discourses that have an uphill struggle to win any recognition at all [such as feminism, civil rights, etc]. Thus discourses are *power* relations. (O'Sullivan et al. 1994:94)

For example, I examine texts, or classroom incidents, in terms of *which contesting discourses* of emotion inform the assumptions or interactions. I focus on discourse because I want to understand how emotions are not simply located in the individual, are not simply biological or privately experienced phenomena, but rather reflect linguistically-embedded cultural values and rules and are thus a site of power and resistance.

In attempting to understand emotions in relation to power and culture, we are immediately confronted with an unresolved tension embedded in our everyday language and scholarly discourses. This is a tension between studies of "structures" and forces of power (economic, political, and legislative), on the one hand; and accounts of individualized, "intrapsychic" experience, on the other. If we adopt, for example, a Marxist perspective that emphasizes how capitalism shapes who we are, it becomes challenging to account for how and when individuals resist capitalism, and how people choose to act on their own will and resist dominant social forces. If on the other hand one focuses on the agent, or the person, there is a tendency to explain people's choices without accounting for how choices are powerfully influenced by social forces.<sup>11</sup>

Feminist theories offer some of the most pioneering approaches to understanding emotions as collective and collaborative terrain. The success of feminist approaches has to do with challenges to the divisions of "public" and "private" spheres. Both "women" and "emotions" have historically been relegated to the private and domestic spheres of the home, of caring for others—spheres outside the province of the politically governed, public spaces constructed and inhabited by men.

These theories assist in rethinking emotions as collaboratively constructed and historically situated, rather than simply as individualized phenomenon located in the interior self. This approach requires analysis of Western "binary oppositions"—such as emotion vs. reason, private vs. public, bad vs. good—as well as simultaneously understanding the gendered dimensions of these divisions. Feminists have had a particular interest in critiquing binary divisions, because "women" and everything associated with women falls on the "bad" side of the binary.

The shift in thinking about emotion as public rather than simply private allows us to glimpse the relationship between social control, hegemony,<sup>12</sup> and emotions. Examples of material force include enforcing gender roles that keep women in the domestic sphere; requiring that people work full-time, which exhausts them and prevents them from creatively challenging the status quo or having the energy for revolution; keeping people in poverty, which breeds hopelessness. This social control is achieved as well though "shaping" or "winning" the consent of the oppressed.

Ideologies, necessary to achieving hegemony, consist of accepted ideas which appear as "natural," outside history. By appearing natural, these

ideas, which profit capitalism and patriarchy for example, do not seem to reflect the interests of an outside group. Instead, what are in fact deeply social and historically specific, value-laden rules appear as "natural" and "universal."

Hegemony refers to "total social control" obtained through material and economic force—but obtained as well by "shaping" and "winning" the consent of the oppressed. The success of hegemony, particularly patriarchal and capitalist hegemony, requires that divisions between public and private spheres be upheld. The work of feminist theorists is particularly useful to demonstrate how hegemony and emotion overlap. Public and private divisions, mapped onto gendered roles and emotional rules, requires in turn that women internalize ideologies and "enact" their inferiority on a daily basis—to comply with their own subjugation.

Feminist theorists—philosophers, political theorists, sociologists, and poststructuralists, among others—recognize emotions as not only informing our ethical lives and cognitive perceptions, but as a political terrain. Emotions are "political" in several senses: Within Western cultures, for example, it has served the interests of patriarchy and capitalism to view women as naturally nurturing and caring, and also as tending towards an overemotionality that justifies their exclusion from the rational polis. Emotions are also political in the sense that emotions can catalyze social and political movements. The civil rights movement can be analyzed as significantly shaped by the moral revolution offered by anger: Those who fought for civil rights were angry about the disenfranchisement, segregation, and systematic violence towards African-Americans.

Feminist theories thus help us examine hegemony, and forms of political and social control, not simply in abstract terms and as large social forces but as lived out in our daily interactions—in our emotions, for example. Perhaps more than any other scholarly approach, feminist theories interrogate the embodied, material, and particularized experience of our daily lives.<sup>13</sup>

The emphasis on the "particular" turns out to be especially helpful in analyzing emotions. Because of their particularity, in fact their unpredictability, emotions have defied theorizing of any sort and may always elude a full theo retical account. To theorize emotions is a slippery business, which does not lend to quick prescriptions and generalized rules applicable to all educational instances and all students and teachers. For example, why are women on the whole more prone to self-doubt and shame than are men? Yet even this generality masks important particularities. A female student may feel shame only in some contexts, dependent on her relationship to the teacher, to other classmates, to her family upbringing, etc.

A theory of emotions concerned with their historical specificity<sup>14</sup> must account for significant differences in how a culture assigns different

emotional rules to men and women, or to people of different social class or cultural backgrounds. The importance of the emotional "particulars" in educational transactions requires a theory that is able to analyze emotions in their cultural and historical specificity.

#### FEMINIST CHALLENGES TO THE VIEW OF EMOTIONS AS "INDIVIDUALIZED"

OUR COMMON LANGUAGE and scholarly discourses tend to characterize emotions as

- Located in the individual.
- "Natural" phenomenon we must learn to "control."
- "Private" experiences many of which we are taught not to express publicly.

There is some truth to each of these common conceptions. When one feels an emotion, it does seem to be uniquely located in one's individual body/ mind/psyche. Many emotions seem to occur without our willing them: "Anger swelled within me," "I exploded with joy," "Grief washed over me." We then *choose* what to express of these naturally occurring emotions; we are expected to learn to control our expressions and emotional reactions. Finally, emotions are private in the sense that often we cannot "see" another's emotion (and sometimes we ourselves may experience an emotion we don't notice or choose not to recognize).

The common conceptions of emotion are linked to what I call the dominant discourses of emotions: the pathological, rooted in medicine and science; the rational, rooted in the Enlightenment philosophy of the Man of Reason; and the religious, rooted in conceptions of "channeling" passions in an appropriate manner.<sup>15</sup> I discuss these discourses in greater detail in the next chapter. An example of how they overlap is found in the common idea that we must "control" our emotions and, if we don't, our "inappropriate" emotional behavior may be pathologized and medicated. Similarly, in the history of Western philosophy, women have more often than not been seen as "naturally" incapable of reason and thus justifiably excluded from sharing in public power.

It is tempting to think that eugenics and other extreme characterizations of biological differences in men and women are a thing of the past. But common language, popular culture, mass media, and science frequently refers to gendered differences in emotion as rooted in biology. This view, widely contested by feminist studies over the last two decades, is fueled by contemporary studies in neurobiology which readily capture popular attention. In a newspaper article titled "Gender Differences in Jealousy," evolutionary psychologists claim genes as the rationale for such differences in jealousy: Men are more upset by women's "sexual" rather than her "emotional" infidelity, ostensibly because her "monogamous womb" is the safeguard for his genetic destiny; women, on the other hand, are less distressed by a man's "sexual" infidelity, because what she needs is his emotional bonding to her and the family to keep him bringing home the bacon. The article goes on to voice concern over biological explanation of gendered differences:

there is also a debate over the social consequences of the two jealousy theories. Critics of the evolutionary theory say it is dangerous to call the jealousy gender gap a product of our genes. "This theory holds profound implications for legal and social policy," says psychologist David DeSteno, of Ohio State University. "Men could get away with murder [of a sexually unfaithful spouse] by attributing it to their biology and saying they had no control over themselves." (*New Zealand Herald*, January, 1997:62)

With the growing popularity of cognitive and neurobiological sciences, narratives which explain emotions as 'natural' and 'universal' are proliferating. More than ever we need analyses of emotion that counterbalance the dubious political agendas of scientific authority.<sup>16</sup>

#### FEMINIST CHALLENGES TO WESTERN THOUGHT: Dismantling the Binaries of Male/Female, Public/Private, Reason/Emotion

TO DEVELOP A HISTORICIZED approach to theorizing emotions and education is challenging because, in Western culture, emotion has been most often excluded from the Enlightenment project of truth, reason, and the pursuit of knowledge.<sup>17</sup> In 1984, philosopher Genevieve Lloyd published *The Man of Reason*, in which she argues that to

bring to the surface the implicit maleness of our ideals of Reason is not necessarily to adopt a "sexual relativism" about rational belief and truth; but...it means, for example, that there are not only practical reasons, but also conceptual ones, for the conflicts many women experience between reason and femininity. The obstacles to female cultivation of Reason spring to alarge extent from the fact that our ideals of Reason have historically incorporated an exclusion of the feminine, and that femininity itself has been partly constructed through such processes of exclusion. (1984:x)

Women's exclusion from the ideal of reason has rested on her association with emotion, nature, and passive subordination. Lloyd traces women's exclusion from reason throughout Western philosophy, from Plato to Descartes, Hume to Rousseau, Kant and Hegel to Sartre. In short, to "recover" a place for women within Western philosophical traditions<sup>18</sup> and to also maintain a view that values emotions in cognition and moral knowledge is to challenge ancient, deep-seated oppositions that continue to shape women's experience in education.<sup>19</sup>

In her influential analysis of the historical emergence of Western hypervaluation of objectivity, Susan Bordo confirms the association of femininity and subjectivity, and masculinity with objectivity. However, Bordo qualifies Lloyd's philosophical and historical account. Bordo argues that the "flight to objectivity" dates not back to Greek philosophy but is a specifically Seventeenth-century "masculinization of thought." The Greeks, she argues, as well as philosophers since, have in fact not evaded femininity until the emergence of Cartesian rationality. Cartesian anxiety results in part, she argues, from the effects of the Copernican and scientific revolution and ensuing sense of "separation" between self and world, the breakdown of "symbiosis and cosmic unity" (1987:58). (Bordo further analyzes Descartes' anxiety as a mirroring of a wider cultural anxiety in psychoanalytic terms, the separation from the maternal.) At this juncture one finds the powerful Western confluence of femininity and subjectivity as a corruption to be transcended. Bordo argues that the flight to objectivity is significantly fueled by masculine anxieties and fears, largely fear of femininity.

The accounts provided by such philosophers as Lloyd and Bordo have pioneered feminist critiques of Western thought. However, even in these influential texts specific histories of emotions are fairly marginalized in the production of feminist deconstruction of Western rationality.

In her "Introduction" to an issue on emotions in *Discourse: Journal* for *Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture*, interdisciplinary scholar Kathleen Woodward writes:

If we can write histories of rationality, so too can we write histories of the emotions. It is necessary to underline the *s*, to call attention to the plural, so that we do not find ourselves only engaged in deconstructing the antinomy of reason and emotion, which is to say, making explicit what we already know.... Our vocabular-ies for the emotions are impoverished, and if our language is so bizarrely truncated, what of our experience both in and out of the academy? (1990–91:3)

Woodward calls for "histories of emotion" that parallel feminist histories of rationality. In addition to understanding how rationality has framed our educational values and practices, we also require histories of how emotions enlist subordination and enable resistances.

#### FEMINIST THEORIES OF EMOTION

Feminist studies across the disciplines have developed a fourth primary discourse of emotions, the political. The politics of emotion emerge within the women's liberation movement to challenge the three dominant discourses of emotions (the pathological, rational, and religious).<sup>20</sup> Feminist practices and theories explore the social construction of emotion, and systematically contest emotions as natural, universal, or biological. I offer here a synopsis of examples of feminist theorists who have developed a politics of emotion within such fields as anthropology, sociology, political theory, and philosophy.

In a rare study dedicated to interdisciplinary, crosscultural ethnographies<sup>21</sup> of the discourses of emotion, Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod open their 1990 edited collection as follows:

Emotions are one of those taken-for-granted objects of both specialized knowledge and everyday discourse now becoming part of the domain in anthropological inquiry. Although still primarily the preserve of philosophy and psychology within the academic disciplines, emotions are also ordinary concerns of a popular American cultural discourse whose relationship to such professional discourses is complex and only partially charted. Tied to tropes of interiority and granted ultimate facticity by being located in the natural body, emotions stubbornly retain their place, even in all but the most recent anthropological discussions, as the aspect of human experience least subject to control, least constructed or learned (hence most universal), least public, and therefore least amenable to sociocultural analysis. (1)

Emotions, they argue, are taken for granted and are understood largely through "common sense" within both specialized academic knowledges as well as within everyday language. The commonsense level at which emotions function (as opposed to being brought into self-reflective or public attention, e.g., through therapy or meta-narratives about emotion) is grounded in pervasive conceptions of emotion as:

- *universal* ("All cultures feel joy and fear and anger");
- *natural* ("It's natural to be angry when someone offends you!");
- *private* or "interior": "Only I experience what I am feeling";<sup>22</sup> many ideologies assign emotions to the private sphere, which prevents emotions being publicly expressed.

Ethnographers like Lutz and Abu-Lughod emphasize that the primary Western narratives about emotions portray them as an "internal," interior space tied to the "natural" body and functioning as a universal "fact" of biological existence.

In philosophy,<sup>23</sup> two influential essays published in 1989 represent feminist analyses of emotions as socially constructed. In an essay called "Anger and Insubordination," Elizabeth Spelman begins with Aristotle's maxim that "anyone who does not get angry when there is reason to be angry, or does not get angry in the right way at the right time and with the right people, is a dolt" (quoted in Spelman 1989:263). Spelman begins by pointing out that the "person who should get angry" was not, in Aristotle's world, women or slaves but the Greek men. Spelman persuasively argues that women are not in fact permitted to express anger. This prohibition functions to maintain women in her subordinate status. When women are prevented from expressing anger at injustice, transgression, or violence, they are forced to submit without expressing resistance.<sup>24</sup> Further, women's silence is interpreted as willing agreement to their subordination.

Philosopher Alison Jaggar analyzes what she calls "outlaw" emotions emotions that have historically been prohibited to women but which, when expressed, empower women and challenge their subordinate status. Developing the feminist social constructionist view of emotions, Jaggar speaks of "emotional hegemony" and "emotional subversion," and argues that by

forming our emotional constitution in particular ways, our society helps to ensure its own perpetuation. The dominant values are implicit in responses taken to be pre-cultural or a-cultural, our socalled gut responses. Not only do these conservative responses hamper and disrupt our attempts to live in or prefigure alternative social forms but...they limit our vision theoretically. (1989:143)

Jaggar's comments echo Maxine Greene's articulations. Greene explores how "obstacles or blocks" to "freedom" are "artifacts, human creations, not 'natural'or objectively existent necessities. When oppression or exploitation or segregation or neglect is perceived as 'natural' or a 'given/ there is little stirring in the name of freedom" (1988:9). Without the ability to envision alternatives and transformational possibilities, we "are likely to remain anchored or submerged" (ibid.:59). One can see the resonance between feminist philosophies of "outlaw" emotions and a vision of radical education for freedom.

The work of two other feminist philosophers expands an account of emotions as collaboratively constructed. Emotions cannot be understood as simply "rational" or "irrational."

Sandra Bartky (1990) analyzes "psychological domination," drawing on the work of Frantz Fanon and Jean-Paul Sartre, and offers a gendered account of "psychic alienation." One of her central theses is that "[I]t is itself psychologically oppressive both to believe and at the same time not to believe that one is inferior—in other words, to believe a contradiction" (30). She challenges Marxist accounts of false consciousness, by emphasizing instances in which women hold contradictory beliefs about their inferiority. In other words, it does not suffice to say "women believe they are inferior as a result of internalizing patriarchal ideologies." She discovered a discrepancy between what women actually believe, and how they feel. She describes how, as women students in her class hand in their written work, they consistently apologized and/or expressed shame about their work. Yet, these women would not say that they "believed" they were actually inferior to their male counterparts—yet, they "felt" they were inferior. Bartky stresses that this discrepancy reveals a problem with analyzing such phenomenon in terms of ideologies. How do we explain that discrepancy?

To study emotions allows us to explore the revealed "space" between ideology and internalized feeling. In making this distinction I am not saying that emotions offer an "unmediated, raw data" which are outside of ideology.<sup>25</sup> Rather, I suggest that neither the framework of ideology and consciousness nor of desire and the unconscious offer us adequate entries into this terrain of emotions and power.

Sue Campbell develops promising directions for what I call an "expressivist" theory of emotions. Her emphasis on how emotions are collaboratively formed importantly suggests how emotions are neither private, nor merely an internalized effect of ideology.

Campbell's essay "Being Dismissed: The Politics of Emotional Expression" (1994), builds on recent feminist philosophical analyses of bitterness. Bitterness is usually viewed as an "undesirable" emotion that should be avoided. Some feminists have reclaimed bitterness as a "legitimate and rational" response to injustice or oppression.<sup>26</sup> Campbell critiques this rationalist language, and points out that to argue that the bitter person has "legitimate and rational reasons" for her feeling thrusts the "burden of justification" onto the bitter individual. As an alternative to this reinscription of the rational individual, Campbell demonstrates how bitterness is collaboratively formed. It's not that you knew you felt bitter, and then happened to decide to express it. Rather, you expressed your anger and then were told, "You're just bitter." Once accused of bitterness, you must justify your reasons. Further, she argues, to be told "you're bitter" is a dismissal and a silencing. Even if you then articulate your reasons for being bitter, the other is no longer listening. If, instead, we recognize that bitterness is collaboratively and publicly formed, it does not make sense to require the bitter individual to justify her reasons. Rather, what is called for is a *full social accountability on everyone's part for the* interpretive context.

Building on Marilyn Frye's concept of "social uptake" (1983), Campbell discusses the "blocking" or "dismissal" of emotions. These are instances in which those with greater power enforce the culturally condoned habits of inattention. "Social uptake' is defined as necessary to the *success* of emotions" (1994: 480). Social uptake refers for example to a woman who gets angry watching her mechanic mess up the successful adjustment she herself had made to her carburetor. When she expresses her anger he calls her a "crazy bitch" and changes the subject. Not only does he refuse to "uptake" her anger, but he displaces it and frames her as crazy. Her emotional expression is successfully "blocked" through this social interaction.

# Feminist Sociology and Political Philosophies

I BRIEFLY EXAMINE feminist contributions that draw on Marxist and psychoanalytic analyses to theorize emotions. The work of social and political theorists resonates with my interest in "economies of mind," which I discuss in the last section of this chapter. In 1983, feminist sociologist Arlie Hochschild published *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Hochschild developed a groundbreaking concept of "emotional labor." Marxists had previously analyzed labor without reference to the "private" worlds of women's work and labor.<sup>27</sup> Hochschild studies the airline industry and the work of stewardesses, examining how women's emotion is "commodified" into a product. The concept of emotional labor represents a significant shift: Emotion is viewed not simply as the private, "caring" act of a mother, for example, but as a "product" that profits corporate business.<sup>28</sup>

Political philosopher Ann Ferguson elaborates the notion of "sex/ affective production". Elaborating the pioneering work of Gayle Rubin on the "sex/ gender" system,<sup>29</sup> Ferguson accounts for both economic production as well as the "production and reproduction of people" through "parenting and kinship, sexual structures, and economic modes of production." Thus the "modes" though which people are produced will vary a great deal in different historical, cultural, regional, and familial contexts. She continues, "each mode of sex/affective production will have its own distinctive logic of exchange of the human services of sexuality. nurturance, and affection, and will therefore differently constitute the human nature of its social product: human children" (1991:68, emphasis added). She states that this production is by no means limited to family/ kinship networks. Her socialist-feminist perspective emphasizes the specificity of how capitalism and gender shape affective production especially by creating "problematic and contradictory gender identities in both boys and girls in childhood, identities which then make subsequent experiences in peer interaction in schools and communities, and later in workplaces, very important in determining sexual preference, sexual practices, and the ultimate content of one's gender identity" (ibid.).

The sex/affective production paradigm is extremely useful to providing a missing history of the education of emotions. Central to Ferguson's argument is her challenge to the division of public and private spheres:

The separation between the public and private, the realm of economic production and the realm of domestic life specific to capitalist society, should not lead us to the error of conceptualizing sex/ affective production, or the production of people, as a process occurring in a place or realm different from that where the production of things take place. The sexual division of wage labor... male decision making and female obedience roles, and high-status male work vs. low-status female work are all specific aspects of the capitalist production process. (ibid.)

This point is key to my project: Affective production and the production of people do not occur "in a place or realm different from that where the production of things [and knowledge] takes place." In education, for example, affective production occurs even in the most sterile and rational classrooms.

## Feminist Psychoanalysis and Emotions

FEMINIST PSYCHOANALYTIC theorist Jessica Benjamin opens her book *The Bonds of Love* noting: "Since Thomas Hobbes, in his justification of authority, first analyzed the passions, domination has been understood a psychological problem" (1988:3). Benjamin looks to Freud's theories for explanation of this psychological conundrum. In her explanation, "the injunction to love our neighbor is not a reflection of abiding concern for others," but instead reflects our "propensity for aggression" (4). In short, love is one of the ways we "tame" our aggression, one of the ways we become civilized. "Obedience to the laws of civilization is first inspired, not by fear or prudence...but by love, love for those early powerful figures who first demand obedience" (5). Domination thus powerfully structures the relationship between our "psyche" and our "social life." Benjamin's book explores "domination as a two-way process, a system involving the participation of those who submit to power as well as those who exercise it." This is what she calls the "bonds of love."<sup>30</sup>

Object relations theory, a version of psychoanalysis rooted in the work of Jacques Lacan, represents a valuable direction for exploring emotions and social relations. One of the most slippery features of emotions is that they seem at times to exceed or defy language. Psychoanalysis, and object relations theories, attempt to explain the relationship between what we can and cannot say, what is conscious and what seems to be inaccessible to our consciousness and thus to our language.

However, in this book I have elected not to use psychoanalysis as an overriding mode of inquiry. Elsewhere, I do explore psychoanalysis and theories of affective intersubjective communication.<sup>31</sup> But alternatively I suggest a focus on what I term "inscribed habits of inattention," in part as an alternative to the concept of the "unconscious." Inscribed habits of inattention describe the selectivity of our attention. For example, how do we choose/learn which emotions in ourselves and others to notice and attend to?<sup>32</sup> I am particularly interested in how these inscribed habits of inattention are embedded in discourses and in educational practices and philosophies.

Political philosopher Iris Marion Young writes, "I think psychoanalysis is indispensable to feminist social theory, because this is the only framework that theorizes desire and the unconscious" (1990:3). It may be that psychoanalysis is the "only framework that theorizes desire and the unconscious." However, I would argue we need additional or complementary theories of emotions as they shape our material experience, both as a matter of sheer principle (we should not have only one such theory, although, of course, psychoanalysis consists of many theories and variations) and because we may not wish to explain our emotional world solely through the lens of desire and the unconscious. Calling for histories of emotions, Kathleen Woodward writes:

Such histories would offer us breathing room for the now banal rhetoric of post-structuralism and Lacanian analysis as it is summed up by the word "desire." In its ubiquity and virtual solitude, in the deployment of the discourse of desire everywhere, desire has assumed the status of a master category (it is the agent of narrative, it is the hallowed sign of subjectivity). But it is also a curiously empty category. (1990–91:3–4, emphasis added)

Having spent many years searching educational theories for systematic accounts of emotions, I share Woodward's frustration with the relatively "empty" categories not only of "desire" but of the "unconscious." One finds consistently that across critical, feminist, and poststructural theories of education, authors repeatedly come up to the emotionally sticky subject but seem to evade this murky terrain by quickly invoking the umbrella categories of "desire" and the "unconscious."<sup>33</sup> Perhaps my frustration would be lessened if these authors were to develop fuller explications of how psychoanalysis helps us to understand pedagogies.<sup>34</sup>

Although indeed some aspects of our psychic life may be relegated to the "unconscious," I am more interested in how we might explain these "inaccessible" parts of our psyche as a result of socially determined "habits

of inscribed inattention." It may be that in the process of becoming civilized, and obtaining language, we come to "repress" many of our feelings. However, I would argue that we might interrogate such phenomena as "repression" through a close examination of specific historical and cultural rules, as they are applied to different classes and persons.<sup>35</sup> I am interested in exploring how culturally patterned, inscribed habits of inattention account for these silences.

A related objection to analyzing emotions and education in terms of psychoanalysis is that "education is not therapy."<sup>36</sup> While in fact, educators are not trained as therapists, the dynamics between teacher and student can parallel the therapist/client relation. Whether we like the analogy or not, and whether we agree that teachers are in fact sometimes like therapists, emotions are a significant feature of the educational transaction and process.<sup>37</sup> In an interview regarding "Cultural Strangeness and the Subject in Crisis," Julia Kristeva speaks about (European) culture and subject as in a permanent crisis. She notes that the "power of the therapist...of the educator...of a certain familiar authority" is both a "provisional and stabilizing apparatus," as well as being "relative and flexible" (1990–91:161). She sees this role of the therapist as a necessary model for pedagogy, but one which "will require a great deal of money.... There must be many more professors. But this also requires a certain personal devotion, a certain moral, pedagogical attention on the part of teachers, who are not necessarily prepared by their studies to do this" (ibid.).

In addition to the logistical problem of setting up pedagogy as a therapeutic relation, to view education simply as a therapeutic relation overlooks a key difference between education and therapy. Education involves a mediating third term: the text, or curricula. The relations between persons are powerfully mediated by this "physical" object of knowledge represented by the text. To examine and discuss emotions in a classroom is structurally different than to do so in a "private" therapeutic relationship. Leaving aside our individual meetings between student and teacher, I suggest that the direction for a pedagogy of emotions is genealogy: not confession, not therapy or spectating and voyeurism, but witnessing.

In the next chapter I seek to contribute to this absence of histories of emotion in education. Here I briefly outline some issues intrinsic to the discipline of history which inform my interdisciplinary approach.

### HISTORIES OF EMOTION

The challenge of "mapping" a history of emotions has to do not only with the slippery nature of emotions, but the slippery nature of history as a discipline. What is a historian's evidence of the past? "To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it—the way it really was"(Ranke). "It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" (Benjamin [1959] 1969:255). Since historians cannot recreate the actual event in question, they must always rely on some mediated form: A written account or document is the most common evidence for the historian. What would count as the evidence of emotional education?

The two most explicit forms of evidence include curricula that outline how to discipline emotions, and public debates about what kind of emotional character is desirable for social harmony. Transcripts of interactions between students, and between teachers and students, provide another source of the "unofficial" education of emotions.

Often the stories that we remember and tell about our own schooling are not so much about what we learned, but how we learned and with whom. There are stories about teachers we loved, teachers we hated and those we feared.... There were good days and others full of tears and broken hearts, and many, many days of boredom, monotony, and endless repetition. (Rousmaniere et al. 1997:4)

But because disciplines are notoriously divided territories, the analysis of what actually occurs in a classroom is seen to be the province of sociology or psychology.

The definition of any discipline is not simply a matter of an arbitrary boundary. "Boundaries are not simply lines on a map. Rather...'they denote territorial possessions that can be encroached upon, colonized, and reallocated. Some are so strongly defended as to be virtually impenetrable; others are weakly guarded and open to incoming and outgoing traffic'" (Tony Becher, quoted in Klein 1993:186). In large part as a result of how historians have defined the boundaries of their methods and evidence, emotions have fallen through the cracks of educational histories.

The persistent interventions of feminist scholarship and work by scholars of color have radically challenged the boundary of "public vs. private." Histories traditionally document what occurs within the "public sphere." The public sphere has been defined largely in terms of male activities.<sup>38</sup> Existing histories tend to focus on the public debates of education, or focus on larger social forces or trends. Most of what is documented and taught to us highlights traditionally "public" aspects of education such as the legacy of Horace Mann, who crusaded for the common schools in the U.S.; legislature drafted by male politicians; and curricula debated by male-populated boards of education. Over the last two decades, feminists and scholars of color have reshaped what counts as history, and the discipline has begun for example to consider oral histories, diaries, and other less traditional forms of representation as "legitimate" historical evidence.<sup>39</sup>

But the reasons why emotions appear absent from educational histories lie even deeper. Assigned to the "private" sphere, emotions have not been considered "noteworthy" within the male-defined perimeters of historical scholarship. The relegation of emotions to the private sphere is inextricably inter-twined with the simultaneous consignment of women to the private sphere, and the related neglect of women's histories. Women's work, which includes "emotional labor," is also consigned to the private sphere. Rarely do educational histories examine, for example, the daily lives and practices of the female majority of schoolteachers, or the experience of students subjected to educational discipline.<sup>40</sup> Examples of emotion's presentabsence, the daily dynamics of teachers' and students' lives, and the myriad ways in which emotions constitute interpersonal dynamics and learning processes, are largely absent from historical representations.

Madeleine Grumet addresses the questions of absence and presence eloquently, exploring curriculum as the "presence of an absence" (1988:xiii). In the 1970s, she recounts, the "absences" were discovered in terms of "hidden curricula." She explores as well how the binary oppositions between the "public" and the "domestic" play out through women's presence as schoolteachers, and how the female schoolteacher embodies deceptive divisions between "economy" and the more "privatized" sphere of the family and the school. She argues that in order to recognize the schools' "dynamic function in mediating the public and domestic oppositions," and in order to permit women to have the power of transformative agents, we must examine the "motives that we bring into our work as educators" particularly as related to our "genderization and reproductive projects" (xiv-xv). Emotions are an underexplored site of educational histories that allows us to understand these gendered relations.

In *Feeling Power* I seek not simply to provide a philosophy or psychology of emotions and education, but to argue for pedagogies that invoke emotions in a historicized sense. I turn now to some concepts from poststructural<sup>41</sup> theory which offer approaches to studying emotions in both their "local" and "global" historical context. These poststructural concepts help me to argue that emotions are not simply located in an individual or a personality, but in a subject who is shaped by dominant discourses and ideologies and who also resists those ideologies through emotional knowledge and critical inquiry.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the most recent feminist theories of education that (albeit obliquely) address emotions situate themselves in poststructuralist theory. They do not, for example, align themselves with the early practices of feminist pedagogy and consciousness raising but tend to work with Marxist and psychoanalytical theories, particularly as these have been reformulated by Michel Foucault and others in cultural studies and critical theory.<sup>42</sup>

#### ECONOMIES OF MIND: Archaeology and Genealogy

TO COMPLEMENT MY focus on "inscribed habits of inattention" as a description of how emotions are a site of social control, I suggest "economies of mind" to describe how the effects of power are made visible through a historical analysis of emotion. Raymond Williams's discussion of what he calls "structures of feeling" most closely resonates with how economies of mind function within the fertile terrain of emotion.<sup>43</sup> *Archaeology* describes a way to analyze the discourses that subject individuals to the internalization of capitalist and patriarchal power, values, and ideologies (Foucault, 1980:85). *Genealogy* describes how we can glimpse resistances to this subjectification: At the same time as discourses of discipline and control emerge, the subjects of power also are able to develop "subjugated knowledges" and thus resist and transform power. Power is not monolithic, but is a dynamic flux that thrives within social relations. What we least understand is how these lived relations of power manifest in terms of emotions and structures of feeling.

In one of his few passages that reference emotion, Michel Foucault notes that "genealogy retrieves an indispensable restraint; *it must record the singularity of events outside of any monstrous finality; it must seek them in the most unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history—in sentiments, love, conscience, instincts;* it must be sensitive to their recurrence, not in order to trace the gradual curve of their evolution, but to isolate the different scenes where they engage in different roles. Finally, genealogy must define even those instances where they are absent, the moment where they remained unrealized..." (Foucault in Rabinow, 1984: 76, emphasis added). Emotions in education promise a rich site for genealogical study, as they are most present within "hidden curricula."

Economies of mind refers both to the subject produced by a knowledge and the knowledge produced by a self; economy implies here "exchange," and currency or commodity. Economies of mind describes an analysis of the infinitesimal (emotions), which in turn reveals the more dispersed and "global" effects of power that these discourses of emotion serve.<sup>44</sup> This emphasis on the "global" pushes us to think of emotions, and "choices," not as residing within the individual but as a mediating space: Emotions are a medium, a space in which differences and ethics are communicated, negotiated, and shaped.

Concluding this central directive for archaeology, Foucault says, "above all what must be shown is the manner in which [the techniques and procedures of power] are invested and annexed by more global phenomena and the subtle fashion in which more general powers or economic interests are able to engage with these technologies that are at once both relatively autonomous of power and act as its infinitesimal elements" (1980:99). Applied to the question of emotion, archaeology allows us to examine the

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