

EMOTION MATTERS: EXPLORING THE EMOTIONAL LABOR OF TEACHING

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A large empirical body of literature suggests that teachers make a difference in the lives of students both academically (Pianta & Allen, 2008) and personally (McCaffrey, Lockwood, Koretz, & Hamilton, 2003). Teachers influence students through not only their delivery of content knowledge, but also their development of optimal learning conditions and establishment of positive, pedagogical interactions in the classroom (O'Connor & McCartney, 2007). A recent line of inquiry suggests that teachers need to understand the emotional practice of their job in order to develop optimal classroom learning conditions, interact positively with students, and build authentic teacher-student relationships (Hargreaves, 1998). One approach to exploring the emotional practice of teaching involves understanding the “emotional labor” performed by teachers at work. Emotional labor is the suppression or expression of one’s feelings to meet the goals of a job (Grandey, 2000). By exploring the emotional labor of teachers using a new adapted instrument, *The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale* (TELTS) and sampling a large, homogenous teacher population, this study found that teaching involved emotional labor. More specifically, findings endorsed that teachers performed emotional labor on the job despite teachers not knowing the emotional display rules required in their schools. Overall, results provide implications for practice to improve how we prepare and supervise teachers.

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PREFACE

My days as a classroom teachers were some of my fondest memories; however, the disparities that plague the education system broadly challenged not only my students but also my teaching. Most notably, my frustrations surrounded around the general lack of attention paid to the psychosocial needs of my students, and in turn the emotional strain I felt in meeting my students' psychological demands. Having little training in teaching and coming from an educational background far different than my students' academic experiences, I vowed to teach to each of my students' academic needs, establish a safe classroom community, and engage students in activities that promoted collaborative and constructive learning. Through these objectives, I thought, "I will teach; my students will learn."

Despite my persistence and devotion to my students, by the end of my first year I realized that my mantra for teaching had overlooked an essential factor. I had provided my students all the basics of pedagogy, but I neglected to consider how my feelings on the job influenced my productivity, my relationships with students, and my students' learning. As I began to reflect daily on my emotional reactions towards students, I identified that teaching involves an emotional practice not discussed in research or in practice extensively. To be an excellent teacher, I needed to recognize the role of emotion in my teaching and how these emotions affected my relationship with students and their learning potential. The result of these anecdotal

observations and lived experiences were the catalyst for this dissertation study on the emotional labor of teachers.

Although the impetus of this study stemmed from my phenomenal but formidable professional experiences, the final product resulted not only from my hard work, but the endless support of my committee, colleagues, and family. Writing a dissertation can be a lonely and friendless process; I experienced waves of emotions such as, disappointment, anxiousness and triumph, which led me to question continuously --- What did I get myself into? However, it is through my support network that I survived and conquered “The Dissertation.” For that, I am indebted to each individual below. Many thanks to:

- **My Dissertation Committee** (*Dr. Carl Johnson, Dr. Charlene Trovato and Dr. Karen VanderVen*) – Your wisdom, expertise and guidance helped to produce this final document. Thank you for challenging me to meet the high demands of a scholar and researcher. Over the past four years, it has been an honor to work with each of you, and I hope to model the mentorship you have shown me with my future students.
- **My Family** – I can always count on you for providing unconditional love and support. Words cannot express my sincere appreciation for all that you have done for me over the past four years and my entire academic career. May I continue to make you proud for I am so fortunate to be your daughter and your sister.
- **My Husband** (*Matt*) – Many do not recognize that spouses experience as much stress as the doctoral candidate. Despite some difficult times, you hung in there, Matt, and for that I am grateful. Thank you for recognizing my potential when I could not. Thank you for building my confidence when I thought it was lost. And, thank you for encouraging me

when I thought success would not happen. Your love has not wavered and forever I will love you.

Last, but by no means least...

- My Advisor, mentor, dissertation committee chair, but most importantly my friend (*Dr. Mary Margaret Kerr*) – How do you acknowledge the one person you hope to emulate in life? Well, I'll try. Your tenacity, vivaciousness, scholarship and constant care model what I hope to be as an academic and mentor. The passion you provide and the effort you make to develop genuine relationships with your students sets you apart from your colleagues. Sheer words of "thank you" seem meaningless at this moment for without you, MM, I would not be here today. Because of you, the Betsy I was in the past *IS* the Betsy I am again. You *are* my role model, mentor and friend.

1.0 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

I've come to a frightening conclusion that I am the decisive element in the classroom. It's my personal approach that creates the climate. It's my daily mood that makes the weather. As a teacher, I possess a tremendous power to make a child's life miserable or joyous. I can be a tool of torture or an instrument of inspiration. I can humiliate or humor, hurt or heal. In all situations, it is my response that decides whether a crisis will be escalated or deescalated and a child humanized or de-humanized. (Ginott, 1975)

As noted in the quote above, the job of teaching requires more than context knowledge. Although expertise and instruction remain primary foci in teaching, recent literature states that teaching is also an emotional practice (Hargreaves, 2000; Schutz & Zembylas, 2009). Despite research findings supporting the emotive work in teaching (Hargreaves, 2000; Zembylas, 2004; Zembylas, 2005), there has been little investigation into the role of emotion in the classroom (Denzin, 2009) and how emotion, in particular emotional labor, influences teachers' job performance (Zembylas & Schultz, 2009).

Broadly, this chapter reviews literature to support the design of this dissertation study. The concept of emotional labor and key components of the theory appear first. Next, the reader learns about seminal works that support the operational definition of emotional labor and how emotional regulation literature relates to the emotional labor theory. What then follows is a review of prior empirical research, and illustrations of how emotional labor has been studied in other disciplines. Thereafter, this review discusses the role that emotion plays in teaching, in particular how teaching involves more than an instructional focus, but also an emotional practice.

Finally, suggested lines of inquiry to explore the emotional labor in teaching conclude this chapter.

1.1 WHAT IS EMOTIONAL LABOR?

Emotional labor is the deliberate suppression or expression of emotion to meet the goals of an organization^{1,2} (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). For example, let's consider an employee who works at a technology help desk. Help desk employees receive complaints daily and are expected to answer these complaints while remaining calm and conveying respect to the customer. Even if the help desk employee becomes frustrated with the customer's complaints, the help desk employee is required to speak to the customer nicely. This example of performing emotional labor illustrates how the help desk employee might suppress feelings of frustration related to customer's complaints in order to achieve the expected organizational goal --- providing quality customer service.

Our understanding of emotional labor comes from empirical research in service-oriented occupations. In these service-oriented jobs (e.g., nursing, flight attendants, and hospitality

¹ The author chose this particular definition for the following reasons: (a) it is the most recent definition in a series of theoretical works attempting to define emotional labor, (b) it integrates prior theoretical works, and (c) it is the first operational definition of emotional labor.

² For the purposes of this review, organization refers to the physical work place (Grandey, 2000). Within emotional labor literature, the terms *organization* and *job* are used interchangeably.

services), an employee first must know the goals of the job in order to gauge appropriate job behaviors and expectations during interactions with customers, passengers, or, in the current study, students. Typically, employees know these expected behaviors when organizations communicate directly the behavioral expectation of workers or explain corporate mottos such as, “service with a smile” and “The customer is always right.” Researchers hypothesize that organizations convey these goals explicitly and implicitly through *emotional display rules* (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Emotional display rules are the organizational standards identified for expressing emotions appropriately when working: these standards are referred to as organizational goals (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005). It is in the adherence to these emotional display rules and organizational goals that the service-oriented employee performs emotional labor. In the technology help desk example, the emotional display rules expected of the help desk employee were being nice, respectful, and calm despite the customer’s complaints. In addition to emotional display rules, two other key concepts appear in the emotional labor empirical research. These concepts are defined and discussed in the next section.

1.1.1 Key Terms of Emotional Labor

Studies show that emotional labor involves three key concepts: *emotional display rules*, *surface acting*, and *deep acting*.³ One must be familiar with each key concept to understand the empirical research on emotional labor. Table 1 describes the key concepts of emotional labor.

³ Although literature defines emotional labor using three constructs (i.e., emotional display rules, surface acting, and deep acting), recent emotional labor theorists hypothesize a

Table 1. Key Concepts in Emotional Labor

Construct	Definition	Example
Emotional Display Rules	The “standards for the appropriate expression on the job” (Ekman (1973) as cited in Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005, p. 343; see also Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).	Teachers welcome students’ inquiries graciously. Teachers should be nice to parents when parents call asking about their children.
Surface Acting	On the surface, an employee portrays emotions that are not felt internally (Hochschild, 1983).	Despite being bored by the simple plot of a first grade story and having heard the story over 50 times, the teacher shows enthusiasm when a student reads and answers questions about the story.
Deep Acting	The employee changes internally felt emotions to align with required emotional expressions of the organization (Morris & Feldman, 1996).	A teacher feels frustration that a student does not conceptualize the material presented. The teacher attempts to recognize that the student is trying to master the new content material, and works to shift her frustration to appreciation of the students’ efforts.

fourth, *natural emotions*. Showing natural emotions involves expressing naturally-felt emotions consistent with emotional display rules; in essence no acting is required (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005). Therefore, to extend Diefendorff et al.’s theory, we included also three *natural emotions* items. However, because work on natural emotions is still theoretical, we did not consider natural emotions as a fourth construct.

In addition to explicit emotional display rules defined by a service field, emotional labor involves a second key construct called *surface acting*. Surface acting involves masking one's true, internal emotions by disguising affect or pretending to feel another emotion (Hochschild, 1983). Essentially, surface acting is one type of acting used to address emotional display rules and perform emotional labor. The following example depicts surface acting in a flight attendant: A flight attendant may display calmness facially and make announcements to travelers in a soft, monotone voice during an emergency landing; however, the flight attendant is actually experiencing internal emotions of alarm or fear.

Unlike the forced separation of experienced emotion inherent to surface acting, *deep acting*, the final of the three emotional labor concepts, occurs when workers feel their emotions align with the required emotional expressions of the organization (Hochschild, 1983). Deep acting involves an employee's modification of an existing emotion to meet the job demands. The following scenario represents the use of deep acting: A flight attendant, Manuel, becomes frustrated with a traveler's repeated rude demands. Manuel moves to the back of the plane and discusses his frustration with a colleague. During this conversation, Manuel begins to understand that the traveler is impatient because her child is sick. After all, the passenger is dependent on the flight attendants' assistance to help care for her son. After talking with his colleague, Manuel's frustration dissipates and his appreciation for the traveler's parental concern increases. In this way, the flight attendant adjusts his emotions in pursuit of his work---being helpful to passengers. He then returns to the difficult traveler with some water and paper towels and asks, "Is there anything else you need for your child?"

Taken together, emotional display rules, surface acting, and deep acting constitute the trifecta of concepts surrounding emotional labor. However, these key concepts alone do not

explicitly define the emotional labor theory. Accordingly, we next consider the major theories that have led to the empirical work in emotional labor.

1.1.2 Seminal Works on Emotional Labor

Four major works contribute to our current definition of emotional labor. Table 2 identifies these works, provides each work’s unique perspective on the definition of emotional labor, and highlights key findings.

Table 2. Seminal Works on Emotional Labor

Scholar	Definition	Key Ideas
Hochschild (1983, 1989)	Emotional labor is “the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display” (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7).	Worker is responsible for making the customer feel important Focus on how the worker controls emotion and acts in a given interactions
Ashforth and Humphrey (1993)	Emotional labor occurs when “the laborer deliberately attempts to direct his or her behavior toward others in order to foster both certain social perceptions of himself or herself and a certain interpersonal climate” (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 90).	Relates emotional labor and task effectiveness in regards to producing expected organizational outcomes Focused on the worker’s observable behavior
Morris and Feldman (1996)	Emotional labor is “the effort, planning and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions	Need to understand emotional labor contextually as social environments provoke different emotions Introduces organizational regulations (i.e., length, intensity, and frequency) said to influence one’s emotional labor
Grandey (2000)	“Emotional labor...is the process of regulating both feelings and expression for the organizational goals” (Grandey, 2000, p. 97).	Suggests that emotional regulation properties influence our understanding of emotional labor

Each seminal work provided new insight into how we define emotional labor today. The initial work surrounding emotional labor focused on how the worker *acted* in an effort to make the customer feel good (Hochschild, 1983). Following Hochschild's (1983) research on the acting involved in emotional labor, the definition of emotional labor evolved into one that incorporated a worker's knowledge of the required, observable *emotional display rules* of an organization so that the worker acted in direct pursuit of the goals of the job (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). As emotional display rules continued to be studied, researchers found that these rules vary contextually, and that organizations' expectations of workers' emotional labor differ by the intensity, length and frequency of the worker-customer interaction (Morris & Feldman, 1996). After reviewing the existing literature on emotional labor, Grandey (2000) synthesized the findings on the constructs of emotional labor and proposed an operational definition: Emotional labor is the deliberate suppression or expression of emotion to meet the goals of an organization. In addition, Grandey (2000) hypothesized that properties of the emotional regulation theory aligned with elements of the emotional labor theory. We will discuss similarities and differences of these two theoretical frameworks in the next section. First, we discuss briefly the contribution of each of these seminal works to the current operational definition of emotional labor.

The acting in emotional labor. Over the past two decades, emotional labor theorists have worked to formulate an operational definition of emotional labor. Our understanding of the acting involved in emotional labor developed from Hochschild's (1983, 1989) research. This research found that emotional labor involved how workers acted out their emotions and displayed those feelings through observable facial and bodily behaviors (Hochschild, 1983). Supported by observational data, the conclusions of this study identified that emotional labor

involved a person's ability to modify or suppress feelings so that any interactions with other people produced the "proper state of mind," hence creating a sense of safety and caring amongst the interacting individuals (Hochschild, 1989). Evidence supported that modifying emotions involved deep acting whereas suppressing emotions accounted for surface acting (Hochschild, 1983).⁴ In sum, early studies on surface and deep acting found that workers acted out their emotions towards customers to make the customer feel important and good (Hochschild 1983, 1989).⁵ Thus, surface and deep acting became constructs used to define emotional labor today.

Emotional display rules and goals of the organization. Building on studies investigating the acting involved in emotional labor, researchers found that to act on the job appropriately, workers needed to know the expected emotional display rules required by their organization to meet the organizational goals (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Simply, this research focused on the observable behaviors⁶ required of workers to show appropriate emotions

⁴ To review, current reliable and valid emotional labor measures include natural emotions as a third strategy associated with the dramaturgical perspective of emotional labor. However, given the limited theoretical evidence supporting the role of natural emotions in emotional labor, this study reported findings on the two confirmed forms of acting in emotional labor --- surface and deep acting.

⁵ Although the terms *important* and *good* are not highly sophisticated words, earlier theoretical works on emotional labor used these words to define workplace interactions.

⁶ Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) initially called emotional display rules "observable behaviors."

to clients. These authors found that with continued practice of performing emotional display rules, emotional responses became routine. Moreover, further investigation on emotional display rules found that knowing emotional display rules correlated positively with achievement of job-related tasks (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2002). Thus, studies on emotional display rules led to the expansion of the definition of emotional labor to include focusing on workers' behaviors to achieve organizational goals (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

However, some researchers felt that the operational definition of emotional labor required even greater specificity. Morris and Feldman (1996) found that emotional labor involved knowing not only the emotional display rules expected by the organization, but also how to plan for, control and develop skills to present appropriate emotional display rules to the customer. In particular, this line of inquiry identified that indicators of the worker-customer interaction (i.e., length, intensity and frequency) defined emotional labor in greater depth.

Elements of the worker-customer interaction. By the mid-90s, the operational definition of emotional labor included managing one's emotions by performing surface or deep acting and responding to those feelings by performing emotional display rules to meet organizational goals. Although the current definition of emotional labor stems from these earlier research findings, some scholars argued that our understanding of emotional labor might vary across organizations, hence prompting exploration into how emotional labor display rules and acting differ contextually for workers (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Morris & Feldman (1996) found that emotional labor involved four dimensions: (a) frequency of appropriate emotional responses, (b) attention to emotional expectations (e.g., duration of interaction, emotion intensity), (c) variety of displayed emotions, and (d) emotional dissonance. (Morris and Feldman

(1996) define emotional dissonance broadly as the conflict between the required emotional display signs and one's genuine feelings.)

Similar to earlier research on emotional labor, these study results showed that emotional display rules facilitated the emotional interactions between worker and client and in turn produced the desired organizational goals (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Moreover, these findings identified that emotional display rules varied across contexts. Based on this new information, emotional labor theorists thereafter defined emotional labor based on the context of the job and the dynamics involved within the worker-customer interaction.

In conclusion, the current operational definition of emotional labor developed from findings that span over a decade of research. Thus far, we have discussed how three seminal works and three key constructs help to define the theory of emotional labor. However, as the theory of emotional labor has evolved, theorists argue that constructs of emotional labor are related to factors of the emotional regulation theory (Grandey, 2000). Thus, to grasp the meaning behind the emotional labor theory fully, literature on the similarities and differences between emotional labor and emotional regulation require review. The fourth seminal work of emotional labor, discussed further in the following section, not only introduced how emotional regulation properties influence our understanding of emotional labor, but also synthesized past research to define emotional labor operationally (Grandey, 2000).

1.1.3 The Relation Between Emotional Labor and Emotional Regulation

As social beings, individuals regulate on a daily basis emotionally (Saarni, Campos, Camras, & Witherinton, 2006), but individuals do *not* express emotions typically through emotional display rules as mandated by a career identity. Only when emotional regulation

situates itself in the context of a service goal is it called emotional labor. Commonly conflated, the terms emotional regulation and emotional labor explain generally how individuals manage their feelings and respond to those emotions within a given context. However, a clear distinction between emotional labor and emotional regulation exists. By understanding the distinct differences between emotional labor and emotional regulation, we define further the concept of emotional labor.

Emotional labor theorists defined emotional regulation as “the process by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions” (Gross, 1998, p. 275). In short, individuals process their emotions by attending to emotional cues that lead to emotional responses or emotional display rules. Consistent across emotional regulation and emotional labor literatures, the relationship between emotional cues and emotional display rules is mediated by the individual, who produces emotional display rules in behavioral, experiential, and physiological manners (Gross, 2002). Behavioral, experiential, and physiological display rules are defined as such:

- Behavioral display rules involve an individual’s outward expression of emotion (e.g., hitting or shaking one’s head).
- Experiential display rules reference the internal feelings that one encounters (e.g., fear or anxiety).
- Physiological display rules represent how the body reacts to emotion (e.g., hair rising or bumps on the skin).

A combination of behavioral, experiential, and physiological display rules comprise an individual’s overall emotional response (Gross, 2002).

Moreover, scholars conflate the terms emotional regulation and emotional labor because Grandey (2000) proposed recently that Gross' (1998) Model of Emotional Regulation represented how workers process their emotional labor. Figure 2 displays Grandey's depiction of the relationship between Gross' (1998) model of emotional regulation and emotional labor theory.

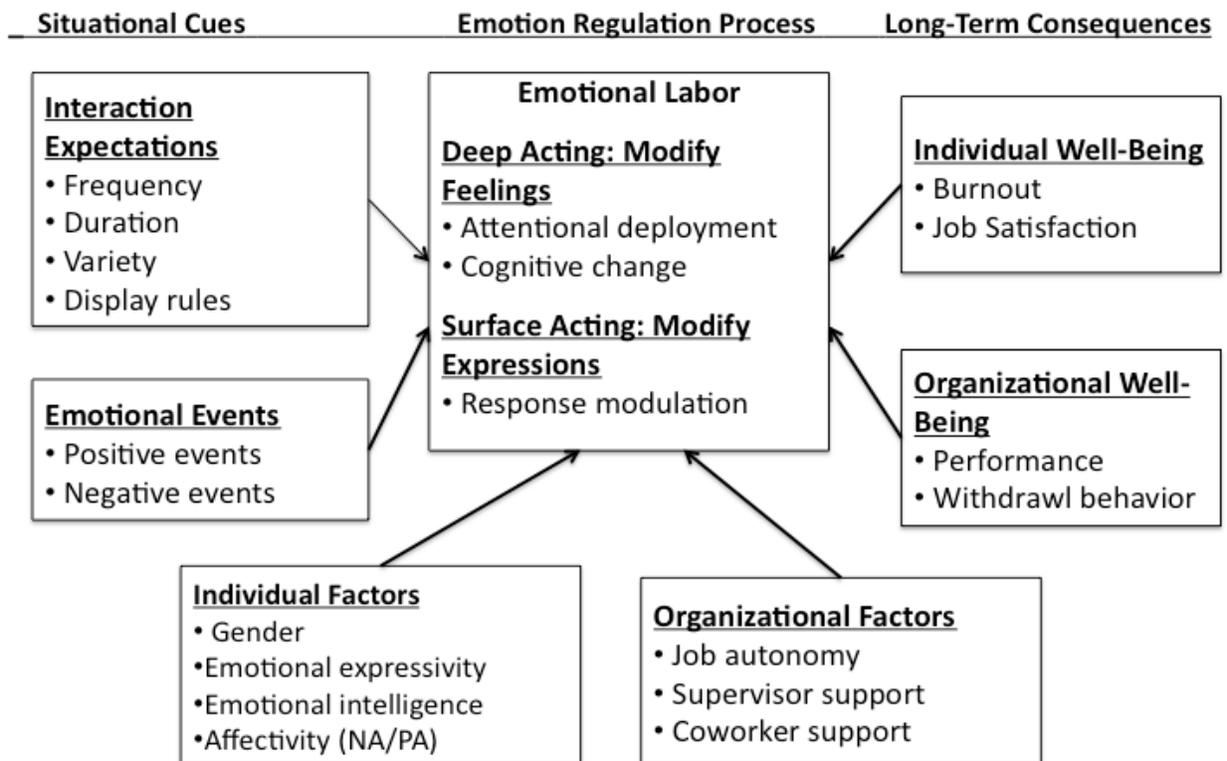


Figure 1. Process model of emotional labor theory. This model represents the proposed conceptual framework of emotional regulation performed in the work setting as related to Gross's 1998 process model of emotion regulation. NA =negative affect; PA = positive affect. Adapted from "Emotion Regulation in the Workplace: A New Way to Conceptualize Emotional Labor," by A. Grandey, 2000, *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 5(1), p. 101. Copyright 2000 by the American Psychological Association.

Figure 1. Process Model of Emotional Labor Theory.

According to Gross' (1998) process model, once an individual engages in an emotional response, termed emotional display rule in emotional labor literature, then he or she regulated in a response-focused manner. An individual with response-focused emotional regulation tendencies favors a prescribed emotional response. Also, this individual would willingly modify his or her emotions to display the prescribed emotional rule (Gross, 1998). In accordance with the Gross process model, the element of response-focused emotional regulation tendencies aligns with the emotional labor concept of managing emotions to perform the emotional display rules behaviorally, experientially or physiologically to meet the organizational goals of a job (Grandey, 2000).

Furthermore, in congruence with emotional regulation literature and Gross' process model, response-based emotional regulation aligns with surface and deep acting (Grandey, 2000). As Gross (2002) stated, response-based emotional regulation requires that individuals control their emotions and at times not display their true feelings. In association to emotional labor, this management of emotion translates to surface and deep acting (Grandey, 2000). For example, if a teacher masks frustration for a student's misbehavior by smiling and continuing with content instruction, then the teacher demonstrated a response-focused expression or surface acting. By managing emotions in this regard, the teacher suppresses her feelings of frustration and produces an emotional expression without consideration to his/her true feelings. Thus, the control of emotions to produce certain emotional behaviors is a process involved in both emotional regulation and emotional labor theories, which explains why many scholars confuse the terms emotional regulation and emotional labor.

Because an individual can never be devoid of emotions, researchers assert that an individual can regulate an emotion prior to the manifestation of that emotion based on contextual

demands (Campos, Frankel, & Camras, 2004). It is this understanding of emotional regulation that is conflated commonly with the concept of emotional labor.

Similar to emotional regulation, emotional labor involves regulating emotions based on the demands of a given context; however, the emotional labor theory argues that emotions felt in a given context are dictated by assigned or prescribed emotional display rules (Wharton, 1993). As previously introduced, emotional display rules are emotional responses expected of workers to achieve organizational goals. For example, an emotional display rule for a front desk hotel employee includes greeting patrons with a smile and saying hello upon the patron's arrival (Grandey, Rafaeli, Ravid, Wirtz, & Steiner, 2010). Besides the use of emotional display rules to dictate employee behavior, emotional labor research contends that if organizations trained their employee on how to manage their emotions and to display "appropriate" responses or rules to their clients, then organizations will have a greater likelihood in achieving their job goals (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Therefore, one contrast between the emotional labor and emotional regulation theories is that employees perform emotional labor based upon workplace demands.

Another difference between emotional regulation and emotional labor is that emotional labor occurs on the job (e.g., flight attendants are supposed to be nice so travelers remain calm (England & Folbre, 1999). Moreover, emotional labor involves workers adherence to emotional display rules to achieve organizational goals. For researchers it is important to understand the association between emotional regulation and emotional labor as many use the terms interchangeably; but there remain distinct differences between these concepts. Figure 2 denotes the similarities and differences between theories of emotional regulation and emotional labor as well as the overlapping tenants of the two theories.

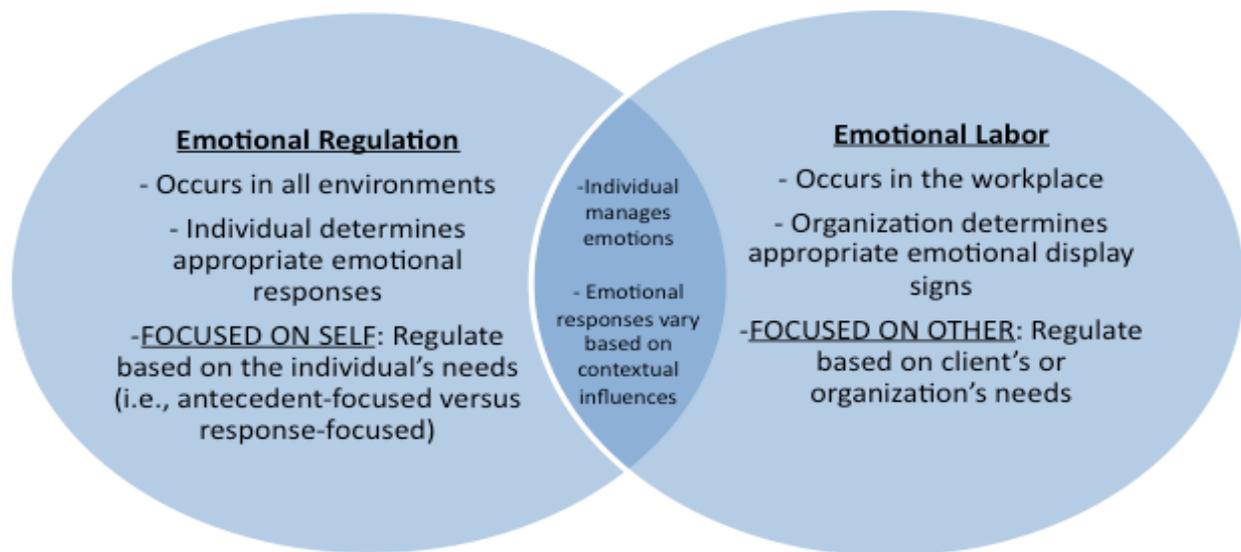


Figure 2. Emotional regulation versus emotional labor.

Figure 2. Emotional Regulation versus Emotional Labor

As is the case in other workplaces, schools require that staff regulate emotionally and follow emotional display guidelines in order to attend to occupational goals and adhere to the needs of the clients (i.e., students). Yet unlike other sectors, the emotional labor concept lacks examination in education settings. Before we discuss why studies of emotional labor are needed in education, we review prior research on emotional labor conducted in other fields that require personal interactions.

1.1.4 Prior Research on Emotional Labor

Over the past two decades, emotional labor theorists and researchers worked to define emotion labor operationally. While working to conceptualize the term emotional labor, researchers began

to wonder how the emotional labor theory might assist employers who struggled to understand complex organizational phenomena such as turnover, job commitment and employees' psychological well-being. Initial studies on emotional labor used qualitative methods to explore the relationship between emotional labor and these organizational phenomena primarily (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; James, 1989; Tolich, 1993). In addition, the relationship between emotional labor and these phenomena has been explored quantitatively (Abraham, 1998; Mann, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Pugliesi, 1999; Wharton, 1993), but prior to 1998 there was not a valid and reliable measure on emotional labor (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998). Therefore, emotional labor researchers adapted valid instruments that represented constructs of emotional labor. (For example, the emotional dissonance scale on emotional regulation instruments was used to assess surface acting for emotional labor.)

However, following the validation of the *Emotional Labor Scale* (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003), inquiries led to simultaneous empirical studies of emotional labor across multiple professions. Because research took place across occupations concurrently, review of this research by profession does not convey how this research evolved. Moreover, review of *all* the empirical studies on emotional labor to date would go beyond the purpose of this study.⁷ Therefore, the empirical literature here is organized by reviewing a few key studies on emotional labor that address three key organizational phenomena: *job satisfaction*, *emotional exhaustion*,

⁷ This study uses an adapted version of the valid and reliable Brotheridge and Lee (1998) scale. Because we use this instrument, we review only empirical studies that also use this measure. It is relevant to point out that additional empirical studies exist on emotional labor, however the measures used to study emotional labor vary.

and *burnout*. In the three sections below we define each phenomena, discuss empirical research studied to explore the relationship between emotional labor and the key phenomenon, and identify how the discussed studies are relevant to the construct of emotional labor.

Job satisfaction. In emotional labor literature, the measure of job satisfaction represents an employee's evaluation of the job (Grandey, 2000). To explore consequences in performing emotional labor, scholars have examined how workers' emotional labor relates to job satisfaction. Across very different populations, several researchers found that surface acting related negatively to job satisfaction (Grandey, Fisk, & Steiner, 2005; Seery & Corrigan, 2009). However, one study found that deep acting correlated negatively to job satisfaction (Grandey, 2003), but surfaced acting and job satisfaction still showed stronger associations than deep acting and job satisfaction. To explore further the relationship of emotional and job satisfaction, one empirical study found that emotional labor correlates positively with job satisfaction when social supports moderate the relationship (Abraham, 1998).⁸ In particular, the Abraham (1998) findings demonstrated that coping strategies might reduce the adverse relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction, and prevent other psychological outcomes related to surface and deep acting. Overall, in association to qualitative findings, conflicting results exist regarding the association between emotional labor and job satisfaction (Zerbe, 2000). Table 3 outlines the empirical studies discussed above and depicts the mixed findings on the relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction.

⁸ However, Abraham (1998) did not use the Brotheridge & Lee (1998) *Emotional Labor Scale* to assess participants' emotional labor in their study.

Table 3. Studies on Emotional Labor and Job Satisfaction

Author	Research Questions(s)	Participants	Measures	Main Findings on Job Satisfaction
Abraham (1998)	<p>1. What is the role of job autonomy on the relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction?</p> <p>2. What is the moderating relationship of social support on emotional dissonance and job satisfaction?</p>	110 United States customer-service representatives (from: telecommunications, entertainment, food service, and clothing retail industries)	Emotional Labor (Adelmann, 1995) [emotional dissonance]; Job Diagnostic Survey (Hackman & Oldman, 1975) [<i>job autonomy</i>] [<i>job satisfaction</i>]; Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981)[emotional exhaustion]; Affect Scale (Holbrook, 1981)[<i>affectivity</i>]; Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder, 1974); Social Support Scale (Caplan, 1976)	<p>The high social support group showed a positive connection between emotional dissonance and job satisfaction.</p> <p>Results indicated that social support explained 16% of the variance in job satisfaction, $t(91) = 4.97, p < .01$.</p> <p>The significant interaction of emotional dissonance and social support interaction explained 6% of the variance in job satisfaction, $t(91) = 2.65, p < .01$.</p>
Grandey (2003)	1. What is the role of acting on affectivity and job satisfaction?	131 University Administrative Assistants	Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998) [<i>emotional labor</i>]; Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire (Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, & Klesh, 1979) [<i>job satisfaction</i>]; Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) [emotional exhaustion]; Affective delivery & breaking character (<i>qualitative measure</i>)	<p>Display rules correlated significantly with deep acting ($\beta = 0.22$) but not surface acting ($\beta = -0.03$).</p> <p>Deep acting was associated negatively with job satisfaction ($\beta = -0.21$).</p> <p>Surface acting was related significantly to job satisfaction ($\beta = -0.37$)</p>
Grandey, Fisk, & Steiner (2005)	1. Does response-focused emotional regulation (conflated with emotional labor) predict outcomes of job satisfaction and emotional exhaustion?	116 American undergraduate and graduate research assistants; 99 French undergraduate and graduate research assistants	Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998) & Suppressing Emotions (Grandey, 2003) [<i>response-focused emotional regulation</i>]; Job Diagnostic Survey (Hackman & Oldman, 1975) [<i>job autonomy</i>]; Job-Related Exhaustion Scale (Wharton, 1993) [<i>emotional exhaustion</i>];	The negative relationship between response-focused emotional regulation (conflated with definition of emotional labor) and job satisfaction was weaker for individuals with higher job autonomy than participants with low job autonomy ($R^2 = .033, p < .05$).

			Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire (Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, & Klesh, 1979) [<i>job satisfaction</i>]; Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) [<i>negative affectivity</i>]	
Seery & Corrigan (2009)	1. What is the relationship between emotional acting, job commitment, and job satisfaction?	363 workers (205 child care workers and 158 nurses' aides)	Job Satisfaction Scale (Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, & Klesh, 1979) – <i>a three-item subscale</i> [job satisfaction]; Affective Organizational Commitment (Meyer, Allen, & Smith, 1993) [affective commitment]; Intentions to leave (Stremmel, 1991); Emotional Exhaustion (Wharton & Erickson, 1993); Emotional Labor (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Kruml & Geddes, 2000)	Surface acting for children/patients ($\beta = -0.23, p < .01$) was associated negatively to job satisfaction.

Because of the conflicting results on the association between emotional labor and job satisfaction (Bono & Vey, 2005), future empirical investigation might include assessing workers' knowledge of emotional display rules on the job. Recall that studies showed that knowing the expected emotional display rules influenced workers' job commitment and in turn job satisfaction positively (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Before we move on to how these studies contribute to our current understanding of emotional labor, we need to take into account recent empirical studies that have investigated not only job satisfaction, but also the organizational phenomenon of emotional exhaustion and its relationship to emotional labor.

Emotional exhaustion. Like job satisfaction, emotional labor has been studied to understand employees' emotional exhaustion. As a key dimension of burnout (Lee & Ashforth, 1996), emotional exhaustion involves feeling "spent" emotionally (Brotheridge & Grandey,

2002). Emotional labor researchers made empirical inquiries into understanding emotional exhaustion and emotional labor because empirical evidence showed that job demands predicted emotional exhaustion (Bakker, Demerouti, & Verbeke, 2004). An example of a job demand is emotional labor.

Unlike empirical literature on the relationship of emotional labor and job satisfaction, findings on the association of emotional labor and emotional exhaustion are similar. Generally, literature has found that surface acting (e.g., emotional dissonance) relates to lower well-being (i.e., emotional exhaustion) (Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999). For example, service workers engaged in surface acting reported increased levels of exhaustion than workers who performed deep acting (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Kim, 2008). Moreover, one study found that hiding negative emotions related to emotional exhaustion, and when displaying positive and negative emotions, employees showed fewer signs of emotional exhaustion or burnout (Montgomery, Panagopolou, Wildt, & Meenks, 2006). On the other hand, emotional labor researchers have identified that monitoring employees' displayed emotions reduced the range of emotions performed by workers and mediated workers' feelings of emotional exhaustion (Holman, Chissick, & Totterdell, 2002). Table 4 reviews the studies on emotional labor and emotional exhaustion.

Table 4. Studies on Emotional Labor and Emotional Exhaustion

Author	Research Question(s)	Participants	Measures	Main Findings on Emotional Exhaustion
Brotheridge & Grandey (2002)	1. What are the job differences between: (a) emotional work and burnout (b) impact of emotional demands and control on burnout (c) impact of emotional regulation on burnout	238 Canadian employees (i.e., retail sales clerk, restaurant server, bank teller, accountant, human resource consultant, engineer, construction worker, nurse, and social worker)	Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) [<i>negative affectivity</i>]; Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998); Emotion Work Requirements Scale (Best, Downey, & Jones, 1997); Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) [burnout]	No significant occupational differences between emotional labor and burnout. Emotional exhaustion related significantly to display rules to high negative emotions ($r = .15, p < .05$). Emotional exhaustion and surface acting correlated significantly ($r = .20, p < .01$). Negative affectivity was the only significant predictor ($\beta = .54, p < .01$) of emotional exhaustion.
Holman, Chissick, & Totterdell (2002)	1. What is the role of emotional labor on the relationship between performance monitoring and well-being?	347 Call Center agents	Performance-related content of monitoring (Chalykoff and Kochan, 1989) [performance monitoring]; Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998); Job Control & Job Demand (Jackson, Wall, Martin, & David, 1993); Intensity of Emotional Exhaustion (Maslach & Jackson, 1981)	Emotional dissonance and surface acting were positively correlated ($r = .39, p < .01$). Emotional labor did not mediate performance monitoring and well-being measures.
Kim (2008)	1. Will display rules have a positive effect on surface and deep acting? 2. Will emotional labor predict emotional exhaustion?	197 hotel service employees	Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998); Autonomy Scale (Marchese & Ryan, 2001); The Emotion Work Requirements Scale (Best, Downey, & Jones, 1997); MBI-GS (Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996) [burnout]	Surface acting related significantly to negative display rules ($\beta = .31, p < .001$). Deep acting related to positive display rules ($\beta = .33, p < .001$) Surface acting correlated positively with exhaustion ($r = 0.30, p < .001$). No relationship found

				for deep acting and exhaustion.
Montgomery, Panagopolou, Wildt, & Meenks (2005)	<p>1. What is the relationship between expressing emotional display rules and emotional exhaustion?</p> <p>2. Will surface acting relate to exhaustion?</p>	174 employees from the Dutch Governmental Organization	Maslach Burnout Inventory – Dutch version (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) [burnout]; Questionnaire on Experienced Health (Dirken, 1969) [psychosomatic health]; The Emotion Work Requirements Scale (Best, Downey, & Jones, 1997) [perceived display rules]; Employee-focused emotional labor (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998) [emotional labor]	<p>Hiding negative emotions related significantly to emotional exhaustion ($r = 0.38, p < 0.01$).</p> <p>Exhaustion was associated positively to surface acting ($r = 0.29, p < 0.01$).</p>
Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic (1999)	<p>1. Given the mixed findings, what is the relationship between emotional work variables and psychological strain evidenced by emotional dissonance and emotional exhaustion?</p> <p>2. Does the frequency of interactions influence the frequency of emotional dissonance and emotional requirement scales (emotional display rules)?</p>	508 employees (social service institution employees, hotel employees, call center employees)	Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998); The Emotion Work Requirements Scale (Best, Downey, & Jones, 1997) [different emotions expected in the job]; Maslach Burnout Inventory – German version (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) [burnout]; Job Satisfaction Model (Semmer & Baillod, 1991); Psychometric Complaints Scale (Mohr, 1991)	<p>Surface acting relates negatively to well-being.</p> <p>Emotional dissonance correlated positively with positive emotions for hotel ($r = .47, p < .01$) and call center ($r = .31, p < .01$) employees.</p> <p>Emotional dissonance correlated positively with negative emotions for hotel ($r = .41, p < .01$) and call center ($r = .17, p < .01$) employees.</p> <p>Emotional exhaustion related positively to emotional dissonance for social service ($r = .42, p < .01$), hotel ($r = .33, p < .01$), and call center ($r = .48, p < .01$) employees.</p>

Today, emotional labor researchers continue to explore the specific relationship between of emotional labor and emotional exhaustion. Although research has identified a negative

relationship between emotional labor and emotional exhaustion broadly (Kim, 2008), future studies might explore how workers' awareness and ability to use expected emotional display might influence workers' emotional exhaustion. For example, literature states that the number of emotional display rules expected of the employee associates to the emotional exhaustion experienced by an employee (Sideman Goldberg, & Grandey, 2007). With this understanding, greater exhaustion would be experienced by workers from an organization that expects ten emotional display rules than an organization that expects four emotional display rules. Besides the number of emotional display rules, employees also need to know how to employ emotional display rules on the job. Through investigation of the relationship between emotional labor and emotional exhaustion, service professions might be better able to train employees on the emotional demands of a job, thus reducing emotional exhaustion and turnover. However, to better understand the needs for future emotional labor studies, first we must review empirical literature on emotional labor and our third organizational phenomenon, burnout.

Burnout. A third area of research explored by emotional labor researchers is burnout, particularly the stress experienced in employees from helping professions. More specifically, burnout in such occupations occurs when an employee is "overly emotionally involved in interactions with customers and has little way to replenish those emotional resources being spent" (Jackson, Schwab, & Shuler (1986) as cited in Grandey, 2000, p. 104). As discussed, burnout involves emotional exhaustion; but measures of burnout include also scales of reduced personal accomplishment and depersonalization (Cordes & Dougherty, 1993). Broadly, the relationship between emotional labor and burnout has been explored in an effort to address concerns of turnover and job commitment within organizations.

Similar to findings on emotional labor and emotional exhaustion, inquiries found a negative relationship between emotional labor and burnout generally (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). For instance, surface acting correlated positively to all three dimensions of burnout; however, deep acting associated negatively to burnout (Zhang & Zhu, 2008). Moreover, research showed that the discomfort felt in performing emotional demands correlated to burnout (Bakker & Heuven, 2006).⁹

Conversely, some research indicated that the relationship between emotional labor and burnout is in fact more complex than a simple direct association. For example, one inquiry studied the mediating influence of gender on the relationship between emotional labor and burnout. Results demonstrated that men showed higher levels of burnout in comparison to women, because women managed and expressed emotions using facial expressions more than men (Erickson & Ritter, 2001). Other theoretical literature supported the complexity of the emotional labor-burnout relationship by finding that the knowledge, practice, and training of emotional display rules moderated workers' emotional labor and burnout (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Based on these studies, the relationship between burnout and emotional labor might vary by gender and employee training. By understanding how these mediating influences affect the emotional labor-burnout relationship organizations may be more adept at training employees on the emotional labor of the job and in turn reduce burnout.

⁹ The Brotheridge and Lee (1998) Emotional Labor Scale was not measured in the Bakker and Heuven (2006); however we mention the Bakker and Heuven (2006) study here as this work provided evidence on the role of emotional display rules (e.g., emotional demands) and burnout.

Although empirical studies have investigated the relationship between emotional labor and burnout, few have used the Brotheridge & Lee (1998) measure. Other inquiries explored this paradigm through use of another emotional labor measure or by defining burnout as stress (Mann & Cowburn, 2005) or qualitatively (Tracy, 2005). Table 5 reviews the empirical studies on the emotional labor-burnout relationship studied with the Brotheridge and Lee (2003) valid and reliable scale.

Table 5. Studies on Emotional Labor and Burnout

Author	Research Question(s)	Participants	Measures	Main Findings on Burnout
Bakker & Heuven (2006)	1. What is the role of emotional job demands on burnout? 2. How does emotional dissonance relate to in-role performance and burnout?	209 nurses and police officers	Emotional demands (Van Veldhoven & Meijman, 1994); Emotional dissonance (Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999); Maslach Burnout Inventory-General Survey (Demerouti, Bakker, Vardakou, & Kantas, 2003); In-Role Performance (Goodman & Svyantek, 1999)	Emotional demands and emotional dissonance were correlated positively for nurses ($\beta = .51$) and police ($\beta = .73$). Burnout and emotional dissonance produced a positive, significant relationship for nurses ($\beta = .44$) and police ($\beta = .58$).
Brotheridge & Grandey (2002)	1. What are the job differences between: (a) emotional work and burnout (b) impact of emotional demands and control on burnout, and (c) impact of emotional regulation on burnout	238 Canadian employees (i.e., retail sales clerk, restaurant server, bank teller, accountant, human resource consultant, engineer, construction worker, nurse, and social worker)	Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) [<i>negative affectivity</i>]; Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998); Emotion Work Requirements Scale (Best, Downey, & Jones, 1997); Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) [burnout]	No significant occupational differences between emotional labor and burnout. “This data did not support the hypothesis that “emotional labor jobs” (Hochschild, 1983) or the “caring professions” (Maslach & Jackson, 1986) per se created higher levels of burnout than those for managers, clerical employees, and physical laborers” (p. 26).
Diefendorff & Gosserand (2003) (<i>theoretical</i>)	1. Do specific emotional display rules lead to differences in job performance? 2. Do emotional display rules provide low intrinsic motivation in employees, which might lead to burnout? 3. Will individuals’ emotional regulation strategies increase with individuals’ knowledge of emotion display requirements?			Introduced a process-based model of emotional labor to explain how display rules across changing situations associated with emotional displays rules.

	4. If individuals' beliefs on performing emotional labor vary by amount and difference, will emotional display rules related to and burnout?			
Erickson & Ritter (2001)	<p>1. Will workers who manage their emotions feel greater signs of inauthenticity?</p> <p>2. Will hiding of negative emotions (e.g., anger) relate to workers' burnout?</p> <p>3. Does managing of emotions vary by gender?</p>	522 individuals <i>-from dual-earner couples</i>	Burnout measure (citation not provided); Inauthenticity (citation not provided); Managing emotions (Russell, 1989); Emotional Labor (Hochschild, 1983 & new measure)	<p>Women experienced less agitation at work than men did.</p> <p>Individuals with higher levels of agitation at work experienced more burnout ($\beta = .322$).</p> <p>Positive emotions on the job related with reduced burnout ($\beta = -.182$).</p> <p>Fewer feelings of inauthenticity correlated with experiencing positive emotions ($\beta = -.176$).</p>
Zhang & Zhu (2008)	<p>1. How do Chinese college instructors experience emotional labor?</p> <p>2. "For Chinese college teachers, what dimension of emotional labor best predicts burnout" (p. 111)?</p>	164 full-time Chinese college English instructors	Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005); Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) [burnout]; Teacher Satisfaction Scale (Plax, Kearney, & Downs, 1986)	<p>Instructors performed more deep acting ($M = 2.02$, $SD = .62$) than surface acting ($M = 3.30$, $SD = .78$). [$1 = strongly agree$ and $5 = strongly disagree$]</p> <p>Surface and deep acting predicted depersonalization ($F(1, 154) = 11.84$, $R^2 = .13$, $p < .001$.)</p> <p>Surface acting was a better predictor of depersonalization than deep acting $t(154) = 4.30$, $p < .001$.</p>

While the body of literature surrounding emotional labor continues to grow, there are only a few studies that explored the relationship of teachers and emotional labor quantitatively (Cuker, 2009; Zhang & Zhu, 2008). In fact, only a few empirical studies exist on teachers' emotional labor (i.e., Cuker, 2009; Naring, Briet, & Brouwers, 2006; Zhang & Zhu, 2008), and

these works included small sample sizes and a heterogeneous sample. In short, investigating the theory of emotional labor across occupations remained the primary focus of these studies instead of understanding teachers' emotional labor descriptively. Moreover, there are no known studies that have described teachers' emotional labor in regards to the acting and emotional display rules expected of teachers. Based on this review, it is reasonable to argue that burnout in teachers might occur because teachers are not aware of the emotional labor expected of them in their job. Therefore, before we can understand why teachers experience burnout, we need to understand the emotional labor performed in schools. Following this reasoning, one could argue that our next inquiries on emotional labor in school workplaces should investigate the emotional labor performed by teachers, in particular teachers' knowledge of emotional display rules expected to achieve their occupational goals as well as their reports about surface and deep acting performed on the job.

1.1.5 Pulling It All Together

Many empirical studies assessed the role of emotional labor across professions and organizations, but our limited understanding of emotional labor in teachers and schools has been addressed only through emotional regulation studies. Broadly, findings on emotional regulation show that the ability to denote, manage, and react appropriately to our emotions correlates strongly with establishing healthy social interactions in the classroom (Gross & Munoz, 1995). In particular, emotional regulation research found that teachers with higher emotional regulation skills showed strong interpersonal skills, greater abilities to handle conflict and were described as socially desirable (Day & Gu, 2009). On the other hand, educators with limited emotional regulation abilities showed signs of poor work performance, decreased levels of job satisfaction,

and had difficulties coping with stress (Sutton, 2004). However, based on the differences of emotional regulation and emotional labor theories, the aforementioned studies do not address how the expected emotional display rules influence teachers' acting of emotions or how the achievement of organizational goals dictates teachers' displayed emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Given that how we regulate emotionally influences our professional interactions and job performance, the emotional labor of teachers requires exploration that is more extensive.

As evidenced by the review of recent empirical studies on emotional labor, the theory of emotional labor has been studied across service professions broadly; however, some occupations have not been explored. In particular, few studies have explored the emotional labor performed in schools. Like other professions, schools provide the service of teaching for the occupational goal of student learning. The few published studies on emotional labor in education used ethnographic methods or cases analyses only to describe teachers' emotional work and focused on the role of emotion in teaching broadly. In fact, one quantitative Turkish study explored teachers' emotional labor; however, the choice of teachers as a sample was incidental to the study because the primary focus was the development of a measure (Cuker, 2009). Thus, findings on teachers' emotional labor were not reported.

Moreover, emotional labor should be explored in schools, particularly in teachers, because recent literature states that little is known about the role of emotion in teaching (Denzin, 2009). We already know from research that a relationship between emotion and teaching exists (Hargreaves, 1998) and that teaching is not a "technical enterprise" (Zembylas, 2004). In fact, Zembylas and Schutz (2009) encourage educational researchers to explore the emotional labor performed in teaching because unlike other service professions, education requires that teachers

work with the same client daily. To understand why emotional labor should be studied in education, the following section introduces research findings demonstrating that *teaching is an emotional practice*.

1.2 WHAT IS THE ROLE OF EMOTION IN TEACHING?

As the preceding review has shown, emotional labor significantly influences job satisfaction, emotional exhaustion, and burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). Despite documented concerns regarding these job outcomes in certain service professions, there are no empirical studies that focus specifically on the emotional labor involved in teaching. While traditional views of teaching emphasize the instructional focus of the profession, recent studies in education suggest that teaching is an *emotional practice* (Hargreaves, 1998), thus prompting further investigation into the role of emotion in teaching. Next, we identify and discuss literature that extends teaching beyond an instructional focus and highlights research that indicates teaching is an emotional practice. Finally, we review literature supporting the examination of emotional labor involved in teaching and the impetus for this study's design.

1.2.1 Moving Beyond the Instructional Focus

Building upon Vygotsky's (1978) theory on the zone of proximal development and Noddings' (1992) argument that students establish stronger ethics for learning when partnered with a caring teacher, more recent research suggests that "a region of intellectual development – a construction zone – the zone of proximal development is also a region of affective development – a relational

zone” (Goldstein, 1999, p. 664). In short, a teacher’s affective efforts influence his or her students’ cognitive abilities, which in turn affect students’ learning. Unfortunately, research findings indicate that the field has neglected its focus on the interpersonal aspects that influence students’ learning and mediating factors of that learning, such as teacher-student relationships (O’Connor, & McCartney, 2007; Pianta, 1999; Zembylas, 2004). In fact, focusing on teaching as purely instructional assumes the student is one-dimensional, which raises obvious protest, such as the following:

Do we treat the people we study as lollipops: as all brain and no body? Or do they have their feet on the ground, a ground that is both epistemological and ontological, the ground that culture and tradition provide for each of us? We tend to forget this ground because it is always with us, but then we misunderstand what happens in educational settings. (Packer, 1993, p. 264)

Research acknowledging the interpersonal effort involved in teacher-student interactions reported that “a teacher who has made the choice to approach each interaction with her students as an opportunity to enter into a caring relationship would be likely to experience both ethical and natural caring in those relationships” (Goldstein, 1999, p. 659). Moreover, a thorough review of Litowitz (1993) and Goodnow (1990) established that teaching within students’ zone of proximal development is both difficult and not natural (Goldstein, 2002). In fact, creating a child’s zone of proximal development involves not only understanding students’ learning strengths (the intellectual focus) but also attending to the affective caring interactions (the relational focus) that support student learning (Goldstein, 2002).

Clearly, affective states involve understanding emotions (Jensen, 2005). By defining emotion as “the person’s attempt or readiness to establish, maintain, or change the relation

between the person and her or his changing circumstances, on matters of significance to that person” (Saarni et al., 2006, p. 227), the significant connection between emotions and the cognitive and social processes of students becomes apparent. The connections and reciprocal influences between these processes become crucial in a learning environment. For example, achievement emotions (e.g., excitement, curiosity, pride) provide confidence in students that establish their academic identities and engagement in class material (Turner & Waugh, 2007). On the other hand, negative achievement emotions (e.g., frustration and boredom) have been linked to a decrease in student engagement, higher school behavior problems, and truancy (Turner & Waugh, 2007). In essence, emotions seem to influence how students engage in the classroom and perceive their lived academic experiences.

Despite the emotional nature of classrooms and schools, little research on the role of emotions in educational environments has appeared in the empirical literature (Schultz & Pekrun, 2007). Two notable exceptions include Weiner’s (1985) inquiry of attribution theory¹⁰ and Zeider’s (1998) research on test anxiety. In fact, anxiety in educational settings, especially in regards to test anxiety, has dominated what little research exists on the relationship between the classroom environment and emotion (Schultz & Pekrun, 2007). Over the past fifty years, researchers conducted in excess of 1,000 empirical studies surrounding test anxiety, which produced “evidence on the structures, antecedents, and effects of this emotion, as well as on

¹⁰ Weiner’s (1985) theory of attribution postulates that students’ attributions involve the degree to which students see success and failure as controlled by internal or external factors, and the degree to which they believe it is possible to remediate their own failures or promote their own achievement.

measures suited to prevent excessive test anxiety” (Schultz & Pekrun, 2007, p. 3). But, studies on test anxiety in classroom settings provide only one scope on the role of emotion in teaching.

The need to correct this dearth is supported by findings that indicate the role of emotion and affect as the proverbial missing link in today’s classrooms. An extensive review of both motivation and self-regulation literature (i.e., research on emotions and emotional regulation) found that one primary question remained unanswered: “How should we deal with emotions or affect [in schools]?” (Boekaerts, Pintrich & Zeidner, 2000, p. 754). In answer to this question, researchers suggest that a starting place may be to consider how emotion influences daily school interactions, focusing primarily on the teacher-student relationship (Denzin, 2009).

With research determining that teaching encompasses more than an instructional focus, understanding the emotional component of teaching becomes paramount, especially in regards to teacher-student relationships. To begin examining how emotions alter teacher-student interactions, there must first be an understanding of teachers’ emotion. The next section reviews relevant literature on teachers’ emotions and discusses how teaching is an emotional practice.

1.2.2 Teaching as an Emotional Practice

Although findings support the influence of healthy teacher-students relationships on student achievement (Hamre & Pianta, 2001; Pianta & Allen, 2008), researchers have only begun to explore teacher emotion and the role of emotion in daily school interactions. Even though an observer might hear a teacher describe a student or colleague as “emotional,” teachers avoid discussions of emotions generally (Hargreaves, 2001). Because schools are organizations and organizations promote rationality (Friedman, 1998), the role of emotion may be considered too illogical to discern or too time consuming for further investigation. For these reasons, it is not

surprising that little attention has been provided to acknowledging the role of emotions in teaching.

Despite the limited attention paid to the role of emotion in schools and in teaching, some have asserted that “emotions are dynamic parts of ourselves, and whether they are positive or negative, all organizations, including schools, are full of them” (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 835). Literature has suggested that the exploration of emotion in teaching began following the empirical work on the importance of having a caring, moral teacher in the classroom (Noddings, 1992). Whereas teaching began incorporating the importance of emotion and teacher-student relationships, the concepts of emotion and *teaching* remained unassociated. Hargreaves (2001) described this lack of connection, stating that “a tactful, caring, or passionate teacher is treated largely as a matter of personal disposition, moral commitment, or private virtue, rather than of how particular ways of organizing teaching shape teachers’ emotional experiences” (p. 1057).

Although Noddings’ (1992) work challenged the technical and cognitive conceptualizations of teaching that often dictate educational policy and reform, researchers continued to argue that the field needs to look at teaching from a broader, more contextualized view:

In an age when the work of teachers is being restructured all around them (often in ways that make it much more difficult), overpersonalizing and overmoralizing about the emotional commitments of teachers without due regard for the contexts in which teachers work (many of which are making teachers’ emotional commitments to students harder and harder to sustain), will only add to the intolerable guilt and burnout that many members of the teaching force already experience. (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 836)

Hence, to explore teachers' emotions, we also must understand the social and contextual influences that contribute to defining teachers' emotional experiences.

Hargreaves (1998) used this social and organizational analysis of teachers' emotions to study teachers' emotional geographies and emotional understandings. Emotional geographies are "the spatial and experiential patterns of closeness and/or distance in human interactions and relationships that help create, configure and color the feelings and emotions we experience about ourselves, our world and each other" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 1061). Although, the purpose of this paper does not call for an in-depth study of emotional geographies, a key contributor to understanding emotional geographies is the emotional interactions between teacher and student. In addition, studies on emotional geographies highlight how emotions influence all aspects of a school's ecology inclusive of its moral, professional, physical and political cultures.

In addition to understanding emotional geographies of teachers, researchers have explored teachers' emotional understanding (Hargreaves, 1998). Research has argued that the daily interactions of teachers and students involve ongoing dynamic exchanges of emotions and feelings and has supported four key insights about teaching and learning:

- Teaching is an emotional practice,
- Teaching and learning involve emotional understanding,
- Teaching is a form of emotional labor, and
- Teachers' emotions are inseparable from their moral purposes and their ability to achieve those purposes (Hargreaves, 1998, 2000, 2001).

In short, teaching involves emotion. However, given the academic focus of the field, many teachers are unaware of their emotional understandings and the influence of emotional exchanges upon daily practice and student learning (Zembylas, 2004).

Although research shows that teaching *is* an emotional practice, teachers are not supported or trained in how to handle emotional interactions within the workplace (Nias, 1999). Unlike other service fields (e.g., nursing, hospitality, or sales), teachers do not have clear guidelines on how to handle emotional exchanges and reactions in education (Nias, 1999). Research has discerned that (a) teaching involves an affective domain and (b) teachers “bring their feelings into school or college with them and have to learn to take this into account in their dealings with others” (Nias, 1999, p. 14). However, little evidence exists on how teachers should handle emotional interactions on the job, regarding specifically the expected emotional display rules that lead to the achievement of organizational goals.

With emotion established as an integral component of the teaching profession, qualitative studies have attempted to identify emotional rules that assist teachers during emotional interactions (Zembylas, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2007). Case studies have described some of the emotional complexities of teaching, such as the individualized ways that teachers interact with students during a crisis. For instance, if a school had a bomb threat, one teacher might show calmness by directing students kindly to the closest exit door. On the other hand, another teacher might show angst by yelling at students to exit the building quickly. These scenarios illustrate the variability of teachers’ emotional display rules without clear standards on how to manage feelings on the job. As a result, researchers have established that “emotional rules or emotional characteristics of teaching are more important for what they do rather than what they mean” (Zembylas, 2004, p. 199), suggesting that emotional rules might assist teachers in monitoring how they respond to emotionally charged situations in schools.

The focus to this point has primarily addressed how teaching involves emotional work and how emotional work influences teachers’ job performance; however, researchers have noted

that teachers' professional identities are also strongly influenced by emotions. Some have argued that emotions are at the epicenter of teachers' work, claiming that the act of teaching requires that teachers genuinely understand and empathize with students' emotions (O'Connor, 2008). In particular, O'Conner (2008) has chastised schools for overlooking the personal and individual nature of the teaching craft that so strongly contributes to teachers' professional identities.

Further supporting the connection between teachers' emotions and professional identities, researchers have stated that, "emotional health is crucial to effective teaching over a career" (Day & Leitch, 2001, p. 403). The professional identities of teachers are supported by the personal histories, social and political contexts and emotional encounters that form a teaching experience (Day & Leitch, 2001). Thus, the emotional practice of teaching seems to play a role in many facets involved in teachers' lives including their daily interactions, professional identities and job performance.

In review, the relationship between emotion and teaching is complicated and worthy of continued study. Building upon Denzin's (1984) earlier work, teaching is an emotional practice. "As an emotional practice, teaching activates, colors, and expresses teachers' own feelings, and the actions in which those feelings are embedded (i.e., teachers' inner streams of experience)" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 838). Therefore, some suggest that as an emotional practice, teaching requires more than the acknowledgement of one's emotions and the understanding of others' feelings (i.e., emotive work). Teaching involves modifying and controlling one's feelings to support the academic outcomes of the school. Put another way, teaching involves emotional labor. Although literature is sparse, the next section introduces why future lines of research should support inquiries into the emotional labor in teaching.

1.2.3 Future Studies on Emotional Labor in Teaching

Based on the literature reviewed previously, one can argue that teachers, like other service providers, must manage their emotions for the sake of achieving their organization's goal (i.e., student achievement). However, unlike other service professions, teachers' interactions with their students are both continuous and intense given the frequency of those interactions. For example, based on teachers' daily, dynamic interactions with students, research found that teachers experienced increases in their use of emotional regulation (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009) and that such efforts could produce a 'burnout cascade' involving symptoms of emotional exhaustion or overuse of punitive discipline strategies (Naring, Briet, & Brouwers, 2006). Given these relational expectations, teachers' emotional management seems to be part of their professional responsibility (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996).

Despite the field's recent invigoration into exploring teacher emotion research, a limited body of research has investigated the role of emotional labor in teaching. As detailed in the former review, emotional labor has been explored with respect to burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Erickson & Ritter, 2001). However, in the Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) and the Naring, Briet, and Brouwers (2006) studies, the respective samples included few teachers (i.e., fewer than 40) and were heterogeneous. One could, therefore, question the generalized findings made on the role of emotional labor on teacher burnout. In addition, some educational researchers suggested that the relational aspect of teaching involves emotional labor, but only a few qualitative studies have explored this claim (England & Folbre, 1999; Hargreaves, 2000; Schutz & Pekrun, 2007; Zembylas & Schultz, 2009).

Through ethnographic methods, Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) identified and described a single classroom teacher's lived emotional experiences and the extensive caring required in her job. Teaching is without doubt an emotional job, and emotional jobs have a cost of caring (England & Folbre, 1999). The cost of caring, or the unpaid caring behavior expected of teachers, involves specifically teachers' knowledge of emotional display rules expected at schools and their performance of emotional labor. Findings indicated that caring in teaching included both positive and negative functions of emotional labor (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). For instance, a teacher showed signs of suppressing her emotions and expressing more positive emotions when interacting with students and colleagues, as well as purposefully engaging in situations that provoked uncomfortable feelings (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). In essence the positive and negative functions of emotional labor involved this caring teacher displaying not only the affection associated with caring (Goldstein, 2002; Noddings, 1992), but also the labor necessary to manage the feelings to demonstrate care (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006).

Additional literature has focused on the forms of emotional management among teachers (Oplatka, 2009). A review of such literature stated that despite the recent emphasis in student emotions in teaching, recent educational reform efforts in western cultures "consistently ignored the emotional aspects of teaching, calling to intensify [education's] 'rational', measurable aspects" (Oplatka, 2009, p. 56). Given this business-like perspective of the education sector, researchers proposed that the field consider the role of emotional management as part of their business model (Oplatka, 2009). For teachers, like other employees, this emotional management would involve managing what feelings one has, knowing what feelings to display, and

expressing feelings that promote the organization's goal(s); therefore, this work would involve real emotional labor rather than emotive work (Oplatka, 2009).¹¹

As discovered in the literature, forms of emotion management can indeed exist in teaching (Oplatka, 2009). In fact, researchers have expounded on the role of emotion management in teaching stating that strategies of emotional management can become natural and routine, and over time part of the teacher's habitus (Zembylas, 2005). Moreover, models advocating for prosocial classrooms identify that teachers can develop emotional management by establishing social and emotional competence, which promotes healthy, pedagogical relationships and student academic outcomes (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009). If greater attention is given to the emotional management or labor involved in teaching and training teachers on ways to manage their emotions, teacher quality and retention might improve.

Following review of the few studies on the role of emotion in teaching, researchers encouraged educational researchers to develop lines of inquiry that studied emotion in teaching (Zembylas & Schultz, 2009). Broadly, it was found that the role of emotion in teaching required investigation in three primary areas:

- The effect of teachers' emotional investment in the classroom on their personal well-being, identity and performance;

¹¹ To review, there is a clear distinction between *emotional labor* and *emotive work*: “whereas emotional labor (e.g., emotional management) refers to the management of emotions in the self in order to display a particular feeling, emotional work refers to behaviors used by individuals to alter other people's feelings” (Oplatka, 2009, p. 58). Moreover, an organization directs one's emotional labor whereas an individual determines his or her emotive work.

- The influence of emotions and emotional exchanges on student-teacher relationships; and
- The embedding of teachers' emotions and display of emotions in political, social and cultural systems (Zembylas & Schultz, 2009).

Beyond the requests for continued work on the role of emotion in teaching, there are heightened demands for teachers' daily work performance due to enacted standardization and accountability reforms. Few studies to date have investigated how these increased responsibilities and expectations influence teachers' emotional management (Oplatka, 2009) and how teachers' emotional labor influences student learning. Yet, before the field considers whether teachers' emotional labor influences their work productivity and organizational outcomes, we first need to determine the existence of the phenomenon in the field. Therefore, this study aims to explore whether teachers perform emotional labor on the job.

The next chapter presents the design of the study. First, the statement of the problem introduces the impetus for this study. Next, the research questions are introduced. Finally, the author presents the methods, data collection procedures and data analyses used in this study.

2.0 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Empirical evidence reviewed previously demonstrates that inquiries on the emotional labor of teachers have been sparse. Of the empirical studies on the emotional labor in teaching, most lines of inquiry focused predominantly on the relationship of emotional labor and teacher burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). Moreover, of the studies on emotional labor that incorporate teachers in their sample, those sample sizes were both small and heterogeneous. These limitations challenge the validity of the findings, and the field's understanding whether teachers perform emotional labor rather than emotive work on the job. Therefore, the current study uses a larger and more homogenous sample (e.g., K-12, full-time teachers, from public and private schools in one state), to explore the emotional labor involved in teaching broadly. Through the results presented here, findings might inform educators of the emotional labor expected of them on the job and possibly reduce rates of teacher burnout longitudinally.

In an attempt to explore the emotional labor in teaching, this study has three purposes. First, this study aimed to describe whether emotional labor existed in teaching. In particular, findings identify teachers' emotional labor and knowledge of emotional display rules. Second, this inquiry explores if teachers' perceptions of emotional display rules and emotional labor vary across school and/or district. Finally, this study tests a new adapted measure of emotional labor, *The Emotional Labor of Teaching Scale* (TELTS). The design of the TELTS developed from (a)

literature supporting that performance of emotional labor and explicit emotional display rules vary in different service professions (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987), and (b) language on reliable and valid measures of emotional labor not addressing explicit emotional display rules in teaching. To achieve these three purposes, the study asked several research questions, which are presented in the next section.

2.1.1 Research Questions

To address teachers' perceptions of emotional labor, the study addressed the following research questions:

1. How do teachers describe the emotional display rules in their school?
2. How do teachers describe the emotional labor involved in their teaching?
3. Do teachers' perceptions of emotional display rules vary across districts, schools, or both?
4. Do teachers' perceptions of emotional labor vary across districts, schools, or both?

To determine the validity and reliability of the TELTS measure, the following questions were asked:

1. Does the instrument have content validity?
2. Does the instrument demonstrate reliability?

3.0 METHODS

This chapter outlines the procedures for instrument design, detailed recruitment and sampling, and explains data collection procedures and data analyses.

3.1 INSTRUMENT DESIGN

Although an existing instrument, *Teacher Emotional Labor Scale* (Cuker, 2009), has been used to study the emotional labor of teachers, the current investigation did not use this instrument because (a) the translation from Turkish to English eliminated items on the original survey relevant to exploring emotional labor in teachers, and (b) the translation from Turkish to English compromised the comprehension of survey items. Instead, we adapted an instrument incorporating the major measures used to study emotional labor in organizational psychology. These measures included the *Emotional Labor Scale* (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998) and constructs of *Emotional Labor Strategies Scale* (Diefendorff et al., 2005). The adapted and validated instrument, the TELTS, is provided in Appendix A.

The TELTS instrument has three sections: demographic information, emotional display rules and emotional labor of teaching. The survey used items from the original scales that investigated teachers' emotional labor and schools' emotional display rules. In alignment with

DeVellis (2003), a certain number of items from the two original scales were adapted to assess teachers' emotional labor.

In addition, there is research that supports the design of this survey. In particular, literature confirms the importance of not only the number of survey items within a given scale, but also the readability and clarity of survey items (Balian, 1994). After reviewing original emotional labor measures, talking with school leaders, and discussing survey items with fellow researchers, the author changed the wording for several items from the original measures used. For example, an original item on the *Emotional Labor Strategies Scale* stated '*I am expected to try to pretend I am not angry or feeling contempt while on the job.*' To situate this item into a teacher's daily job, the adapted item stated the following '*If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.*' The rationale for survey item adjustments for the adapted TELTS scale is provided in Appendix B.

Finally, in survey development, it is important for the developer to include items that test respondents' "socially desirable" answers (DeVellis, 2003; Mancini & McKeel, 1986). Typically, survey designers use reverse coded items or negatively worded items for this purpose. Although this adapted instrument included reverse coded items to test for "socially desirable" answers, colleagues in the field suggested that the survey not repeat too many items and that it avoid negatively worded items. Given the limited time in teachers' schedules, teachers might become frustrated if they thought they had answered similar questions or had become confused by the wording of a given item. In short, if the survey seemed tedious, redundant, or extensive to complete, then teachers might decide not to respond to the survey.

In the next stage, three colleagues at the University of Pittsburgh, three superintendents in western Pennsylvania, and one assistant principal in Washington, D.C. reviewed the survey. The

reviewers were asked to complete the survey and record the time it took to finish it. Afterwards, the reviewers provided feedback on repetitive or confusing items and on additional information that should be included to enhance the validity of the survey. These reviewers' comments were incorporated into a final version of the survey. Finally, the on-line survey was piloted to ensure that no technology issues arose in accessing, completing, and submitting the survey. The pilot sample included 30 responses.

3.1.1 Survey Content

As described in the previous section, this research used an adapted survey based on two original measures, *Emotional Labor Scale* (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998) and *Emotional Labor Strategies Scale* (Diefendorff et al., 2005). The survey had three parts: (1) demographics, (2) emotional labor display rules and (3) emotional labor of teaching.

Demographics

The *Demographics* section included four questions that asked participants to provide information on their gender, teaching experience, teaching grade and teaching subject.

Emotional Display Rules

The second part, *Emotional Display Rules*, had two subscales, *Positive Display Rule Perceptions* and *Negative Display Rule Perceptions*. The positive display rule subscale had three items:

- My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.
- Part of my job is to make my students feel good.
- My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.

In addition, the negative display rule subscale had three questions:

- I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students.
- If I am upset or distressed, my school expects me to hide these emotions.
- If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.

In addition to these subscales, the author added a new item to this scale to assess teachers' knowledge of explicit emotional display rules in their school. That item stated, "I know the emotional rules I am expected to display to students." The purpose for this additional item was to address an aspect of emotional display rules not explored previously in other emotional labor studies. In keeping with best methodological practices, this new item was added independent of the Emotional Display Rules scale.

Emotional Labor of Teachers

The third part of the survey, the *Emotional Labor of Teachers*, had three subscales: (1) Surface Acting, (2) Deep Acting, and (3) Natural Expressions.

Surface Acting

The surface acting subscale had five items. These questions included:

- To work with my students, I act differently from how I feel.
- As a teacher, I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students.
- Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood.
- To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.
- I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job.

Deep Acting

The deep acting subscale had three questions. Below are those three items.

- I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display at work.

- I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.
- I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.

Natural Emotions

As indicated, recent studies on emotional labor incorporate a third subscale of emotional labor called natural emotions. However, there has been limited testing on the role that natural emotions play on emotional labor broadly (Diefendorff et al., 2005). Therefore, for consistency with recent emotional labor measures, this survey did include natural emotions as a part of the adapted instrument and did test the reliability of this subscale to confirm internal consistency of this measure, but did not report on teachers' natural emotions extensively. The deep acting subscale, the natural expression scales had three items. Those questions stated:

- The emotions I show to my students match the emotions I feel.
- The emotions I show my students come naturally.
- The emotions I express to students are genuine.

Response formats for the adapted TELTS aligned directly with the original survey scales. Thus, the Emotional Display Rules' and the Emotional Labor of Teachers' items both were answered on a 5-point Likert scale. Finally, each section of the instrument contained clear instructions on how to respond, and introduced the theoretical concepts prior to listing survey questions.

Open-Ended Questions

The last part of the survey asked three open-ended questions to understand further teachers' perceptions of emotional display rules and emotional labor. Those questions included:

1. Now it's your turn to comment on emotional display rules in your school. Please share anything you'd like about emotional display rules that your school expects of you.
2. Teaching is an emotional practice. Perhaps as a teacher you've had to suppress your real emotions to do your job. Please explain a situation where you have had to suppress your real emotions while teaching.
3. As a teacher, you might have expressed emotions you really didn't feel. Please explain a situation where you have had to express unfelt emotions while teaching.

Literature shows that “open-ended responses can be of value in a study by representing the ‘human element’ or qualitative aspect of a research project” (Balian, 1994, p. 121). Therefore, the survey included open-ended questions in hopes of providing deeper meaning to teachers’ survey responses on emotional display rules and emotional labor.

3.2 SAMPLE

3.2.1 Participants and Sites

Participants. A convenience sample of practicing teachers from five school districts, one charter school and one laboratory school located in Pennsylvania comprised the group who participated. The first step in recruitment involved meeting with district superintendents or school principals to introduce the concept of emotional labor. Each superintendent or principal was provided with a recruitment letter, a survey, and a handout of slides describing the emotional labor theory. (The recruitment letter and handout appear in Appendix C.)

Sites. Demographic data for each district and school are described in the table below. Included in the table are the district or school’s pseudonym, location, student size, and teacher population.

Table 6. Demographics of Districts and Schools

Pseudonym	Location	Number of Students (Approximate)	Number of Possible Teacher from Participating Schools
Wilk School District (2 out of 2 schools participated)	Rural, Covers 34.5 square miles	850	69
Select School District (4 out of 9 schools participated)	Suburban, Covers 100 square miles	7,300	261
Centennial School District (3 out of 4 schools participated)	Rural, Covers 168 square miles	1,975	91
PREP School District (6 out of 6 schools participated)	Suburban, Charter	2,000	159
Forest School District (5 out of 6 schools participated)	Suburban, Covers 36 square miles	4,500	388
Fine School	Urban, Laboratory	320	36
Change School	Urban, Charter	590	38

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

3.3.1 Procedures

After the district or school leader gave consent for the study, the on-line survey link was emailed to 20 school principals in five traditional public school districts. In addition, one principal at an

urban charter school and one principal at a university laboratory school received the on-line survey link. (The email content is provided in Appendix D.)

Then, the school principal distributed the online, anonymous survey via email to their school's practicing teachers. Although prior studies have found that on-site administration of surveys received a higher response rate than other collection methods (Balian, 1994; Dillman, 2000), the sensitivity of the survey's contents suggested that teachers might be uncomfortable answering questions in the presence of others. By using an online survey, teachers could respond to the survey in private and outside their given school environment.

Teachers decided independently whether to complete the survey. Participants were provided a three-week period to complete the survey. A follow-up email was sent three weeks after the initial administration of the survey. Appendix E shows the follow-up email.

For confidentiality, all data collected used pseudonyms and ID numbers. Additionally, the principal investigator protected all the data by storing the data in a locked cabinet with restricted access.

3.4 DATA ANALYSES

Data analyses occurred in two parts. Wave one involved quantitative analyses of on-line survey responses. Qualitative analyses of open-ended survey questions occurred in wave two.

3.4.1 Wave One

First, data were merged into an Excel spreadsheet to assess concerns about missing data. Following the step, data were transferred into an SPSS file to conduct quantitative analyses of the survey scale responses. Prior to conducting descriptive analyses to explore the emotional labor of teachers, the validity and reliability of the adapted instrument were assessed.

To assess the validity of the instrument and its subscales, the author tested first the instrument's content validity. Given that the primary focus of this study was to explore teachers' emotional labor, it was important that the survey items addressed the theoretical construct appropriately. Content validity was established through review of literature and expert feedback. Expert feedback was received from two emotional labor researchers, Dr. Julianne Pierce (University of Memphis) and Mr. Christopher Soto (University of Pennsylvania). Feedback involved review of the online survey and included the following comments: (a) relevance of the conceptual framework in practice, (b) appropriate survey language, and (c) redundancy and conciseness of the survey items adapted.

After validating the content of the instrument, Cronbach's Alpha scores were calculated to test the internal consistency of each subscale and each overall scale of the adapted instrument. The Alpha coefficients served as indicators for the quality of the instrument (DeVellis, 2003). Alphas levels of the .80-.90 range were considered strong and .70 was the lowest alpha considered acceptable (Bride, 2004). These Cronbach alphas served as guidelines to compare internal consistency results for each scale and subscale within the adapted instrument.

Because this study used an adapted measure, first the reliability of each subscale was assessed. Although constructs of the *Emotional Labor Strategies Scale* (Diefendorff et al., 2005) and the *Emotional Labor Scale* (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998) have been assessed as reliable and

valid measures in other exploratory studies, the instrument used in this study changed the language of several survey items, which could affect the reliability of this modified instrument. In addition, the reliability of a scale can vary depending on the sample with which it is used (Pallant, 2007).

To review, the adapted Emotional Display Rules scale includes two subscales, *Positive Display Rules Perceptions* and *Negative Display Rule Perceptions*. According to Diefendorff et al. (2005), the *Positive Display Rule Perceptions* and *Negative Display Rule Perceptions* subscale reliabilities were $\alpha = .73$ and $\alpha = .75$, respectively. In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient for *Positive Display Rule Perceptions* was .81 and the Cronbach alpha coefficient for *Negative Display Rule Perceptions* was .88. Given the strong internal consistencies across the subscales of the overall *Emotional Display Rules* scale, the author calculated the reliability of the scale in total. Reports showed that the scale has a good internal consistency with an alpha of .86.

Brotheridge and Lee (1998, 2003) found that both subscales showed good internal consistency of *Surface Acting* ($\alpha = .91$) and *Deep Acting* ($\alpha = .85$). Also, Diefendorff et al. (2005) found that the *Natural Emotions* subscale was $\alpha = .75$, and the Surface Acting and Deep Acting subscales provided the same alphas as Brotheridge and Lee (1998, 2003) reported. For this investigation, Cronbach alpha coefficients for each *Emotional Labor of Teachers* subscale represented strong internal reliability for *Surface Acting* ($\alpha = .80$), *Deep Acting* ($\alpha = .70$), and *Natural Emotions* ($\alpha = .73$). In addition, the overall *Emotional Labor of Teachers* scale as a whole showed acceptable reliability with a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .71.

Following validity and reliability testing of the adapted instrument, descriptive analyses of the survey responses were calculated. First, teacher response rates were identified. Next, total

calculations of individual survey items across the instrument were tallied. Then, the author computed means and standard deviations of each subscale and scale. In addition, weighted means and standard deviations were found by district. Given that sample sizes and response rates differed across districts, we weighted the means by district to provide a more accurate representation of teachers' knowledge of emotional display rules and emotional labor across district.¹² In all, these descriptive statistics provided a detailed profile of the responses.

After calculating mean scores for each subscale and scale, the author performed Pearson r correlations to investigate relationships across survey items by individual and by school. Some of the tests included (a) associations between demographic information, surface acting and deep acting and (b) relationships between emotional display rule subscales and emotional labor subscales. Through a description of these relationships, this study began to describe the emotional labor of teachers based on a large, homogenous sample of teachers.

Finally, to assess differences of teachers' knowledge of emotional display rules and performance of emotional labor across schools, a one-way between subject analysis of variance across schools by subscale means was performed. Specifically, these analyses identified differences between schools in exhibiting emotional display rules (i.e., *Positive Display Rule Perceptions* and *Negative Display Rule Perceptions*) and knowledge of emotional display rules. In addition, limited evidence exists to date on the role that natural emotions play in emotional

¹² For these purposes, weighted means were determined by calculating the weighted arithmetic mean for each scale and subscale by district.

labor. This study assessed differences by school regarding teachers' scores on the following subscales: *Surface Acting*, *Deep Acting* and *Natural Emotions*.¹³

Within each level of school, findings confirmed that analyses violated ANOVA assumptions. In fact, the data violated the homogeneity of variance assumption, indicating that the variability of scores for each group was not the same or equal. Following the recommendations of Osborne (2002), multiple transformation methods were applied to the data to correct for equal variances. Yet, the data continued to violate all statistical homogeneity tests. Given the robustness of non-normal samples, research shows that statistical interpretations of data nevertheless can be analyzed on untransformed data (Pallant, 2007). However, we did not report on findings based on untransformed data because these findings might not describe the phenomenon of emotional labor in teaching accurately, which was the primary purpose of this study. Moreover, after running ANOVAs on untransformed data, results produced small but significant effect sizes. Despite the statistical differences, the robustness of the sample seemed to skew the findings and in turn raised questions about the practical implications of these results.

Given that the one-way between subject analysis of variance tests violated assumptions in these data, a nonparametric assessment was used to explore contextual differences across schools. In a second attempt to assess whether subscales of the emotional labor and the emotional display rules scales differed across schools, we ran a Kruskal-Wallis test. A Kruskal-Wallis test is a nonparametric alternative to the one-way between subject analysis of variance test. These results appear in the next chapter.

¹³ As a reminder, the variables assessed are subscales of the two major scales adapted for this study.

3.4.2 Wave Two

The second wave of data analyses involved qualitative review of open-ended survey questions. For open-ended question one, *Please share anything you'd like about emotional display rules that your school expects of you*, the author read each open-ended response twice and developed codes (Boyatzis, 1998) to identify emotional display rules perceived by these teachers. Then, constant comparative analyses were employed to assess similar patterns and themes across participants' responses.

The second and third open-ended questions explored teachers' emotional labor by understanding their surface acting and deep acting performed on the job. Through line-by-line review of answers to open-ended question, the author captured participants' perceptions of emotional acting in their schools and in their teaching. Given that the emotional labor framework has established conceptual patterns (i.e., emotional display rules, surface acting, and deep acting), this study employed constant comparative analyses (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to identify similar patterns of these established emotional labor constructs across surveys. In addition, constant comparative analyses clarified and confirmed the relevance of the established emotional labor constructs in teachers. Chapter 4 presents the findings from performing all of these analyses.

4.0 FINDINGS

This chapter introduces the quantitative and qualitative findings from this study:

1. Teachers perform emotional labor on the job.
2. Emotional labor in teaching correlates to teachers' knowledge of emotional display rules.
3. Teachers identified no explicit emotional display rules defined by their schools or districts. However, the theme "being professional" emerged as an implicit emotional display rule.
4. This sample of teachers displayed greater surface acting than deep acting; however, both forms of acting occurred often.

Because the phenomenon of emotional labor is new to the field of education, these results uncover the existence of emotional labor in teaching and describe how teachers perform emotional labor on the job. Prior to revealing these findings in detail, this chapter first discusses attritional analyses employed, presents sample response rates, and explains descriptive statistics for this data.

Attrition Analyses

Before conducting statistical analyses, the data were checked for missing data and outliers. Out of an initial 527 responses, 26 cases were removed from the database as respondents answered only the demographic survey questions or did not answer an entire survey

scale. In addition to these 26 responses, an additional 32 responses were removed due to missing data. Missing data accounted for any missing data point in one of the two survey scales, *Emotional Display Rules* or *Emotional Labor of Teachers*.¹⁴

Preliminary analyses determined outliers through examination of means and standard deviations to identify if scores were plus or minus one standard deviation from the mean. In addition, through plotting the standard error of the mean for each scale and subscale by school, two schools showed extreme points. Figure 3 demonstrates these school outliers based on school the standard error of the mean of the Emotional Display Rules scale.

¹⁴ Although one could import the mean of that scale item as a technique to account for missing data, the author deemed it inappropriate to import a mean across data to represent an individual's feelings. Thus, any response with missing data was removed.

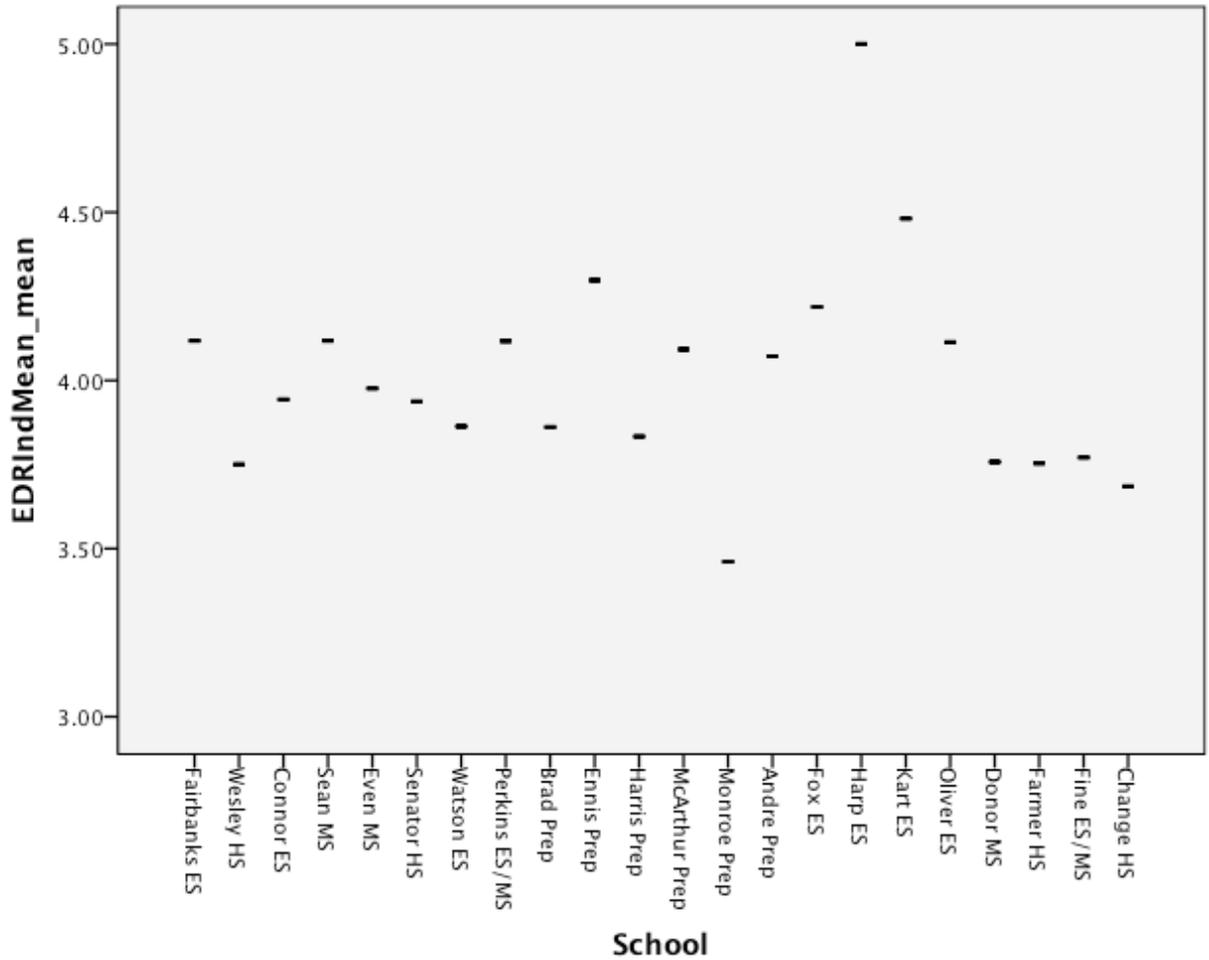


Figure 3. The Standard Error of the Means for the Emotional Display Rules Scale by School

Although box plots for each subscale and scale did not show that any data would be considered extreme points, further review of data suggested that variability existed between school scores. For example, Harp ES was an extreme case. Harp ES school had only one respondent to represent the school data. Because one respondent was not an accurate representation of the school's scale and subscale scores, we removed that school's data from the analysis. However, Monroe Prep, a school identified initially as an outlier, remained in the sample because responses from this school represented 57% of this school's teacher population, and the mean of means score was not plus or minus one standard deviation from the mean. Thus, the author removed 59 cases, providing a total sample size of 468 cases for analysis.

Response Rates

Next, the author calculated teacher response rates by district by summing the total respondents and dividing that sum by the total number of teachers recruited in that district. The teacher response rates for each district were as follows:

Table 7. Response Rates by District

District	Raw Scores	Response Rates (%)
Wilk District	31/69	45%
Select District	103/261	40%
Centennial District	43/91	47%
PREP District	97/159	61%
Forest District	151/335	45%
Fine School	24/36	67%
Change School	18/38	47%

Descriptive Statistics

Next, the author computed total scores for the *Emotional Display Rules* and *Emotional Labor of Teachers* overall scales as well as total scores for each subscale included therein. Also, the total score for the new item added to the survey to assess teachers' knowledge of emotional display rules at their school was computed. The means and standard deviations for each subscale and overall scale appear in Table 8.

Table 8. Means and Standard Deviations of Emotional Display Rules and Emotional Labor of Teachers scale and subscales

Indicator	N	M	SD
<i>Emotional Display Rules</i>	468	3.92	.75
Positive	468	4.10	.83
Negative	468	3.75	.88
<i>Knowledge of Emotional Display Rules</i>	468	3.87	1.03
<i>Emotional Labor of Teachers</i>	468	3.40	.31
Surface Acting	468	3.84	.53
Deep Acting	468	3.21	.64
Natural Emotions	468	3.66	.71

The data from this study identified that emotional labor is evident in teaching. Based on empirical literature, emotional labor involves engagement in three constructs: emotional display rules (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), surface acting (Hochschild, 1983) and deep acting (Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Results supported that teachers engage in emotional labor in several ways. First, findings showed that teachers perceived the emotional display rules expected of them in their school ($M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.03$). In particular, teachers attested to more positive emotional display rules ($M = 4.10$, $SD = .83$) than negative emotional display rules ($M = 3.75$, $SD = .88$). Moreover, for this sample, teachers reported performing greater surface acting ($M = 3.84$, $SD = .53$) than natural emotions ($M = 3.66$, $SD = .71$); however, the mean score of deep acting ($M = 3.21$, $SD = .64$) was lowest in comparison to the other emotional labor subscales. For all assessments, the variability between mean scores remains small. This analysis reveals the first key finding: *teaching does involve emotional labor*.

To describe further the emotional labor of teachers averages across individual items for each scale and subscale and also calculated weighted means and standard deviations by district

were computed. To address contextual differences across districts, the first step of this analysis involved ensuring that data points contributed equally to the final average. For example, some districts had higher response rates and sample sizes than other districts and thus, districts with higher response rates would skew the interpretation of teachers' performance of emotional display rules and emotional labor. Thus, a weighted mean allowed for equal representation of teachers' responses across districts.¹⁵ Table 9 represents the weighted means and standard deviations by district.

¹⁵ The two independent schools in this sample were not included in these analyses.

Table 9. Weighted Means and Standard Deviations of Emotional Display Rules and Emotional Labor of Teachers Scales and Subscales by District

Indicator	District	M	SD
<i>Emotional Display Rules</i>	Wilk District	3.95	.19
	Select District	3.97	.07
	Centennial District	3.92	.11
	PREP District	3.91	.26
	Forest District	3.95	.28
Positive	Wilk District	4.16	.32
	Select District	4.13	.16
	Centennial District	4.01	.11
	PREP District	4.18	.24
	Forest District	4.09	.28
Negative	Wilk District	3.74	.05
	Select District	3.82	.06
	Centennial District	3.84	.11
	PREP District	3.64	.29
	Forest District	3.81	.28
<i>Emotional Labor of Teachers</i>	Wilk District	3.41	.03
	Select District	3.54	.06
	Centennial District	3.51	.08
	PREP District	3.55	.08
	Forest District	3.47	.07
Surface Acting	Wilk District	3.94	.03
	Select District	3.89	.06
	Centennial District	3.78	.03
	PREP District	3.78	.14
	Forest District	3.81	.12
Deep Acting	Wilk District	3.04	.04
	Select District	3.26	.12
	Centennial District	3.22	.12
	PREP District	3.29	.09
	Forest District	3.20	.13
Natural Emotions	Wilk District	3.49	.17
	Select District	3.66	.09
	Centennial District	3.74	.05
	PREP District	3.77	.12
	Forest District	3.60	.15

In accordance with individual mean assessments, *district* weighted means showed similar trends indicating that teachers displayed more positive than negative emotional display rules overall.

Moreover, district weighted means showed that teachers performed more surface acting than deep acting. Nevertheless, based on the limited range between weighted means by district for each subscale and scale, the author concluded that *no contextual differences existed for teachers' performance of emotional display rules and of emotional labor*. To confirm the analysis, the author performed additional analyses (i.e., one-way between subject analysis of variance by schools and code building of qualitative data), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Exploratory Analyses

After understanding that teachers performed emotional labor on their job generally, the author continued to explore how teachers described their emotional labor by running Pearson r correlations. Table 10 presents the correlation matrix.

Table 10. Correlation Matrix

	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Positive Emotional Display Rules	0.83	1	.538**	-0.041	.135**	.208**	.868**	.209**	.595**	0.087	-0.022	-0.084	-0.072
2 Negative Emotional Display Rules	0.88	.536**	1	-.169**	0.085	.357**	.885**	.250**	.423**	0.033	0.056	-0.072	-0.027
3 Emotional Labor-Natural Emotions	0.53	-0.041	-.169**	1	.147**	-.440**	-.114*	.115*	0.032	0.055	0.006	0.015	0.074
4 Emotional Labor-Deep Acting	0.71	.133**	0.085	.147**	1	.294**	.126**	.783**	.180**	0.024	.133**	-0.044	-0.068
5 Emotional Labor-Surface Acting	0.64	.208**	.357**	-.440**	.294**	1	.318**	.738**	.158**	0.081	-0.019	-.243*	-.126
6 Emotional Display Rules (total)	0.75	.868**	.885**	-.114*	.126**	.318**	1	.262**	.579**	.069	.027	-.086	-.056
7 Emotional Labor Scale (total)	0.38	.209**	.250**	.115*	.783**	.738**	.262**	1	.223**	.094	.036	-.103*	-.102
8 Knowledge of Emotional Display Rules***	1.02	.594**	.423**	0.032	.180**	.158**	.579**	.223**	1	0.081	0.013	-0.015	-0.089
9 Gender	0.41	0.087	0.033	0.055	0.024	0.081	.069	.094*	0.081	1	0.015	-.167**	-.143
10 Years Taught	1.65	-0.022	0.056	0.006	.133**	-0.019	.027	.036	0.013	0.015	1	0.015	0.053
11 Grade Taught	4.71	-0.084	-0.072	0.015	-0.044	-.243*	-.086	.103*	-0.015	-.167	0.015	1	.380
12 Subject Taught	4.68	-0.072	-0.027	0.074	-0.068	-.126**	-.056	-.102*	-0.089	-.143	0.053	.380**	1

Note. ** $p < 0.01$ level (2-tailed), * $p < 0.05$ level (2-tailed)

Results yielded several key findings, clustered here into the following four sections:

- Demographic relationships,
- Emotional display rules, and
- Emotional labor subscales (i.e., surface acting, deep acting and natural emotions).
- School and district effects on emotional display rules and emotional labor subscales

If supported, results are described using quantitative and qualitative data.

Key demographic findings. First, analyses explored whether teachers' gender, teaching experience, grade level, or subject taught influenced the emotional labor performed on the job. Findings concluded that more experienced teachers showed increased levels of deep acting ($r = .13, p < .01$) than teachers newer to the profession. In addition, results indicated that teachers who taught younger grades showed higher signs of surface acting ($r = -.24, p < .01$). Given the robustness of the sample, these effect sizes are quite small; however, both findings confirmed results from qualitative literature indicating that younger teachers might show greater signs of surface acting because they are unaware of the emotive work expected in their schools (Zembylas, 2004). For gender and subject, no significant findings were identified. It is theorized that no significant findings existed for these two demographic constructs because the sample was heavily skewed to females (79%) and teaching elementary content (25%).

Key findings on emotional display rules. Findings indicated that emotional labor was correlated positively with knowledge of emotional display rules ($r = .58, p < .01$). This correlation suggests that teachers' emotional labor on the job associated to their awareness of the emotional display rules. In addition, these teachers expressed that their surface acting had greater association to showing negative emotional display rules ($r = .36, p < .01$), whereas deep acting

showed no relationship to negative emotional display rules ($r = .09, p > .05$). The aforementioned finding seemed realistic because surface acting involves showing emotions not felt internally and negative emotional display rules involves hiding emotions on the job. Not surprising, showing natural emotions related negatively with negative emotional display rules ($r = -.17, p < .01$), acknowledging that as teachers show more genuine feelings, they reduce the demonstration of emotional display rules involved with hiding or suppressing their emotions. All of these findings on emotional displays rules have strong implications for how the field prepares teachers about the emotional labor involved in their work, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

In support of these empirical findings, qualitative data further explained teachers' knowledge and perceptions of emotional display rules at their school. Teachers in this sample identified that there are implicit rather than explicit emotional display rules expected of them in their job. For instance, one teacher stated,

In my opinion, emotional display rules should be based on clear professional standards and not personality...But we do not have a "written" policy about emotional display rules.

With this understanding, teachers identified that emotional display rules involved knowing the professionalism expected on the job. However, emotional labor literature shows that in other occupations, there are explicit emotional display rules by profession (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005) for which workers display to achieve organizational goals. Despite this prior empirical finding, this sample of teachers demonstrated that although there is a general professionalism expected, no explicit emotional display rules existed.

Other teachers articulated similar professional expectations of their emotional display rules at school. For example, one teacher commented,

We have professional habits that our staff follow. We have similar habits that our students follow. One of them is about having a positive attitude with students and other staff.

Based on these comments, a theme emerged illustrating that implicit professionalism dictated how teachers interpreted the emotional display rules expected of them in their jobs. However, unlike other professions such as nursing and hotel management where explicit emotional display rules are established, this study identifies that there are no explicit emotional display rules in teaching. Therefore, it remains perplexing whether teachers really understand the emotional labor performed in their job. Because this phenomenon is new to the field, possibly the concept of emotional labor resonates to this sample of teachers, but a language to describe this emotional work on the labor has yet to be introduced.

This theme of implicit professionalism continued as teachers attempted to identify their school's emotional display rules. Although teachers might have listed specific rules that schools expected them to display (e.g., "Smile when students enter the classroom," "Use positive words of encouragement towards students,") patterns corroborated a more general notion of professionalism rather than explicit emotional display rules. As one teacher said,

I believe the expectation in schools for professionals is not a question of whether or not to display or hide emotions. Instead, the expectation is related more to how to appropriately [sic] express/cope with emotions in a professional manner. But the question really is what is professional?

Although these comments supported the theme of implicit professionalism for display of emotional display rules, this teacher drew attention to the vagueness associated with the concept of professionalism.

This ambiguity about what constitutes professional behavior echoed throughout teachers' comments on emotional display rules in their school. As one teacher noted,

While expectations regarding emotions have never been overtly communicated to us, the faculty, I feel that it is understood what you should/shouldn't communicate/act/feel/show to students. This is part of being a professional and having a degree in education.

On the other hand, a teacher remarked,

I just do what I watch. To me that's professional. I'm new so I don't know how to behave towards students. I know I'm not to yell, but sometimes it just happens.

I wish someone would tell me how to handle all the emotions I feel during the day but there are just so many.

Given teachers' different constructions of the notion of professionalism, this qualitative data raises questions about whether teachers actually understand the emotional display rules at their school. In short, even though teachers defined emotional display rules as implicit professional conduct, do teachers have a shared understanding of what is professional? As we know from the emotional labor literature, workers must know the emotional display rules expected on the job if they are to perform emotional labor. However, teachers here divulged that no specific emotional display rules existed at their schools. Hence, these teachers suggested that the acting involved in emotional labor is a part of their job, but many are not sure how to display their emotions when working in the schools. Moreover, these quantitative findings aligned with emotional labor studies in other professions indicating that emotional labor related positively to one's knowledge of display rules. Nevertheless, unlike other empirical findings on emotional labor, our findings

qualitative findings showed that explicit emotional display rules do not exist for the majority of these teachers.

Emotional labor results. Finally, results identified a relationship regarding how teachers performed their emotional labor. For instance, surface acting related significantly to deep acting ($r = .29, p < .01$). Although the effect size of this correlation was low, this finding identifies that both forms of acting are in fact part of a teacher's emotional labor. Aligned with emotional labor empirical literature, these results showed that for the teaching profession, both forms of acting are a part of *doing* the emotional labor. In congruence with empirical literature and in review of mean findings presented above, these teachers indicated greater surface acting ($M = 3.84, SD = .53$) than deep acting ($M = 3.21, SD = .64$). Although these mean differences are small, qualitative results confirmed that both forms of acting are prevalent in teaching. However, in accordance with the mean difference, qualitative data attested that these teachers discussed more surface acting versus deep acting experiences in their daily work.

In this way, the open-ended comments echoed the quantitative results that teachers both surface and deep act when working. Moreover, the majority of teachers in this sample discussed surface acting more frequently. Many of these teachers defined their surface acting as “playing the role.” Aligned with emotional labor literature, these teachers described this form of role playing as “hiding emotions” or “not sharing true feelings.” As one teacher stated,

I might be frustrated when teaching a very difficult student, but I recognize that if I poor [sic] on the TLC he will work for me...It is important to think “What if that were my child???” And I always think what if I am on a hidden camera, how would I want people to see me teach?

Here we begin to understand that teachers use surface acting to achieve organizational goals, such as student learning and compliance to organizational rules. Like other professionals, this sample seemed to articulate that being a teacher involved knowing when to put feelings aside and subscribe to displaying emotions best for meeting the goal of the student or school.

Another teacher illustrated surface acting on the job through her description of working with students who misbehave:

Disruptive students are very disrespectful. I am expected to deal with them as if nothing happened. I'm told I need to take care of their behavior and do so without yelling. But after redirecting a behavior so many times, I just want to scream. But I'm not allowed to do that either, I think. I wish I new [sic] other ways to deal with these students.

Again, the data captured a teacher discussing her need to play the role when on the job. After having to redirect a child's misbehavior repeatedly, this teacher articulated frustration with having to attend to this student. In addition, despite being agitated and wanting to scream, the teacher suppressed these emotions because her organization expected her to manage students' misbehaviors in a more positive way. This behavior exemplifies how surface acting involves *playing a role*. However, beyond the role of acting performed in emotional labor, this comment also presented that these teachers are unaware of how to deal with negative emotions felt on the job. In review, some teachers seem to be unaware of the specific emotional display rules they are required to show on the job beyond "being positive." Moreover, the data indicate that surface acting in teaching occurs not only when instructing students to achieve the organizational goal of learning, but also when addressing classroom behaviors of students.

This theme of “playing the role” was captured further in teachers’ comments about working with colleagues. One participant observed,

Every single time I deal with my principal, I have to express unfeigned emotions of respect and interest. We have a mutual dislike for each other, yet the expectation is that we engage in this show of false emotions. I find it to be emotionally draining, which is unfortunate, because teaching – if you are really a good teacher – can be emotionally exhausting enough.

As evidenced by this statement, surface acting occurred not only between teacher and student, but also teacher and principal. Teachers identified that given the dynamic interactions experienced at schools, “playing the role” happened not only inside the classroom walls, but also within the organization (i.e., the school). As one participant reflected,

As a teacher you always have to be “on”. I was in the grocery store the other day and I saw my AP [Assistant Principal], and I had to say hello even though I called the office like four times and he never came to help me. So sometimes I feel I have to play this role of nice teacher until, well, I hit my pillow.

Suppressing emotions throughout the school day was a theme echoed throughout this sample. In particular, many teachers articulated that they wanted to share emotions with colleagues and staff, however, it was “just easier” to pretend everything was harmonious. The quote above captured how the performance of surface acting on the job actually extends beyond the organization’s walls: Some teachers felt they needed to continue “playing the role” after their daily job demands ceased.

Finally, teachers remarked that they needed to “play the role” when engaging with parents. For instance, one teacher acknowledged that she suppressed her emotions most when engaging with parents:

I hide my emotions most with parent interactions. It is becoming more common for parents not to believe the teacher and make comments such as "Bobby would never do that." Arguing with a parent is not really an option. So it is just easier to keep it to myself.

Despite the majority of the sample identifying that they use surface acting more than deep acting, some teachers demonstrated signs of deep acting. As one participant voiced,

I guess this happens when I am not really in a very good mood for whatever reason and I have to be there for my kids. If my mood has nothing to do with them, then I should not be penalized for it. I try to remember to keep my work life separate from my personal life.

In this example, the teacher worked to modify her personal emotions to meet the organizational goal of student learning. In fact, the teacher recognized that she needed to shift her felt emotions to align with feelings that she *should* display to students. About one-fourth of the sample identified that they needed to change their emotions to perform their job, which suggested that some of these teachers strived to *become the role*.

Becoming the role emerged as a theme to represent deep acting in these teachers. As a teacher mentioned,

I rarely suppress emotions - I find that being frank with my students allows them to trust me. They consider me to be genuine and know they can take me at face value, so they are more likely to open up to me. Plus, I teach them that every

emotion has validity if we acknowledge it and understand what is at the root of it.

So, I would be a hypocrite if I pretended to be happy all the time. The character of teaching involves being you.

Acknowledging the alignment of personal feelings to displayed emotions illustrates that this teacher performed deep acting when on the job. In addition, this teacher articulated that teaching involves becoming a role, by adhering felt emotions to the demands of the job. Unlike other studies on emotional labor, which reveal that deep acting involves *modifying* felt emotions to meet the goals of the job (Morris & Feldman, 1996), these findings suggested that deep acting could involve *expressing* true emotions as long as those emotions mapped onto the expected emotional display rules.

Overall, qualitative data confirmed most quantitative associations found. On the other hand, qualitative data provided more in-depth analysis of the emotional demands expected of teachers. It is important to note that at times, teachers understandably confused constructs of emotional labor, in particular surface acting and deep acting. For example, when teachers were asked to describe a time when they modified or changed their emotions to meet the goals of the job (deep acting), some teachers described occasions when they did not express felt emotions (surface acting). In short, teachers were to discuss their experiences of deep acting but instead talked about times when they use surface acting. This confusion affirms that the phenomenon of emotional labor remains unclear to some teachers in this sample, suggesting that teachers might benefit from explicit training on the constructs and influence of emotional labor in relation to their practice.

School and district effects on emotional display rules and emotional labor subscales.

A Kruskal-Wallis test revealed statistically significant differences in showing positive emotional

display rules, $\chi^2(20, 467) = 53.19, p = .01$, and in displaying negative emotional display rules across 22 school levels, $\chi^2(20, 467) = 35.449, p = .02$. With an inspection of the median ranks of the schools, Fairbanks ES showed the highest level of displaying positive emotional display rules ($Md = 5$) whereas Monroe Prep showed the lowest level ($Md = 3.67$). On the other hand, Kart ES showed higher levels of displaying negative emotional display rules ($Md = 4.33$) and Monroe Prep showed the lowest level ($Md = 3$). Based on these results we see some small median differences across schools suggesting that the schools in this sample might have different perceptions regarding how to display emotional display rules.

Building on these quantitative differences, qualitative data emerged to show that teachers in one out of five districts described emergent emotional display rules within their district. To review, previous analyses tested district differences by comparing weighted mean differences and found no significant variations across means. However, PREP district teachers stated consistently that their district talked to teachers about emotional interactions between teachers and students. While recognizing the role of emotion in teacher-student relationships, these discussions did not address specifically how emotional interactions represented the labor of the job. For instance one PREP teacher said,

We are expected to be positive with the students at all time. We use the 4:1 ratio in that we make sure that we make 4 positive comments to students to 1 negative comment. It helps us mentally check that we are being positive with students.

Unlike other districts in this sample, the majority of PREP teachers mentioned that although the district did not identify explicit emotional display rules to follow, there were emotional standards discussed regarding how teachers should interact with students. Another PREP teacher expressed these emotional standards further:

There are no "rules," but it is implied that we are upbeat and positive with children. It is also acceptable to demonstrate anger, frustration, or disappointment with a student in a respectful and constructive way. At our district training meeting we talked about this generally but we don't have "rules" at our school.

Patterns discussing emergent emotional display rules were unique to PREP district. Although these data did not substantiate *why* other districts showed no emergent emotional display rules, one speculation for PREP teachers' acknowledgement of emergent emotional display could involve the recent professional development sessions designed to address district objectives to improve emotional exchanges between teacher and student.

However, in comparing quantitative and qualitative findings by schools, Monroe Prep scored lowest in displaying both positive and negative display rules across schools. Yet, Monroe Prep is a member of PREP school district suggesting that their scores should be higher concerning the presence of positive display rules. In review of the qualitative data again, Monroe Prep teachers, unlike other PREP teachers, did not discuss how the district prescribes to a "4:1 ratio" regarding expressing positive reinforcements to students. Instead, Monroe teachers articulated little, if any, understanding of emotional display rules expected in their schools. Thus, this qualitative finding might have significant implications for how PREP district trains Monroe teachers on emotional display rules in comparison to other PREP district teachers.

In addition to assessing differences of positive and negative emotional display rules across schools, this study used a Kruskal-Wallis test to understand the difference in surface acting, deep acting and natural emotions across the 22 schools. The results of this nonparametric test concluded that there were no statistically significant differences for surface acting, $\chi^2(20, 467) = 19.096, p = .52$, deep acting, $\chi^2(20, 467) = 17.779, p = .60$, and natural emotions, $\chi^2(20,$

467) = 18.739, $p = .54$, across schools. Inspection of the median values showed no strong differences for these three subscales of the emotional labor of teachers scale, concluding that emotional labor performed across schools by this sample seemed to be similar. Finally, in a review of qualitative data, no school or district differences existed regarding emotional labor subscales by school or district. Again, one can not speculate why there were no contextual differences for this sample based on these subscales, but one potential consideration might include that the emotional labor theory remains new to the field, and thus teachers have yet to comprehend the acting involved in their work. As the phenomenon becomes more familiar in teaching and even larger samples of teachers are exposed to the emotional labor experienced on the job, findings might begin to show that the acting involved in emotional labor varies across schools and districts.

Summary. Although emotional labor has been studied in teachers previously, former studies included small, heterogeneous sample sizes, which limited the generalizability of results. It was the intention of this study to explore emotional labor in teachers using a large, homogeneous sample and to discover whether emotional labor existed in the teaching profession broadly. Although claims existed that teaching involved emotional labor, there was no empirical evidence to support this assumption. Hence, this study served as the first mixed methodology study to confirm that emotional labor is present in schools. Beyond this primary finding, the table below provides other major results.

Table 11. Overview of Major Findings

Findings	Methodology
<i>Demographic relationships</i>	
1. More experienced teachers showed greater deep acting than surface acting.	Quantitative
2. Teachers of younger grades performed more surface acting than teachers of higher grades.	Quantitative
<i>Emotional display rules</i>	
3. Emotional labor related positively to knowledge of display rules.	Quantitative
4. Teachers identified no explicit emotional display rules in their schools.	Qualitative
5. A theme of implicit emotional display rules emerged indicating that teachers defined emotional display rules as “being professional”.	Qualitative
6. Displaying negative emotional display rules associated with higher prevalence of surface acting.	Quantitative
<i>Emotional labor subscales</i>	
7. Deep acting related positively to surface acting for these teachers, which identifies that both forms of acting are performed in teaching.	Quantitative
8. This teaching sample expressed greater experiences of surface acting than deep acting.	Qualitative
<i>School and district effect on emotional display rules and emotional labor subscales</i>	
9. School differences existed for exhibiting positive emotional display.	Quantitative
10. School differences existed for revealing negative emotional display rules.	Quantitative
11. Teachers from one district (PREP) expressed that their schools had emotional standards, or emergent emotional display rules, expected of them.	Qualitative
a. One school (MONROE) in PREP district showed the lowest scores in exhibiting both positive and negative emotional display rules.	Quantitative
12. No contextual differences across schools for teachers’ surface acting or deep acting.	Quantitative and Qualitative

5.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Over the past decade, researchers have worked to develop an empirical body of literature to support the claim that teaching is an emotional practice. One recent line of inquiry included understanding the emotional labor involved in teaching. However, former studies on the emotional labor of teachers have explored this phenomenon using qualitative methods predominantly. Using mixed methodologies, the charge of this study was to affirm the role of emotional labor in teaching and explore how teachers perceive the emotional labor of their jobs.

The main contribution of this study presented that emotional labor exists in the daily work of teachers. More specifically, findings showed that (a) teachers' emotional labor related to their knowledge of emotional display rules on the job, but this sample expressed that no explicit emotional display rules existed in their schools; (b) teachers' knowledge of emotional display rules can vary by district; and (c) teachers perform emotional labor through both surface acting and deep acting. This discussion section conveys how these findings enhance our understanding of emotional labor in general and, in particular, how the emotional labor experienced by educators influences their daily practice of teaching.

5.1.1 How Do Teachers Describe the Emotional Display Rules in their School? Do Teachers' Perceptions of Emotional Display Rules Vary Across Districts?

We know from organizational psychology literature that to establish professionalism across an organization, workers within that organization must be taught how to be professional *explicitly* (Cruss, 2006). More relevant to the current study, research findings on emotional labor define clearly that for workers to perform emotional labor, they must know the emotional display rules expected of them to achieve the organizational goal (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Yet, in contrast to other emotional labor studies where workers were trained on the emotional display rules expected in their occupations (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005), the majority of teachers in this sample did *not* know the emotional display rules required to achieve their organizational goal of student learning. With emotional display rules being a primary construct of the emotional labor theory, teachers not knowing emotional display rules might influence the validity of former inferences made on the emotional labor of teachers.

Despite their reports that they had no knowledge of the emotional display rules expected in their schools, several teachers described positive and negative emotional display rules as “being professional” generally. For example, one teacher wrote,

Nothing is said explicitly to teachers. We are expected to be professional, but still human; keeping our emotions in check, but expressing/explaining these emotions to students if it benefits them socially or in their learning.

There is no evidence to suggest that professionalism, as it pertains to emotional labor, was *taught* to this sample of teachers. One exception might be PREP’s teachers, who expressed emergent emotional display rules in that district. This difference may be explained by the modifications

made to PREP's district mottos and increases in professional training sessions for teachers that focused on establishing more positive interactions with students.

Because this teaching sample stated repeatedly that engaging in professional behavior explained how they managed their emotions on the job, questions surfaced pertaining to what constitutes professional behaviors. Possibly more experience within a given organization or occupation increases one's awareness of professionalism expected on the job. However, our data do not allow us to do more than speculate. What we can infer is that these teachers expressed that emotional labor is a part of their work, but they remain largely unaware of the emotional display rules expected in their schools. This finding leads to future implications for research and practice discussed later in this chapter.

5.1.2 How Do Teachers Describe the Emotional Labor in their Teaching?

Few studies to date have addressed how the emotional demands of teaching impinge on educators' daily work in the classroom. For instance, Oplatka (2009) argued that future inquiries should begin to decipher how teachers manage their feelings when standardization and accountability initiatives tend to disregard how caring aspects of teaching play a role in achievement. Although this study did not address academic reform initiatives, it does shed some light on how teachers manage their feelings.

Every respondent acknowledged engagement in both surface and deep acting, two of the essential components of emotional labor. However, through further analysis, teachers here expressed greater frequency in performing surface acting than deep acting. These findings align with other empirical studies on emotional labor; however, none of those investigations explored emotional labor in teachers exclusively.

Possibly the ongoing, dynamic interactions experienced in schools versus the single-point interactions seen within other service professions might explain the high levels of teachers' surface and deep acting. These intense interactions might also elucidate why these teachers showed greater prevalence for demonstrating emotions not felt internally (i.e., surface acting). Given that teachers' evaluations rest on student outcomes, teachers might perceive masking their feelings as a means to achieving the organizational goal. In addition, with little importance played on the role of emotion in teaching (Zembylas & Schutz, 2009), teachers might consider also that their emotions are undervalued in their daily work.

For instance, qualitative data indicated that despite teachers' descriptions of surface and deep acting on the job, these teachers received limited training on *how* to express their emotions when teaching. As evidenced by many professional development programs, schools train teachers on instructional and management practices primarily. Yet, these findings indicate that there is an emotional labor associated with teaching. Hence, training teachers on the emotional labor expected in their jobs is an important and largely overlooked agenda.

In short, schools create an arena where an organizational goal is recognized, but methods to achieving that goal are focused almost exclusively on teaching and learning. Given the research supporting that teaching is an emotional practice (Hargreaves, 1998), which includes emotional labor, schools must help teachers learn not only pedagogical methods but also the emotional factors that influence student learning. Our findings raise questions about how schools can reasonably expect teachers to portray emotions that support the organizational goal of improved student learning without addressing the emotional labor experienced in teachers' daily work.

5.1.3 How Does This Current Study Extend Emotional Labor Research?

Most of the studies designed to explore the emotional labor of teachers as an occupational group have focused solely on the relationship of emotional labor and teacher burnout (Carlyle & Woods, 2004; Naring et al., 2006; Zhang & Zhu, 2008). Although these inquiries provided information on the role of emotional labor on job outcomes, little exploration existed on how emotional labor influences the work of educators specifically. Moreover, shortcomings of former studies included: (a) small samples comprised of teachers as well as other individuals not engaged in regular full-time teaching, (b) a focus on emotional regulation rather than emotional labor, and/or (c) a lack of generalizability of the findings. In the present study, however, only full-time teachers working in K-12 public and private schools were surveyed. While not without limitations, the sheer size and homogeneity of the current sample makes a new contribution to our understanding of emotional labor in educational settings.

5.1.4 Limitations and Future Paths of Research

Before outlining implications for research and practice, next this discussion reviews three limitations of this study. One limitation was the use of a sole measure to collect data for this study. Although it was hoped that open-ended questions would encourage teachers to articulate their perceptions of key constructs of emotional labor in their jobs, the inability to ask probing face-to-face questions in response to some of the teachers' open-ended answers provided limited insight about their understanding. Therefore, future studies should consider use of triangulated data measures, adding participant interviews and observations that might provide a more realistic representation of emotional labor.

Second, this study incorporated a measurement of self-report. According to Schwarz (1999) self-reports are based on participants' perceptions and interpretations of the given study as well as how participants read and interpret questions asked. Surveys and questionnaires are examples of self-report measures used in this study. Moreover, this instrument used five-point Likert scales as seen in the original scales adapted to design the measure in this study. Likert scales assume that (a) respondents interpret the words used in survey items and (b) the reported results represent respondents' beliefs about each item (Miller, 2007). However, in only allowing respondents to answer based on a 5-point scale, it remains unclear whether the respondent agrees with their answer wholeheartedly. For example, an answer might fall as a 3.5, yet the respondent must pick either three or four. Each of these limitations of self-report measures affects somewhat the validity and interpretation of the findings. Yet, the intent of this study was not to generate hypotheses about how emotional labor influences teaching; instead, the purpose was to explore whether these teachers performed emotional labor in their jobs, and if so to what degree did these teachers describe their emotional labor.

Finally, longitudinal investigations of teachers' perceptions on emotional labor might help us understand not only the significance of emotional labor in teaching, but also how emotional labor differs in an occupation where workers have sustained interactions with the "client" over time. Whereas the current study affirms that emotional labor exists in teaching broadly, future studies can begin to explore *how* emotional labor is performed in teaching.

Given these limitations, future paths of research should involve explicit inquiry into (a) identifying emotional display rules in the teaching field and (b) examining when and why teachers perform surface and deep acting on the job. More specifically, researchers need to investigate whether teachers' knowledge of emotional labor influences their everyday

interactions on the job, their instruction, and students' academic outcomes. In pursuing these questions, future studies significantly contribute to frameworks of teacher preparation and subsequent supervision and mentoring. Yet, despite the limitations discussed in this section, the theory of emotional labor has strong implications for the educational field broadly.

5.1.5 Implications for Research

Throughout the literature, emotional labor studies have confirmed the performance of emotional labor in organizational settings across numerous professions. However, the objective of those studies assessed primarily how emotional labor leads to job outcomes such as, job satisfaction, emotional exhaustion, and burnout. To achieve this focus, researchers recruited workers from different professions, tested constructs of emotional labor on heterogeneous samples, and then generalized those findings.

Despite emotional labor studies including teachers as a part of some samples, the prevalence of teachers in those larger samples have been small and their specific roles have been largely undefined (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). In addition, other studies on emotional labor in teaching use qualitative methods to explore educators' emotional labor and the role that emotional labor plays in the daily work of teachers (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Zembylas, 2004, 2005, 2007). Although, these qualitative findings contributed to our understanding of emotional labor in teaching, the small sample sizes provide limited generalizability to the teaching profession broadly.

The current study addressed these gaps in literature by designing a large, mixed methods study. Moreover, the homogeneous sample recruited for this study focused on full-time, K-12 teachers from private and public schools in one state. Providing these parameters in the sample

increases the validity of the findings presented here. In sum, this study confronts these former limitations and to date is the largest, mixed methods study that investigates the emotional labor in teaching.

In addition to sample concerns, instrumentation used to explore emotional labor in teaching has been limited. To review, past studies on the emotional labor of teachers were qualitative predominantly, and in fact only one study assessed teachers' emotional labor quantitatively (Cuker, 2009). However, the intention of that quantitative study was to validate an instrument, not to explore emotional labor in teaching.¹⁶ Accordingly, a new scale, the TELTS, was designed for this study.

In addition, previous emotional labor surveys provided limited definitions on the key constructs that define emotional labor. Given that emotional labor, and the role of emotion generally (Denzin, 2009), is a new phenomenon to the education field, studies on emotional labor in teaching need to define the constructs of emotional labor very precisely so that teachers can portray accurately how emotional labor appears in their daily work. In the adapted instrument, each emotional labor construct is defined. To further clarify these important constructs for respondents, we included a hypothetical example of how each construct might happen in schools.

Moreover, former studies on emotional labor in teaching, which developed as a means to begin to understand how teaching involves an emotional practice (Hargreaves, 1998), explored

¹⁶ As a reminder, we do not use the Cuker (2009) instrument in this study because items on the English translated survey were unclear and thus potentially misrepresented key constructs required to test the emotional labor in teachers.

this phenomenon through one research methodology. However, the TELTS assessed emotional labor in teachers using not only adapted scales and subscales from reliable and valid emotional labor measures, but also included open-ended questions to provide teachers a voice to express their personal thoughts on the emotional demands of their job. By incorporating additional methods to explore the emotional labor in teachers, the TELTS triangulates data to present valid findings that describe this phenomenon in teaching generally.

Finally, past quantitative measures of emotional labor confirmed strong internal consistency within subscales, but not within overall scales. However, this adapted instrument revealed strong reliability scores for both overall scales, *Emotional Display Rules* ($\alpha = .86$) and *Emotional Labor of Teachers* ($\alpha = .71$). At a minimum, we now have another, occupation-specific measure to use in future work.

In summary, the current study confronts some of the former gaps in the emotional labor literature that reflect sample and instrumentation concerns. Most notably is how the study introduces a new measure to test emotional labor in a large, homogenous group of teachers, which in turn provided more valid and generalizable findings. Based on these implications for research, the contributions to practice seem more credible than those offered previously. The next section discusses how the research might influence practice.

5.1.6 Implications for Practice

This study extends our knowledge on the emotional demands required in teaching. As discussed in the literature review and the beginning of this chapter, a new line of inquiry to understand the role of emotion in teaching is studying the emotional labor of teachers (Zembylas & Schutz, 2009). The findings support the notion that emotional labor is present in teachers' daily work

performances, but the phenomenon has not yet been introduced formally to teachers nor incorporated into supervision of their daily work. Although this inquiry advanced the research in this area, perhaps the more significant contributions to this work are in how it might inform practice.

Three key implications stem from these findings. One involves how colleges and universities prepare pre-service teachers. The second addresses modifications to current models of supervision and the language used to assess and describe the emotional demands in teaching. Finally, given the unfamiliarity of this phenomenon in the field, this study introduced a framework to standardize teachers' perceptions of displaying *professionalism* on the job.

Teacher Preparation. Recent reports show that schools need to prepare teachers for the emotional requirements involved in their work. Ill prepared for the emotional demands of teaching, many teachers leave the profession within their first five years (National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 2009). Because turnover rates for new teachers and educators in under-resourced schools are increasing (National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, 2009), higher education programs must do a better job in helping new educators manage their emotions in schools. If we could develop pre-service and new teacher induction content based on the conceptual framework of emotional labor, we might better prepare novice teachers about the emotional demands of the teaching profession.

Modifying Models of Supervision. By delineating and communicating the emotional display rules expected in schools, the field can develop a new language for preparing and supervising teachers. One could argue that current supervision models circumvent an authentic analysis of one's emotional expressions in teaching. As an illustration, the leading textbooks on

the supervision of teacher learning (e.g., Danielson, Axtell, Bevan, Cleland, McKay, Phillips, & Wright, 2009) never even mention the term “emotional labor.”

Historically, evaluations of teachers’ work have had little influence on student learning (Donaldson, 2009). One factor might be supervisors’ exclusive focus on pedagogy and classroom management without attention to the emotional work involved in teaching. Absent a different terminology, current models of supervision inadvertently encourage supervisors to allude to *trait-based characteristics* when describing problems in teacher-student interactions. Examples might include comments such as "You need to be nicer to students when answering their questions" or "You should be more patient when redirecting students to the lesson." In issuing such advice, supervisors call on teachers to take on different personality traits, not to exhibit different *skills*. In contrast, our findings suggest that teachers’ work practices are neither ‘good’ nor ‘bad,’ but rather involve a type of acting to achieve the organizational goal of student learning. By identifying that emotional acting is a part of good teaching, this research contributes to more focused and less potentially demeaning supervisory conversations. Taken a step further, such conversations might inform our emerging understanding of the emotional work of teaching.

Establishing Professional Competencies of the Job. The resounding response rate in this voluntary survey conveys teachers’ eagerness to discuss the emotional demands experienced in their work. As one participant lamented, “We don’t talk about this but I do it everyday. What I don’t know is what I’m supposed to do when feeling this frustrated. There is no one I can talk to about this.” Based on such remarks, we can surmise that teachers desire a space to talk about their emotional work, experiences, and interactions. However, for such dialogues to be fruitful, teachers need a framework through which they reflect on their experiences. As a conceptual

“lens,” emotional labor offers promise as teachers and their supervisors struggle to understand, assess, share, and transform their emotional experiences at work.

Beyond introducing a conceptual schema for teachers to describe their emotional work in teaching, this framework introduces to schools the need to define emotional display rules, which in turn might lead to greater professionalism on the job. By standardizing the emotional display rules of teachers, schools would reduce the ambiguity associated with “being professional” and could then develop clearer guidelines on how teachers should act, including how they express or suppress emotions at work.

In summary, we know that the definition and execution of “being professional” varies by worker (Cruess, 2006), and that organizations cannot assume that workers know *how* to interact with clients. This consideration is of particular importance for teachers, who not only have ongoing, dynamic interactions with students and parents but also have little preparation for this aspect of their work. Establishing emotional display rules that direct teachers’ emotional responses towards meeting the organizational goals would move us towards a more helpful articulation of what schools expect from their employees. Moreover, this might shift the supervisory dialogue away from trait-based guidance (“You need to be nicer,”) that often leads to teacher frustration, confusion, or disappointment.

5.1.7 Conclusion

When you go back to a list of qualities that made your best teachers so effective, you probably noticed that so much of what made them significant in your life was not what they did, but who they were as human beings... (Zehm & Kottler, 1993, p. 2)

Educational reformers working to close national achievement disparities are beginning to recognize the emotional complexities involved in teaching (Kelchtermans, 2005). Concurrently, research is shifting beyond pedagogy and content to examine factors that influence teachers' work performance. One of those mediating factors, as evidenced in this study, is emotional labor. It is hoped that this investigation compels researchers and practitioners to pursue a deeper understanding of the emotional work of teachers and to ignite new conversations as they collaborate in pursuit of improved outcomes for children and youth.

APPENDIX A

THE EMOTIONAL LABOR OF TEACHING SCALE

The Emotional Labor of Teaching

1. Welcome!

Welcome! We are interested in learning about a concept called "emotional labor." Emotional labor is the way people manage their emotions in order to do their jobs effectively. For example, flight attendants are expected to be friendly even when passengers are rude. For teachers, emotional labor might involve showing enthusiasm even when a student is disengaged in the lesson. This concept has been studied in many occupations and workplaces but has not received much attention in schools. Our goal is to find ways to support teachers' emotional labor.

This survey takes about 10 minutes to complete. The survey is anonymous so please be candid with your responses. Thank you for your participation!

If you are not employed as a teacher at this time, you do not need to complete the survey.

The Emotional Labor of Teaching

2. Demographic Information

Let's begin! Remember, this survey is anonymous, so we are not asking for your name.

We would like to include a general description of the respondents. You can help by completing the questions below.

How do you identify your gender?

- Male
- Female

How many years have you taught?

- 1-5
- 6-10
- 11-15
- 16-20
- 21-25
- 26 or more

The Emotional Labor of Teaching

What grade(s) do you teach? (Please select all that apply.)

Early Childhood

K

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

The Emotional Labor of Teaching

What is your main subject/content area? (Please select all that apply.)

- Elementary - I teach all content areas.
- Special Education
- Language Arts
- Physical Education/Health
- Mathematics
- Sciences
- Social Studies/History
- Vocational Education
- Foreign Language
- Arts
- Music
- Library
- Computer
- Other

The Emotional Labor of Teaching

3. Emotional Display Rules

Next, we'd like you to share information regarding the emotional display rules of your school. Emotional display rules are the "standards for the appropriate expression of emotions on the job." For example in hotel management, an emotional display rule might be that hotel personnel must smile and welcome customers when they enter the hotel. In nursing, an emotional display rule might be to remain calm and reassuring to a patient even if the patient is combative.

Because we know very little about emotional display rules in schools, we'd like your views on a few questions.

We are interested in your ideas regarding emotional display rules in your school. The questions below ask you about emotional display rules.

	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither disagree or agree	I agree	I strongly agree
My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Part of my job is to make my students feel good.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I am upset or distressed, my school expects me to hide these emotions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please help us understand further your ideas on emotional display rules in your school.

	I strongly disagree	I disagree	I neither disagree or agree	I agree	I strongly agree
I know the emotional rules I am expected to display to students.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Thank you for your insight. Now it's your turn to comment on emotional display rules in your school. Please share anything you'd like about emotional display rules that your school expects of you.

The Emotional Labor of Teaching

4. The Emotional Labor of Teachers

You are almost finished! Now that you have thought about emotional display rules in your school, we are interested in your thoughts on the emotional labor involved in your teaching.

Teaching is a challenging occupation that requires teachers to engage in a range of emotions whether they feel those emotions or not. Next we ask you to identify how you handle your emotions when at work.

Please rate the statements below. You may notice that some of the items seem to repeat. They are reworded slightly to be sure our results are valid.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
The emotions I show to my students match the emotions I feel.	<input type="radio"/>				
I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display at work.	<input type="radio"/>				
The emotions I show my students come naturally.	<input type="radio"/>				
I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.	<input type="radio"/>				
The emotions I express to students are genuine.	<input type="radio"/>				
I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.	<input type="radio"/>				
To work with my students I act differently from how I feel.	<input type="radio"/>				
As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students.	<input type="radio"/>				
Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood.	<input type="radio"/>				
To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.	<input type="radio"/>				
I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job.	<input type="radio"/>				

The Emotional Labor of Teaching

5. Reflecting on your Emotional Labor

Final questions! Because research on emotional labor is so new, we need to understand situations when teachers express or suppress emotions in order to do their jobs.

Teaching is an emotional practice. Perhaps as a teacher you've had to suppress your real emotions to do your job. Please explain a situation where you have had to suppress your real emotions while teaching.

As a teacher, you might have expressed emotions you really didn't feel. Please explain a situation where you have had to express unfeelt emotions while teaching.

The Emotional Labor of Teaching

6. Thank you and information about a follow-up study

Again, thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your insights will help the field better understand the emotional labor involved in teaching.

Pending approval from the University of Pittsburgh Institutional Review Board, we are interested in conducting a follow-up study.

Would you be interested in participating in a 20-minute telephone interview to share more of your ideas about emotional labor? Participants interviewed in the follow-up study will receive \$50 for participation. Also, participants' anonymity will be protected as the interview will not ask for participants' names or school affiliations.

To participate in the proposed follow-up study, please email Betsy Levine Brown at efl3@pitt.edu. Participants will be randomly selected for interviews. We will not share your e-mail address, telephone number, or name with anyone.

APPENDIX B

RATIONALE FOR SURVEY SCALE ADAPTATIONS

ORIGINAL Emotional Labor Strategy Items – Perceived and Negative Display Rule Perceptions Subscales (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005)

	Original Question	Literature Review
Reverse code	My workplace does not expect me to express positive emotions to customers as part of my job.	Grandey (2003)
	Part of my job is to make the customer feel good.	Grandey (2003)
	My organization expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with customers.	Schaubroeck and Jones (2000)
	I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to customers.	Grandey (2003)
	The organization expects me to try to pretend that I am not upset or distressed	Schaubroeck and Jones (2000)
	I am expected to try to pretend I am not angry or feeling contempt while on the job.	Schaubroeck and Jones (2000)

Emotional Labor Scale for Teachers (Adapted Perceived Display Rule Demands Construct)

	Original Question	Revised Question	Literature Review	Rationale
Reverse code	My workplace does not expect me to express positive emotions to customers as part of my job.	My school tells me to express positive emotions to students as a part of my job.	Grandey (2003)	Avoid assumption
	Part of my job is to make the customer feel good.	Part of my job is to make my students feel good.	Grandey (2003)	Appropriate language to address teachers.
	My organization expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with customers.	My school expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.	Schaubroeck and Jones (2000)	Specificity
	I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to customers.	I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students.	Grandey (2003)	Specificity
	The organization expects me to try to pretend that I am not upset or distressed	If I am upset or distressed, my school expects me to hide these emotions.	Schaubroeck and Jones (2000)	Clarity
	I am expected to try to pretend I am not angry or feeling contempt while on the job.	If I am angry, I am expected to try to hide my anger while working at school.	Schaubroeck and Jones (2000)	Avoid assumption

ORIGINAL Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 1998, 2003)

	Original Question	Literature Review
SA	I put on an act in order to deal with my job.	Hochschild (1983); Grandey (2003); Mann (1999) see also Brotheridge & Lee (2002)
SA	I fake a good mood.	Grandey (2003)
SA	I feel that I need to put on a “show” or “performance” in my job.	Brotheridge & Lee (1998); Hochschild (1983)
SA	I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.	Brotheridge & Lee (1998); Morris & Feldman (1997)
SA	I put on a “mask” in order to display the emotions I need to perform my job.	Grandey (2003)
DA	I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.	Brotheridge & Lee (2003); Grandey (2003)
DA	I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display.	Brotheridge & Lee (2003); Grandey (2003)
DA	I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.	Brotheridge & Lee (1998)
NE	The emotions I express to your students are genuine.	Ashforth & Humphrey (1993); Diefendorff & Gosserand (2003); Glomb & Tews (2004)
NE	The emotions I show come naturally.	Ashforth & Humphrey (1993); Diefendorff & Gosserand (2003); Glomb & Tews (2004)
NE	The emotions I show match the emotions I feel.	Kruml & Geddes (2000); Diefendorff, Croyle & Gosserand (2005); Glomb & Tews (2004)

Constructs used on Emotional Labor Scale:

SA = Surface Acting

DA = Deep Acting

NE = Natural Expressions

Emotional Labor Scale for Teachers (Adapted Emotional Labor Scale & Questions rearranged)

	Original Question	Revised Question	Literature Review	Rationale
NE	The emotions I show match the emotions I feel.	The emotions I show to my students, match the emotions I feel.	Kruml & Geddes (2000); Diefendorff, Croyle & Gosserand (2005); Glomb & Tews (2004)	Specificity
DA	I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display.	I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display at work.	Brotheridge & Lee (2003); Grandey (2003)	Clarification
NE	The emotions I show come naturally.	The emotions I show my students come naturally.	Ashforth & Humphrey (1993); Diefendorff & Gosserand (2003); Glomb & Tews (2004)	Specificity
DA	I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.	I try to actually experience the emotions that are required of me.	Brotheridge & Lee (2003); Grandey (2003)	
NE	The emotions I express to customers are genuine.	The emotions I express to students are genuine.	Ashforth & Humphrey (1993); Diefendorff & Gosserand (2003); Glomb & Tews (2004)	Clarification
DA	I work hard to feel the emotions that I need to show.	I work hard to feel the emotions I need to show.	Brotheridge & Lee (1998)	
SA	I put on an act in order to deal with my job.	To work with my students I act differently from how I feel.	Hochschild (1983); Grandey (2003); Mann (1999) see also Brotheridge & Lee (2002)	Clarification
SA	I feel that I need to put on a “show” or “performance” in my job.	As a teacher I feel I must show or perform certain emotions to my students.	Brotheridge & Lee (1998); Hochschild (1983)	
SA	I fake a good mood.	Even if I'm upset or angry, I make others think that I'm in a good mood.	Grandey (2003)	Avoid assumption
SA	I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.	To do my job, I pretend to have emotions that I think I should display.	Brotheridge & Lee (1998); Morris & Feldman (1997)	Clarification
SA	I put on a “mask” in order to display the emotions I need to perform my job.	I hide the emotions I feel to perform my job.	Grandey (2003)	Clarification

APPENDIX C

RECRUITMENT LETTER AND HANDOUT

DATE

To Whom It May Concern:

Decades of research suggest that teacher-student relationships strongly influence students' academic engagement and overall learning. An emergent research field is the role of emotion in teaching and within that, the concept of "emotional labor". Considering that teaching involves emotive work, understanding the emotional labor of teachers might assist future educational reform efforts in improving teachers' interactions with students and in turn the quality of teaching and students' educational achievement.

An example of emotional labor in teaching might involve the following: A science teacher is frustrated by her students' lack of engagement in her direct instruction. Because of this frustration, the science instructor might respond to students' questions using a harsh tone of voice. In turn, students might show ambivalence to ask questions or reduce engagement in the classroom activities. On the other hand, another science teacher may be warmed by a child's struggle to master a science concept. She approaches the child gently with a smile on her face. As a result the child continues to try and eventually learns the concept. In short, the science teachers' emotions, be they positive or negative, can influence how students engage in the classroom.

As a doctoral candidate at the University of Pittsburgh I am undertaking my dissertation research. Because of its timeliness and its implications for improving educational practice, the topic is exploring the emotional labor of teachers. Emotional labor, which has been studied in other fields, is the deliberate moderation of emotion to meet the goals of the workplace. A recent surge in the emotional aspects of teaching is reported in such works as *The Managed Heart*, *Advances of Emotion and Teaching* and *Emotion regulation in the workplace: A new way to conceptualize emotional labor*.

My dissertation research involves surveying practicing teachers to explore their emotional labor. The survey should take no longer than 15 minutes to complete. The survey will be anonymous and at no time will teachers be asked to share their given name or school affiliation. In addition, your school will remain anonymous in any published reports or presentations. For your time and effort, I'm offering to provide a professional development session to your organization on the findings of this study.

I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to meet with you personally to further detail the study. I can be reached by e-mail at efl3@pitt.edu. I thank you for your time and consideration and hope to hear from you.

Sincerely,

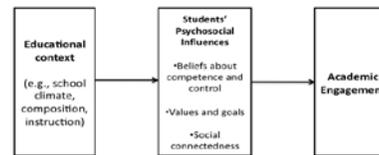
Elizabeth Levine Brown
University of Pittsburgh
Doctoral Candidate

Emotional Labor in Teaching

Elizabeth Levine Brown

The Problem

• NRCM (2004) finding:



(National Research Council Institute of Medicine, 2004, p. 34)

The Problem (continued)

- **Predissertation findings:**
 - Urban adolescents suggested their caring and supportive relationships with teachers contributed to their perceptions of academic success and served as a mechanism of change in seeing themselves as academic learners.
 - These urban youth explained that the emotional investment of their teachers differed from their previous teacher-student interactions.
- **What remains unanswered:**
 - Are teachers aware of the emotional labor involved in teaching?
 - What is the role of emotion in developing positive, pedagogical relationships?

Review of Emotional Labor Literature

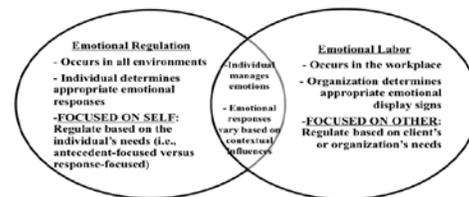
- Emotional labor is the deliberate suppression or expression of emotion to meet the goals of the workplace (i.e., student learning) (Grandey, 2000; see also Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1997).
- Seminal works (see handout)

Constructs of Emotional Labor

- There are three constructs involved in the performance of emotional labor.

Construct	Definition	Example
Emotional Display Rules	The "standards for the appropriate expression of emotions on the job" (Ekman (1971) as cited in DeCoster, Crevin & Gonzalez, 2005, p. 343).	"Teachers welcome parent inquiries apologetically." "Teachers should be nice to parents when parents call asking about their child."
Surface Acting	On the surface, an employee portrays emotions that are not felt internally (Hochschild, 1983).	"Despite being bored by the simple plot of a first grade story and having heard the story over 50 times, the teacher shows enthusiasm when a student reads and answers questions about the story."
Deep Acting	The employee changes internally felt emotions to align with required emotional expressions of the organization (Hochschild, 1983).	"A teacher feels frustration that a student does not conceptualize the content presented. The teacher attempts to rephrase that the student is trying to master the material, and works to shift her frustration to appreciation of the student's efforts."

Emotional Regulation vs. Emotional Labor



Key Research Findings

Workers' perceptions of an organization's expected emotion and behavior display signs seem to lead to increased management of emotions for employees.

- Brotheridge and Lee (1998) found that workers' surface and deep acting was related significantly to their perception of emotion display rules.
- Krumi and Geddes (1998) showed a correlation between an organization's display rules and workers' emotional effort.
- Emotional labor involves the "display rules, frequency of customer interaction, variety, duration and intensity of emotions required during job related interaction" (Grandey, 2000, p. 37; see also Morris & Feldman, 1996).

Key Research Findings (continued)

The degree and need for emotional labor vary in different settings.

- "Sources of emotional labour differ considerably in different settings" (Hunter & Smith, 2007, p. 859).
 - Emergency Room Nursing
 - Hospitality Industry (e.g., hotels, customer service)
- Thus, emotional display signs vary across context (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).

Key Research Findings (continued)

- There are mixed findings on the relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction.
 - Positive relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction (Wharton, 1993)
 - Negative relationship between emotional labor and job satisfaction (Hochschild, 2003)

Key Findings on Emotional Labor and Teaching

- Mixed reviews on the role of emotional labor and teacher burnout
 - Positive relationship between emotional labor and teachers' task effectiveness (Kruml & Geddes, 2000).
 - Negative relationship between emotional labor and teacher stress and burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Tracy, 2005).
- Few studies on the emotional labor of teachers

Future Work on Emotion and Teaching

- Little investigation about the role of emotion in teaching (Denzin, 2009)
 - The work of teaching is an emotional practice (Denzin, 1984), which involves emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983).
- Relationship between emotion and teaching is complicated (Hargreaves, 1998)
- Nias (1999) stresses a need to study emotional experiences in teaching
 - Teaching is not a "technical enterprise" but associated to teachers' personal lives (Zembylas, 2004).

"Teachers' stories about their emotions can empower them and become a starting point for collective action (Nias, 1996), and provide a dynamic process for subverting the dismissability that teachers often feel about their abilities to teach effectively" (Zembylas, 2002).

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APPENDIX D

INITIAL EMAIL TO SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Dear Principal,

As you know your district is participating in a study of emotional labor in teachers. With the permission of your Superintendent, I am now sending you the survey link. Please forward the message by e-mail to your teachers so that they can complete the survey on emotional labor of teaching. We do not recommend that you copy and paste this into a new e-mail, as that may affect the link. Please do not print and distribute copies, because the survey is on-line. Thank you.

Betsy Levine Brown
efl3@pitt.edu

Dear Teachers,

As your Superintendent explained to you, your district is participating in a study conducted by the University of Pittsburgh on the emotional labor involved in teaching. I hope you will complete an anonymous, on-line survey on the emotional labor involved in your teaching. Emotional labor has been studied widely in nursing, hospitality services, and in flight attendants---all occupations where the employee must manage his or her emotions in order to meet the demands of the workplace. Little work, however, has explored how this concept might help us in schools.

The survey takes only about 10-15 minutes to complete. Please complete the survey anytime before February 10th. To complete the survey, just click on this link:

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/EmotionalLaborofTeaching15>

The survey will open right away. Or, you may cut and paste this link into your Internet browser for use at home.

To answer questions within the survey, just move your cursor to the answer and click to select your responses. For open-ended questions, just move your cursor to the text box and click inside the text box to begin writing your response. When you have finished, please click on the button that says "Done" that appears at the end of the survey. Afterward, you may close the window.

If you have any questions about the survey, please feel free to contact Betsy Levine Brown at efl3@pitt.edu directly.

Your insight is important so we thank you in advance for your timely assistance.

APPENDIX E

FOLLOW-UP EMAIL TO SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Dear Principal,

We want to thank you first for your participation in our study. To date over half of your teachers have completed the survey, which is a great start. In an effort to increase this response rate, we ask you to please forward the reminder email below to your teachers. As indicated in the previous email, we do not recommend that you copy and paste this into a new e-mail, as that may affect the survey link. Please do not print and distribute copies, because the survey is on-line. Thank you again for your assistance.

Betsy Levine Brown
efl3@pitt.edu

Dear Teachers,

Foremost, thank you to those teachers who have completed the Emotional Labor in Teaching Survey. To date, we have received responses from half of you, which is a great start! For those of you that have not had time to complete the survey, we are still interested in hearing from you. The survey takes only about 10-15 minutes to complete. Please complete the survey anytime before February 17th. To take the survey, just click on this link:

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/EmotionalLaborofTeaching15>

The survey will open right away. Or, you may cut and paste this link into your Internet browser for use at home.

To answer questions within the survey, just move your cursor to the answer and click to select your responses. For open-ended questions, just move your cursor to the text box and click inside the text box to begin writing your response. When you have finished, please click on the button that says "Done" that appears at the end of the survey. Afterward, you may close the window.

If you have any questions about the survey, please feel free to contact Betsy Levine Brown at efl3@pitt.edu directly.

Your insight is important so we thank you in advance for your timely assistance.

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