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Emotion in Teaching:

Developing an understanding of the emotional side of teaching through the importance of context and role amongst teachers and classroom assistants in Scottish schools

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Abstract

Emotion in organisation research has become an important aspect of work and employment research and has expanded from commercial interactive service work to include professionals and the public sector. However, teaching has received little focus from emotion in organisation research from this work and employment perspective, instead favouring a narrower education studies perspective. Resultantly, the significant modernisation of education in the UK has received a limited focus, while the unique Scottish context has also been largely overlooked. This paper brings a greater understanding of emotion in teaching for both teachers and classroom assistants working in Scotland, as well as bringing a more pronounced work and employment perspective to emotion in teaching. The research was exploratory and utilised a qualitative case study approach, with the school-based education system in Scotland chosen as the case study. The thesis reports on data from 69 semi-structured interviews, principally with teachers and classroom assistants in public sector primary, public sector secondary and private sector all-through schools, but also with other important stakeholders in Scottish education.

The findings show that teachers and classroom assistants share a passion for their role and consider their relationship with pupils to be important, while support from colleagues is considered essential. Equally, there is concern around burnout and the level of training received for additional support needs, while teachers were critical of the Curriculum for Excellence and classroom assistants indicated that their role is vaguely defined and that they can be stretched into teaching. The research has also

shown that all three emotion in organisation theories from a work and employment perspective can be used within a single piece of research and that such an approach is appropriate for studying emotion in teaching. Therefore, the research has made both an empirical and theoretical contribution to knowledge.

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List of Acronyms

CfE	-	Curriculum for Excellence
EI	-	Emotional Intelligence
EOC	-	Equal Opportunities Commission
GTCS	-	General Teaching Council for Scotland
MSCEIT	-	Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test
NPM	-	New Public Management
Ofsted	-	Office for Standards in Education
PSA	-	Pupil Support Assistant
SCER	-	Scottish Centre for Employment Research
SIMD	-	Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation

1.0   Introduction

1.1   Context of Research

There has been a significant rise in research focusing on emotion in organisations over the last three decades, precipitated by the seminal work of Hochschild (2012 [1983]) on emotional labour. A key driver behind this increasing focus on issues such as emotional labour has been the rise of the service industry, with a greater focus on customers in both the private and public sector (Bolton, 2001; Callaghan and Thompson, 2002; Payne, 2009). There has been an increasing push by organisations for employees to, rather than just engage with physical and mental labour, engage emotionally with their role and use their emotions at work. In turn, research on emotion in organisations has splintered off in a number of different ways, which will be discussed in detail in this thesis, though Bolton (2005) has noted that as a result emotional labour as a term has been stretched too thin conceptually (Bolton, 2000a; Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Research on emotion in organisations tends to share a broad work and employment perspective, focusing on how roles are designed, the wider context within which they exist and how work and employment are changing.

The intention of this research is to apply emotion in organisation theories to school-based education staff, in particular teachers and classroom assistants. School-based education, though, has gone through a significant amount of reform, with the UK, in particular England, having witnessed significant reform that was started by the Conservative party under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher (Bach and Kessler,

2012). While each government have progressed with these reforms in their own ways, which will be detailed later in the thesis, this school-based education reform has tended to follow a similar path and been underpinned by certain neoliberal beliefs, for example increasing the involvement of the private and voluntary sector in public sector education (Bach, 2012; Gerrard, 2015). The rhetoric of modernisation has been used by successive governments (even though it may be best identified with New Labour) and has allowed for reform to be pushed through with a rational and common sense feeling attached to it (Koutselini, 1997; Neophytou, 2013). While there have been different approaches, each UK government has pushed the need for modernisation, with increased marketization, managerialism and performativity three key aspects underpinning this reform, with one example of these reforms being the desire by governments for parents to be more involved in education (Bach and Givan, 2011; Ball, 1993; 2003; Locke *et al.*, 2005).

It is, though, important to clarify that when most research on emotion in teaching refers to the UK it is actually referring to England, as education in Scotland, which is the focus of this study, is a devolved power and so there are important differences (Menter and Hulme, 2008; Warhurst *et al.*, 2014). Indeed, Scottish education has been argued to have a more consensual and cooperative culture than England, with less focus on performativity and market-based reforms and a greater role for other stakeholders, such as local authorities and unions (Hulme *et al.*, 2013; Menter, 2008). Also, there has been less desire for schools to opt-out of local authority control in Scotland in comparison to England and seemingly less desire amongst parents to run schools (Adler, 1997; Arnott, 2011; Arnott and Menter, 2007). Therefore, the neoliberal

inspired modernisation of England has arguably been adopted less in Scotland, though it would be inaccurate to say Scotland has not had any increases in marketization, managerialism and performativity (Ball, 2003; McGeer, 2009; Menter and Hulme, 2011; Menter *et al.*, 2004). There have, though, arguably been recent attempts to move Scottish education closer to England, for example through potentially decreasing local authority control and devolving greater funding directly to headteachers (Allison, 2018; BBC News, 2018a; McIvor, 2017a; 2017b; Mowat, 2018).

1.2   Key Literatures

There are three key literatures that the thesis will engage with: emotion in organisation; modernisation; and emotion in teaching. This section will look to briefly outline each literature, which will be engaged with in more depth within chapters two to four.

1.2.1   Emotion in Organisation

Emotion in organisation can be broken down into three distinct theoretical areas: emotional labour; emotion regulation; and emotion management. Emotional labour was first conceptualised by Hochschild (1979; 2012) and her belief, partially inspired by Goffman (1959), that, while people do control and shape their emotions in their private lives to meet societal expectations, when this emotional control is shifted to the workplace it is the employer that sets these emotional rules, or feeling rules, that

employees must follow. These feeling rules are underpinned by a profit motive and, given employees must match these feeling rules, employees will put on either a surface act or a deep act to match these expectations, both of which ultimately damage the employee (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Therefore, there is a coercive element to emotional labour, where employees will put on an act and receive a wage in return (Brook, 2009a; 2009b). However, there has been a more positive view of emotional labour proposed by the likes of Wouters (1989) that does not believe that emotional labour is inherently negative and damaging (Wharton, 1993). The belief within this area is that this more positive view offers a more nuanced and realistic representation of emotional labour, with Lopez (2006) highlighting how management do not have to be coercive (Guerrier and Adib, 2003).

Emotion regulation research has a strong focus on the ability of employees to regulate and control their emotions, with two key streams within this area of research: the social-psychological view of emotional labour; and emotional intelligence (EI). The social-psychological view of emotional labour, which is best identified with Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Grandey (2000) and Gross (1998), does not consider emotional labour to be as inherently damaging as Hochschild (2012), noting that organisations actually set display rules instead of feeling rules and employees can also naturally feel the emotions required by these display rules. The social-psychological view of emotional labour also has a strong interest in the link between emotional labour and burnout, with the Maslach Burnout Inventory a popular model in this area (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002; Mann and Cowburn, 2005; Maslach and Jackson, 1981). EI adopts a broader focus than the social-psychological view of emotional labour and

focuses more on the performance of the individual and the organisation. There are two typical approaches to measuring EI: trait models, which are best identified with Goleman (1998a; 1998b); and ability models, which are best identified with Salovey and Mayer (1990) and Mayer *et al.* (1999; 2003; 2012). While trait and ability models differ, both agree that employees have a range of emotional skills that can benefit both the employer and employee (Bowen, 2014; Brackett *et al.*, 2006).

Emotion management was developed by Bolton (2005), as she believed that emotional labour had been stretched too thin conceptually, making it less clear what emotional labour actually was, for example in how the social-psychological view of emotional labour uses the term emotional labour, but is noticeably different from Hochschild's (2012) conceptualisation (Bolton, 2000a). A criticism of emotional labour was also that it focused too much on the influence of management and not enough on how other factors could influence how employees use their emotions, while also indicating that employees retained little discretion over their emotional performance (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Emotional labour was also argued to focus too much on commercial service work and was not seen as being as appropriate for studying other types of employees, such as professionals or public sector workers (Bolton, 2000b; Lewis, 2005). As a result, Bolton (2005) developed the 4Ps model: pecuniary (management influences); prescriptive (professional influences); presentational (societal influences); and philanthropic (personal influences). The 4Ps model highlights the range of influences that impact upon employees, while also better illustrating that employees are skilled emotion managers (Bolton, 2001).

1.2.2 Education Modernisation

It is important to understand the context within which this research will be placed. As noted, there has been a desire from consecutive UK governments to reform and modernise education, with these reforms tending to focus on increasing marketization, managerialism and performativity (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Ball, 1993; 2003). While each government has had their own approach to modernising education, there has been a desire to increase accountability, move power away from local authorities and to give parents more power, with the publishing of league tables being one means of giving parents more information (Clapham, 2015; Gunter, 2015; Mills, 2015; Perryman, 2006). As previously noted, education is a power devolved to the Scottish government and so Scotland has diverged in a number of ways from the modernisation outlined above, with evidence of a more consensual and cooperative culture amongst key stakeholders and more trust in teachers (Hulme *et al*., 2013; Menter, 2008; Menter and Hulme, 2008). Recent reforms by the Scottish government, though, arguably adopt more of the modernising push seen in England, such as a desire to reduce the power of local authorities and the reintroduction of national standardised assessment (BBC News, 2018a; 2018b; Mowat, 2018). However, the Scottish government have struggled to get a number of additional reforms through the Scottish parliament and so it is important to note the differences that exist, such as the lack of official league tables (unofficial league tables, such as McLaughlin (2019), do, though, exist), no performance-related pay and a different curriculum (Clements, 2019; McGeer, 2009; McIvor, 2017c; Priestley, 2018).

It is useful at this juncture to outline some of the key statistics in relation to Scottish education, both to better illustrate the Scottish context, but also to offer a contrast to England (the figures below generally relate to public sector education). Farquharson and Sibieta (2019) note that total school spending in England and Scotland has been relatively similar in the period between 2009/10 to 2018/19, with spending in England rising by 1.1% and falling by 1.7% in Scotland. However, per pupil spending in Scotland has fallen only by 2.4%, whereas England has seen a drop of 8.3% in that same period. While an important factor in this difference in per pupil spending relates to a much larger rise in pupil numbers in England in comparison to Scotland, it does illustrate that per pupil spending has been squeezed less in Scotland than England. Teacher numbers have, though, seen a rise in England in comparison to Scotland, with teacher numbers in England rising from 448,100 full time equivalent teachers in 2010 to 453,400 teachers in 2018, whereas Scotland has seen little change, falling from 52,022 teachers (including early learning and childcare) in Scotland in 2010 to 51,959 teachers (including early learning and childcare) in 2018 (Department for Education, 2011; 2019; Scottish Government, 2019a). On the point of teacher salaries, the current starting salary in England for a qualified teacher is £24,373, though BBC News (2019) note that starting salaries could increase to £30,000 by 2022/23, while the starting salary in Scotland is higher at £26,697, with the teaching unions having recently secured a large pay increase (Get Into Teaching, 2019; McIvor, 2019; The Educational Institute of Scotland, 2019a). Indeed, teacher unions are considered to be quite powerful in Scotland and unionisation is high amongst Scottish teachers, with The Educational Institute of Scotland (2019b) noting that over 80% of Scottish teachers are members of the union.

Looking at the teacher to pupil ratio in England, in 2011 the ratio was 20.5 for nursery and primary and 14.9 for secondary, whereas in 2018 it was 20.9 for nursery and primary and 16.3 for secondary, showing a minimal change in nursery and primary, but a larger increase in secondary schools (Department for Education, 2019). In Scotland, in 2011 the ratio was 16.1 for primary and 12.3 for secondary, whereas in 2018 it was 16.1 for primary and 12.3 for secondary, indicating lower ratios in Scotland and more consistency than in England (Scottish Government, 2019a). As regards entering the teaching profession, there are far more routes available in England, such as through university education or employment-based routes, for example Teach First, whereas Menter and Hulme (2011) indicate greater scepticism in Scotland to these alternative routes and so the focus in Scotland is on a small number of universities to provide teacher education (Allen *et al*., 2016). There is also a difference as regards professional bodies, as the General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS) has been established since 1965 and is well respected, whereas the General Teaching Council for England was not established until 2000 and was abolished in 2012, with some of its responsibilities now falling under the Teaching Regulation Agency (Menter *et al*., 2004; Page, 2013; Teaching Regulation Agency, 2019; Whittaker, 2017). Having a more established and respected professional body may feed into the greater trust noted by Menter and Hulme (2008) that is afforded to teaching in Scotland.

A key modernisation reform during the New Labour government that has had a lasting impact on education in both England and Scotland has been the significant increase in classroom assistants, with a belief that they would reduce the administrative load on

teachers and allow teachers to focus on the professional tasks that only they can do (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Bach *et al.*, 2007). Also, classroom assistants can be seen as a more cost effective means of having another adult in classrooms in comparison to hiring more teachers (Kessler *et al.*, 2007). Blatchford *et al.* (2011) notes that classroom assistants now make up a quarter of the staff in schools in England and Wales, which is a significant proportion. There have been concerns, though, around this increase in and reliance on classroom assistants, with one concern being that they can take too much away from the teacher, potentially deprofessionalising the teacher and getting too close to teaching, with questions also over whether classroom assistants improve pupil attainment (Blatchford *et al.*, 2007; 2009; Warhurst *et al.*, 2009). These concerns are perhaps felt more so in Scotland, as the classroom assistant role is less well-defined than in England and so there is greater potential that the classroom assistant role can be stretched in numerous ways (EOC, 2007; Gilbert *et al.*, 2012; Warhurst *et al.*, 2014). As regards classroom assistant numbers, they have grown in both England and Scotland, with England noting a rise from 2010 when there were 213,900 full time equivalent classroom assistants to nearly 263,900 by 2018 and Scotland noting a rise in classroom assistant and related roles from 11,451 in 2010 to 13,625 in 2018 (Department for Education, 2011; 2019; Scottish Government, 2016; 2019b). However, pay for classroom assistants appears to be low and, while it is difficult to find precise figures given different local authorities will offer different rates, Myjobscotland (2019) currently advertise initial pay ranging from £16,296 to £17,537.29 per year pro rata.

1.2.3 Emotion in Teaching

While it took a number of years for the emotion in organisation research to be applied to teaching, there has been a steady growth since initial work by Nias (1996) and, in particular, Hargreaves (1998, 2000). This research has helped to create a link between emotion in organisation research and teaching and shown how such research can be applied to teaching. Although emotion in teaching research has had a number of different focuses, most research within this area tends to be underpinned by reform in education and, as supported by Uitto *et al.* (2015), tends to, alongside using the emotion in organisation theories, focus on three themes: the dichotomy between rational and emotional; teacher identity; and the importance and changing nature of relationships. Teaching has, though, been noted as being unique to some extent in that it is a caring profession where staff require the active cooperation of pupils to be deemed successful in their role, while it is also considered a requirement that staff are passionate about their role and working with children (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; Labaree, 2000). There have, thus, been arguments regarding whether emotion in organisation theories are appropriate for studying teachers (Torrington, 2006).

The emotion in organisation theories have been increasingly used to study teaching, with Hargreaves (1998; 2000) engaging with both emotional labour and EI to assess their appropriateness. In particular, emotional labour, the social-psychological view of emotional labour and EI have gained a significant amount of traction within emotion in teaching research (for examples of these theories in use see: Brackett *et al.*, 2010; Corcoran and Tormey, 2012; 2013; Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; Mittal and

Chhabra, 2011; Tsouloupas *et al*., 2010; Yin and Lee, 2012; Yin *et al*., 2013). However, there are differences in how emotion in teaching research uses these emotion in organisation theories from how they are typically used. One particular difference is the perspective used by the research, as, while emotion in organisation research tends to favour a broader work and employment perspective, emotion in teaching research typically adopts an education studies perspective, which focuses strongly on teachers and less on the wider context (Bolton, 2005). The emotion in organisation theories also tend to be tweaked to make them more appropriate for studying education.

1.3   Gaps in the Literature

While the three literatures outlined above are comprehensive, there are still gaps across the literatures that deserve further attention. An arguable gap in the emotion in teaching literature is how well the emotion in organisation theories have been tested to see how appropriate they are for teaching. Emotion regulation research has perhaps made the biggest effort to test how well these theories work within teaching and what adaptation is required, such as through developing scales specific to teaching (Akın *et al*., 2014; Brackett *et al*., 2010; Perry and Ball, 2007). However, there has arguably been less testing and validating of the suitability of emotional labour and emotion management with teaching, outside of the general acceptance from the likes of Torrington (2006) that Hochschild's (2012) conceptualisation of emotional labour is inappropriate for teaching (Hargreaves, 1998). It would be unfair to say that the approaches taken so far are wrong, as it may well be that Hochschild's (2012)

conceptualisation of emotional labour is inappropriate, but the issue is more the general acceptance of this view, rather than a strong desire to test the appropriateness of these theories.

Emotion management has perhaps undergone the most limited amount of adaptation when used in emotion in teaching research and still largely resembles what Bolton (2005) originally proposed, with a work and employment perspective retained. However, emotion management has barely been used in emotion in teaching research, with Jenkins and Conley (2007) and Hebson *et al*. (2007) the only notable examples. Equally, though, neither approach engaged with the 4Ps model as fully as, for example, Lewis (2005) did when studying nurses, with Jenkins and Conley (2007) focusing more on emotional juggling and Hebson *et al*. (2007) focusing more on pecuniary and philanthropic influences. It is perhaps surprising that emotion management has not been used more within emotion in teaching given that it appears to match up well with teachers being professionals and, generally, public sector workers who tend to retain a decent amount of autonomy within the classroom, similar to the autonomy that Bolton and Boyd (2003) note that flight attendants have when in the air (Labaree, 2000). Therefore, there is strong potential to apply emotion management and the 4Ps model to teachers and classroom assistants to assess its appropriateness.

There has been a lack of research that has looked to use emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management within one piece of research. There have been certain attempts to synthesise different theories within emotion in organisation, such as Vincent (2011), though that attempt was theoretical, rather than having an empirical

element to it. It is important, though, to recognise the need to adapt these theories, both to allow them all to be used within one piece of research and also to work with teaching, similar to how Lopez (2006) adapted emotional labour through his use of organised emotional care to study care workers. Equally, though, it is important that the research still retains a broader work and employment perspective. McKenzie *et al.* (2019) also notes that emotion in organisation research is increasingly favouring the more individualistic focus associated with emotion regulation research in comparison to the more sociological focus favoured by emotional labour and emotion management research. This individualistic focus has been particularly evident in emotion in teaching research, so there is potential to bring more of a sociological perspective to both emotion in organisation and emotion in teaching research (Olson *et al.*, 2019).

There has been a lack of emotion in teaching research focusing on Scotland, with most of the emotion in teaching research on the UK actually focusing on England. Therefore, there is very little research that is comparable to what this research is proposing in regards to its focus on emotion in teaching in Scotland given that Scottish education differs from English education (Arnott and Menter, 2007; Menter and Hulme, 2008). This paucity of research also comes at a time of significant reform in Scottish education, such as the development of a new curriculum, the Curriculum for Excellence (CfE), that has faced challenges and criticism, and so it is important to understand the impact of these reforms on teachers and classroom assistants (BBC News, 2017; McIvor, 2018a; Tonna and Shanks, 2017). The more egalitarian and consensual approach favoured in Scotland, with less of an explicit performative edge and no official league tables, arguably indicates that Scotland has a greater focus on

the emotional side of teaching in comparison to England (Hulme *et al.*, 2013; McIvor, 2017c; Menter, 2008). Thus, there remains potential to better understand what it is like to be a teacher and classroom assistant in Scotland, with a particular focus on the emotional aspect of both roles.

There has been a growing literature on classroom assistants in England, with research such as Bach *et al.* (2006), Blatchford *et al.* (2009) and Kerry (2005) providing a comprehensive picture of the classroom assistant role. Equally, there has been research on classroom assistants in Scotland, in particular by the EOC (2007), Gilbert *et al.* (2012) and Warhurst *et al.* (2009; 2014), which were all part of a large-scale research project, with this research showing the differences between classroom assistants in Scotland and England, in particular how the classroom assistant role is more loosely defined in Scotland. However, there has been little research focusing on the emotional demands classroom assistants face and how classroom assistants see the emotional side of their role, with English research such as Graves (2014) and Lehane (2016) only engaging with emotional labour to a limited extent. There has, though, been no similar research in Scotland. Such research will better highlight the emotional demands that classroom assistants deal with and allow for a better overall understanding of the classroom assistant role. It is also interesting to apply the emotion in organisation theories to paraprofessionals, both to highlight how they may differ from professionals and to see how appropriate these theories are for understanding such employees (Bolton, 2005). The research questions related to these gaps will be outlined at the end of chapter four.

1.4 Contributions of the Research

After considering these gaps across the literatures, there are two key contributions to knowledge that the research intends to make (Gill and Dolan, 2015; Phillips and Pugh, 2010). The first contribution is empirical, as this chapter has already outlined that there has been little emotion in teaching research focusing on Scotland or emotion research focusing on classroom assistants. Research such as the EOC (2007) and Warhurst *et al*. (2014) have provided a good understanding of what the classroom assistant role is like in Scotland, while Graves (2014) and Lehane (2016) have offered an initial insight into the emotional role of classroom assistants in England. This thesis will look to contribute to both areas by analysing the classroom assistant role in Scotland in depth, improving the general understanding that currently exists of the classroom assistant role in Scotland, with a particular focus on the emotional side of their role. Teachers are also a key part of this thesis and the research, while adding to the existing knowledge of emotion in teaching, will bring in the Scottish context and also provide an updated overview of what it is like to be a teacher working in Scotland at the moment, particularly given the recent reforms to Scottish education, such as CfE (Tonna and Shanks, 2017).

The second contribution that the thesis will make is theoretical in both using the three emotion in organisation theories within one piece of research and modifying these theories to make them appropriate for studying school-based education within a broad work and employment perspective. Regarding this modification, Lopez (2006) offers an example as to how emotion in organisation theories can be adapted to make them

appropriate for a specific context, while still retaining a broad work and employment perspective. It will be important during chapters two to four to focus on how the modernisation and emotion in teaching literatures can work alongside the emotion in organisation theories. It is, though, accepted that this will mean that the three emotion in organisation theories will need to be simplified to some extent, as otherwise the research would overextend itself. By adopting such an approach, it is hoped that this would allow for further research, either on school-based education by highlighting how these theories can be adapted to work in this context or showing that these three theories can be used within one piece of research, thus allowing other contexts to be studied using this approach.

1.5   Outline of Thesis

Finally, this chapter will quickly outline the structure of the rest of the thesis. Chapters two to four will review the literatures on emotion in organisation, modernisation and emotion in teaching. Chapter two will focus on emotion in organisation, which theoretically underpins the thesis. The natural starting point for this chapter is the work by Hochschild (1979; 2012) on emotional labour, as it has provided either the starting point or an important reference point for the other emotion in organisation theories. Equally, though, there have been criticisms of how Hochschild (2012) conceptualised emotional labour and so it is important to also consider the more positive view of emotional labour, initially noted by Wouters (1989). While emotional labour research tends to be more sociological in its focus, emotion regulation research

tends to be more individual and is best identified with the social-psychological view of emotional labour, associated with Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), Grandey (2000) and Gross (1998), and EI, initially developed by Salovey and Mayer (1990) and Goleman (1995; 1998a; 1998b). Both approaches are similar to the extent that they have a strong focus on employees controlling and regulating their emotions, as well as favouring a more positivist epistemology, but also differ, for example in how EI has a wider focus than the social-psychological view of emotional labour (Fineman, 2004). Finally, emotion management and the work of Bolton (2005) will be discussed, in particular the 4Ps model. It would appear from the outside that the 4Ps model may be appropriate for studying school-based education, but it is important to test each theory to see how appropriate they actually are.

The third chapter will focus on the context within which this research takes place, in particular the push to modernise education in the UK (Bach and Kessler, 2012). Regarding this modernisation of education, the literature indicates that the three primary goals have been to increase marketization, managerialism and performativity (Bach and Givan, 2011; Ball, 1993; 2003). It is, though, important to note that education is a devolved power in Scotland and so it is the Scottish government, not the UK government, which controls education policy in Scotland (Barrett *et al.*, 2015). Therefore, while this chapter has noted that Scotland has still seen elements of this modernisation reform, there have also been a number of divergences from England that will be discussed. A key aspect of New Labour modernisation was the increase in assistant roles within the public sector, with classroom assistants of particular interest to this research (Bach *et al.*, 2007; 2008). Classroom assistants have placed

another adult within classrooms, one who does not need to be a trained teacher, with concerns around how loosely defined their role is, particularly within Scotland, and whether classroom assistants may be teaching (EOC, 2007; Gilbert *et al.*, 2012; Lehane, 2016; Warhurst *et al.*, 2014).

Chapter four will further extend the analyses in chapters two and three by considering how emotion in organisation research has been applied to school-based education and teaching. As previously noted, emotion in teaching research has steadily grown since initial research by Nias (1996) and, in particular, Hargreaves (1998; 2000) and so a key part of this chapter will be to outline this literature and note how it has differed from emotion in organisation research. Emotion in teaching research tends to focus on three themes, which have been underpinned by education reform: rational/emotional debate; teacher identity; and the changing nature of relationships (Uitto *et al.*, 2015). However, emotion in teaching research has tended to adopt an education studies perspective, which is narrower than the work and employment perspective typically favoured by emotion in organisation research (Bolton, 2005). Thus, emotion in teaching research has not typically engaged with reform and modernisation of education as broadly as emotion in organisation research normally would. The chapter will also analyse how the emotion in organisation theories have been used by emotion in teaching research, in particular how they have been adapted to better match the context of school-based education and this narrower education studies perspective.

Chapter five will outline the methodological approach of the research, engaging with both the philosophy underpinning the research and the research methods used to conduct the research. The thesis adopts an objectivist ontology and a critical realist epistemology, arguing that there is an objective world that can be researched, but that such research is challenging and complex (Danermark *et al*., 2002; Saunders *et al*., 2012). This research focuses on qualitative data, so it was decided that a case study approach would be used, with the school-based education system in Scotland chosen as the case study, with public sector secondary and primary schools and private sector all-through schools providing the majority of interviewees given they are the main types of schools in Scotland (Adler, 1997; Bryman and Bell, 2011; Priestley and Humes, 2010). Semi-structured interviews were then conducted with both male and female teachers and classroom assistants, as well as school management based outside of the classroom and significant others involved in education. These significant others include groups such as teacher unions and local authorities, with these groups, as noted, potentially having a significant voice in Scottish education (Menter, 2008; Menter and Hulme, 2008). NVivo will then be used to help with the analysis of the interview data, breaking down the interview data into more manageable chunks and identifying important themes (Yin, 2009).

Chapters six, seven and eight will focus on the findings of the research, with each chapter focusing on one type of school from public sector secondary, public sector primary or private sector all-through, with the significant other interviews used across the three chapters. Each chapter provides an understanding of what it is like to be a teacher and classroom assistant working in Scotland, covering their motivations for

getting into the role, the reality of the roles, the techniques used to manage and regulate their emotions, issues around stress and burnout and the emotional content of both roles. Emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management will be engaged with throughout each chapter and applied to the parts where it is felt they are most appropriate. The hope is that this approach will allow the voices of the participants to come through and to paint a picture of what it is like for teachers and classroom assistants to work in Scottish schools.

Chapter nine will analyse the findings from the three previous chapters and apply these findings through the theoretical framework of the thesis, using emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management through a work and employment perspective. The chapter will have a strong comparative element, comparing the responses of teachers and classroom assistants across the different types of schools to see where similarities and differences exist. The chapter will also return to the research questions posed at the end of chapter four and discuss what the research has found out in relation to each question. The final chapter has two functions. First, to engage with the limitations of the research, highlighting what factors have proved challenging to the research, as well as how these challenges have been overcome or worked around. Second, to offer the final conclusions of the thesis. These conclusions will cover each part of the thesis and will also return to the theoretical and empirical contributions that the research has made.

2.0 Emotion in Organisation

2.1 Introduction

Emotion in organisation is an area of research that has grown significantly, particularly within the last thirty years. A core factor in this growth has been the rise of the service sector, which has significantly increased how much employees interact with the customer (Payne, 2009). As a result, and underpinned by the work of Goffman (1959) on impression management, there has been an increasing research focus on how emotions are used within the workplace and how this impacts upon the employee, employer and customer (Hochschild, 1979). While initial work, such as on emotional labour by Hochschild (2012), focused more exclusively on interactive service work, emotion in organisation research has expanded to study a range of different industries and professions. The work of Fineman (2000a) has been important in highlighting how organisations are not purely rational and that emotions permeate every aspect of work, with Fineman (2003, 1) noting that organisations 'are emotional arenas where feelings shape events, and events shape feelings' (Goleman, 1995; Sandelands and Boudens, 2000). Therefore, emotion in organisation research can significantly vary in scope, from focusing on just the interactive element of service work to analysing the wider role of emotions within organisations. Typically, emotion in organisation research is underpinned by a broad work and employment perspective, which focuses on how roles are designed, the context within which roles exist and how work and employment are changing (Bolton, 2005).

To more fully understand emotion in organisation research, three theories will be engaged with to highlight the range and scope of research being undertaken: emotional labour; emotion regulation and emotion management. While each theory will be discussed in depth in this chapter, it is important to understand the similarities and differences between these theories and why they have been grouped under emotion in organisation research. Emotional labour, which was initially defined by Hochschild (2012), believes that organisations set emotional rules (feeling rules) that employees have to follow at work, which employees can experience either positively or negatively (Wouters, 1989). Emotion regulation, which comprises both the social-psychological perspective of emotional labour and emotional intelligence (EI), believes that employees can control their emotions and that use of emotions at work can benefit both the employee and employer (Goleman, 1998a; Grandey, 2000). Finally, emotion management believes that employees retain significant agency over their emotions and that emotional labour overstates the influence of the employer (Bolton, 2005). Therefore, each theory offers a distinct take on emotion in organisation.

However, it is equally important to understand the similarities between these theories, that each theory is studying the same issue of the rising use of emotion in organisations, just from different perspectives. For example, emotional labour and emotion management share a similar sociological focus on the needs of the employee and tend to come from a more academic perspective (Fineman, 2004; McKenzie *et al*., 2019). However, both differ quite significantly as regards the level of control and agency that they believe employees retain over their emotions (Bolton, 2005; Hochschild, 2012). Equally, emotion regulation is somewhat different in that it focuses on the needs of

both the employee and employer, typically offering a more individualistic and business-minded perspective, with a less pronounced work and employment perspective (Goleman, 1998a; Grandey, 2003). Each theory offers a different perspective of emotion in organisation and understanding each theory allows for a fuller understanding of emotion in organisation. This thesis agrees with Bolton (2000a) that it is overly simplistic to use emotional labour as a catchall to discuss all emotion in organisation research. Such an approach overlooks the individual contributions of emotion regulation and emotion management, while also ignoring the different views within emotional labour. Instead, emotion in organisation is used to highlight that, while each theory is distinct and must be understood individually, there are a number of similarities across each theory. Such an approach allows the thesis to engage with the range of literature that Bolton (2005, 46) notes falls within 'the "emotion in organisation" umbrella'.

The intention of this chapter is to describe each emotion in organisation theory in detail and discuss their contribution within emotion in organisation research. Through this discussion, the chapter intends to build up a greater understanding of emotion in organisation, which can then be applied to emotion in teaching. The hope of the research is to use emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management from a broad work and employment perspective to gauge how appropriate each is for understanding emotion in teaching. This chapter will not note one theory as superior to another, as it is important to understand each theory to gain a fuller understanding of emotion in organisation as a whole. Emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management will underpin a significant amount of the literature review

chapters, as well as guiding the interview questions and analysis of the data. Therefore, this chapter is important in providing a full understanding of each theory and emotion in organisation as a whole.

2.2 Emotional Labour

Before discussing emotional labour, emotion work must be defined. Hochschild (1979, 561) defines emotion work as 'the act of evoking or shaping, as well as suppressing, feeling' and is done by people in their private, non-work life. Emotion work shows how people follow feeling rules (in essence social rules and expectations, such as being happy at a wedding) that helps society to function. By using the term emotion work, Hochschild (1979) notes that this use of emotions is a form of work that can take effort from the individual, though can become almost natural and unconscious over time (Bolton, 2005; Bolton and Boyd, 2003). People can also opt to not follow feeling rules (Bolton, 2000b). Impression management by Goffman (1959) can be seen as a starting point for emotion work, highlighting how employees put on an act, as well as delineating between a front and back region where feeling rules differ (Vincent and Braun, 2013). Emotional labour, then, is the transformation of emotion work as a private act into a public act within the workplace that is controlled and enforced by the organisation, which Hochschild (2012) believes is damaging to employees. However, a more positive view of emotional labour, initially noted by Wouters (1989), believes that Hochschild's (2012) conception of emotional labour is

overly negative and that emotional labour can have positive elements to it. This section will discuss both views.

2.2.1   Hochschild Emotional Labour

A key difference between emotion work and emotional labour is the coerciveness of feeling rules. Feeling rules in emotion work are established through social norms and cultural expectations, which people have a choice whether to follow (Hochschild, 1979). Feeling rules in emotional labour, however, are set by the organisation, based on a profit motive and establish the emotion required from employees (Hochschild, 2012). As the organisation requires employees to perform this emotional labour to remain employed, such as a fast food server smiling at every customer, employees are seen to have little choice but to follow these feeling rules (Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Lopez, 2006). Thus, feeling rules have a coercive element, with emotional labour believing that employees sacrifice their right to reject organisational feeling rules by accepting a wage (Brook, 2009a; 2009b). The increasing importance of emotional labour has been aided by two factors. First, a massive increase in service-based roles that favour attitude and people skills (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002; Goleman, 1998a). Second, work intensification across a wide range of service roles has led to management setting stricter and more coercive feeling rules to ensure consistent customer service (Ogbonna and Harris, 2004).

Hochschild (2012) notes that, as feeling rules are set by the organisation with the primary goal of enhancing profit, the feelings of the employee and organisation will not fully match up. Therefore, employees must put on an act to meet these feeling rules, either at a surface or deeper level (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). Surface acting is adopting the required expression and nothing more, while deep acting changes how the employee perceives the situation to try to genuinely feel the required emotions. Both forms of acting are seen as dangerous to employees, with surface acting taking a significant amount of effort and causing emotional dissonance, while deep acting can alter the identity of the employee, with both types of acting causing a transmutation of feelings (Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Côté, 2005). Emotional dissonance is the disconnect felt between the emotion required and that felt by the employee, which can lead to burnout if consistently felt (Morris and Feldman, 1996). Transmutation of feelings is the idea that the employee loses sight of their true self through manipulating their feelings to match organisational feeling rules, alienating employees from their feelings (Brook, 2009a; 2009b). While Fineman (2003) notes that people may need to show an emotion they do not feel during their life, it is the coercive and forced nature of emotional labour that makes it damaging.

Emotional labour and feeling rules are also seen as strongly gendered, so it is important to briefly focus on gender and how it can be conceptualised. As emotional labour is a feature of service work, which requires customer interaction, it prioritises caring and people skills (Hochschild, 2012). Organisations have also long assumed that females are better and more natural than males at these types of skills (Nixon, 2009). Taylor and Tyler (2000) note that these assumptions can make certain employers more

inclined to hire women in roles that require emotional labour, with the expectation that women will naturally use these more feminine skills without the need for much training. As these skills are seen as natural, management may add no value to these skills, meaning that employees that use emotional labour tend to not be rewarded or recognised for its use (Bolton, 2000a; 2005; Payne, 2009). Emotional labour has also been accused of encouraging other forms of discrimination (Brannan, 2005). For example, Nath (2011) highlights how Indian call centre employees alter their accents to better meet the perceived demands of customers and ignore racist abuse.

Key to gender is identity, with Pullen and Simpson (2009) noting that identity is based around sameness and difference (Simpson, 2004). While it can be overly simplistic to view gender as a binary issue, a significant amount of research focuses on masculinity and femininity and the expectations on people to match these ideals. Jobs that require emotional labour are typically seen to focus on more feminine caring skills, which women are assumed to be able to do more naturally than men (Bolton, 2005; Hochschild, 2012; Taylor and Tyler, 2000). These feminine skills are typically not rewarded, though employees will be penalised for not showing them (Payne, 2009; Polletta and Tufail, 2016). Different spaces will also bring different gender expectations, with Simpson (2014) noting that the flight deck of an airplane has quite a strong masculine identity, whereas the cabin is more feminine. There have, though, been moves from both women and men into gender atypical occupations (Simpson, 2005).

For men moving into traditionally feminine roles there can be a stigma attached to them, such as how male primary school teachers may be viewed with suspicion due to the fact that they are working closely with young children (Hancock *et al*., 2015; Pullen and Simpson, 2009; Simpson, 2005). Thus, men can try to limit or de-emphasise the emotional labour required in their role and focus more on its masculine element, reducing the stress on their masculine identity (Simpson, 2014). While men are able to limit their emotional labour, this is less possible for women, who are expected to perform these more caring tasks (Polletta and Tufail, 2016; Taylor and Tyler, 2000). Men may also look to move into more specialist areas, which can be identified as less feminine, or be targeted for promotion ahead of female colleagues (Simpson, 2004; 2011). Therefore, the demands of emotional labour can be different for both men and women, though both can still find it difficult.

While a key issue for men in gender atypical roles can be to meet masculine expectations and to be identified as a man, women can struggle with the fact that they are afforded less automatic respect than men in both gender typical and atypical roles (Polletta and Tufail, 2016; Simpson, 2004; 2005). As care work and the skills required to do emotional labour are typically seen as skills that women can naturally do, less focus can be given to their professionalism and technical competence, meaning women can feel it takes longer for them to earn professional respect (Hochschild, 2012; Lopez, 2010; Taylor and Tyler, 2000). As the rational/technical side of job roles, which are seen to match a more masculine image, are typically prioritised by organisations ahead of the more emotional side, it can mean that the caring responsibilities women typically have to perform are undervalued (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1995; Lewis, 2005). As

will be discussed in the following paragraph, people in gender atypical roles can be seen as 'Other' to the dominant gender, which can make work life difficult (Hancock *et al.*, 2015; Pullen and Simpson, 2009; Simpson, 2011).

Key to gender research is the importance of masculinity and femininity, which can be strong drivers and influences on people, with men typically wanting to achieve a masculine identity and women wishing to attain a feminine identity (Fineman, 2000a). However, not all people will match this masculine/feminine ideal and so Pullen and Simpson (2009) engage with the idea of doing and undoing gender, as well as doing difference, a concept developed by West and Fenstermaker (1995). Doing gender focuses, for example, on how men in gender atypical roles will look to emphasise the more masculine aspects of it, allowing them and others to identify them as a man (Simpson, 2004). Conversely, undoing gender is when people go against gender expectations and are seen as the 'Other', such as the male nurses in Simpson (2011) wanting to show off their caring side and ignoring how others will view a man doing this. This feeling of 'Otherness' can be an important influence on people and can affect both men and women depending on the job they are doing and the emphasis given to masculine or feminine skills (Simpson, 2005). It is also important to note that ideas around masculinity and femininity are constantly changing and adapting, meaning that few people will ever attain this ideal and so will feel pressure to conform (Simpson, 2014).

With Bolton (2005, 48) describing emotional labour as potentially 'the greatest contribution to advance an understanding of emotion in organisations', the

significance of Hochschild's (1979; 2012) research to emotion in organisation cannot be overstated. Emotional labour has highlighted the growing use of emotion by organisations, while also adding a sociological element alongside the purely psychological view that previously dominated this research (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Each of the theories discussed in this chapter have been influenced by emotional labour to some extent, even those critical of it. Emotional labour research shows how emotions are a key part of the workplace and has influenced further research in this area (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1995; Fineman, 2000a; 2003). Emotional labour research has also highlighted the damaging and alienating nature of emotional labour (Brook, 2009a; 2009b).

There are a number of ways that management attempt to enforce feeling rules. For example, tightly scripting the service encounter and telling employees what they should and should not say to the customer, which has been particularly evident in call centre work (Hochschild, 2012; Taylor and Bain, 1999; 2007). Management are also able to control the performance of staff through technological advances that allow greater monitoring, encouraging peer pressure within teams or redesigning roles to ensure more staff have a service component to their job (Brannan, 2005; Knights and McCabe, 1998; van den Broek *et al*., 2008). Another development that makes emotional labour hard for employees is the rhetoric from organisations that the customer is king, which can make customers expect excellent service (Bolton, 2001; Nixon, 2009; Taylor and Tyler, 2000). The fact, as noted by Bolton and Houlihan (2005), that organisations may not follow through on this rhetoric can mean that

service interactions can be frustrating and damaging for both the employee and customer (Sallaz, 2015).

Hochschild (2012) has also noted the increasing use of surveillance at work, which other research has taken on, particularly in light of significant technological advances. For example, Taylor and Bain (1999; 2007) have illustrated how call centres use new call monitoring technology to allow management more information on what employees are doing, with such research indicating how jobs are being designed with emotional labour as an integral part and the desire of organisations to break jobs down into their component parts, increasing the expendability of employees (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002). Emotional labour has also shown the increasing influence of management within organisations, for example through setting increasingly onerous targets or requiring both qualitative and quantitative targets, even when they conflict (Brannan, 2005; Ogbonna and Harris, 2004). Employees can, therefore, feel as though they are constantly being monitored and under pressure. Emotional labour also notes that employees can and will resist increasingly demanding feeling rules, both individually and collectively (Hochschild, 2012). Knights and McCabe (1998) and Taylor and Tyler (2000) note how employees are expert users of their work systems compared to management and so use their knowledge to reduce the demands of their role (van den Broek *et al*., 2008). Therefore, while emotional labour may be ultimately damaging, it does not ignore the fact that employees can and will resist management control (Brook, 2009a).

However, emotional labour and Hochschild (2012) have been criticised for painting an overly negative picture of interactive service work, as there may be parts of this type of work that employees enjoy or instances where the employee and employer emotions match up (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Wouters, 1989). McMurray and Ward (2014) note how employees at the Samaritans can find their job fulfilling, even though it carries a social 'taint', while Curley and Royle (2013) cite employees at Aer Lingus who were upset that the emotional labour aspect of their role was removed and wanted it reinstated. Emotional labour also infers that employees are always under the control of management and that they must follow feeling rules that will ultimately damage them. However, this can overstate the control of management and understate the agency of employees, who Fineman (2003) notes will find ways to reduce the onerousness of emotional labour (see also Bolton, 2005; Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Lopez (2006) also notes that there is little evidence to support transmutation of feelings actually occurring.

Hochschild (2012) has also been accused of depicting customers and employers in an unrealistically negative and flat manner. While there will undoubtedly be instances where management place onerous demands on employees, there are also cases when they can work in a positive manner with employees and become friends (Lively, 2002). Furthermore, certain jobs, such as the beauty therapists in Sharma and Black (2001), cannot be easily standardised or monitored. It is also unfair to simply see the customer as an increasingly demanding and unreasonable irritant to employees, as there are examples that show employees and customers working together and benefiting each other, with studies noting that the enjoyment from customer interactions can both

attract people to customer service and keeps them there (Guerrier and Adib, 2003; Jenkins *et al.*, 2010; Korczynski, 2003). Research has also suggested that emotional labour underestimates the emotional nature of employment and organisations, overlooking the complex relationships between and within each part of the service triangle (Fineman, 2000a; Lopez, 2010).

The public/private dichotomy of emotional labour is also overly simplistic, believing that the real self can only be found in the private and that any use of emotions in the workplace will be negative and alienating (Wouters, 1989). Hochschild (2012) also notes that the use of emotions within the workplace will always be led by management and profit driven, but Bolton (2005) notes that there can be many influences outside of just a commercial management influence. While emotional labour generally only sees the collective as a means of resistance to management, the collective can also be a means for employees to support each other, to show compassion and overcome some of the more negative parts of their job (Frost *et al.*, 2000; Korczynski, 2003). Emotional labour can also be poorly defined, as seen in the debate between Bolton (2009), who believes emotional labour focuses on loss of identity, and Brook (2009a), who believes it is founded on Marxian beliefs, with each side making valid arguments (Morris and Feldman, 1996; Vincent, 2011).

2.2.2 Positive View of Emotional Labour

To counter the negative view of emotional labour noted by Hochschild (2012), a more positive view has emerged. Wouters (1989) was one of the first to propose this and it is based on the belief that emotional labour is not inherently negative, rather how emotional labour is experienced depends on the employee, employer and context (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Wharton, 1993). This more positive view of emotional labour aims to provide a more realistic depiction of emotional labour, highlighting that emotional labour has both negative and positive aspects (Pratt and Doucet, 2000). The more positive view of emotional labour accepts that emotional labour can be hard and unpleasant work, but that research is incorrect to only focus on the negative side or disregard that these negative aspects can drive employees towards positive outcomes (Schweingruber and Berns, 2005). For example, Sandiford and Seymour (2002) and Seymour and Sandiford (2005) studied employees in a pub chain and note that, while employees do suffer from boredom and may dislike certain customers, they can equally get a great deal from customer interactions and the support of colleagues. This ambivalent view allows for a more rounded understanding of emotional labour, showing how close relationships with customers and colleagues can reduce emotional dissonance, while not ignoring the potential negatives (Nylander *et al.*, 2011).

The positive view of emotional labour also notes that there are a number of reasons why employees are willing to do emotional labour. Whereas Hochschild (2012) noted that the only reason employees do emotional labour is for a wage, studies have noted

that employees have a range of motivations and a willingness to go beyond feeling rules (Iszatt-White, 2009). Guerrier and Adib (2003) note how tour reps willingly arrange additional activities for customers, even doing so in their own time for which they do not get paid. Employees can also genuinely believe in the service they are providing, such as the beauty therapists in Sharma and Black (2001) believing they are helping women feel more attractive and the book sellers in Schweingruber and Berns (2005), who believe in the books they are selling. Employees may also want to offer something more to the customer, either because they feel it is the right thing to do or because they have enjoyed interacting with the customer (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002). This desire from employees to provide more than is organisationally mandated is particularly evident in caring roles, such as nursing, where there can be a desire to help people and give something back (Bolton, 2000b).

The positive view of emotional labour also provides a more rounded and realistic image of management and customers and their relationship with employees. Lively (2002) notes how paralegals work alongside and support their employer (the lawyer), who offers support in return, while accepting that the relationship will have its difficulties. While customers can cause employees pain through abuse, studies have equally shown how employees and customers can work together for each other's betterment (Korczynski, 2003; Villarreal, 2010). Customers can also enjoy the service interaction more if they believe that the employee is genuinely enjoying themselves during the interaction and both the customer and employee can influence each other's moods (Parvez, 2006; Theodosius, 2006). On a related note, Curley and Royle (2013) and Sallaz (2010) note that employees and customers can be frustrated when

management do not allow employees to perform emotional labour, as doing so limits the interactions between the two. To highlight the need for a more thorough understanding of the service triangle, Sandiford and Seymour (2007) note the example of pub landlords for a chain of pubs, who can be the employer, employee and customer at any one time, showing the complexity that can exist between and within each part of the service triangle.

A theory that highlights the more flexible and positive view of emotional labour is organised emotional care by Lopez (2006). Lopez (2006) notes that the approach of management (in this instance in the care sector) to emotion and feeling rules will fall somewhere on a continuum between emotional labour and organised emotional care. Emotional labour matches the more coercive view of Hochschild (2012), where employees follow feeling rules and have little say over how these are set. Organised emotional care, by comparison, sees management as working with employees to set appropriate rules that allow the organisation to meet its needs, without coercing employees to follow harmful feeling rules (Lopez, 2010). While it is still the case that management set the culture and feeling rules that employees follow and thus have a key role, organised emotional care notes that use of emotions at work is not inherently negative and does not have to be damaging.

Arguably, then, the more positive view of emotional labour helps to provide a more realistic image of service work and the service triangle. Hochschild (2012) paid little attention to the service triangle as a whole, instead primarily focusing on employees and projecting a rather static view of the employer and customer. However, the

positive view of emotional labour shows that, while certain customer interactions can be difficult and require acting, other interactions can be enjoyable and satisfying (Guerrier and Adib, 2003; Lilius, 2012). Employees, therefore, can be willing to offer a service beyond their paid for role, showing that it is naïve to see emotional labour as only being performed for a wage (Smith, 2008). There can be a number of motivations for employees to accept a job and then remain in it, with the positive view of emotional labour enhancing our understanding of why employees perform emotional labour (Shuler and Sypher, 2000). The positive view shows the complexity of the customer, who can also have a range of motivations that can benefit or, at the least, are not solely intended to obstruct the employee (Villarreal, 2010).

The more positive view of emotional labour also shows the generally ambivalent nature of interactive service work, noting that it may be overly simplistic to see an action or interaction as positive or negative and that a number of decisions will have both good and bad aspects to them (Pratt and Doucet, 2000; Shuler and Sypher, 2000). While certain roles can be emotionally challenging and draining, this challenge can in turn be a motivation for employees, in particular where they feel they are working for the public good (McMurray and Ward, 2014). The positive view of emotional labour also illustrates how certain jobs can match up well with people, which can reduce the negative impact of emotional labour (Schweingruber and Berns, 2005; Sharma and Black, 2001). The positive view of emotional labour has been particularly useful in opening research to certain sectors that Hochschild's (2012) view of emotional labour was inappropriate for, such as nursing care, where staff need to genuinely care for their patients/residents, rather than solely be motivated by profit (Lopez, 2006).

Organised emotional care has been important in showing the significance of the organisational culture and context as to whether emotional labour is viewed positively or negatively (Lopez, 2006). It shows that profit, while important, does not need to be the sole goal of management and that organisations can accept the needs of employees when establishing the organisational culture and its approach to emotional labour. Organised emotional care shows that organisations can be successful, while still honouring the needs of employees (Meyerson, 2000). Alongside organisational culture, the positive view of emotional labour also highlights the importance of context to how feeling rules are viewed by employees (Lively and Weed, 2014). By better including context, the positive view of emotional labour helps to create a more flexible understanding of emotional labour and supports the belief of Goffman (1959) that different contexts will have different emotional demands (Fineman, 2003).

However, a potential risk of the more positive view of emotional labour is that its positive outlook might be taken too far, with only the positives noted and the negatives overlooked, akin to a reverse of Hochschild's (2012) conceptualisation of emotional labour (Fineman, 2006). This exclusive focus on the positive nature of emotional labour has not happened to a great extent, though is a risk. For example, while the idea of fun at work organised by management for employees is a noble goal, such initiatives can overlook the subjective nature of fun and that what might be enjoyable for one person is hard emotional labour for another (Townsend, 2008). Guerrier and Adib (2003) note the desire from management for tour reps to genuinely enjoy their work, which is not something the tour reps can always do, especially when they are not officially working, and so they need to put on an act. This need to constantly be

on can lead to a blurring between work and non-work activities and make switching off from work difficult (Hughes, 2005; Sandiford and Seymour, 2007).

The more positive view of emotional labour also still sees the employer as setting the feeling rules and emotional tone of the organisation that employees follow and, while the employee may benefit from less coercive feeling rules, it is dependent on the benevolence and mood of management (Jenkins and Delbridge, 2013; Jenkins *et al.*, 2010). Management could also use positive language to emphasise the benefits of emotional labour, while suppressing or downplaying its potentially damaging side (Schweingruber and Berns, 2005). The desire to hire employees based on their predisposition to emotional labour may also result in employees being taken advantage of and expected to go beyond the requirements of their role (Callaghan and Thompson, 2002; Guerrier and Adib, 2003). This expectation that employees will go beyond the requirements of their role may be a particular issue in caring roles, as employees may feel the need to suppress negative feelings for the benefit of the customer/client (Lopez, 2006; McMurray and Ward, 2014). It may also be that employees unwilling to go beyond their role are seen as defective in some way (Fineman, 2006). Lopez (2006) also concedes that organised emotional care may be inappropriate outside of the care home industry. Finally, as research in this area attempts to focus more on the positive side of emotional labour, there is the potential that such research can blunt the criticism that Hochschild (2012) noted, with less focus on the idea and acceptability of emotional labour (Brook, 2007; 2009a).

2.2.3 Emotional Labour Conclusion

While the emotional labour of Hochschild (2012) differs from the more positive view of emotional labour, the main difference is in perspective. In the original conception of emotional labour, the focus is on the damaging nature of emotional labour and criticising its growth. In the positive view of emotional labour, the focus is on attempting to show that some employees can find meaning in this type of work and that such work is not inherently bad. However, both still believe that the employer sets the feeling rules that employees follow. The potential lack of agency such a view suggests in employees will be discussed later, though it is important to note that both views of emotional labour share this general concept. When one looks at Lopez (2006), the employer is still the one setting the emotional tone throughout the organisation for employees to follow. The primary difference between Lopez (2006) and Hochschild (2012) is that the employer using organised emotional care is attempting to reduce the alienation/dissonance felt by employees. Therefore, there is a similarity between both views, with the primary difference being their focus and level of criticism.

2.3 Emotion Regulation

The focus of this section is on how employees regulate their emotions and the impact that successful and unsuccessful regulation can have. There are two areas within emotion in organisation research that put a significant focus on emotion regulation: the

social-psychological perspective of emotional labour; and EI. The social-psychological approach to emotional labour, popularised by Gross (1998) and Grandey (2000), places a strong focus on the acting element of emotional labour and asks which form of acting results in the least chance of burnout (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002). EI, which was initially noted by Salovey and Mayer (1990) and popularised by Goleman (1995; 1998a; 1998b), is strongly underpinned by the idea that employees have control over their emotions and can regulate their emotions to both their and the organisation's advantage. Both emotion regulation theories believe that employees do retain control over their emotions (Fineman, 2000b; 2004). Therefore, while the social-psychological perspective and EI are distinct theories, they have been grouped under emotion regulation due to their core belief that employees can control their emotions and that use of emotions at work can benefit both the employee and employer.

2.3.1   Social-Psychological Perspective of Emotional Labour

Compared to the more sociological view of emotional labour discussed in section 2.2, the social-psychological view of emotional labour is different in a number of ways. Arguably the first work within the social-psychological school is Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), who noted that organisations actually set display rules, not feeling rules. Emotional labour is, therefore, how employees meet these display rules, rather than necessarily having to alter their feelings, offering a less coercive view of emotional labour and one in which the employee retains some ability to regulate their

emotions (Grandey, 2000; 2003). Emotional labour in the social-psychological perspective also notes the importance of the employee in whether emotional labour is damaging, as each employee will see emotional labour differently depending on their personality and level of autonomy (Wharton, 1993). Gross (1998, 275) has been influential in noting the importance of emotion regulation and defines it as 'the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions', which shows that employees play a key role in controlling their emotions to match the display rules and context (Diefendorff and Gosserand, 2003). Social-psychological perspectives believe that employees have the ability to change how they perceive a situation so that their emotional performance can better meet the prescribed display rules (McCance *et al*., 2013; Rupp *et al*., 2008). Thus, surface and deep acting are seen as emotional labour strategies that employees can use, with Medler-Liraz and Yagil (2013) noting that deep acting is antecedent-focused and surface acting is response-focused.

Research within the social-psychological view of emotional labour highlights that there are two types of emotion regulation: intrinsic emotion regulation; and extrinsic emotion regulation (Gross, 2013). Intrinsic emotion regulation focuses on the individual and how they regulate their own emotions, thus having an internal focus and resembling the emotional labour discussed in the previous section. Extrinsic emotion regulation is more unique to this area of emotion in organisation research and focuses more on how a person will look to regulate the emotions of others and the influence people can have on the emotions of others (Maroney and Gross, 2014). Equally, emotion regulation does not need to be limited to either just intrinsic emotion

regulation or extrinsic emotion regulation, as emotion regulation can serve both an intrinsic and extrinsic purpose when required. Indeed, Taxer and Gross (2018) found that teachers in their study used emotion regulation for both intrinsic and extrinsic purposes, with an awareness of how their own emotions can impact upon the emotions that pupils will experience.

Another important focus within this area of research is on the different strategies that people can use to regulate their emotions. Gross (1998) illustrates five types of emotion regulation strategies, which will be used at different points when an emotion is experienced: situation selection; situation modification; attentional deployment; cognitive change; and response modulation. Maroney and Gross (2014) and Taxer and Gross (2018) offer a useful explanation of each and it is helpful to go through these five types of strategies briefly. Situation selection is when a person will consider the emotions that could be experienced based on different situations and select a situation based on this consideration. Situation modification differs in that it would be when an emotion has been triggered and is how the person alters their emotions based on what is happening at that moment. Attentional deployment is when a person will focus on another part of a situation to make it more palatable or divert attention away from it. Cognitive change alters how one would see a situation, for example to view it in a more positive light. Finally, response modulation refers to suppressing or faking emotions. Situation selection, situation modification, attentional deployment and cognitive change are seen to be antecedent-focused, whereas response modulation is response-focused (Grandey, 2000). Gross (2013) uses cognitive change, which is similar to deep acting, and response modulation, which is similar to surface acting, to

illustrate that cognitive change has less of a negative impact on the person regulating their emotions than response modulation, illustrating that different emotion regulation strategies will have different affects.

While the sociological view of emotional labour focuses more on the overall impact of emotional labour, the social-psychological view adopts a more micro view, focusing on the acting element of emotional labour and its effect on employees (Grandey, 2000). The social-psychological perspective tends to believe that surface acting is damaging to employees, while deep acting can either have a negligible or positive effect on employees, which has been supported by a wide range of studies (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002; Rupp *et al*., 2008; Schreurs *et al*., 2014; Scott *et al*., 2012). Studies are typically quantitative and favour surveys and experiments, with scales developed by Brotheridge and Lee (2003) and Grandey (2003) on the impact of emotional labour and acting widely used. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) also note that employees can naturally feel the emotions required by display rules, which is less demanding on employees and is the first choice emotional labour strategy (Diefendorff and Gosserand, 2003).

Social-psychological approaches believe that the demands of emotion regulation are not consistent and can change depending on employee and context, with different roles having different emotional demands (Morris and Feldman, 1996; Wharton, 1993). Therefore, the social-psychological view does not believe that emotional labour is inherently damaging or stressful and believes that both the employer and employee can benefit from it (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002; Côté, 2005). For the employer,

successful emotional labour can improve customer satisfaction and may result in return business (Hennig-Thurau *et al*., 2006). Better understanding of the effect emotional labour has can also allow employers to, for example, better predict potential absenteeism between roles and employees (Beal *et al*., 2013). For the employee, successful emotion regulation can allow them to more easily meet display rules and gain satisfaction from successful customer interactions (Grandey, 2003; Wessel and Steiner, 2015). Therefore, each party within the service triangle can gain when emotional labour is done successfully (Echeverri *et al*., 2012). A popular suggestion from studies as to how to make emotional labour easier for employees is for the employer to provide training in deep acting (Schreurs *et al*., 2014). Social-psychological research tends to favour a positivist perspective, with a focus on testing hypotheses, ensuring validity is achieved and seeking generalisability (Geng *et al*., 2014; Rupp *et al*., 2008).

A primary goal in social-psychological approaches is to improve understanding of emotional labour so that employers and employees can reduce the potential for stress and burnout (Mann and Cowburn, 2005). Burnout is the point when a job or task becomes too much for a person and starts to damage them physically and psychologically (Brotheridge and Lee, 2003). Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) note that both the quality and quantity of experiences can determine whether burnout is experienced. The Maslach Burnout Inventory is typically used for measuring burnout and focuses on emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and reduced personal accomplishment, with emotional exhaustion key when studying emotional labour (Biron and van Veldhoven, 2012; Maslach and Jackson, 1981). Emotional dissonance

is seen to be a key cause of emotional exhaustion, as the higher the level of dissonance, the more effort required by the employee to match display rules (Morris and Feldman, 1996). Grandey (2003) notes that surface acting causes emotional dissonance more than deep acting, though Schaible and Gecas (2010) note the opposite. A popular model within the social-psychological view is the Emotions as Social Information (EASI) model by van Kleef (2009; 2014). The EASI model notes how the emotion given off by the sender can affect the emotional response of the receiver, which is moderated by the willingness of the receiver to process the information that has been sent and social-relational factors.

A key strength of the social-psychological view is that it considers the needs of both the employee and employer. The social-psychological view does not ignore the fact that emotional labour can be hard and difficult work for employees (Maroney and Gross, 2014). As a result, studies have noted potential coping strategies employees can use to make emotional labour easier, such as social sharing amongst employees (McCance *et al*., 2013). Equally, research has also noted that successful emotional labour can help restore employees' emotional reserves and that employees can and will find ways to make this type of work more enjoyable, showing a positive side to emotional labour (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1995; Grandey, 2003). It is the focus from the social-psychological perspective on employer needs and on the benefits and challenges of emotional labour to the employer, though, that is significant and different to the sociological view of emotional labour, which more solely focuses on employees (Diefendorff and Gosserand, 2003). It notes that successful emotional labour can link to increased creativity within organisations and customer satisfaction, showing why

organisations use emotional labour and what they can gain by using it successfully (Geng *et al.*, 2014; Grandey, 2000). Social-psychological research also offers practical advice to employers to reduce burnout from emotional labour, such as encouraging deep acting, training on how to flatter customers and hiring employees more equipped to do emotional labour (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002; Hennig-Thurau *et al.*, 2006; Medler-Liraz and Yagil, 2013).

The more positivist, quantitative approach of social-psychological research can also be beneficial for getting research published, as this approach still dominates top US journals (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). For example, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) were published in the Academy of Management Review and Grandey (2003) was published in the Academy of Management Journal, both of which help to extend the reach of emotional labour research (Fineman, 2004). While its success will be questioned, social-psychological research attempts to offer clear and replicable means of measuring emotional labour, which is generally not found in the more sociological view (Hochschild, 2012). This replicability can be seen in the EASI model of van Kleef (2009; 2014), which has been taken on and used in new situations (Chi and Ho, 2014). Finally, while again its success will be questioned, social-psychological research does attempt to control for biases and ensure that validity and reliability are achieved, which can improve confidence in the research (McCance *et al.*, 2013; Rupp *et al.*, 2008; Wang and Groth, 2014).

However, the social-psychological view of emotional labour has received criticism, in particular for its more positivistic view of emotion. Studies have questioned if

emotions can be quantified to the level proposed in social-psychological research, as such quantification can strip emotions of their richness and reduce them to just statistics (Fineman, 2004; 2006). Feelings are difficult to quantify and it can be the case that social-psychological approaches are another form of rationality, in which emotions are only used when they allow rational decisions to be made (Sandelands and Boudens, 2000). Social-psychological research also focuses on measuring emotion and establishing objective answers, but it is questionable if such an approach underplays the complexity of emotions (Fineman, 2000a). Hochschild (2012) noted the messiness of emotions and so it is doubtful if emotions can be reduced to positive or negative feelings that can be controlled by the employee and, importantly, the employer (Bolton, 2005). Doing so can understate the emotional ambivalence and ambiguity that employees can experience at work and can give an unrealistically flat picture of organisational life (Pratt and Doucet, 2000).

Social-psychological research may also overestimate the level of emotional control that employees retain, with Fineman (2003) noting that people can struggle to fully identify, let alone control, their own emotions. Grandey (2003) is a good example, as she proposes a scale that will measure surface and deep acting and their effect on employees. However, while it seems feasible that surface acting could be assessed by an employee, it is difficult to imagine that a person would be able to self-report on deep acting and its impact in a survey, especially as deep acting essentially becomes a part of the person, as defined by Hochschild (2012). It is doubtful that quantitative methods, such as surveys, can truly show the impact acting has on employees, as such methods can underplay the dynamic and complex nature of emotions, presenting an

incomplete picture (Fineman, 2000a; 2006; Sandelands and Boudens, 2000). Also, by noting that emotional labour is not inherently negative and suggesting that management either train employees in deep acting or hire employees more pre-disposed to emotional labour, the social-psychological perspective potentially blames employees for suffering burnout, potentially overlooking the broader impact of emotional labour and the employer role in causing employees this stress (Hennig-Thurau *et al*., 2006; Martin *et al*., 2000).

An issue with social-psychological research, and positivist research in general, is that it can become overly focused on proving hypotheses and equations instead of pushing knowledge forward (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). For example, it can be difficult to discern with Rupp *et al*. (2008) what the actual findings are compared to what is simply there to prove a hypothesis or equation that has little relation to emotion in organisation research. Social-psychological research can also overly focus on generalisability and underplay the importance of socio-cultural factors, which Fineman (2000a, 2003) notes are key to understanding emotions. Questions must also be asked as to whether the EASI model can really predict emotional reactions, particularly cross-culturally (van Kleef, 2009; 2014). Therefore, social-psychological research can attempt to offer more than it can realistically deliver.

2.3.2 Emotional Intelligence

EI, while still emphasising emotion regulation as a key skill, offers a different view of emotion in organisation research than the social-psychological perspective of emotional labour (Salovey and Mayer, 1990). EI is defined by Fall *et al.* (2013, 415) as the 'ability to perceive, express, and process emotional thoughts while understanding, reasoning through, and regulating emotions in ones' self as well as in others'. In essence, EI believes that people have a range of emotional skills, which are distinct from standard measures of intelligence, and attempts to identify, measure and use these skills to the benefit of the employee and employer (Bowen, 2014; Brackett *et al.*, 2006). An example of an emotionally intelligent manager would be one that can see a situation from a number of emotional perspectives and then make the best overall decision from this (George, 2000). Work on EI shares the view of Fineman (2000a; 2003) in believing that emotions are key to understanding organisational life. Both also believe that the dualism between rational and emotional, in which rational should be prioritised, is incorrect, with Goleman (1995) noting that people must use both their emotional brain and thinking brain for maximum effect (Fineman, 2000b). There are two key movements within EI: trait or mixed models by Goleman (1998a; 1998b); and ability models by Mayer *et al.* (1999; 2003; 2012). Papers such as Opengart and Bierema (2015) further split trait and mixed models into separate areas, though due to word limitations and for simplicity trait models will be used to discuss both due to their similarities (Ju *et al.*, 2015). As with the social-psychological perspective, research tends towards a positivist view and favours quantitative methods, in particular surveys and experiments (Fineman, 2004).

Goleman (1995; 1998a) has been significant in increasing the profile of EI and giving it mainstream business appeal. Goleman (1998b) notes that there are five dimensions that EI skills can be split across: self-awareness; self-regulation; motivation; empathy; and social skill. To be considered as emotionally intelligent, an individual should be competent across each dimension, although they do not need to have every competence within a dimension. Research within this area of EI tends to be referred to as trait models and attempts to study a broad range of different characteristics within a person (Brackett *et al*., 2006; Mayer *et al*., 1999). This type of research, such as Schutte *et al*. (1998), tends to be through self-report surveys that allow the individual being tested to self-complete, after which a score or other measure of their EI is provided (Petrides *et al*., 2016).

As noted, there are a range of competencies within each dimension of EI (Goleman, 1998a). For example, empathy contains the competencies of understanding others, developing others, service orientation, leveraging diversity and political awareness. To have a full competence in empathy, an individual needs to have each of these competencies, which total twenty five, although people are not expected to have all of them. A primary argument of Goleman (1995; 1998b) is that IQ has been given too much prominence and that it is now simply an entry level requirement for top jobs, with EI needed to really excel. This view has led to oft-cited claims that EI may be more important than IQ (Fineman, 2004; Mayer *et al*., 1999). The belief is that EI can be measured and can predict success, with certain studies supporting such claims (Schutte *et al*., 1998). A particular focus of Goleman (1998a) is on star employees, leaders and the needs of the organisation, showing that EI helps each perform better

(Fineman, 2000b; 2003). EI aims to match the needs of the employee with the organisation and the organisation with its current context (Hughes, 2005). Importantly, EI is a learned skill, which means it is open to any employee or organisation willing to change (Fall *et al*., 2013).

Ability models adopt a slightly different approach to EI than trait models. Starting with Salovey and Mayer (1990), ability models use a range of performance tests rather than self-report to judge EI, asking people to judge the best response to a range of scenarios (Brackett *et al*., 2006). The most popular test within ability models is the Mayer-Salovey-Caruso Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT). Mayer *et al*. (2012, 403) notes four dimensions of the MSCEIT: 'perceiving emotion accurately, using emotions to facilitate thought, understanding emotions, and managing emotion' (Mayer *et al*., 2003). Both consensus and academic expert scoring is then used to determine emotionally intelligent answers for each scenario, aiming to provide an objective answer (Maul, 2012; O'Boyle Jr. *et al*., 2011). As with trait models, the belief is that the MSCEIT can measure EI, that EI is positive and can increase with age (Chen *et al*., 2015). However, ability models make less bold claims than trait models and, while seeing EI as different to normal intelligence measures, still see EI as a part of intelligence (Mayer *et al*., 1999). Ability models believe that EI does correlate with other intelligence measures and was derived from concepts around social intelligence (Law *et al*., 2004; Mayer and Salovey, 1995; Mayer *et al*., 2016).

EI has had a number of positive effects on emotion in organisation research. It has been able to catch the attention of the mainstream business world to a far greater extent

than any other theory on emotion in organisation (Fineman, 2004; Hughes, 2005). While Salovey and Mayer (1990) and Goleman (1995) precipitated an upsurge in EI research, Goleman (1998a; 1998b), with a clear focus on the needs of business, really brought about this significant interest in EI, which has highlighted the importance of emotions and raised the profile of emotion in organisation research (Fineman, 2000a). Initial work on EI has also helped to inspire a range of new research. There has been research that has looked to develop or advance an understanding of EI (Brackett *et al*., 2006; Maul, 2012). Equally, there have been papers that have questioned EI as a concept and offered alternative ideas, both types of research adding to emotion in organisation research (Fineman, 2000b; Thory, 2013).

EI research also attempts to make EI as applicable within the workplace as possible. Goleman (1998a) is the most famous example and he gives a clear outline of what skills are needed to be emotionally intelligent. Other research has looked to develop models that people can use to measure their or others level of EI (Brackett *et al*., 2006; Schutte *et al*., 1998). Others still have noted how EI can be used within the workplace and its potential advantages (Bowen, 2014; Fall *et al*., 2013). EI also opens up the possibility of emotional labour being rewarded. Research, such as Mastracci *et al*. (2006), note the difficulty in identifying the specific skills that go in to emotional labour and thus properly rewarding this type of work. However, EI defines specific emotion skills and so could be developed as a way to reward emotional skills that are currently undervalued (Vincent, 2011).

The work of Salovey and Mayer (1990) has been significant in showing the potential of EI, while not overestimating its use (Mayer *et al*., 1999). They have shown a steady progression that has eventually resulted in the MSCEIT (Mayer and Salovey, 1995; Mayer *et al*., 2003; 2012). While certain questions have been asked, a number of studies support that the MSCEIT is a valid and reliable means of measuring EI, providing confidence in the potential of EI (Brackett *et al*., 2006; Maul, 2012). An interesting impact of EI could be that it raises the confidence of employees, both in their skills and their market value. In turn, this greater confidence could facilitate employees refusing to act in ways they do not agree with, as they would be confident of getting a job elsewhere. As a result, EI could be a means for resistance and improving employee power (Hughes, 2005; Lindebaum, 2012).

EI has, though, received heavy criticism. Goleman (1998a), in particular, has been singled out for over-selling EI and making claims that it cannot back up (Fineman 2003; 2004). Mayer *et al*. (1999) note the oft-cited claim that EI is more important than IQ and note that there is no firm evidence to support this claim. Such claims have reduced the academic credibility of EI (Ashkanasy and Humphrey, 2011). The use of self-report in trait models is also questionable, as people may not be able to accurately judge their own emotional abilities and so could under or overestimate their actions and emotional skills (Brackett *et al*., 2006; Law *et al*., 2004; Matthews *et al*., 2015; Schutte *et al*., 1998).

Fineman (2004) notes that EI, in particular Goleman (1998a), pushes an Americanised, masculine ideal of how a person should be, praising certain positive emotional states

and chastising negative emotions (Hughes, 2005). This pushing of an ideal can result in the irrationality of emotions being stripped and focusing only on emotions that can be controlled by the employee and organisation, with control of emotions key in both trait and ability models (Goleman, 1998b; Salovey and Mayer, 1990). This more individualised view of emotions can also mean that the importance of different cultures is overlooked, with only a few studies trying to rectify this (Chen *et al*., 2015). Another criticism of EI is that there is such a wide range of models that all measure different constructs, yet still claim to measure EI (Law *et al*., 2004). Comparing Mayer *et al*. (1999) and Schutte *et al*. (1998) highlights this, as both take a significantly different approach to EI and what constitutes it, yet both use the term EI, which can confuse the literature. Questions can, therefore, be asked as to whether EI can even be measured or if it is just the individual's perception that is being measured (Thory, 2013).

The work of Salovey and Mayer (1990) and the MSCEIT attempts to offer a more scientific and grounded approach than trait models. However, the MSCEIT has still been criticised for making a value judgement about what is emotionally intelligent or not and for not clarifying who comprises its expert consensus (Fineman, 2003; 2004; Maul, 2012). While Mayer *et al*. (2012) have tried to justify its use of expert consensus, it is still the case that studies using the MSCEIT are making a subjective rather than objective assumption over right and wrong (Mayer and Salovey, 1995; Mayer *et al*., 1999; 2003). EI can also, arguably, focus too much on the needs of the organisation and in creating star performers. Goleman (1998a) in particular focuses on organisational and star performers needs, which can overlook the potential naivety

and risk of trying to quantify and commodify emotions, as was noted with social-psychological research (Fineman, 2000b).

The belief that EI can be learned also increases cynicism of EI, as such a view allows EI to be easier sold to employees and organisations desperate to improve their performance (Fineman, 2003). As a result, EI, in particular trait models, can label employees lacking in EI as the problem, while overlooking the role of the organisation in work life (Bolton, 2005). As an example, Goleman (1998b) indicates that it is emotionally intelligent to challenge managers on occasions, whereas Waldron (2000) highlights a number of instances where employees have been punished and embarrassed by their bosses for doing so. Employees can, thus, be labelled as emotionally unintelligent, defective in some way and a barrier to the organisation progressing (Fineman, 2000b). EI can, therefore, position itself as the only means to save these employees (Fineman, 2004). As many EI writers also offer consultancy services, questions have been asked as to whether they have a vested interest in pushing the value of EI. Many of these consultants are also not trained psychologists, so can bring out emotions, but not actually resolve the deeper problems (Thory, 2013).

2.3.3   Emotion Regulation Conclusion

As this section has shown, both the social-psychological view and EI share a number of similarities. Both have a strong belief in emotion regulation, that employees can exert some level of control over their emotions and use their emotions in an

advantageous way (Goleman, 1998a; Gross, 1998). While largely retaining a work and employment perspective, both emotion regulation theories tend towards a more individualistic view of emotion in organisation than the more sociological view found in emotional labour and emotion management (Hargreaves, 2000). They also have a generally positive view of the employer, as both focus on making organisations better and potentially offering a form of competitive advantage (Fineman, 2000b; 2003). Both share a largely positivist view that emotions can be measured and that research can identify which emotions are right or wrong, with similar quantitative research methods used (Fineman, 2004; 2006). However, they do separate as regards the focus of their research. Social-psychological approaches focus on reducing burnout and making emotional work less stressful. EI looks to highlight the increasing importance of emotions throughout the workplace and to show that EI can allow both employees and employers to succeed within this changing organisational climate. Therefore, social-psychologists have a more limited goal of improving emotional labour, while EI scholars generally aim to improve employees and organisations as a whole.

2.4 Emotion Management

The final movement within emotion in organisation research that will be discussed is emotion management and the 4Ps model of Bolton (2005). Emotion management is founded on the belief that emotional labour gives too much power to the employer and sees the employee as having little agency at work (Hochschild, 2012). However, while commercial demands may be rising, professionals and public sector workers still tend

to have less of a profit focus and more control over their performance than emotional labour notes (Jenkins and Conley, 2007; Lewis, 2005). Emotion management also believes that the public/private dichotomy of emotional labour is too broad and does not display the numerous influences and motivations that impact upon employees (Bolton, 2001; Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Therefore, emotional labour has been stretched too thin as a concept and so emotion management has been developed to help highlight these different influences (Bolton, 2000b). Emotion management does this through the 4Ps model, which stands for: pecuniary; prescriptive; presentational; and philanthropic. Each influence will be discussed in detail and the belief is that emotion management is skilled work by the employee (Bolton, 2000a).

2.4.1 The 4Ps Model of Emotion Management

Pecuniary emotion management is the commercial influence of management, with a profit focus, and closely matches emotional labour in the organisation setting feeling rules for employees (Bolton, 2005). Pecuniary rules are growing in importance due to the commercialisation and deprofessionalisation of the UK public sector, which is changing the relationship between employee and customer/client (Bolton, 2001). As noted in section 2.2.1, these increasing pecuniary demands have seen greater bureaucratisation of roles and new forms of monitoring to control the employee's performance (Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Korczynski, 2003). Organisations have also pushed the image of the customer as king and the employee as subservient, even if customers may not actually feel this power in reality (Bolton and Houlihan, 2005).

However, pecuniary emotion management is not seen to be as pervasive as emotional labour and emotion management believes that employees will only follow pecuniary demands to a surface level or disregard them if they believe that is right, though the increasing power of organisations makes outright resistance more difficult (Curley and Royle, 2013; O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006). Pecuniary demands, though, do not need to be negative and organised emotional care helps to highlight this by showing the importance of culture and how the organisation chooses whether the culture it pushes is positive or negative (Jenkins *et al.*, 2010; Lopez, 2006).

Prescriptive emotion management is based on the belief that professions and some organisation roles will have their own, non-commercial, emotion rules that employees will follow (Bolton, 2005). Prescriptive is more to do with professional pride, such as how a nurse will be advised to do their role professionally, but to keep a level of distance to avoid becoming personally involved, with employees more strongly feeling these rules than pecuniary (Bolton, 2001). Prescriptive is seen to have more of a masculine edge to it, focusing on doing the job fully, while ensuring that the employee does not offer so much as to damage themselves or the reputation of their profession (Lewis, 2005). Employees can view their professional face as the minimum that they must offer, even if they disagree with the motivations of the customer/client (Bolton, 2000b). Equally, prescriptive influences can make an employee go beyond their prescribed role, such as how cabin crew at Aer Lingus were willing to give up their meals to customers during shortages to prevent loss of professional face (Curley and Royle, 2013). Hayward and Tuckey (2011) note prescriptive influence through emotional boundary management, which notes that employees have something akin to

an emotional force field that allows them to weigh up every decision they make. Through experience and empathy, employees will then decide on their emotional response, either to remain professional (which is a minimum) or to offer an additional, philanthropic gift.

Presentational emotion management focuses on the social rules and norms people largely unconsciously follow, what Bolton (2005, 133) describes as 'the basic socialised self'. Presentational is based on the understanding that people gain throughout their life about the rules of society and is influenced by the work of Goffman (1959), who noted how people can change their face depending on the social situation (Bolton, 2001). These social rules can still take work to perform and are important for people to know so as to adequately take part in social interactions (Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Toerien and Kitzinger, 2007). As interactive service jobs are based on interpersonal interactions, both with customers and others within the organisation, employees must understand these social rules, even though they are generally not explained and generally assumed as understood (Jenkins *et al*., 2010). One example of presentational emotion management is in the social interactions between employees that take place in spaces outside of the purview of the organisation and its feeling rules. Such interactions more match Hochschild's (1979; 2012) concept of emotion work, rather than emotional labour. Presentational emotion management can also potentially be seen in interactions between employees and customers (Ikeler, 2016). This may be particularly evident in jobs where the relationship between employee and customer is not solely based on commercial feeling rules and where understanding of social rules is important, such as the pub workers in Sandiford and Seymour (2002; 2007) and

Seymour and Sandiford (2005), in which there can be a blurring between customer and friend and the use of alcohol can require strong social skills to keep customers inline. The rise of emotional labour has, though, made this social understanding harder, as customers do not need to be nice to employees and so social training can become more important than workplace training in service roles (Korczynski, 2007; O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006). An example of presentational emotion management in action can be seen through presentational labour by Sheane (2012). Presentational labour notes how hairdressers use their social literacy to read the social signs given off by the customer, which can be fluid, and decide upon the level of intimacy required.

Philanthropic emotion management is the notion that employees can give an additional emotional gift that is beyond the expectations of their role (Bolton, 2001; 2005). As the organisation does not ask for this, emotional labour gives less focus to these altruistic gestures (Bolton, 2000b). Such gifts can be about seeing the other person as a human and treating them how the employee would wish to be treated, believing that it is the right thing to do (Jenkins *et al.*, 2010; O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006). Philanthropic notes that there will be unmanaged spaces within an organisation, in which employees can offer support to each other outside of feeling rules, such as through using humour (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Philanthropic can be satisfying for the employee, though can equally mean having to act in a way they may not be fully comfortable with if they believe doing so is for the greater good (Bolton, 2000a; Iszatt-White, 2009). As employees decide to offer this extra gift, philanthropic is seen as more feminine in that it matches more caring skills and tends to not be rewarded (Lewis, 2005). While also applicable with presentational emotion management, the

concept of communities of coping by Korczynski (2003) highlights the idea of philanthropic emotion management well (Taylor and Moore, 2015). Communities of coping note how employees come together to support each other during the work day, which helps make their job more enjoyable and less stressful. Such support is offered by choice and, while such support may take employees away from their core tasks, it can improve well-being and customer service, which is beneficial for the organisation (van den Broek *et al*., 2008; Vincent, 2011).

Emotion management and the 4Ps model have helped to provide a more rounded picture of emotion in organisation, showing that there are influences outside of just management feeling rules (Bolton, 2005; 2009; Bolton and Boyd, 2003). It shows that management will never have complete control over employees and that employees have a choice over their emotional performance (Curley and Royle, 2013; Lewis, 2005). Emotion management also tries to give a more realistic picture of the employer and customer, one in which their coercive power is growing, but is not absolute and does not need to always be damaging to the employee (Bolton, 2001; Korczynski, 2003; 2007). Emotion management shows that positive relationships with the customer and employer can lead to employees empathising and offering an additional gift (O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006).

The 4Ps model does not try to be prescriptive or claim generalisability, which stops it from making overly large claims (Bolton, 2005). Its purpose is to improve understanding about the range of influences that can impact an employee and how these can increase and decrease depending on context (Bolton, 2000a). Due to its

flexibility, the 4Ps model can be successfully synthesised with other theories, which was highlighted through emotional boundary management, presentational labour and communities of coping, each of which help show parts of the 4Ps model in action (Hayward and Tuckey, 2011; Korczynski, 2003; Sheane, 2012). Emotion management also allows new roles to be studied, in particular professionals and public sector workers. These were difficult to study through emotional labour, but the shift from just commodification has allowed the emotional aspects of professionals and public sector employees to be studied (Bolton, 2000b). Emotion management also helps note the more invisible skills that employees use, in particular social and touch skills, that emotional labour could not fully explain (Toerien and Kitzinger, 2007).

The 4Ps model has also shown the skilful side of emotion management, as employees will regularly deal with numerous conflicting influences in their role (Bolton, 2001; Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Employees use their agency to manage these different influences to achieve their end emotional performance and emotion management shows that this is skilled work that should be better rewarded (Lewis, 2005). Philanthropic emotion management has also shown the joyful side to interactive service work and noted that Hochschild (2012) is incorrect to believe that all workplace emotional performances are commodified (Bolton, 2000b; Orzechowicz, 2008). Studies have shown how employees choose to go beyond their role or even defy management if they personally believe in what they are doing (Jenkins *et al*., 2010; O'Donohoe and Turley, 2006). Equally, though, emotion management does not ignore the rise of pecuniary demands and how such demands can make emotion management more difficult for employees (Bolton, 2000a; 2005).

However, emotion management and Bolton (2005) have been criticised. A noted critic is Brook (2009a; 2009b), who believes that emotion management and the 4Ps model undermines the critical nature of Hochschild (2012). By focusing on the individual employee and how they manage their emotions, emotion management ignores the alienating and damaging effect emotional labour and the jobs that require it have on employees (Brook, 2007). Therefore, emotion management can lack a critical element and a view of its place within the wider political economy, in which employee/management relations are fraught with resistance (Vincent, 2011). Emotion management can also take an overly individualistic view of emotional labour rather than viewing it as an aggregate alongside physical and mental labour, though Bolton (2009) argues that emotion management offers both. Emotional labour can, therefore, be privileged over physical and mental labour, as employees are seen to retain control over emotional, but not physical or mental labour (Taylor and Moore, 2015). Brook (2009a) notes that this view of labour power is simplistic, as all labour power once in the workplace is commodified and so the employee has no more autonomy over their emotions than they do their physical and mental labour.

Bolton (2005) has also been criticised for misinterpreting emotional labour as regards transmutation, as Hochschild (2012) accepted that transmutation is fragile and unstable (Brook, 2009b). As a result, employees do resist feeling rules and will collectively work together to circumvent management authority, showing that employees in emotional labour do not simply acquiesce to management. Brook (2009a) also questions splitting emotion management into four different segments, as employees sell their indeterminate labour power to the employer and the end result becomes

identified with the employer. While philanthropic actions may be done with positive intentions by the employee, such actions are still a part of the paid for labour of the employer and will be identified with the organisation by the customer, rather than the employee (Lopez, 2010). Emotion management can also give the employee too much agency by believing they retain the ability to decide what level of emotional performance they will give, as it is questionable whether call centre workers would have the same level of control that is afforded to nurses (Brannan, 2005; Hayward and Tuckey, 2011).

From a different angle, the idea that emotion management is skilled work has been questioned by Payne (2009), who, while not saying employees in emotional roles should not be paid more, believes that classifying such work as skilled devalues the term skilled work. For example, it can be argued that the In Memoriam writers in O'Donohoe and Turley (2006) are simply using general social skills and decorum that a large section of the population have, with no shortness of supply for these skills to make them unique (Ikeler, 2016). Finally, it is ultimately the employer that decides on the level of emotional labour in a role and how much can be offered. In the case of Sallaz (2010), casino workers wanted an interactive customer service component to their role that would allow emotional labour, but this request was refused by the employer. The employer can also rearrange or disband teams, which can have the effect of removing communities of coping that have formed (van den Broek *et al*., 2008).

2.4.2 Emotion Management Conclusion

Emotion management is unique from either the more negative or positive view of emotional labour noted in section 2.2 in that it does not believe that management fully sets the emotional rules of the workplace (Bolton, 2005). While emotion management does believe that management have a role to play in the emotion process, it is as only one part of the 4Ps model and can vary in its significance. This belief is a critical part of emotion management, as it highlights the wide variety of different influences that employees will have to manage on a daily basis, influences which may complement or conflict with each other (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Emotion management sees this process as skilled and calls for it to be better rewarded. Emotion management also highlights the agency that employees retain, as, while employees will be influenced by a number of factors outside of their direct control, the employee retains the ability to give precedence to different influences and offer an additional gift if they so wish (Bolton, 2001). This view separates emotion management from emotional labour and emotion regulation by seeing the employee as retaining significant agency, while employer influence is but one of many influences.

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has attempted to highlight the different perspectives within emotion in organisation research. Three distinct perspectives have been noted: emotional labour; emotion regulation and emotion management, all of which, to some

extent, tend to come from a broad work and employment background. Emotional labour believes that the employer sets the emotional rules and climate of the organisation and, depending on the employee and role, emotional labour can be positively or negatively experienced by the employee. Emotion regulation believes that employees can control their emotions and that emotions should be used to benefit both the employee and employer. Emotion management does not believe that the employer has as much influence as the other two perspectives and instead sees the employee as retaining agency over their emotions. Both emotional labour and emotion management have a narrower, more sociological view of emotion in organisation than emotion regulation, in particular EI, and tend to focus more on interactive service work (McKenzie *et al*., 2019). Emotion regulation also has the most focus on competitive advantage and the needs of the organisation, which is not a significant focus in emotional labour and emotion management. However, emotion management differs from emotional labour and emotion regulation in its view that power and agency is retained by the employee.

While each perspective differs from each other in a number of ways, they also share a range of similarities. Each perspective is looking at the same phenomenon, the rising use of emotion within organisations, just from different perspectives. Returning to Fineman (2004), emotional labour and emotion management, with their more critical view, can be seen to offer a more academic, European perspective of emotion in organisation. In contrast, emotion regulation offers a more North American and business-minded perspective of emotion in organisation. This range of perspectives is important, as it allows emotion in organisation to reach as wide an audience as possible

and for each perspective to be fully critiqued. Each perspective must be fully understood, as this understanding allows for a full understanding of emotion in organisation research to be formed and for research in this area to appeal to as wide an audience as possible. Overall, the purpose of this chapter has been to highlight the different perspectives within emotion in organisation, not offer one as superior to the others. The intention of this thesis is to assess how viable each emotion in organisation theory is in understanding the emotional role of teachers and classroom assistants.

3.0   Modernisation

3.1   Introduction

The previous chapter has discussed the increasing use of emotion in organisation research. Before specifically focusing on emotion in teaching, it is important to establish the context within which this research is placed. In particular, the modernisation reform of the UK public sector, especially within England, has had and continues to have a significant impact on education and the role of teachers (Bach and Kessler, 2012). As with a significant amount of education reform across the world, modernisation has, to an extent, been underpinned by a neoliberal ideal, in which private sector practices are introduced to the public sector (Gerrard, 2015). The belief of modernisation, particularly during the New Labour government, is that greater private sector involvement, allied with an increased role for management and central performance management, can improve the efficiency of the public sector and better meet user needs (Bach and Givan, 2011; Bach *et al.*, 2005). While the term modernisation is perhaps best identified with the New Labour government, it will equally be used to discuss the preceding Conservative governments, as well as the Coalition and Conservative governments that followed New Labour. Each government has used the narrative of modernising the public sector to push through education reform, though with different approaches, which will be noted (Sage, 2012; Thrupp, 2001).

A notable impact of modernisation, and a key focus of this research, has been the significant increase in the number of classroom assistants within schools (Bach *et al.*, 2006). While classroom assistants did exist prior to 1997, it was following the election of New Labour that year that classroom assistant numbers significantly rose, with Blatchford *et al.* (2011) noting that classroom assistants now make up around one quarter of the workforce within schools. The rationale behind increasing the number of classroom assistants is that an additional adult in the classroom will be beneficial for pupils, while also reducing the workload of teachers (Blatchford *et al.*, 2007). However, the increasing role of classroom assistants has been controversial, with concerns that, in taking on responsibilities that were previously within the teachers remit, classroom assistants could deprofessionalise teachers and dilute their professional identity (Warhurst *et al.*, 2009). In addition, Warhurst *et al.* (2014) note that classroom assistants may be undertaking certain responsibilities that they are not fully trained to perform. Therefore, this increase in classroom assistants has been contentious and deserves further attention.

This chapter will outline the key impacts of modernisation on the public sector, particularly on education and teaching. It will then assess the rise of assistants within the public sector, in particular classroom assistants. As noted, while the modernisation reform of New Labour, in particular the significant rise in classroom assistants during their period in government, will be a key focus of this chapter, it is equally important that this chapter acknowledges and analyses the modernisation reform of the prior Conservative governments and the Coalition and Conservative governments that followed New Labour. In the same way that emotion in organisation was used in the

second chapter to group together emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management, while still acknowledging their distinctive contributions, modernisation will be used in this chapter to acknowledge the impact of each government, while equally noting how reform from each has been underpinned by similar neoliberal ideals (Bach and Kessler, 2012).

A key focus of this chapter will be on modernisation in the UK as a whole. However, education is a devolved power in Scotland and so there have been important differences in education reform in Scotland compared to the rest of the UK (Warhurst *et al.*, 2014). Indeed, Menter and Hulme (2011) note that even before devolution in 1999 education in Scotland tended to be run differently than the rest of the UK and that education is considered a key aspect of Scottish culture, with collaboration and consensus core aspects underpinning this Scottish approach (Menter, 2008; Menter and Hulme, 2008; 2012). Therefore, the chapter will engage with both Scotland and the rest of the UK, in particular England, as, due to the research taking place in Scotland, it is important that the Scottish context is understood. The chapter will finish by outlining the three research themes that underpin a significant amount of research in both the modernisation and emotion in teaching literatures: the rational/emotional debate; teacher identity; and the changing nature of relationships.

3.2 Modernisation of the Public Sector

This section will outline the key aspects of modernisation, as well as discuss both the positive and negative aspects of modernisation on public sector employees. Focus will then switch to modernisation in education, noting both the changes that have been made within education and the impact that these changes have had on teachers. This section will engage with both the UK as a whole and Scotland, highlighting the similarities and differences that exist.

3.2.1 Overview of Modernisation

A number of the ideas underpinning the modernisation of the public sector can be seen as starting to take hold following the election of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government in 1979. The Conservatives public sector reform was underpinned by a neoliberal belief in New Public Management (NPM), which believes that private sector practices can allow the public sector to achieve maximum value (Bach and Bordogna, 2011). Bach and Givan (2011) note that, as the UK is less ideologically opposed to NPM than other countries, this allowed the Conservative government to introduce a range of reforms that decentralised power away from central government and offered the private sector a bigger role within the public sector (Bach and Kessler, 2012). Neoliberalism and NPM have a strong belief that public services are there to meet the needs of the public and the Conservatives felt that the public sector at that time was neither offering enough choice to its users nor accountable for the service it provided

(Gunter, 2015; Kessler and Bach, 2011). Therefore, the Conservatives looked to reduce central control, better involve the private sector and offer greater choice to users, with a reduction in power for both public sector professionals and the unions to allow reforms to be made (Fitzgerald, 2005).

However, the aggressive approach of the Conservative government towards professionals and unions made public sector employees resistant and sceptical towards reform (Bach *et al*., 2005). As a result, the election of the New Labour government in 1997 brought a modified approach. New Labour agreed with numerous Conservative policies, such as greater private sector involvement, but looked to minimise the neoliberal aspect of NPM and encourage greater collaboration, what Bach and Kessler (2012) refer to as a network governance approach. This mix of NPM and network governance agrees that public services should be value for money, but that government must play an interventionist role in setting strategic vision and ensuring that services are being run correctly (Fitzgerald, 2005). This approach is based on a desire to ensure that public sector investment is used appropriately and so both transparency and accountability are required from the public sector if funding is to be released (Givan, 2005). New Labour agreed with the individualistic aspect of NPM by wanting to recognise and reward the performance of public sector workers through performance management and setting targets (Harris, 2005). However, New Labour equally wanted to encourage a collaborative approach between the government, the private sector, professionals and unions. This mix of NPM and network governance was, though, accused of creating a difficult mix of soft human resource management and hard performance management.

A key belief of New Labour modernisation was that the private sector is good, but that an interventionist state is required to ensure that value for the public sector is gained from their involvement (Bach and Kessler, 2012). Therefore, while there was a continuation of the Conservative policy to increase private sector involvement within the public sector, New Labour equally pushed for a partnership approach with professionals and unions to allay fears around privatisation (Bach and Givan, 2011). This approach can be seen in the local government Best Value reviews, in which unions worked in partnership with the government to ensure local authorities were offering value for money. Richardson *et al*. (2005) do, though, criticise such partnerships as a means of keeping unions submissive, while the government push for outsourcing when targets are not met. New Labour believed that the private sector could help set the example for the public sector to follow, with an increasing use of agencies within the public sector and more triangular employment relationships between the employee, public sector and agencies (Coyle-Shapiro *et al*., 2006; Thrupp, 2001). While questions were raised about the competency of temps and the impact on existing staff when public services were outsourced, New Labour did, for example, amend legislation through the Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment) Regulations 2006, offering greater protection to employees and showing the potential influence unions could have on policy.

Another key aspect of modernisation has been decentralisation of authority to the local level, while setting targets and retaining control centrally (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Fitzgerald, 2005). Human resource departments are, therefore, seen as important within these decentralised bodies in monitoring and ensuring standards are met, though

can be caught between meeting centrally set targets and responding to issues at the local level (Harris, 2005). The need for local firefighting also raised questions whether the information collected by human resources can fully allow central government to make important decisions (Givan, 2005). Equally, the desire to get more out of employees has seen a number of roles be redesigned to make them more boundary spanning (Kessler and Bach, 2011). While boundary spanning can lead to multi-skilled employees covering a range of roles, it can equally be difficult to find employees capable of doing such roles and can cause work intensification (Hyde *et al.*, 2005).

Core to modernisation is implementing performance management across the public sector, with a belief that total reward packages and performance related pay rewards good work and motivates staff (Bach and Bordogna, 2011; Bach and Kessler, 2012). Performance management aims to provide a better picture to government about how public sector bodies are performing, with regular inspections and audits used to allow more rounded judgements (Givan, 2005). While performance management has provided governments with a greater amount of information than was previously available, performance management has proved controversial (Harris, 2005). A key problem is setting appropriate targets, as centrally setting targets can ignore local context and quantify inherently qualitative roles, such as nursing. The need to collect this information on performance can also be an additional burden on staff that takes them away from their core tasks. Bach *et al*. (2005) also notes that employees can actually avoid getting top marks in assessments, as this raises expectations. Therefore, it is questionable whether the rewards offered by performance management have

actually motivated public sector staff, who can accept that public sector work pays less than the private sector due to the intrinsic rewards such work offers (Bach and Givan, 2011).

While key aspects of modernisation are underpinned by NPM thinking, New Labour also pushed a more collaborative network governance approach to reform (Bach and Kessler, 2012). While the previous Conservative governments generally allowed businesses to make decisions on, for example, equality on an individual business case, New Labour introduced legislation to enforce certain employee rights. The Conservatives also tended to see professionals as an unchecked problem and unions as damaging the efficiency of businesses, whereas New Labour adopted a more positive view of each and encouraged partnerships in which all sides could gain (Kessler and Bach, 2011; Kessler *et al.*, 2007). However, New Labour still believed in focusing on the needs of the user and getting maximum value from its workforce, pushing a more unitarist view and believing that central government have a key role to play in setting strategy and standards. Therefore, modernisation under New Labour adopted a mix of NPM and network governance. Bach and Bordogna (2011) note that countries typically modify NPM through reforms to better match their local/national context (Savage and O'Connor, 2015).

3.2.2 Modernisation of Education

Focusing on the modernisation of education, reform in this area has tended to focus on increasing marketization, managerialism and performativity (Bach and Givan, 2011; Ball, 1993; 2003). A significant NPM-based reform within education in England was the Education Reform Act 1988, which transferred power from Local Education Authorities to Local Management of Schools, allowing schools to opt-out of Local Education Authority control (Arnott, 2011; Bach and Kessler, 2012). This move delegated power away from local authorities and to school governors and headteachers, with schools treated more as individual businesses that are expected to manage performance and establish strategies (Gunter, 2015; Tseng, 2015). The increased marketization caused by Local Management of Schools was continued by New Labour, with a narrative that greater delegation and accountability in schools is positive (Perryman, 2006). Arnott (2011) notes that the Self-Governing Schools etc. (Scotland) Act 1989 was similar to the Education Reform Act 1988 in allowing Scottish schools to opt-out of local authority control, which, along with Devolved School Management, looked to increase competition within Scottish education and between schools (Adler, 1997). However, these changes were not taken on by schools and parents in Scotland as much as they were in England, with Adler (1997) noting that only two Scottish schools opted-out of local authority control, with seemingly no strong desire amongst parents for schools to opt-out of local authority control (Arnott and Menter, 2007).

Focusing on Local Management of Schools, its continuation by New Labour emphasised their belief that schools and teachers must be accountable for their performance. The headteacher, as manager, plays a key role in instilling belief amongst teachers about accountability and in constantly improving performance (Ball, 2003; Locke *et al*., 2005; Tseng, 2015). Schools were also given the power to bring formal capability proceedings against poorly performing teachers, which had not previously been possible (Earnshaw *et al*., 2004). Capability has both a supportive and disciplinary side, though, while agreeing poor performance should ultimately result in dismissal, teachers felt capability focused too much on discipline (Marchington *et al*., 2004). However, as with modernisation generally, New Labour retained an element of centralised control to ensure accountability, such as through increasing the power of the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), who undertake school inspections, and making the national curriculum more prescriptive, both moves arguably trying to push one way of teaching (Perryman, 2006; Thrupp, 2001). A key means of increasing marketization and decentralisation has been through the push for academies and free schools (Wilkins, 2015). Academisation has community and voluntary groups take over the running of schools and places power in the hands of headteachers and parents, with these schools receiving funding from central government and given greater freedom over their curriculum and who they hire in return for losing local authority support (Coldron *et al*., 2015; Gunter, 2015; Mills, 2015). However, such autonomy has been controversial, as it can allow schools to hire under-qualified teachers and potentially allows schools to not accept troubled pupils who might lower the schools grade average. There is also conflicting evidence as to

whether academies actually perform any better than local authority run schools (Kauko and Salokangas, 2015).

The Coalition and Conservative governments have maintained a number of New Labour policies, though with certain adaptations (Gunter, 2015). Both the Coalition and Conservative governments agreed with New Labour that the needs of the user are key (Bach and Kessler, 2012). However, there has been a move within the Coalition and Conservative governments away from emphasising the important role of middle managers and administrators, who are now seen to add to bureaucracy. Both the Coalition and Conservative governments also disagreed with the view that central government is key in capturing value and so both governments have looked to devolve more power away from the centre and directly to schools (Sage, 2012). The desire of both governments towards education is that schools should be independently run, but publically funded (Coldron *et al*., 2015). There has been a desire to increase marketization and competition in education, with academisation one means of achieving this (Bach, 2012; Kauko and Salokangas, 2015; Mills, 2015). However, there have been accusations that use of community and voluntary groups with academies is a backdoor means of allowing increased privatisation of education, while Martin and Dunlop (2018) believe English public sector schools may be allowed to be run as for-profits in the near future.

In contrast to England, and matching the distrust towards greater competition and marketization within Scottish education, academisation has not proved popular in Scotland and has not been used (Menter and Hulme, 2011; Menter *et al*., 2004). Part

of the reluctance towards academisation, and the introduction of market-based elements into Scottish education more generally, can be related to the distinctive Scottish culture referenced previously, which notes a strong belief in state education and egalitarianism (Arnott and Menter, 2007; Hedge and MacKenzie, 2016). A number of key bodies, such as teacher unions and the GTCS, play a key role within the Scottish education system and favour consensus and cooperation, with a desire to protect these Scottish ideals from English reforms, such as academies (Menter and Hulme, 2008). It has also been noted that Scotland tends to have a high level of trust in professionals, which includes teachers, and there is little evidence that parents in Scotland want to actually run schools, which is a belief underpinning academisation (Arnott, 2011; Hulme *et al.*, 2013).

There have been attempts to modernise governance in Scottish education, with the current Scottish National Party government recently proposing a number of reforms aimed at devolving power away from local authorities and to schools/headteachers and parents (Scottish Government, 2017a). However, the consultation launched in relation to these changes did not indicate overwhelming support for such changes and the legislative bill was later dropped due to a lack of parliamentary support (BBC News, 2018c; Scottish Government, 2017b). Instead, the Scottish government have pursued a non-legislative route to implement change, working more in conjunction with local authorities, which can be seen as evidence of this Scottish culture that favours consensus and tends to be quite conservative towards significant structural reforms (Arnott and Menter, 2007; Paterson, 2014). Equally, though, the Scottish government have introduced certain methods that allow for greater decentralisation. One such

example has been through pupil equity funding, which provides funding (based on the number of pupils at a school entitled to free school meals) directly to headteachers to spend as they see fit, so long as it contributes to reducing the poverty-related attainment gap at their school, with such funding arguably reducing local authority control over schools (Allison, 2018; Mowat, 2018).

Arguably the most discussed aspect of education reform has been the use of performance management and how performance is measured. The focus on performance management by New Labour, and modernisation in general, matched their desire for increased accountability of teachers and the emphasis on self-interest encouraged by headteachers (Ball, 2003). Performance management believes that not all teachers are equal and so those teachers that perform better should be rewarded for this (Bach and Kessler, 2012). This attempts to judge the performance of teachers through their outcomes and believes that teachers will be motivated if performance is tied to remuneration and career progression (Mahony *et al*., 2004). Central to this increased performance management has been a loss of government/public trust in teachers (Hebson *et al*., 2007). As a result, and core to performance management, modernisation has continually tried to create a teaching standard against which all teachers can be judged (Koutselini, 1997; Tseng, 2015). Locke *et al*. (2005) note that teachers feel this loss of trust from government and feel under constant scrutiny, with teachers potentially focusing purely on getting the results that the current government demands, even if this goes against the wider role teachers believe teaching has. In contrast, Hulme *et al*. (2013) note that there has tended to be more trust given to teachers in Scotland and less focus on performance management, though it would be

inaccurate to say there is no performance management in Scotland at all (Menter, 2008; Menter and Hulme, 2008).

The importance of performance management in English education has resulted in a culture based around performativity, which Ball (2003, 216) describes as using the performances of teachers 'as measures of productivity or output' to determine the teacher and school's capability. Inspections, run by Ofsted, are used to judge teacher performance, with increasingly shorter notice given to schools before an inspection takes place (Clapham *et al*., 2016). Trials have also taken place in Scotland through Education Scotland, who are the Scottish equivalent of Ofsted, to introduce shorter notice for inspections (McIvor, 2015). Schools must also provide Ofsted with a significant amount of information prior to inspections and detail what they will do following inspections (Perryman, 2006). The belief is that this monitoring will lead to self-regulation and normalising of behaviour amongst teachers, with league tables used to rank schools, though it is questionable how well inspections capture the natural day-to-day performance of teachers and if schools can focus too much on passing inspections (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Clapham, 2015). While Scotland has recently reintroduced national standardised testing, which has proved controversial, there have so far been no moves to publish league tables based on these results, again indicating a difference in approach between England and Scotland (McIvor, 2017c; Sim, 2018; Taylor, 2018). As an additional means of tackling poor performance, capability proceedings were also introduced by New Labour in 1997 and greater prescribed in 2000, allowing poorly performing teachers to be fired (Earnshaw *et al*., 2004; Marchington *et al*., 2004). Therefore, modernisation has increased the amount of data

that governments have on the performance of teachers and schools, with increased means of punishing poor performance.

A result of performativity is that schools can be in a constant state of readiness, as they will not know when the next inspection may be, with Ofsted only having to give two days' notice before an inspection (Clapham *et al*., 2016; Perryman, 2006). Modernisation has looked to greater formalise rules governing performance and increased the action government can take against underperforming schools (Earnshaw *et al*., 2004). One such action is to implement special measures, where the number of inspections is significantly increased, with the potential final result being that the school is closed (Clapham, 2015). As a result, schools can conduct a number of observations and mock inspections throughout the school year so that teachers are constantly ready, with the expectation being that this pressure ensures that teachers are always working towards the Ofsted standard. However, there is concern this pressure can cause teachers and schools to focus more on meeting Ofsted standards than the needs of its pupils (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Wilkins, 2015). The need to meet Ofsted standards can also lead to teachers giving a fabricated performance, with questions over how rounded a judgement Ofsted inspections provide (Ball, 2003; Burns, 2015a). The standards of Ofsted are also becoming stricter and can mean that schools that would have passed under the previous criteria are being labelled as complacent and potentially being forced to become academies if improvement is not seen (Coughlan, 2015; Mills, 2015).

A specific example of performance management and performance related pay in education, and the contrast between England and Scotland, was the Threshold Assessment in England. The Threshold Assessment allowed teachers to apply for a pay rise of £2,000 and move to a new pay scale, with the teacher having to prove on the application that their performance warranted this (Bach and Kessler, 2012). A belief of the scheme was that it shows teachers that good performance will be rewarded and, as most teachers that applied were awarded their raise, it was also argued to be a convenient way for the government to both add accountability and improve teacher pay and conditions, without having to offer similar increases to all public sector employees (Gunter, 2015). However, the Threshold Assessment was controversial amongst headteachers and teachers, who found it insulting that they had to apply for a raise, as well as finding the process stressful and an unfair way to judge a teacher's performance (Locke *et al.*, 2005; Mahony *et al.*, 2004). In Scotland it was the McCrone Agreement, which was implemented in 2001, that led to a significant increase in teacher wages, as well as introducing the Chartered Teacher scheme, which offered a new non-management pathway, though it has since ended (Hulme *et al.*, 2013; McGeer, 2009; Menter and Hulme, 2008). Menter *et al.* (2004) cite that in Scotland the focus around teacher pay and conditions was on professional development, whereas in England the focus was on performance management. More bluntly, Arnott and Menter (2007) note that in England the expectation was that teachers would give something in return for an increased wage, whereas teachers in Scotland were trusted to follow through with modernising without needing to prove it beforehand.

One recent development in Scotland that should be noted has been the introduction of a new curriculum, the Curriculum for Excellence (CfE), which can be seen as a counterpoint to the prescriptive curriculum used in England (Priestley, 2018). A key feature of CfE is that it focuses on what pupils should be by the time they finish the curriculum, noting four capacities: successful learners; confident individuals; effective contributors; and responsible citizens, while also pushing the importance of interdisciplinary learning (Biesta *et al.*, 2015; Education Scotland, 2018; Humes, 2013). The first step leading to CfE was through a National Debate established in 2002, with CfE then implemented in a phased manner through to the 2010/11 school year (Hayward and Hutchinson, 2013; Priestley *et al.*, 2014). There appears to be general agreement across Scottish education around the principles that underpin CfE, with even political opponents tending to still note a belief in its principles (McIvor, 2018a; Priestley and Minty, 2013). However, there have been issues with CfE, in particular around implementing the theory into practice, with criticisms that it has increased teacher workload, though recent protests over pay indicate that issues with workload go beyond just CfE (BBC News, 2017; 2018d). Priestley and Humes (2010) also note that CfE has perhaps not given enough consideration to the theory and philosophy that underpins it, while its desire to avoid prescription can lead to accusations that CfE is vague (Hedge and MacKenzie, 2016). Finally, Paterson (2018) notes that CfE focuses too much on skills and underplays the importance of knowledge and subject expertise.

One final point to consider is the rise of inclusion, which, while not a part of modernisation, has undoubtedly had a significant impact on education globally.

Barrett *et al.* (2015) cite the Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action in 1994 as key starting points in the push towards including pupils who would previously have gone to special needs schools within mainstream schools (Materechera, 2018). In Scotland it was the Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act 2000 that introduced the presumption to mainstream pupils, while the Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004 changed the terminology from special educational needs to additional support needs, which is broader in scope and is the term used in this thesis. Riddell and Carmichael (2019) also outline recent developments to increase the number of rights that are given to children. As the Scottish government has tried to create distance from the neoliberalism prevalent in England, inclusion has emerged as a key policy goal (Riddell, 2009; Watson, 2010). The literature on inclusion tends to indicate agreement from most in education about inclusion in principle, but there is scepticism from some teachers over the implementation of inclusion and whether they have the competence/resources for it to work in practice (Allan, 2010; Nilsen, 2018; Weiss *et al.*, 2019). The literature also indicates that there is currently limited training for teachers around inclusion, which appears to be a particular challenge for student and beginner teachers (Boyle *et al.*, 2013; McKay, 2016; Ravet, 2018).

3.2.3   Conclusion on Public Sector Modernisation

To briefly summarise, modernisation has had both positive and negative impacts on the public sector and education in England. Modernisation has improved

accountability and allowed for poor performance to be remedied, such as through capability (Marchington *et al.*, 2004). However, implementation has tended to be confused and contradictory, particularly the desire of New Labour to retain central oversight. Therefore, while a number of the ideas behind New Labour modernisation were reasonable and more supportive of employees than the previous Conservative governments, Bach and Kessler (2012) note modernisation struggled to get the balance right between the upstream ideological and the downstream employee relations. Scotland, in contrast, has tended to minimise the more neoliberal aspects of modernisation reform and favours its more egalitarian, consensual and cooperative approach, as evidenced by the Scottish government having to withdraw a bill proposing significant governance changes (Arnott and Menter, 2007; BBC News, 2018c; Hulme *et al.*, 2013). This is not to say that Scotland does not have any marketization, managerialism or performativity, but that Scotland has tended to limit these neoliberal pushes more than England (Menter, 2008; Menter and Hulme, 2008; Menter *et al.*, 2004).

3.3   The Role of Assistants

This section will focus on the increasing role of assistants within the public sector, in particular classroom assistants. While assistant roles existed prior to modernisation, it was under New Labour in which there was a significant increase and formalisation in assistant roles (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Warhurst *et al.*, 2014). In particular,

classroom assistant numbers significantly increased in 1997 following the election of New Labour, though not without controversy (Bach *et al.*, 2006).

3.3.1   Assistants in the Public Sector

A significant aspect of modernisation has been the increase and formalisation of assistant roles within the public sector. The primary justification from New Labour was that assistants can help to reduce the burden on professionals, allowing another group of workers to take over certain administrative and menial tasks, while professionals focus on their core, skilled tasks (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Bach *et al.*, 2007). Another reason for the rise in assistants was due to cutbacks within the public sector, with assistants allowing the government to hire new staff at a reduced cost (Bach *et al.*, 2008). Use of assistants has been seen, for example, in healthcare through healthcare assistants. As a result of these assistants, nurses have been able to focus more on the hard, technical aspects of nursing, while assistants have taken over what is seen as the dirtier, less respected direct care giving side (Bach *et al.*, 2012). This switch in focus allows nurses to emphasise the skilled aspect of their profession. Assistants have, though, been criticised as being simply cheap replacements for professionals, who can lack regulation and training (Kessler *et al.*, 2015).

Following the election of New Labour in 1997, assistant roles significantly increased throughout the public sector, in particular in social care, healthcare and teaching (Bach *et al.*, 2007; 2008). While, for example, healthcare assistants existed prior to

modernisation, their role was rather unacknowledged and the number employed was low (Spilsbury and Meyer, 2004). A hope from governments is that local authorities can fast track assistants into professional roles (Kessler *et al*., 2006). The belief is that assistants will have been working within that local authority for a number of years before becoming professionals and so will be more embedded and committed than an external professional may be (Kessler *et al*., 2007; 2015). This embeddedness can stretch to assistants living in the local community as well and so assistants can, potentially, offer a different and more personal understanding of patient needs than professionals (Bach *et al*., 2012). However, the move from assistant to professional can depend on the specific context and sector, with different uptake in different sectors. For example, Warhurst *et al*. (2014) note that there is little evidence of classroom assistants in Scotland becoming teachers.

Kessler *et al*. (2007) notes that assistants tend to be positioned in one of four ways: relief; substitute; co-producer; and apprentice. Apprentice is when assistants are hired with the goal of becoming professionals. Relief is when assistants relieve professionals of some of their burdensome administrative tasks to focus on their core tasks. Substitute is when assistants are hired as substitutes for professionals, as assistants are less expensive and easier to recruit. Finally, co-producer is when assistants bring their own specific skills to a sector, such as the healthcare assistants in Kessler *et al*. (2015) bringing more of a personal approach to patients. Which of these roles is used for assistants will depend on local authorities and the specific employees involved (Kessler *et al*., 2006). The role of assistants can also depend on sector, such as how social care assistants tend to be viewed more as apprentices and/or substitutes,

whereas classroom assistants tend to be more positioned as relief and/or co-producers to teachers (Bach *et al*., 2006).

The belief of New Labour was that an increase in numbers and formalisation of assistants within the public sector benefits both the government and employees. Assistants are good for the government, as they allow them to hire new employees at a reduced cost, who can take over tasks that professionals can resent (Kessler *et al*., 2006; 2007). This relief role, in turn, increases accountability of professionals, who can better focus on their core tasks. Assistants can also allow for a more personalised and varied service to be offered by offering different skills and experience than professionals (Bach *et al*., 2006; 2008; Kessler *et al*., 2015). Assistants also tend to have more roots within the local community compared to professionals, allowing them to connect with users in different ways than professionals can (Spilsbury and Meyer, 2004). Equally, assistants have the potential to allow a reprofessionalisation of professionals within the public sector by allowing professionals to focus more on the core, skilled tasks that shape their professional identity (Warhurst *et al*., 2009). Therefore, all sides can potentially benefit from greater use of assistants.

The alternative view is that the increasing importance of assistants underlines the deskilling side of modernisation, in which professionals are losing responsibilities to assistants and focusing on less tasks than before (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Bach *et al*., 2006). Bach *et al*. (2008) notes that professionals are thus reluctant to give up tasks to non-professionals, as they believe doing so threatens their professional identity. This reluctance to delegate tasks can be exacerbated by the lack of regulation and training

for assistants compared to professionals (Hyde *et al*., 2005). Therefore, there can be a struggle between professionals and assistants, with professionals erecting barriers around their role and specialist skills, while assistants try to blur these boundaries and push further into the professionals' role (Bach *et al*., 2012; Kessler *et al*., 2013). This blurring has been seen in nursing, where nurses have tried to put more focus on the hard, technical skills of nursing. However, this switch in focus can mean nurses spend less time on the caring aspect of nursing, potentially devaluing the profession (Spilsbury and Meyer, 2004). This focus on harder, more technical skills can be exacerbated by the data driven nature of performance management, which can underplay the caring and qualitative aspect of professions (Wilkins, 2015).

3.3.2   Assistants in Teaching

Education has seen the most significant rise in assistants through modernisation. This rise matches a strong desire of modernisation to greater involve non-professionals within teaching, with the National Workload Agreement of 2003 for England and Wales detailing a range of administrative tasks that could be done by assistants rather than teachers, thereby reducing teacher workload (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Butt and Lance, 2009). In Scotland, it was the McCrone Agreement that started the move towards formalising the classroom assistant role in the classroom (Warhurst *et al*., 2014). As noted, Blatchford *et al*. (2011) state that classroom assistants now make up a quarter of the workforce within schools, with Clarke (2019) noting that the vast majority are female. This rise in classroom assistants happened to come around the

same time as the increase of inclusion, with schools that have a high proportion of additional support needs children tending to have a high proportion of classroom assistants (Bach *et al*., 2006; Blatchford *et al*., 2009). New Labour believed that increasing the number of adults in the classroom is beneficial for pupils and Blatchford *et al*. (2007) note that classroom assistants are there primarily to support pupils and then support the teacher on a secondary basis. Classroom assistants typically have limited formal qualifications and Kerry (2005) notes that their roles can vary from purely menial tasks to potentially taking part or all of the class on occasions. While a number of terms can be used for these assistants, such as teaching assistant, learning assistant, pupil support assistant (PSA), support for learning worker, support for learning assistant, this thesis will follow the EOC (2007) in using the term classroom assistant to cover all of these workers, as, irrespective of the name, the role tends to be largely similar.

The role of classroom assistants was not initially well defined in England in 1997, when there was a significant recruitment drive. However, the National Workload Agreement and the creation of the Higher Level Teaching Assistant role, which allows assistants to do some unsupervised teaching, have better formalised the classroom assistant role and provided a more formal career path, although Graves (2011) and Graves and Williams (2017) indicate that there can still be a lack of consistency nationally in the Higher Level Teaching Assistant role (Bach *et al*., 2006). However, even taking this criticism into account, Scotland still lacks the level of formalisation seen in England, as there is no equivalent role to the Higher Level Teaching Assistant in Scotland and the broad responsibilities classroom assistants are expected to fulfil

means that there is potential for role stretch from assistants into the teacher's responsibilities (EOC, 2007; Warhurst *et al*., 2014). Gilbert *et al.* (2012) note that this role stretch is due to both the role being poorly defined when initially designed and because local authorities had significant autonomy to alter the role to meet their needs, reducing consistency across authorities. It is still the case in Scotland and across the UK that assistants tend to be recruited informally and that formal appraisal and routes of progression are not consistently defined or enforced (Bach *et al*., 2007; Kessler *et al*., 2007).

There has been concern from teachers about classroom assistants. A key concern is the potential loss of autonomy of teachers, as they have lost a range of responsibilities and must also now work with another person in the classroom (Bach *et al*., 2007). The role of the teacher, thus, potentially changes into more of a manager and organiser, who sets the tasks for the assistant, rather than a teacher in the traditional sense (Bach *et al*., 2006). Teachers can also lack training in how to work with and manage assistants, which can mean use of assistants can vary on a class-to-class basis. A fear amongst teachers is that their role is being diluted, in particular the emotional side and their relationship with pupils, with assistants potentially knowing some pupils within the class better than the teacher does (Lehane, 2016; Warhurst *et al*., 2009).

However, research has shown that the increase in classroom assistants has had a positive impact on teachers and within schools. Teachers can appreciate that assistants allow them to delegate some onerous tasks that they do not enjoy and focus more on their core teaching responsibilities (Bach *et al*., 2007). Assistants can also allow

teachers to more broadly engage with the class, especially when there are additional support needs children within the class (Blatchford *et al.*, 2009; 2011).   This arrangement can allow the assistant to help the additional support needs children, who can feel more comfortable talking to an assistant, while the teacher can spread their help across the class. Assistants can be beneficial to schools in that assistant roles tend to be cheaper and easier to fill than teachers (Kessler *et al.*, 2007). Additionally, classroom assistant roles can be a useful way for parents to return to work who cannot afford expensive childcare outside of normal school hours (EOC, 2007).

Bach *et al.* (2006) do, though, note that teachers remain uncomfortable leaving assistants in sole charge of the classroom and that there can be a lack of time for the teacher and assistant to plan classes. There is also limited evidence that classroom assistants help pupil attainment (Bach and Kessler, 2012). While classroom assistants can allow the teacher to better focus on the rest of the class rather than solely on additional support needs pupils, this approach can result in the neediest pupils primarily dealing with less qualified members of staff (Blatchford *et al.*, 2007). Therefore, while the teacher may find their role more enjoyable through interacting with a wider range of pupils, this can mean that teachers have less interaction with the additional support needs children that require the most help (Blatchford *et al.*, 2009). As classroom assistants typically have less training than teachers, the support that pupils receive may also be more focused on telling pupils the answer, rather than helping them to find the answer on their own, with pupils potentially becoming dependent on assistants (Blatchford *et al.*, 2011; Lehane, 2016). Such a role may also

be unfair on classroom assistants, as it requires them to work with very challenging pupils with minimal support from the teacher (EOC, 2007).

The way in which classroom assistants are used within schools has also received criticism, as classroom assistants can become dumping grounds for tasks that teachers do not want to do (Bach *et al.*, 2007; Lehane, 2016). This use of assistants can be a result of the fact that the tasks that the government, particularly in Scotland, have set out for classroom assistants are vague, which can also mean that assistants perform tasks that should be done by the teacher (Warhurst *et al.*, 2009). This lack of role prescription can mean that the role of classroom assistants can vary quite significantly between different classrooms and schools (Bach *et al.*, 2006; Warhurst *et al.*, 2014). The passion of classroom assistants for their pupils can also be taken advantage of by expecting them to do unpaid overtime, such as helping to plan classes (EOC, 2007). While the above notes that classroom assistants can overstep into the teachers role, Blatchford *et al.* (2009) did not find strong evidence that assistants were taking whole classes in place of teachers.

A further criticism around classroom assistants, and assistant roles generally, has been that they are not fairly rewarded. Gilbert *et al.* (2012) note that feminine skills, which are core to the classroom assistant role, tend to be undervalued, resulting in a wage that classroom assistants feel is not commensurate to the effort they exert. For example, empathy and personal experience are key to classroom assistants, but can be seen as natural skills and overlooked when setting pay levels (Bach *et al.*, 2012). As noted previously, the classroom assistant role has been poorly defined by government,

particularly in Scotland, and has meant that classroom assistants can be simply seen as mothers helping out, which underplays the potential skill required (EOC, 2007; Kerry, 2005; Warhurst *et al*., 2009). This underappreciation of soft skills can extend to recruitment and training of assistants, which focus more on the technical skills required (Kessler *et al*., 2015). The significant control local authorities in Scotland had over establishing the classroom assistant role also contributed to classroom assistants across different authorities having differently defined roles and rewards (Warhurst *et al*., 2014). Finally, the combination of initially poor support from unions and the less militant nature of classroom assistants meant that classroom assistants had limited voice when role/pay was established, leaving them open to being unfairly rewarded (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Gilbert *et al*., 2012).

3.3.3   Conclusion on Assistants

This section has noted the significant rise of assistant roles within the public sector. The primary goal has been to allow professionals to focus more on their core tasks, though concerns remain that it will lead to deprofessionalisation. Education, in particular, has seen an increase in assistants and there is evidence that teachers appreciate that classroom assistants allow them to focus more on the whole class. However, the classroom assistant role, particularly in Scotland, is poorly defined and regulated. While, for example, the EOC (2007) called for a qualification for classroom assistants, such as an HNC, such qualifications are still not a requirement. Therefore,

it remains the case that classroom assistants can be of widely differing skill levels, with rewards potentially not matching the effort many put in.

3.4 Modernisation and Emotion in Teaching Themes

Now that the modernisation of education has been outlined, this section will outline three research themes that consistently appear in both the modernisation and emotion in teaching literatures. The three key themes are: the rational/emotional debate; teacher identity; and the changing nature of relationships. The rational/emotional debate within the modernisation literature has focused on the desire to set an objective standard for teachers (Ball, 2003). Teacher identity also focuses on this setting of standards and targets, as well as how teacher identity has changed through the significant increase in classroom assistants (Bach *et al*., 2006). Finally, the changing nature of relationships assesses how groups such as headteachers and parents have gained power through modernisation and the impact of this on teachers (Bach and Kessler, 2012).

3.4.1 Rational/Emotional Through Modernisation

There is a strongly rational aspect to modernisation, with Ball (2003) noting that the core performative aspect of modernisation looks to set an objective standard that all teachers are judged against. Performativity can aim to greater quantify teacher

performance, though it can also reduce teacher creativity and have teachers focus purely on meeting the goals prioritised by government (Koutselini, 1997). The literature has also noted that modernisation, particularly the NPM aspect of it, can reduce pupils to objective results that are dealt with in the same manner to ensure a uniform performance (Perryman, 2006). Teachers must work within the government of the days standards, with little space to deviate, and, while Locke *et al*. (2005) notes that teachers are not completely opposed to increased rationalisation, there is dissatisfaction that their professional view and desire to occasionally step outside of their normal boundaries is not considered by government (Gunter, 2015; Wilkins, 2015). CfE has attempted to offer less rationalisation and give more autonomy to schools and teachers, though, as noted previously, has faced difficulties itself and highlights the challenges in developing a curriculum that satisfies everyone (Hedge and MacKenzie, 2016; Paterson, 2018; Priestley, 2018).

New Labour did, though, try to temper the neoliberal, rational side of modernisation with a network governance approach, noted as the Third Way, which aimed to better involve professionals in the reform process and push decentralisation, while maintaining central government oversight (Bach and Kessler, 2012). New Labour brought a greater focus on social justice and equality through legislation, matching the more emotional view of teaching, which looks beyond just objective, neoliberal measures of success (Wilkins, 2015). Therefore, New Labour adopted a mix between rational and emotional, with a continuing focus on user needs, while equally offering professionals more flexibility as to how reforms are implemented and rewards for their cooperation (Kessler *et al*., 2007). Questions do, though, remain about this Third Way,

as New Labour maintained a number of Conservative policies and also increased the power of Ofsted, moves more in line with the rational view of teaching (Thrupp, 2001). Scotland, by contrast, has tended to favour a more consensual and cooperative approach through its policy community (Menter and Hulme, 2008). However, this approach can mean that Scottish education is very conservative, which can make it difficult to push through reforms, limiting the power of government (Arnott and Menter, 2007).

A particular aspect of this rationalisation of schools in England that has been heavily criticised is performance management and inspections, with Ball (2003) noting that teachers do not always know what the expectations on them are and so inspections and performativity can cause significant stress. There is a belief amongst teachers that Ofsted ignore context during inspections, which can mean that certain schools are judged more harshly than others (Perryman, 2006). There is also an argument Ofsted simply focuses on the negatives, with less interest in what the school is doing well (Locke *et al*., 2005; Mills, 2015). This rationalisation of performance can make teachers feel as though they are cogs in a machine, which can go against why they became teachers (Koutselini, 1997). While Clapham (2015) notes that teachers can enjoy showing off their quality during inspections, teachers equally feel that the number of inspections and mock inspections take too much time. Scotland, while still having an inspection regime and performative elements, has focused less on performance management, with McGeer (2009) noting a strong resistance in Scotland towards performance-related pay (Hulme *et al*., 2013).

As noted in chapter two, there have been moves to increase gender diversity across roles, with both men and women moving into gender atypical roles, such as the increasing number of men in nursing or teaching (Conley and Jenkins, 2011; Simpson, 2004). In the case of primary schools, there can be a belief that it can be good to have male teachers, as they can provide a positive male role model for the pupils (Bullough Jr., 2015; Moosa and Bhana, 2017). While the evidence has been debated, there can be a belief that men and women bring different skills, with masculine skills and traits typically valued more than feminine skills (Demetriou *et al.*, 2009; Gilbert *et al.*, 2012; Simpson, 2011). As men and masculinity are traditionally seen as more rational/technical than women and femininity, which tend to be seen as emotional and thus lesser, more authority and respect can be automatically afforded to men (Polletta and Tufail, 2016; Pullen and Simpson, 2009). Therefore, in conjunction with the move to greater rationalise roles within the public sector, it can be argued that roles are adopting a more masculine identity (Bach *et al.*, 2012; Hebson *et al.*, 2007).

3.4.2 Teacher Identity Through Modernisation

The increasing use of classroom assistants has been controversial, as teachers can feel that their professional role and identity is undermined when unqualified people take over some of their responsibilities (Bach *et al.*, 2007). This increasing use of assistants has caused concern that the professional role and identity of teachers will be diluted (Bach *et al.*, 2008). Bach *et al.* (2006) illustrate this concern by noting the desire of modernisation to have teachers become more managers and organisers than teachers

in the traditional sense. Concerns around this change of role are exacerbated by the lack of training teachers have to fulfil this manager-type role for assistants. However, Blatchford *et al.* (2007; 2009) have noted that teachers can appreciate that classroom assistants allow them to focus more on the whole of the class, rather than simply one or two pupils. Also, regulation stipulates certain tasks that only a teacher can perform, which offers some protection to the role and identity of teachers (Kessler *et al.*, 2007). However, classroom assistants do not have such legal protection and the poorly defined nature of their role, particularly in Scotland, opens the potential for role stretch (Warhurst *et al.*, 2014).

Performance management has been seen as an attack on teacher identity. While teachers were seen to have relative autonomy prior to the election of the Conservative government in 1979, many teachers have felt a fall in autonomy and trust since (Marchington *et al.*, 2004). This feeling was exacerbated by the significant increase in managers and managerial control within professions and the desire of New Labour to ensure overall central government oversight (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Locke *et al.*, 2005). Teachers can, therefore, feel as though they are not trusted and inspections can make teachers feel as though they are constantly being watched (Clapham, 2015). Teachers can also feel that inspections question their professional identity by attempting to stipulate a prescriptive way of teaching, while capability proceedings can be very stressful experiences (Ball, 2003; Earnshaw *et al.*, 2004). Scotland has arguably shown more trust in teachers through the development of CfE and less focus on performance management, with an attempt to give schools and teachers greater

autonomy, though CfE has proved challenging to implement (Hulme *et al*., 2013; Priestley, 2016; 2018; Priestley and Minty, 2013).

Modernisation has looked to push a more unitarist identity and culture amongst teachers, where teachers focus on their personal and professional development (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Wilkins, 2015). This new identity calls for teachers to embrace competition against other teachers and to constantly improve their performance (Ball, 2003). Aided by inspections and capability proceedings, which aim to attack existing teacher beliefs, modernisation has attempted to push a new teacher identity that all teachers are expected to follow (Earnshaw *et al*., 2004; Gunter, 2015). Teacher training, which is an important stage in the development of teacher identity, is noted by Locke *et al.* (2005) as one means of disseminating and normalising this new identity. There are, thus, indications of a move away from a more public sector ethos amongst teachers to a more individualised teacher identity, though it is questionable if this new identity has been fully adopted (Ball, 2003; Grimshaw *et al*., 2003). Arguably, the more egalitarian, consensual and cooperative culture that is seen to represent Scotland's approach would suggest that teacher identity would be less competitive than in England (Arnott and Menter, 2007; Menter and Hulme, 2012).

An important factor in forming and shaping identity is gender and gendered expectations. In particular, this feeling of 'Otherness' that Pullen and Simpson (2009) describe has the potential to be an important factor in how men and women shape their identity as professionals (Simpson, 2011). Men can struggle with this feeling of 'Otherness' and how others will view them when taking on a role that is traditionally

seen as feminine, such as primary school teacher, and so can struggle in forming an identity that balances the masculine expectations on them as men with their more feminine role (Simpson, 2004; 2005; 2014). Men can also be perceived as more dangerous than women when performing these caring roles or roles that require some form of touching, particularly when children are involved (Vincent and Braun, 2013; Hancock *et al*., 2015). As a result of this stigma, it may be difficult for men to perform a role such as classroom assistant, as such roles potentially require close contact with pupils (Warhurst *et al*., 2009).

3.4.3   Changing Relationships Through Modernisation

A significant move in England in changing the influence of the teacher compared to other groups was the shift in power from the Local Education Authority to Local Management of Schools (Bach and Kessler, 2012). This move has delegated a significant amount of control and authority away from local authorities and towards school governors and individual headteachers, with a greater belief in the role of management within schools and around financial responsibility (Tseng, 2015). Local Education Authorities also now have less of a role with supply teachers and capability proceedings (Grimshaw *et al*., 2003; Marchington *et al*., 2004). As previously noted, the move to academies in England is bringing an even greater focus on schools managing themselves (Mills, 2015). While Scotland did introduce Devolved School Management, which was akin to Local Management of Schools, and allowed schools to opt-out of local authority control, neither gained the level of traction that they did

in England (Adler, 1997; Arnott, 2011; Arnott and Menter, 2007). Also, there has been strong resistance towards academisation and so local authorities retain significantly more power in Scotland than in England, though recent moves such as establishing regional collaboratives and pupil equity funding are moving power away from local authorities in Scotland (McIvor, 2017b; Menter and Hulme, 2011; Mowat, 2018).

The power and influence of headteachers has increased through modernisation. Headteachers are seen as important in setting the culture of the school, focused on the performance of both the individual teacher and the school (Ball, 2003). Headteachers, therefore, help to set the tone of the school and aim to normalise this new teacher identity, with headteachers seen more like a CEO (Mahony *et al*., 2004; Tseng, 2015). Therefore, the headteacher has significant power over teachers, as they decide how reforms are implemented and, for example, the level of paperwork that teachers must deal with (Locke *et al*., 2005). Coldron *et al*. (2015) note that this more powerful headteacher role is especially prevalent in secondary schools, as the headteacher will be more of an administrator/leader than educator and have more distance from teachers than is the case in primary schools. There have also been moves within Scotland to increase the power of headteachers, for example through pupil equity funding and CfE granting headteachers significant power in developing their curriculum. These changes indicate that the Scottish government are keen to give headteachers a more prominent role (Mowat, 2018; Priestley *et al*., 2014; Scottish Government, 2017a; Tonna and Shanks, 2017).

A core belief of modernisation is that public services must serve the public and so users have an important role within the public sector to complain if service quality is unacceptable (Bach and Kessler, 2012). Modernisation believes that parents are, essentially, customers of public sector education and so schools and the government must give parents proper choice over what school their child will attend (Mills, 2015). As a result, schools in England are increasingly seen as accountable to parents and must be able to prove to parents that they can meet their needs, with Ashdown (2015) and Burns (2015b) noting recent calls for parents to have even more say over how schools are run and the power to potentially remove underperforming headteachers (Gunter, 2015; Locke *et al*., 2005). On a related note, modernisation has also allowed a number of volunteer parent helpers to become classroom assistants, providing parents with another means of becoming more formally involved within the classroom (Bach *et al*., 2006; Kessler *et al*., 2007). While it was noted earlier that there has not been any strong evidence to suggest that parents in Scotland wish to actually run their schools, there is a desire to better involve parents, with a recent Scottish Government and CoSLA (2018) document detailing how both intend to improve parental involvement and engagement, though such changes are still not going as far as in England (Arnott, 2011; Earley *et al*., 2016; Young, 2016).

There are different expectations on men and women as to how they will interact with the client/customer. For men, as noted, they must be particularly careful as to how much they offer, particularly if their role involves any sort of touching due to the stigma attached (Hancock *et al*., 2015; Pullen and Simpson, 2009; Simpson, 2004; 2005). For women, there is an assumption, which is not there as strongly for men, that

they will engage with the caring, more feminine side of their role as a standard, which puts an additional pressure on women and can be tiring (Polletta and Tufail, 2016; Simpson, 2011). Adding to the pressure on employees within the public sector has been the increasing push to treat clients as customers and to show deference to them, without the client/customer having to show this in return (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Simpson, 2014). As women tend to be afforded less automatic respect than men, this need for deference can be particularly challenging for women, with client/customer aggression particularly difficult (Conley and Jenkins, 2011). Therefore, the emotional demands on men and women are different and can be challenging for both (Vincent and Braun, 2013).

3.4.4   Conclusion on Modernisation and Emotion in Teaching Themes

In conclusion, modernisation has had a significant impact on each of the themes discussed. While attempts may have been made to limit the rationalisation of teaching, the use of performance management and the desire to set an objective teaching standard has increased rationalisation. In turn, modernisation has attempted to establish a new, more individualised teacher identity, while the role of teachers has also changed due to the increase in classroom assistants. Finally, other groups, such as headteachers and parents, have seen their power and influence within schools increase as a result of modernisation. Overall, the role and level of control of the teacher has largely decreased as a result of modernisation.

3.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, modernisation has had a significant impact on the UK public sector, in particular within England. New Labour tried to position modernisation as between the more NPM-focused view of the previous Conservative government, but with a social justice-based network governance approach. However, implementation was difficult and led to a number of conflicts. While modernisation called for greater marketization and decentralisation, the desire of New Labour to retain central oversight meant that decentralisation was always limited. Perhaps the most controversial aspect of modernisation in education has been the desire for greater performance management through more frequent and stricter inspections. This focus on performance management has seen a move towards a performativity culture in schools, where teachers are expected to be motivated by the rewards offered for improving their personal performance. However, the setting of these standards and targets has been controversial and can overlook issues at the local level. The Coalition and Conservative governments that followed New Labour have largely continued with modernisation, though with a desire for less centralised control, as seen through the increasing number of academies. Scotland, while also using the rhetoric of modernisation, has not been as enthusiastic in the neoliberal inspired aspects of modernisation as England, with a desire to retain the Scottish culture that encourages egalitarianism, consensus and cooperation. Therefore, marketization, managerialism and performativity have not been adopted as wholeheartedly as they have in England, but undoubtedly all three aspects of modernisation are present in Scottish education.

A significant impact of modernisation has been the increase and formalisation of classroom assistants. Teachers have not been entirely negative over the use of classroom assistants, though the evidence remains limited as to how beneficial classroom assistants are to pupils and whether classroom assistants are being fairly treated and rewarded. However, there remains a significant amount more to understand about classroom assistants and the emotional aspect of their role. Equally, room also exists to study the different experience between working in public and private sector schools in light of modernisation, which current research has not significantly engaged with. Overall, this chapter has noted the context within which emotion in teaching in the UK, in particular in England and Scotland, has taken place and how the role of the teacher and classroom assistant has changed.

4.0 Emotion in Teaching

4.1 Introduction

So far, the thesis has outlined the key movements within the emotion in organisation literature and discussed public sector modernisation reform, providing both the theoretical underpinning and the context that the current research will be placed within. Building on the two previous chapters, the focus of this chapter will be on emotion in teaching. While papers such as Nias (1996) had started to discuss emotion in teaching, it was Hargreaves (1998) who really brought a significant focus to emotion in teaching research. In particular, he helped to link emotion in organisation research to teaching by applying emotional labour and EI to teaching, which has helped to start a number of conversations around emotion in teaching (Corcoran and Tormey, 2012). As a result, emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management have started to be used within emotion in teaching, creating a link between emotion in organisation and emotion in teaching research. As briefly noted in chapter three, emotion in teaching research, underpinned by reform in education, has tended to focus on three themes: the dichotomy between rational and emotional; the development of teacher identity; and the importance and changing nature of relationships, with Uitto *et al*. (2015) supporting that reform and these three themes underpin a significant amount of research in this area (Jenkins and Conley, 2007). However, whereas emotion in organisation research tends to be underpinned by a work and employment perspective, which engages more broadly with a range of roles and contexts, emotion in teaching research tends to be underpinned by an education studies perspective, which focuses

more solely on teachers and less on the wider context and the role of management (Bolton, 2005; Hargreaves, 2000; 2005).

As noted, emotion in teaching research started to gain traction with Hargreaves (1998; 2000), who noted that teachers do emotional labour and discussed the relevance of EI within teaching. However, both emotional labour and emotion regulation have been tweaked to match the needs of emotion in teaching and its narrower education studies perspective. Emotional labour in teaching tends towards the more positive view of emotional labour, as the negative view offered by Hochschild (2012) is seen as inappropriate in a caring role such as teaching (Torrington, 2006). Both the social-psychological view of emotional labour and EI have been used in teaching, though tend to focus even more on the skill of emotion regulation and more solely on the needs of the teacher (Brackett *et al.*, 2010; Tsouloupas *et al.*, 2010). Emotion management, by comparison, has not been altered greatly from what Bolton (2005) proposed, though has only been used to a limited extent so far (Hebson *et al.*, 2007; Jenkins and Conley, 2007).

Emotion in teaching is distinct from other emotion in organisation research in a number of ways. Teaching is consistently described in the literature as an inherently caring and emotional profession, one which teachers must have a genuine passion for (Hargreaves, 1998; Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006). Teaching is also unique in that success requires the active cooperation of pupils, something that the teacher does not have full control over and is not required in other professions, such as a surgeon (Labaree, 2000). Also, as teachers are dealing with children who are still developing

and understanding their emotions, teachers must get the emotional part of the job right if they want to be successful and maintain both their and their pupils' well-being (Becker *et al*., 2014).

The key factor underpinning the majority of emotion in teaching research has been reform in education. While chapter three has discussed modernisation in greater depth, it is worth highlighting a few of the key impacts that modernisation has had on teachers. A point that will be touched on in more detail in this chapter is the belief that reform has either not understood or attempted to underplay the importance of emotion in teaching (Hargreaves, 1998). As reforms tend to be imposed top-down by government, who teachers feel do not understand the day-to-day pressures of teaching, teachers can be cynical about reforms, with a feeling from teachers that there is too much reform and insufficient support to implement these reforms (Day and Leitch, 2001; Hargreaves, 2005; Vähäsantanen, 2015; Zembylas *et al*., 2011). This excessive pace of change can also mean that teachers feel rushed and lack the time or incentive to attend to the emotional needs of teaching, which reduces the emotional understanding teachers can have for their pupils (Hargreaves, 2000). As with the modernisation literature, three key research themes can be identified in the emotion in teaching literature, underpinned by education reform: the rational/emotional debate; development of teacher identity; and changing relationships. This chapter will initially analyse the use of emotion in organisation theories by emotion in teaching research, creating a link between this chapter and chapter two. The three themes will then be discussed, which will in turn help to link this chapter to chapter three. To conclude, the research questions for this research will be outlined and justified.

4.2   Emotion in Organisation Theories

Since Hargreaves (1998; 2000) there has been a rise in emotion in teaching research, with a significant amount of this research using the emotion in organisation theories (Corcoran and Tormey, 2012; Mahony *et al.*, 2004). However, these theories, with the exception of emotion management, have been adapted to some extent to better meet the unique nature of teaching (Labaree, 2000). Therefore, the broader work and employment perspective that is favoured in both the emotion in organisation and modernisation literatures is only engaged with to a limited extent, with emotion in teaching research typically favouring a narrower education studies perspective (Bolton, 2005; Jenkins and Conley, 2007). This section will examine emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management, better defining what emotion in teaching is and discussing how research in this area differs from emotion in organisation research.

4.2.1   Emotional Labour in Teaching

Similar to emotional labour in chapter two, emotional labour in teaching comes from a sociological background and focuses on how teachers need to manage positive and negative emotions (Torrington, 2006). Teaching is noted in the literature as an inherently emotional profession that many see as a calling (Hargreaves, 1998). Due to school coming at an important time in pupils' lives, teachers can also feel a strong emotional attachment to their pupils and believe that they have an important role in

showing pupils how to understand their emotions (Lippke, 2012). As pupils have both emotional and learning needs, teachers may need to frequently deal with very intense emotions (O'Connor, 2008). As a result, emotional labour in teaching is seen as the changing of emotions by teachers to make them socially acceptable in the current situation (Yin and Lee, 2012). Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) note that teachers must deal with positive and negative emotions regularly and define emotional labour as the need for teachers to care for their pupils, even when they may not feel like it (Newberry, 2010). The literature notes that one of the hardest parts of teaching is the need to ration emotional support, both in only being able to offer support to some pupils due to time restrictions, but also trying to stop the problems of their pupils bleeding into teachers' personal lives (Day and Leitch, 2001; Mackenzie, 2012; Vincent and Braun, 2013).

In comparison to Hochschild (2012), emotional labour in teaching does not believe that management have full control over the emotional performance or feeling rules of teachers. Indeed, while management (largely the headteacher) retain some influence, feeling rules come more through professional and socio-cultural expectations on teaching (Yin *et al*., 2013). The belief within emotional labour in teaching is that teachers can authentically feel the emotions required and that experience is key in knowing which emotions to use (Mackenzie, 2012; Yin and Lee, 2012). Teachers are also seen to retain relative autonomy over their performance within the classroom and can find the emotional side of teaching enjoyable (Hargreaves, 1998; 2000; Madrid *et al*., 2013). Emotional labour in teaching more closely matches the positive view of emotional labour from chapter two, as teachers are seen to accept and agree with the

need to manage their emotions for the benefit of their pupils (Torrington, 2006). A negative of emotional labour for teachers can be their desire to help pupils as much as possible, even when time restrictions make this incredibly difficult, or being expected to act in a way that differs from their personal beliefs, both of which can lead to burnout (Crawford, 2007; O'Connor, 2008). Newberry (2010) indicates that teachers, while retaining a level of control over the feeling rules set within the classroom, must be emotionally flexible, as these rules can be regularly challenged by different groups, such as pupils, colleagues and the headteacher (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; Zembylas, 2004).

As teaching can be viewed as a feminine profession, emotional labour skills in teaching can be viewed as natural and thus poorly rewarded (Vincent and Braun, 2013). Instead, performance tends to be judged on hard, technical skills, which Torrington (2006) notes can underplay how important these emotional skills are. This focus on technical skills matches the rationalisation of teaching, discussed in more depth in the next section, and can lead to teachers using surface acting (Day and Leitch, 2001). This can create a disconnect between what the teacher actually feels and publically shows, with O'Connor (2008) indicating that teachers can create a work persona that differs from who they are outside of work and that this disconnect can grow as teachers become more experienced. While the literature tends to note less use of surface acting, a number of studies have shown that, when a teacher cannot genuinely feel the emotional state required, deep acting will be used (Hargreaves, 1998; Jenkins and Conley, 2007). The rate of change within schools can also make it difficult for teachers to match feeling rules, as feeling rules will constantly develop and change (Zembylas,

2005). The changing nature of feeling rules can increase emotional labour demands, which can be strongly felt due to a blurring between work and personal life/identity (Nias, 1996; Yin and Lee, 2012). Therefore, emotional labour sees teachers as losing some control over their emotions to pupils, parents and headteachers (Conley and Jenkins, 2011). Emotional labour is made more difficult due to the fact that there is little emotional labour training and it is more teachers using experience to successfully perform their emotional role (Chen and Kristjánsson, 2011; Labaree, 2000). Research in this area is typically qualitative and a number of studies have focused on just one or a small number of teachers in-depth (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; Newberry, 2010).

As noted, teaching is still an occupation dominated by women and, particularly at primary school level, the more caring skills required to do the role are seen to be more feminine in nature (Conley and Jenkins, 2011). This femininity is somewhat less in secondary schools, where the percentage of men is higher and the focus is more on subject expertise rather than general caring, which matches a more masculine image (Coldron *et al*., 2015). There is a disproportionate amount of men in senior management compared to women, with Moosa and Bhana (2017) noting a pressure on men to move into management, as leadership is seen to better match men, while teaching is seen to be more appropriate for women. There is no evidence to support this assumption and Simpson (2004) notes that a lot of the male primary teachers she interviewed did not want to move into management. Supporting this gender divide is the societal assumption that emotional labour and caring are more natural to women than men and that there is suspicion about men wanting to work with children,

particularly young children (Bullough Jr., 2015; Simpson, 2005). Therefore, men can be seen as the 'Other' in teaching, whereas women may be seen as the 'Other' in senior management (Pullen and Simpson, 2009).

The use of emotional labour within teaching has been useful, as it highlights the emotional role of teachers, while also acknowledging how important the caring part of teaching is to teachers (Rosiek, 2003; Torrington, 2006). Emotional labour in teaching has shown that feeling rules do exist and can restrict the emotional performance of teachers, with the setting of these rules not solely through management, but also by parents, peers and pupils, whose influence is increasing (Newberry, 2010; Yin and Lee, 2012; Yin *et al*., 2013; Zembylas, 2004). The increasing demand and presence of these feeling rules highlights a fall in teacher control and a teacher identity that must meet the needs of numerous groups. Studying emotional labour in teaching helps to show the hard emotional work that teachers do, the commitment required to teach and the need for teachers to be emotionally flexible in how they deal with different groups, which the push for rationalisation can overlook (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; O'Connor, 2008). Emotional labour also illustrates how teachers need to act (generally deep, occasionally surface) and that the needs of their pupils is the key motivator as to why they accept emotional labour (Hargreaves, 1998). In turn, emotional labour research also highlights the potential stress and harm of emotional labour and wants such work to be better acknowledged and rewarded (Mackenzie, 2012; Vincent and Braun, 2013).

However, it is questionable whether emotional labour is the best means of discussing emotion in teaching (Mackenzie, 2012). Hochschild (2012) notes that a core aspect of emotional labour, alongside the need to act, is the role of management in setting commercially influenced feeling rules. However, while, as was discussed in chapter three, management/headteacher control has increased in public sector schools in the UK, it is not the case that management can unilaterally set feeling rules, particularly within the classroom (Torrington, 2006). Teachers can feel a sense of ownership within their classroom and still retain relative autonomy within it, even though this autonomy may be weakening, and will resist changes or emotional rules they do not believe benefit their pupils (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; McIntyre, 2010; Zembylas, 2004). Feeling rules within teaching can also lack the alienating side of emotional labour, as a number of studies have noted that teachers can accept the need to follow emotional rules for the benefit of their pupils and can enjoy the emotional nature of teaching (Hargreaves, 1998; Madrid *et al.*, 2013; Yin and Lee, 2012). Yin *et al.* (2013) also note that it is more professionalism and socio-cultural influences that shape feeling rules within teaching, rather than management.

4.2.2   Emotion Regulation in Teaching

Similar to chapter two, emotion regulation in teaching includes both the social-psychological view of emotional labour and EI. Emotion regulation is argued to be a key skill in teaching, as it is seen as inappropriate for teachers to show too much anger or disappointment to pupils (Jiang *et al.*, 2016; Nizielski *et al.*, 2012). Indeed, Akın *et*

al. (2014) notes that there is an expectation on teachers that they will control their emotions and aim to create a positive relationship with their pupils, with negative emotions hidden or minimised (Yin and Lee, 2012). Therefore, emotion regulation in teaching offers a slightly more limited view than it does in emotion in organisation, as the focus is more exclusively on the skill of emotion regulation and less on other emotion skills (Brackett *et al*., 2010). Also, whereas emotion regulation in chapter two focused on the needs of both the employer and employee, emotion regulation in teaching focuses more exclusively on teachers (Corcoran and Tormey, 2012; 2013). Emotion regulation in teaching is the altering by the teacher of their emotions from what they naturally feel, with emotional control helping relationships within the classroom and reducing stress (Taxer and Frenzel, 2015). As teaching is a highly emotional and demanding role, which is intensifying as a result of reform, successful emotion regulation is seen as increasingly important for teacher well-being (Näring *et al*., 2012; van Droogenbroeck *et al*., 2014). Emotion regulation research tends to be quantitative and favour either surveys or experiments, with a focus on attaining validity and reliability in results (Tsouloupas *et al*., 2010).

The social-psychological view of emotional labour in teaching adopts a more psychological/physiological view of emotional labour and focuses on the use of acting to meet display rules (Mittal and Chhabra, 2011). Teachers are seen to choose between the three emotional labour strategies of surface acting, deep acting and genuinely feeling emotions, with the goal of reducing the potential for burnout (Akın *et al*., 2014; Yin *et al*., 2013). This area of research is seen to be particularly relevant for teaching, as studies have noted that teaching can have a significant potential for stress and

burnout (Skinner *et al*., 2019; Tsouloupas *et al*., 2010; van Droogenbroeck and Spruyt, 2015). Teaching is already seen to have a strong link to stress and the potential for stress and burnout is argued to be increasing through the reforms discussed previously, which are making pupil behaviour and the work climate more stressful (Allan, 2010; Carton and Fruchart, 2014; Riddell, 2009; Wróbel, 2013). This frustration and stress can be increased by teachers having to work longer than their contracted hours, with poor job conditions and reform of education cited as potential reasons behind a continuing rise in teacher attrition (Arnott and Menter, 2007; Dupriez *et al*., 2016). The social-psychological view of emotional labour believes that emotion regulation is beneficial for both pupils and teachers and can improve the confidence of teachers (Taxer and Frenzel, 2015; Wang *et al*., 2015). As with emotion in organisation research, the Maslach Burnout Inventory is popular for studying burnout (Foley and Murphy, 2015; Maslach and Jackson, 1981). Emotion in organisation scales, such as the Emotional Labour Scale, have also been used, though adapted for teaching (Akın *et al*., 2014; Brotheridge and Lee, 2003).

EI in teaching tends to favour ability models, in particular the MSCEIT, with particular focus on emotion regulation (Brackett *et al*., 2010). EI in teaching believes that EI can ensure that the best teachers are selected and then able to do the job to the best of their abilities, though Corcoran and Tormey (2013) raise some doubts over using EI models when selecting teachers. It also agrees with Goleman (1995) that people have a rational and emotional mind and that there is a need to regulate the emotional mind to some extent to stop the rational mind from being overpowered and to lessen the impact of negative emotions (Day and Leitch, 2001; Rosiek, 2003). This view of emotions

feeds in to the core belief of EI in teaching that teachers do retain control over their emotional approach, leading to calls from the literature for teachers to be trained in EI (Intrator, 2006; Vesely *et al.*, 2013). Indeed, Karakuş (2013) notes the belief of EI in teaching is that teachers with high EI are better able to overcome stress and avoid burnout than those with low EI. The modernisation reform in education discussed in chapter three, which has a desire to rationalise teaching and implement greater performance management, has meshed well with EI (Neophytou, 2013). Teacher identity in EI is, therefore, more reactive and accepts the need to meet these new emotional demands, rather than argue against the demands or who is setting them.

Emotion regulation research in teaching has noted some encouraging results. Brackett *et al.* (2010) found that better emotion regulation made it easier to build social networks that can reduce stress, Perry and Ball (2007) found teachers with high EI enjoy their role more and Wang *et al.* (2015) note that high self-efficacy and role confidence reduce stress. These results highlight what teachers can gain from successful emotion regulation. Also, by focusing more exclusively on the needs of teachers rather than the employer, emotion regulation in teaching arguably overcomes a criticism within the emotion in organisation literature that emotion regulation focuses too much on organisational needs (Corcoran and Tormey, 2012; 2013; Fineman, 2003). Emotion regulation research has also helped to improve understanding and interest in the emotional role of teachers (Kristjánsson, 2006). By improving teacher knowledge and increasing teaching strategies, emotion regulation research can provide teachers with more options within the classroom, with this knowledge potentially disseminated through training (Nizielski *et al.*, 2012; Yin *et al.*, 2013). A number of

EI studies within teaching have also noted how high EI can reduce stress and increase the well-being of teachers (Karakuş, 2013; Vesely *et al.*, 2013). EI also notes specific, practical ways that teachers can improve their EI (Ecclestone, 2007).

However, emotion regulation in teaching has been criticised for attempting to quantify emotions (Fineman, 2004; Kristjánsson, 2006). This quantification can have the effect of splitting rational and emotional and believing that teachers should use their emotions only to the extent that they allow for rational decisions to be made, which can overstate the level of control that teachers have over their emotions (Fineman, 2003). Emotion regulation, in particular EI, feeds into this rationalisation agenda discussed in chapter three and labels those that disagree with reform as irrational and wrong, with a desire for standard/universal emotional responses and teacher identity, with little room for ambivalence or uncertainty (Neophytou, 2013; Zembylas, 2005). While EI may list admirable traits, creating standardised measures for teaching can underplay the complexity of teaching and strip away the personality of the teacher (Burman, 2009; Hargreaves, 2000). EI can, thus, offer a flat image of teacher identity and an acceptance that others will set the emotional demands that teachers must meet. While EI can be comforting in telling people that they can change, EI has yet to be fully defined within teaching and tends more to reflect the views of the researcher than any unified model (Ecclestone, 2007; Rodeiro *et al.*, 2012). At a practical level, Corcoran and Tormey (2012; 2013), while proving some of their hypotheses, note that the MSCEIT did not work for parts of their study and that the MSCEIT may not be fully appropriate for judging teacher performance or use outside of the US.

4.2.3 Emotion Management in Teaching

Emotion management, as was noted in chapter two, was designed to better explain how professionals and public sector workers manage their emotions, as emotional labour was seen as inappropriate for these types of workers (Bolton, 2005; Bolton and Boyd, 2003). As teachers are professionals and, in general, public sector workers, emotion management may be an appropriate means of discussing the emotional component of teaching. As previously noted, both professionalism and socio-cultural influences are key factors in how teachers manage their emotions and shape their identities, influences that emotion management acknowledges (Yin and Lee, 2012). Emotion management also helps to show that, while their influence and need for accountability is increasing, it is not just management that set feeling rules in teaching and that other groups, such as parents, are increasing in influence (Conley and Jenkins, 2011; Jenkins and Conley, 2007). Emotion management in teaching highlights the changing nature of relationships within education and how this is impacting on teachers and their role. Equally, emotion management research has shown the rise of pecuniary demands through reform in education and the rationalisation movement, with a desire for greater standardisation within teaching (Hebson *et al.*, 2007). Emotion management, therefore, highlights the contradictory emotional demands on teachers, as well as the skill required to emotionally manage these demands.

Emotion management research also shows the importance of both prescriptive and philanthropic influences to teachers, a factor emotional labour can overlook, with teachers noting a strong professional pride and belief that caring for their pupils is

essential (Jenkins and Conley, 2007). As a result, teachers can need to create a certain level of professional distance so that they do not offer pupils more than they can realistically deliver, while equally not neglecting the philanthropic caring side of teaching, a balance emotion management notes is difficult and skilled work, particularly for inexperienced teachers (Chubbuck and Zembylas, 2008; O'Connor, 2008). The changes within teaching noted earlier have increased the level of emotional juggling that teachers must perform, with emotion management and the work of Bolton (2005) useful in showing the increasing impact such reforms have on teachers (Conley and Jenkins, 2011). Research in this area has highlighted the push for rationalisation and the changing nature of relationships within schools, while equally showing that teachers still retain a level of agency and control over the classroom and a strong teacher identity that prioritises the needs of pupils (Hebson *et al*., 2007).

As noted, pecuniary demands within teaching are increasing. Emotion management notes that this rise in pecuniary demands causes a conflict for teachers, who must meet these new demands, while also meeting the prescriptive and philanthropic influences core to teacher identity (Jenkins and Conley, 2007). School inspections and the capability process, discussed in chapter three, are examples of these increasing pecuniary demands within schools and the desire for greater standardisation and accountability within teaching (Torrington, 2006). As a result, Hebson *et al*. (2007) note that the identity of new teachers is changing to focus more on these pecuniary demands and the importance of testing, with less interest in the philanthropic side of teaching. Emotion management research attempts to provide a balanced picture of teaching, noting the importance of prescriptive and philanthropic influences to

teachers, while noting the increasing demand pecuniary influences place on teachers (Conley and Jenkins, 2011). Emotion management research has also noted the importance of teachers showing both positive and negative emotions to pupils, depending on the context, though Jenkins and Conley (2007) still indicate a preference from teachers to suppress negative emotions (Lippke, 2012). This need to show a range of emotions highlights the skill of emotion management in teaching, as teachers must decide on the best course of action within the classroom, while also managing a range of influences outside of the classroom.

Emotion management research, such as Jenkins and Conley (2007), has helped to show the wide range of emotional influences that teachers need to manage, which has become even more complex due to education reform. This understanding of the influences that teachers need to manage helps to highlight the conflict in teacher identity, with teachers who want to do their job and meet pecuniary demands, while equally wanting to develop their pupils and go beyond the formal limits of their role (Hebson *et al*., 2007). Emotion management, more so than emotional labour, has been particularly useful in showing the impact that the changing relationships within teaching is having, such as how teachers must take far more from parents (Conley and Jenkins, 2011). Emotion management helps to show the wide range of factors and groups that can influence the teacher's emotional performance, while also noting the influence teachers retain. Emotion management has better opened emotion research to more positive and wide-ranging emotions than emotional labour, while not going too drastically down the individualistic route that emotion regulation tends towards (Lippke, 2012).

However, a significant problem with emotion management in teaching is the fact that there have only been a limited number of studies using emotion management and these studies have had a more limited focus. Jenkins and Conley (2007) reference Bolton and Boyd (2003), but their focus is more on emotional juggling across four relatively similar schools rather than applying the 4Ps model (Conley and Jenkins, 2011). In the case of Hebson *et al.* (2007), the focus of their study was on teachers going through capability proceedings or under the threat of them, which is an emotionally draining time, and so emotion management of these teachers may not be representative of teachers in general. Focus was also more strongly placed on pecuniary and philanthropic demands, with less focus given to prescriptive and presentational factors. Emotion management in teaching can also be criticised for the same reasons that Brook (2009a; 2009b) noted, discussed in chapter two, such as how emotion management can exaggerate teacher agency and privilege emotional labour. Emotion management can, therefore, overlook the impact that rationalisation has had on teachers and how teacher influence has fallen (Lippke, 2012).

4.2.4   Conclusion for Emotion in Organisation Theories

This section has analysed how emotion in organisation theories have been used within emotion in teaching. Emotional labour is growing in popularity and has helped to show that, while teachers can enjoy the emotional aspect of their role, teachers are losing influence within schools. Emotional labour notes a teacher identity that will resist reform and rationalisation, but equally notes that teacher power is falling and

teachers will have to emotionally labour in ways they may not agree with (Hargreaves, 1998). Emotion regulation is the most popular emotion in organisation theory within teaching and believes that teachers do retain control over their emotional performance (Brackett *et al.*, 2010; Yin *et al.*, 2013). However, emotion regulation tends not to look at the right or wrong of reform and rationalisation and adopts a more uncritical view (Neophytou, 2013). Finally, emotion management notes the conflicting influences that teachers must deal with. While believing that teachers do retain agency, emotion management notes that other groups are growing in influence and teacher identity can be split between the rational and emotional side (Hebson *et al.*, 2007; Jenkins and Conley, 2007). However, emotion management has only been used to a limited extent. Overall, this section has been important in noting how the emotion in organisation theories have been used within emotion in teaching research and that such research tends to favour a narrower education studies perspective.

4.3   Key Themes in Emotion in Teaching

This section will look at the key themes that underpin the majority of emotion in teaching research, which, as noted in chapter three, also underpin a significant amount of the modernisation literature. Three key themes have been identified, each related to reform in education: the push for rational over emotional; development of teacher identity; and the changing nature of relationships. The rational/emotional debate will examine how reform privileges rational thought and actions, while attempting to downplay or ignore the emotional side of teaching, though the importance of emotion

in teaching is being noted by an increasing number of papers (Hargreaves, 1998). The development of teacher identity has received a significant amount of focus in the literature and this section will assess how education reform has impacted on the development of teacher identity (Hargreaves, 2005; Intrator, 2006). Finally, the changing nature of relationships within schools will be analysed, focusing on how the role and influence of the teacher has changed in relation to pupils, parents and headteachers (Conley and Jenkins, 2011).

4.3.1 Rational/Emotional Debate

Hargreaves (1998) notes that there has been a push within teaching to prioritise rational thought and minimise or disregard use of emotions. This prioritisation of rational thought notes that teachers cannot make good decisions or perform well in their job if they engage with their emotions (Chubbuck and Zembylas, 2008). The rational view of teaching is prevalent in Western education and has a more individualistic view of emotion in teaching, with education reform in Western countries prioritising the rational aspects of teaching over the more emotional (Hargreaves, 2000; Sutton and Wheatley, 2003; Zembylas, 2007). A strong narrative within teaching is the belief that teachers must use rational thinking and adopt a distant, professional image to ensure they establish control and get the respect of pupils (McGarr and McCormack, 2016). Comparatively, teachers using their emotions when making decisions are seen as less legitimate, which can make it difficult for teachers to let down their professional, rational side and show their emotions and vulnerability to pupils, as the belief is that

doing so will either make them poorer at their job or make their job harder (Crawford, 2007; Demetriou *et al.*, 2009).

Reform in education has tended to prioritise a rational view of teaching and can be seen in the increasing amount and importance of testing within schools, which attempts to measure the performance of pupils, and the setting of a curriculum, detailing what core skills must be taught (Koutselini, 1997). This move to a performance culture has been criticised for limiting the freedom of teachers in how they teach their pupils (Zembylas, 2004). This perceived lack of freedom is exacerbated by the pervasiveness of inspections and the publishing of league tables, which push the idea that there is a right way to teach (Clapham, 2015; Perryman, 2006). This neoliberal inspired reform is argued to reduce the freedom of teachers and make them less willing to take risks (McGarr and McCormack, 2016; Neophytou, 2013). Equally, though, some teachers appreciate testing, as it allows teachers to judge the progress of pupils and adapt their performance accordingly (Thiede *et al.*, 2015). In addition, some teachers can appreciate the rationalisation/creation of a standard teacher role, as some teachers feel doing so better defines their role, while others resent that it tells teachers what to do and reduces their autonomy (Vähäsantanen, 2015). Sanderse *et al.* (2015) relates this split in teacher views to the desire from some teachers to develop the whole child, whereas others are more open to teaching to the test.

Another strong belief within emotion in teaching is that teachers should limit negative emotions and emphasise positive emotions (Meanwell and Kleiner, 2014). However, this rational belief that emotions can be split into positive and negative states has been

criticised by Chen and Kristjánsson (2011), who note that emotions are context dependent and attempting to prioritise positive emotions can mean that teachers do not know how to deal with negative emotions (Schmidt and Datnow, 2005; Sutton and Wheatley, 2003). This view extends to the idea that emotions are inherently irrational or that people can have constructive or unconstructive emotions, which can overlook the individual and their context (Rosiek, 2003). As a result, Hargreaves (2000) notes that it is unrealistic to split emotional and rational, as both are key in allowing teachers to fully perform their role. Part of the reason why focus is given to the rational side of teaching is that it is difficult to measure/quantify the emotional side of teaching (Becker *et al.*, 2014).

The significant increase in classroom assistants within the classroom, which was detailed in chapter three, can be argued as a continuation of this rationalisation of teaching. A key justification of the use of classroom assistants has been that they can perform certain menial and administrative tasks, while the teacher can focus on their core, skilled teaching tasks (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Bach *et al.*, 2007). While it has been argued that classroom assistants allow for a more personalised service to be offered, the concern has been that classroom assistants dilute the role of the teacher and helps move towards basing teaching around certain specific tasks and results, a departure from the relative autonomy that teachers had prior to modernisation reform (Bach *et al.*, 2006; Marchington *et al.*, 2004). Therefore, this potential rationalisation of the teacher role can match up well with Ofsted and inspections, as the more rationalised and limited the role of the teacher, the easier it is to inspect and create an objective standard to judge it against (Clapham, 2015; Perryman, 2006). However, as

noted in chapter three, the role of classroom assistants can vary by school, particularly in Scotland, and so, while it may arguably be a goal of modernisation, it cannot be fairly said that the increase in classroom assistants has, as of yet, significantly rationalised the role of teachers (Lehane, 2016; Warhurst *et al.*, 2014).

Partly as a critique of the rationalisation of teaching, there is a growing number of papers that highlight the emotional nature of teaching, as well as its rational side (Hargreaves, 1998; Uitto *et al.*, 2015). Rosiek (2003) notes that teaching is an inherently caring role and a key part of teaching is responding to the emotional needs of pupils, which makes it questionable whether teachers can realistically switch off their emotions and be purely rational (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; Vincent and Braun, 2013). The development of CfE can be argued as matching this more emotional push by adopting a more holistic view centred on the pupil, with less prescription (Priestley, 2018; Priestley and Minty, 2013; Sanderse *et al.*, 2015). Indeed, Biesta *et al.* (2015) notes how reform such as CfE sees teachers as being change agents, rather than simply having the curriculum prescribed to them (Priestley *et al.*, 2012). This shift in the literature has highlighted the split between the caring, emotional side and the rational, technical side of teaching, with governments tending to focus on rewarding the technical side (O'Connor, 2008; Torrington, 2006). However, research has shown that teachers will resist reform that goes against their beliefs or overlooks the emotional nature of teaching and has a damaging effect on the classroom (Donnell and Gettinger, 2015; Nias, 1996; Schmidt and Datnow, 2005). Zembylas *et al.* (2011) notes the difficulty of imposing reforms from a solely rational perspective, as teachers,

like people in general, have emotions and beliefs that will influence how they judge reforms.

This more rationalised/masculine view of teaching can be supported by those working within education and by society more generally. Moosa and Bhana (2017) note that a number of the female primary school teachers they interviewed in South Africa believe that men can be more rational/decisive and are better suited for leadership positions (Simpson, 2011). Simpson (2004) also notes that older females within primary schools can adopt something of a motherly role for male teachers, taking away some of their tasks and reducing their responsibilities. Therefore, it can be difficult for men to engage with the emotional side of teaching, with this side seen as being the domain of women, while men are expected to engage with the more masculine side of teaching or move into management (Conley and Jenkins, 2011; Nias, 1996). This potentially downplays the value of the emotional side of teaching, while also meaning men are expected to help out with discipline, physical labour or sport, even if that is not of interest to them (Bullough Jr., 2015; Pullen and Simpson, 2009). Therefore, this more rational/masculine view of men and teaching can make it difficult for men to do the emotional side of teaching, even if they enjoy or feel pride in it, as this feeling of 'Otherness' can cause anxiety (Simpson, 2005).

4.3.2 Teacher Identity

There is a growing literature on teacher identity, both in how this identity forms and how it is changing. A prominent view within the literature, as noted by Pillen *et al.* (2013, 241), is that developing a teacher identity is through 'finding a balance between the personal and professional side of becoming and being a teacher'. Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) and Buchanan (2015) note that teacher professional identity is dynamic and keeps developing. Teacher identity will also be formed based on the personal experience of the teacher and how they and society view teaching, which makes Beijaard *et al.* (2004) question whether a uniform or rational teacher identity can exist. Based on this personal experience and the social view of teaching, teachers can see themselves as role models for pupils (Sanderse *et al.*, 2015; Vincent and Braun, 2013). However, this belief that teachers are role models can cause a contradiction for the teacher between wanting to embrace the caring side of teaching, while feeling they must establish discipline within the class (McGarr and McCormack, 2016; Pillen *et al.*, 2013). This combination of factors in creating teacher identity makes it doubtful whether teachers can shut off both their personal identity and social demands and focus exclusively on their professional identity, which reforms implicitly encourage (Chen and Kristjánsson, 2011; Hargreaves, 1998).

An important stage in developing teacher identity is the move from student teacher to teacher, which Meanwell and Kleiner (2014) note is very emotionally demanding. Part of the reason why this move is so emotionally demanding is that teachers can start with lofty expectations about doing a public good that are unlikely to pan out as initially

envisaged (Cuddapah and Stanford, 2015; Intrator, 2006). As a result, beginner teachers can be taken over by fear of failure. Therefore, experience can be important in teachers developing their confidence and identity, with inexperienced teachers finding it difficult to control troubled children (Carton and Fruchart, 2014). By comparison, while teachers with experience also face challenges, they can have more options within the classroom and are more able to adapt, with less fear of failure (Hargreaves, 1998; 2005). Gender has also been noted as important in developing teacher identity, with men seen as less naturally able than women to adapt and meet the needs of pupils (Demetriou *et al.*, 2009). However, Bullough Jr. (2015) questions the importance of gender to teacher identity and notes that individual and socio-cultural factors are also important. The literature, therefore, indicates that there are a range of teacher identities that develop in different ways (Malderez *et al.*, 2007). Questions, therefore, remain as to whether a standardised and stable teacher identity can exist given the number of factors that craft this identity (Pillen *et al.*, 2013; Zembylas, 2003).

A key part in the development of teacher identity for student teachers is teacher training. While Mackenzie (2012) notes that teachers, as professionals, will receive some training on the emotional nature of teaching, studies have noted that teacher training tends to mostly downplay the emotional side of teaching (Chen and Kristjánsson, 2011; O'Connor, 2008). Instead, training primarily focuses on the technical/rational side of teaching, which, while important, can leave teachers unprepared for the emotional side of teaching (Labaree, 2000). Ayers (2006) also notes that teacher training can push a negative image of teaching based on fear and the

performative culture, which can lead to a teacher identity that is unwilling to take risks and more open to the rational view of teaching. The limited nature of teacher training can mean student teachers base their identity on what they remember from school and use this as a reference point (Kenny *et al.*, 2015). As a result, teachers can set unrealistically high goals for pupils, while overlooking the caring aspect of teaching (McGarr and McCormack, 2016). However, teacher training cannot do everything in establishing teacher identity and other factors, such as individual, socio-cultural and type of school, influence how student teachers understand their role (Karlsson, 2013; Rosiek, 2003).

A notable trend within education has been the high level of teacher attrition, with education reform mooted as one possible reason (Skaalvik and Skaalvik, 2011). A study by Hargreaves (2005) notes that the stage of development a teacher is at can affect how teachers respond to reform. Therefore, less experienced teachers who are still developing their teacher identity can be more willing to support reform due to low job security, whereas more experienced teachers can be more cynical towards reform due to having seen reforms previously fail (Carton and Fruchart, 2014). Carrillo and Flores (2018) note how there can be a clash between what teachers and the government see as defining good teaching. For example, changes in the curriculum can impact upon teachers, as such change is seen to force teachers to rebuild their identity to match the new curriculum, though different teachers will respond to reform in different ways (Beijaard *et al.*, 2004; Vähäsantanen, 2015). Indeed, there are teachers that have accepted the push for rationalisation in teaching, with Clapham (2015) detailing two teachers that accept greater monitoring and inspections in schools (at least to an

extent), showing that reform is not the sole reason for teacher attrition. Equally, though, government must not overlook the importance of personal beliefs in teacher identity, as these beliefs can shape how teachers respond to reforms (Zembylas *et al*., 2011).

Another aspect of education reform that has been argued to damage teacher identity has been the significant increase in the number of classroom assistants in schools. This increase in assistants has meant that the teacher is no longer the only adult in the classroom and there was an initial desire for assistants to deliver learning to pupils, with the teacher more of a manager and organiser for the assistant (Bach *et al*., 2006). While this change in the teachers' role does not appear to have happened and there are few examples of classroom assistants leading a class unsupervised, it remains a concern of teachers and teaching unions that assistants may be used as make-shift teachers, potentially diluting the role and professional identity of the teacher (Bach *et al*., 2008; Blatchford *et al*., 2009; Kerry, 2005). However, research by Lehane (2016) indicates that it is generally the teacher that decides what role the classroom assistant has within the classroom.

Returning to the importance of gender in forming an identity, male teachers can struggle with their positioning as 'Other' within education and the fact that their touch can be stigmatised (Simpson, 2004). Therefore, it can be difficult for men to do the caring side of teaching, a key part of teacher identity, due to the aspersions that others can cast on them (Bullough Jr., 2015; Moosa and Bhana, 2017). Simpson (2005) notes that male teachers can thus de-emphasise the more feminine, emotional side of

teaching and emphasise the more masculine, rational parts of teaching, which can allow male teachers to create a more stable identity. It can take time for teachers to form a stable identity as a teacher and the literature suggests it may be harder for men to create such an identity due to their status as 'Other' within teaching (Pullen and Simpson, 2009). This is not to suggest that creating a stable identity as a teacher will be easy for women, but that the challenges are different and potentially experienced less commonly by women than men.

4.3.3   The Importance and Changing of Relationships

There are four key relationships for teachers that have been impacted by reform: pupils; colleagues; headteachers; and parents. Pupils are continually identified in the literature as the key relationship for teachers and a core motivation for becoming and staying teachers (Timoštšuk and Ugaste, 2012). The literature continually notes that a teacher must like and care for children to be a successful teacher (Hargreaves, 1998). As teachers like to see children learn and succeed, they are willing to accept the emotional baggage of this relationship and can feel a moral need to develop and improve their pupils (Cowie, 2011; Hargreaves, 2000). However, reform is attempting to greater formalise this need to develop pupils by measuring the success of the teacher based off the performance of the pupil (Ball, 2003; Labaree, 2000). This desire to measure performance has resulted in a greater emphasis on testing and a number of studies note that pupils are increasingly being viewed as a disembodied end result (Hebson *et al.*, 2007; Sanderse *et al.*, 2015). Another change that has increased the

emotional strain on teachers is inclusion and the number of children with additional support needs in mainstream public sector schools, which, as noted in chapter three, has progressively increased (Barrett *et al*., 2015; McKay, 2016). This increase in children with additional support needs adds another issue for teachers to manage and Newberry (2010) notes that dealing with these children can be highly emotionally demanding, though success can be particularly satisfying (Mackenzie, 2012). Even with these changes, teachers still see the classroom as the key part of their role and their support or resistance to reform will depend on its impact at classroom level (Schmidt and Datnow, 2005).

Colleagues are noted in the literature as a means of support for teachers, with Malderez *et al*. (2007) noting that the idea of a collegiate environment is appealing to student teachers. However, education reform has made it more difficult for such an environment to form and for colleagues to offer support to each other, in part due to the increasingly bureaucratic structures that management establish within schools, which can set teachers against each other or, at the least, not in collaboration with each other (Cowie, 2011). Teachers can also have different views regarding school reform and the importance of testing, with some supporting testing and others believing it restricts their role as teachers (Zembylas, 2004). This disagreement can extend to how the teacher should act; whether they should provide a caring role or whether a distance should be kept between pupil and teacher (Chubbuck and Zembylas, 2008; Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; Mackenzie, 2012). Equally, though, teachers will naturally have different beliefs and values and so collegiate issues cannot solely be blamed on reform (Skaalvik and Skaalvik, 2011).

One specific type of colleague that has impacted on the role of the teacher is that of the classroom assistant. The literature appears to indicate that the relationship between the two is conflicted and complex, with a concern that classroom assistants reduce the role of the teacher and their level of autonomy (Bach *et al*., 2006; Lehane, 2016). However, a number of studies have equally noted that teachers can appreciate the support that classroom assistants provide, particularly in supporting pupils with learning difficulties that may have otherwise taken up a disproportionate amount of the teacher's time compared to other pupils (Bach *et al*., 2007; Blatchford *et al*., 2007; 2009). Equally, though, a concern does remain that the relationship between the teacher and classroom assistant may start to mirror that of the nurse and healthcare assistant, in which the nurse takes on the harder, technical tasks, while the healthcare assistant takes on the more personal caring/emotional responsibilities that are left behind (Warhurst *et al*., 2009). While focusing on technical skills can be good in initially establishing the professional worth of a role, moving too far away from the emotional side of an inherently caring profession like nursing or teaching can mean that it is harder in the long term to justify its professional status (Kessler *et al*., 2015; Spilsbury and Meyer, 2004). This can be a particular issue with roles such as nursing and teaching, which have always been contested professions due to their strong association with providing care (Adams *et al*., 2000; Bolton, 2007; Lewis, 2005).

Reform in England has significantly increased the authority of headteachers, who arguably now adopt a role more akin to a CEO than an educator (Coldron *et al*., 2015; Kessler *et al*., 2007; Tseng, 2015). This change in the role of headteachers has led to criticism that headteachers are increasingly focused on results and ensuring that

parents are happy, at the expense of the well-being of teachers (Conley and Jenkins, 2011). The headteacher is now seen as the leader of the school and some teachers appreciate that this takes some of the pressure off teachers and places it on the head (Crawford, 2007; Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006). Parents also have more power within schools and more information about schools through league tables, with teachers now expected to work with parents (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Gunter, 2015; Skaalvik and Skaalvik, 2011). Blackmore (1996; 2004) notes that parent expectations have thus grown, with a shift in seeing education as a public good to an individual good. Conley and Jenkins (2011) and Jenkins and Conley (2007) also highlight the rise of parent aggression against teachers, with potentially little support received over this from the headteacher, who is more interested in placating the parents. However, parents have also been noted as experts on their children and so greater involvement from parents can allow teachers to better understand their pupils (Ayers, 2006).

Overall, this section has noted that the influence of teachers is falling, though teachers still retain a relatively high level of control and independence in the classroom (Cowie, 2011). Teachers have also had to take on more responsibilities as a result of modernisation reform, such as having to deal with child protection services and encourage greater social inclusion (Conley and Jenkins, 2011; Day and Leitch, 2001). Teachers do not necessarily oppose this wider role, as studies have noted that there is support for making learning more relevant and ensuring that children are protected (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006; Rosiek, 2003). The primary issue is that it is government that are pushing through these reforms without understanding the practical realities that teachers have to deal with (Zembylas *et al.*, 2011). Therefore, teachers

that may support reform do not understand how to implement these changes, while those that resist reform are given more reasons as to why such reform is wrong. Teachers can also resent being used for political means, which can lead to greater resistance to reform (Mahony *et al*., 2004).

Relationships may also change depending on the gender of the teacher. As a significant amount of emotion in teaching research focuses on female teachers (for example Chubbuck and Zembylas, 2008; Madrid *et al*., 2013; Newberry, 2010) there is less understanding about what emotion in teaching is like for men. However, from research that has focused on men working in primary school teaching, it appears that men are better able to form informal networks with senior colleagues and may have more opportunities for promotion (Moosa and Bhana, 2017; Simpson, 2004). Men may, therefore, be able to use colleagues to more of their benefit than women can. As regards pupils and parents, there can be a suspicion of male teachers, particularly when dealing with younger pupils, though this can fade over time (Pullen and Simpson, 2009). However, this does still place an additional barrier that men have to overcome that women do not.

4.3.4   Conclusion on Themes

This section has highlighted the three key themes within the emotion in teaching literature, each of which is linked to reform in education and highlight the current issues within education and emotion in teaching research. There has been a push in

general from reform to encourage greater rationalisation of teaching and to focus on technical over emotional skills (Hargreaves, 2000). However, there is a growing literature that is highlighting the importance of emotions in teaching, offering a counterpoint to the rationalisation movement (Hargreaves, 1998). Teacher identity is an increasingly popular theme within the literature and has shown how reform has changed the role and identity of the teacher, how experienced and beginner teachers view the role of the teacher and highlighted the importance of individual beliefs, socio-cultural factors and context (Karlsson, 2013; Vähäsantanen, 2015). The changing of relationships highlights the decreasing influence of teachers in comparison to the rising importance of pupils, parents and headteachers, though acknowledges that teachers still retain significant influence within the classroom, even if teacher influence elsewhere is decreasing (Conley and Jenkins, 2011; Cowie, 2011). Overall, this section has noted the significant impact reform has had on each theme. However, this section has also noted that teachers are not inherently negative about reform and that the literature has highlighted both a positive and negative side within these three themes. The three key themes within emotion in teaching research will underpin a significant amount of the interview questions, which will ensure that the interview questions are relevant to the issues that those teaching are currently facing.

4.4   Research Questions

A key aim of this chapter, alongside analysing the current emotion in teaching literature, was to create a link between the emotion in teaching literature and both the

emotion in organisation and modernisation literatures that were discussed in the preceding literature review chapters. As the chapter has now noted the current landscape of emotion in teaching research, as well as relating this to the emotion in organisation theories and establishing modernisation reform as the context within which emotion in teaching has taken place (though arguably less so in Scotland), it is important to outline the three key research questions that will drive the research forward.

The first research question is to what extent can a work and employment perspective on emotion help to improve our understanding of emotion in teaching? As noted, a key aim of this chapter was to better tie the emotion in teaching literature to the emotion in organisation and modernisation literatures. This has been achieved to an extent, but any such synthesis will be inherently limited by the fact that the emotion in organisation and modernisation literatures tend to be underpinned by a broad work and employment perspective, whereas emotion in teaching is typically underpinned by a narrower education studies perspective (Bolton, 2005; Hargreaves, 1998). As a result, the emotion in teaching literature has tended to focus more solely on the teacher, the classroom and the pedagogical nature of teaching. While reform in education tends to underpin the emotion in teaching literature, this reform is only engaged with to a limited extent, meaning the broader impact of modernisation on teaching and education, particularly emotionally, has not been significantly engaged with (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Uitto *et al*., 2015). In particular, there has been little research looking at the emotional role of classroom assistants, outside of Graves (2014) and Lehane (2016) acknowledging that classroom assistants do emotional labour. This narrower

approach limits emotion research on teaching and education and makes it difficult to include both within the wider emotion in organisation literature. It will be interesting to apply the three emotion in organisation theories with a work and employment perspective to the findings to assess their appropriateness in understanding the emotional role of teachers and classroom assistants.

The second research question is how is the emotional role of teachers and classroom assistants affected by working in either primary or secondary schools? One important difference between primary and secondary schools is around gender, with primary schools tending to be dominated by females, whereas secondary schools have a larger male presence than in primary schools, with Rayner and Espinoza (2016) noting that primary schools have a more feminised image than secondary schools. Primary schools also tend to focus more on general learning, whereas secondary schools focus more on specific subjects, potentially impacting upon the role of the teacher and classroom assistant (Coldron *et al.*, 2015). Primary schools are also generally far smaller in size compared to secondary schools and Hargreaves (2000) notes that this typically means that primary school teachers have a closer relationship with pupils compared to secondary teachers. Therefore, the literature notes that teachers tend to have a different relationship with pupils depending on the type of school. Interestingly, this may be the opposite with classroom assistants, who tend to work more in groups in primary schools, whereas they work more intensively with individual pupils in secondary schools (Blatchford *et al.*, 2009; Lehane, 2016). It is important that the research asks how significant working at a primary or secondary school is for teachers and classroom assistants.

The final research question asks in what way is the experience different for teachers and classroom assistants working in public compared to private sector schools? As noted in both this chapter and chapter three, there has been a consistent move across UK governments since 1979, particularly in England, to have public sector schools be run more as if they were private sector, with academies/free schools attempting to approximate a private sector school within the public sector (Coldron *et al*., 2015; Gunter, 2015; Mills, 2015). As a result, public sector schools have had to deal with significant amounts of reform and a high level of scrutiny, while private sector schools are left more to their own devices (Bach and Kessler, 2012; Ball, 2003). O'Connor (2008) notes that the experience for teachers working in the public or private sector can be different, with a clear understanding in private sector schools that teachers must deliver value for money to the customer. Class sizes within private sector schools will also typically be significantly smaller than in public sector schools, which may impact on the emotional relationship that the teacher/classroom assistant can have with pupils (SCIS, 2016). While it does appear that there is a difference between working in a public or private sector school, there has been limited research focus on private sector schools in the UK (Thrupp, 2001). Scotland is a particularly interesting case, as Priestley and Humes (2010) note that fewer than 5% of Scottish pupils attend private sector schools, while Scotland has been quite limited in its use of market-based reforms, such as resisting academisation, therefore offering quite a different example than England would (Hulme *et al*., 2013; Menter and Hulme, 2011; Menter *et al*., 2004).

Now that the three research questions have been outlined, the focus switches to how to operationalise these questions and structure the remainder of the thesis. A core intention of the research is to apply the three emotion in organisation theories from a work and employment perspective to the findings. There have been attempts to use the emotion in organisation theories within teaching. However, questions have been raised as to whether emotional labour and emotion regulation, which were developed with private sector organisations in mind, are appropriate for teaching, which is an inherently caring role that is both professionalised and typically public sector (Mackenzie, 2012; Neophytou, 2013; Torrington, 2006). Emotion management appears to be more appropriate, given that it was designed with public sector professionals and modernisation reform in mind, though has only been used to a limited extent so far (Bolton, 2000a; Jenkins and Conley, 2007).

It is also important, though, that the thesis engages with the role of teachers and classroom assistants working in Scotland more generally, which in turn allows the research to engage with the emotional aspects and demands of both roles. The findings chapters will be split into three chapters across the three main types of schools in Scotland: public sector secondary schools; public sector primary schools; and private sector schools (all-through schools in this instance). It has been decided to structure each chapter around five headings, which have been derived from the literature, interview schedule and research data: motivation to work in a school; the reality and expectations of the role; techniques for managing and regulating emotions; the impact of stress and burnout; and the emotional content and nature of the job. The first section will look at why teachers and classroom assistants entered education in the first place

and whether they consider passion to be an important attribute to successfully do their job. This section highlights what motivates staff, whether it is extrinsic or intrinsic rewards, as well as whether passion is an important attribute.

The second section switches focus from what motivated teachers and classroom assistants to enter education, which could be more idealised, to the reality of both roles and the expectations that can be attached. Indeed, chapters three and four have outlined how the reality of working in schools can be challenging and the impact reform can have, with CfE, the rise of classroom assistants and the increasing push for inclusion all pertinent examples of reform that deserve to be probed further. Next, the findings chapters will engage with the different techniques and approaches that teachers and classroom assistants can use to manage and regulate their emotions, which is particularly relevant if the current reality they are working within is challenging. The section will engage with areas such as training, in particular additional support needs training, emotional self-control, EI and the role of colleagues, while also assessing the level of autonomy teachers and classroom assistants feel they have.

While the previous section will have outlined how teachers and classroom assistants can cope with the demands they face, chapter four has outlined the dangers of burnout and that teachers can be particularly at risk of burnout (Tsouloupas *et al.*, 2010; van Droogenbroeck and Spruyt, 2015). Therefore, this section will look at the current workload of teachers and classroom assistants and any issues around work-life balance, while also analysing the impact of burnout and the emotional demands of both

roles. While the other sections are engaging with the emotional nature and demands of both roles, the final section will explicitly engage with the emotional aspects of being a teacher and classroom assistant. Therefore, the section will analyse how staff define the emotional aspect of their role, whether they use acting and feel coerced to do so and the role of both pupils and parents.

It is, though, important that the findings chapters engage with the emotion in organisation theories. Therefore, emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management will be engaged with in the specific parts of each section that it is felt they most naturally lend themselves to, though undoubtedly there will be some sections where more than one theory could be realistically applied. Emotional labour will be used when referring to acting, gender and how both emotional roles are defined, alongside other areas. Emotion regulation will be particularly relevant around emotional self-control, EI and burnout. Finally, emotion management will be used when discussing autonomy, colleagues and the importance of pupils, alongside other areas. Therefore, the three emotion in organisation theories are being used in a more limited sense, yet it is felt that this approach matches up well with the exploratory approach of this research and allows each theory to be used, without overextending the thesis. Chapter nine will then analyse and discuss the three findings chapters, with this chapter primarily structured around emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management. Structuring chapter nine in this manner allows the theoretical contribution that was outlined in section 1.4 to be achieved by applying the three emotion in organisation theories from a broader work and employment perspective to

the data, which in turn helps answer the first research question outlined at the start of this section.

4.5   Conclusion

This chapter has described emotion in teaching, analysed the research done within this literature and attempted to link this chapter to the emotion in organisation and modernisation chapters that preceded it. The use of emotion in organisation theories within teaching has been assessed, though questions have been asked as to how appropriate emotional labour and emotion regulation are for studying emotion in teaching. Both were founded with a focus on commercial organisations and so appear less appropriate for studying teaching (Burman, 2009). Emotion management, on the other hand, appears to be more suitable, but has only been used to a limited extent so far. Key to most emotion in teaching research has been the three themes of the rational/emotional debate, teacher identity and changing relationships, underpinned by reform in education. Research on emotion in teaching must understand these themes and be able to implement them within the research design, as they represent the key issues within education at the moment.

In conclusion, this chapter has noted that questions remain within emotion in teaching that this research hopes to answer. There is a desire to apply a broader work and employment perspective to emotion in teaching, as emotion in teaching research is currently dominated by a narrower, teacher-focused education studies perspective. As

a result of this narrower view, the emotion in organisation theories have typically been applied more narrowly, only engaging with context to a limited extent. By applying a work and employment perspective, the research will be able to more broadly engage with context, in particular the impact of modernisation reform, which emotion in teaching research has largely overlooked. Potential also remains to better engage with classroom assistants. It is the belief of the research that using the emotion in organisation theories within teaching from their broader work and employment roots (though still adapted for teaching) will allow for the proposed research to better understand the role of teachers and classroom assistants, with particular focus on the emotional nature and demands of these roles. Overall, this chapter has identified a number of key themes within emotion in teaching and described the different approaches to studying emotion in teaching, while also outlining the research questions and structure of the findings chapters.

5.0   Research Methodology

5.1   Introduction

Research is defined by Saunders *et al*. (2012, 5) 'as something that people undertake in order to find out things in a systematic way, thereby increasing their knowledge'. It is important that anyone undertaking research is able to understand the different beliefs, approaches and strategies available to them, as well as being able to justify their approach (Crotty, 1998; Danermark *et al*., 2002). However, as is evident from, for example, Bryman and Bell (2011), there are a significant number of different beliefs, approaches and strategies available to researchers (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). Although this chapter will go through each part of the research process in a systematic way from ontology and epistemology through to methodology, method and data analysis, it should be noted, as Crotty (1998) indicates, that the research process is not generally as straightforward as this. Indeed, the research for this thesis started more with the methodological choice and strategy and research method, with the other parts flowing from there.

The chapter will initially consider issues around philosophy, in particular ontology and epistemology, which focus on how the researcher sees the world they are studying and what they consider to be acceptable knowledge (Bryman and Bell, 2011). The chapter will then move on to the methodological choice and strategy adopted, which in this case was case study research, and the research method used to collect the data, which was semi-structured interviews. To conclude, the chapter will outline how the

interview data was coded and analysed. The structure of this chapter is loosely based on the approach taken by Saunders *et al*. (2012), without necessarily following their approach fully. Part of the reason behind this approach is that multiple terms are used to describe very similar aspects of the research process, such as how Crotty (1998) uses epistemology in a way similar to how this chapter and others would use ontology. It was decided that this structure allowed for each part of the process to be discussed, while still fully engaging with the research process as a whole.

5.2   Ontology

The first aspect of the research process to engage with is ontology, which Danermark *et al*. (2002, 206) define as focusing on 'notions about the nature of the world. Indicates the necessary features of that which exists'. In essence, ontology is how people see and understand the world and objects within it. The two main ontological views, as noted by Saunders *et al*. (2012), are objectivism and subjectivism. Bryman and Bell (2011) use constructionism instead of subjectivism and, while different, both share similarities when taken to their more extreme understandings. Objectivism believes that an objective, real reality exists independently of people. Therefore, objects already have a meaning attached to them and so people, for example through scientific research, are able to discover and understand these meanings (Crotty, 1998). In contrast, Crotty (1998) notes that subjectivism does not believe that meaning already exists within objects, instead people attach meaning to objects. Reality is, therefore, socially constructed and the meanings that are attached are constantly under

review and can change, with no objective reality that can be measured (Johnson and Duberley, 2000; Saunders *et al.*, 2012).

While it can be used in different ways, an objectivist ontology has perhaps been the dominant ontology within research, particularly within natural science, potentially allowing objectivist research to be more easily understood and accepted by people (Crotty, 1998). However, objectivism has been criticised for offering a simplistic view of reality, which overlooks the agency of people, as well as the role of the researcher within the research process and whether the researcher can ever fully give up their subjectivities and beliefs (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Johnson and Duberley, 2000; Saunders *et al.*, 2012). In contrast, it has been argued that subjectivism offers a more realistic view of the world, showing the importance of every day actions and the impact they can have, accepting that it is unrealistic for a researcher to completely close out their subjectivities (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Saunders *et al.*, 2012). However, subjectivism has been criticised for the lack of generalisability inherent within it, which can lead to questions around what the point of research is (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). Furthermore, it can be difficult to criticise or disprove a theory, as any view will ultimately just represent that person's view of reality, which is no more valid than any other person's (Easton, 2010).

Ontology is undoubtedly not as simplistic as has been discussed in this section, with Morgan and Smircich (1980) noting that objectivism to subjectivism is better understood as being on a continuum, moving from a more closed to a more open world, respectively. However, due to space limitations, the either/or approach noted within

this section is useful in highlighting the most significant differences in how research can see reality. A more objectivist ontology has been adopted for this research, with a belief that there is a real world and that objects will have meaning irrespective of human actions, to some extent. While, as Crotty (1998) notes, adopting this more objectivist ontology will restrict the choice of epistemology available to the research (a postmodernist view, for example, is not compatible with objectivism), the use of a more objectivist view does not mean that the research believes that people do not have agency or that human actions do not have an impact upon reality, as will be noted in the next section. Indeed, key emotion in organisation work, such as Bolton (2005), stresses the importance of human agency and so it would be incorrect for this research to dismiss the importance of people.

5.3   Epistemology

Now that an ontology has been chosen, it is important to consider the epistemology of the research, which Saunders *et al*. (2012, 670) define as focusing on 'the nature of knowledge and what constitutes acceptable knowledge in a field of study'. In essence, epistemology asks what the researcher considers acceptable knowledge to be and how to best collect it (Bryman and Bell, 2011). There are a number of different epistemologies within social science, but this section will focus on three distinct approaches: positivism; interpretivism; and critical realism. However, two points should be noted before discussing each approach. Firstly, just because an objectivist ontology has been selected, this does not mean an objectivist epistemology has to be

used (Danermark *et al*., 2002; Johnson and Duberley, 2000). Secondly, while certain quantitative and qualitative approaches may be more associated with objectivism or subjectivism, this does not mean that, for example, quantitative has to be used with objectivism (Crotty, 1998; Morgan and Smircich, 1980). It ultimately comes down to which approach is most appropriate for the specific research, though ontology and epistemology will inform this decision.

Positivism believes that there is an objective reality, with the approaches of natural science used to measure and understand this reality (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Alongside creating research that is valid and reliable, a key driver of positivism is the belief that research should be generalizable, with universal laws and theories created that can help to explain objects and reality (Abraham, 1996; Morgan and Smircich, 1980; Persson, 2010). As positivism believes in an objective reality that is waiting to be discovered, positivism tries to reduce the impact of bias on research and believes that a value-neutral language should be used to help explain findings (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). Empiricism, as well as verification, have tended to be key tenets of positivism (Crotty, 1998). Alternatively, interpretivism, developed, at least partially, as a critique of positivism, places the focus on people and how they interpret reality (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Due to its belief in a socially constructed reality and the agency of people, interpretivism focuses less on generalisability and more on trying to just better understand society and the meanings people give to objects (Mingers, 2006; Saunders *et al*., 2012; Williams, 2000). As a result, interpretivism does not believe that a value-neutral language can exist and believes that biases and subjectivities will

always be present within research, with no single truth existing (Johnson and Duberley, 2000; Morgan and Smircich, 1980).

It can be argued that positivism is a useful epistemology, as it provides clear instructions as to how research should be conducted, allowing others to see how research was undertaken and potentially replicate it (Saunders *et al*., 2012). While questions may be asked about its success, positivism also strongly attempts to control for biases, improve validity and reliability and, as a minimum, pushes the importance of rigour in research (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Kallio *et al*., 2016). Positivism also has a long history, which arguably shows that it does work, while also still being a popular approach, with Johnson and Duberley (2000) noting that positivist research can have a better chance of getting published compared to alternative approaches. However, positivism has been criticised for only scratching the surface and focusing too much on what is observable, rather than what is underneath or beyond that (Danermark *et al*., 2002; Easton, 2010). Positivism can also be criticised for overlooking the unpredictability of people, as well as the fact that it may be naïve to believe that a researcher can ever completely eliminate their biases (Abraham, 1996). Positivist research can also become overly focused on proving hypotheses and formulas that may mean little to other people, as well as make overly bold claims about relationships that may not be evident from the findings (Crotty, 1998).

In contrast to positivism, interpretivism is argued to be useful in highlighting the fact that research can be unpredictable and that people do have agency, while also having good epistemic reflexivity in that the researcher is aware of biases and constantly

assessing their impact upon the research (Collier *et al*., 2015; Johnson and Duberley, 2000). By accepting that the researcher can never fully give up their biases, interpretivism can arguably offer a more realistic picture of society, as well as see aspects that are otherwise invisible, such as assumptions hidden within writings (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Crotty, 1998; Saunders *et al*., 2012). Williams (2000) also notes that, while interpretivism will never aim to make generalisations in the way that positivism does, limited generalisations are still possible and can allow people to better understand the world they live in. However, interpretivism can potentially become too subjective and questions can be asked about the purpose of such research, as such research can focus too inwardly and make little attempt to add to knowledge (Mingers, 2006). Interpretivist research can also be difficult to undertake and criticise, as such research is just that person's view of reality, even if it appears extreme to others (Easton, 2010). Interpretivism can also potentially privilege its own research and give more weight to its findings, while criticising other approaches for doing likewise (Johnson and Duberley, 2000).

Critical realism, while not a middle ground between positivism and interpretivism, does attempt to bridge the gap between the two and offers a distinctive alternative (Mingers, 2006). Critical realism believes that there is a real, objective world, but that this world is difficult to understand, humans are unpredictable and knowledge will never be complete (Easton, 2010; Saunders *et al*., 2012). As a result, it is not possible to have a theory-neutral language, as the researcher will have biases and values that will influence the research (Fleetwood, 2005). In comparison to positivism, which can focus on the observable, critical realism sees reality as being stratified, with three

levels of reality: empirical, the observable; actual, the events occurring; and real, the structures/mechanisms that cause these events (Danermark *et al.*, 2002; Losch, 2009). The focus of critical realism is on the real level and trying to understand these structures/mechanisms, with the hope that generalisations will emerge (Mearman, 2006). While positivist research tends towards deduction, where a hypothesis is formulated and tested, and interpretivist research towards induction, where the theory emerges from the findings, Danermark *et al.* (2002) note that critical realism, while using both, also uses abduction and retroduction. Abduction is the ability to look beyond what is known and to infer, while retroduction is looking beyond and understanding why an event happened (Ryan *et al.*, 2012). Therefore, while mechanisms and structures can never be fully observed, theories can allow people to better understand how they work and why something happened (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Critical realism moves beyond the either/or nature of positivism and interpretivism, believing in an objectivist ontology, but a subjectivist epistemology (Johnson and Duberley, 2000).

As noted, critical realism has been developed, in part, as a criticism of the either/or nature that can exist with positivism and interpretivism, believing that there is a real world that exists beyond social constructions, but that human knowledge of this world will always be imperfect (Danermark *et al.*, 2002; Easton, 2010). While people do have agency and are not as predictable as positivism can indicate, Johnson and Duberley (2000, 153) note that critical realism believes that there are structures that can either 'constrain or facilitate human action'. Therefore, the world is dynamic, people will not act the same way on every occasion and human knowledge is limited,

indicating a subjectivist epistemology, but a real world still exists and there are mechanisms and structures that do impact upon people and what they do, indicating an objectivist ontology (Mearman, 2006; Ryan *et al.*, 2012). Critical realism, therefore, is founded on an objectivist ontology, yet has a subjectivist epistemology.

Critical realism is useful in highlighting that there is a reality outside of people's interpretations and a greater purpose to research, while accepting this reality is not easy to measure or observe, attempting to overcome weaknesses within interpretivism and positivism (Losch, 2009). As a result, critical realists can be flexible in how research is conducted, with the focus being on what methods are most appropriate for that research (Johnson and Duberley, 2000; Mingers, 2006). Critical realism, therefore, purports to offer a more realistic picture of the world compared to positivism and interpretivism (Mearman, 2006). In comparison to interpretivism, critical realism retains a critical edge and is willing to challenge other research, while also building upon the work of others (Easton, 2010). Such an approach can allow critical realists to uncover issues or assumptions that might otherwise not be obvious just through observations or one piece of research (Fleetwood, 2005). Ultimately, critical realism looks to enact change by improving knowledge about structures/mechanisms that can impact people, empowering people to challenge these (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Saunders *et al.*, 2012).

However, critical realism can be a complex epistemology to understand, with the lack of a theory-neutral language making it difficult to describe or prove that structures/mechanisms exist (Easton, 2010; Johnson and Duberley, 2000; Ryan *et al.*,

2012). Indeed, as the researcher is expected to have certain values and biases, it can be challenging for the researcher to prove that these structures/mechanisms exist, rather than theory being used just to reinforce their beliefs. On this front, it can also be difficult to prove abduction and retroduction, as both require an element of abstraction, making it challenging to show how an observable event is caused by these less easily observed structures/mechanisms (Danermark *et al*., 2002; Mingers, 2006). It is also the case that acceptable knowledge can change due to the epistemological subjectivity of critical realism and that social science research will always have this element of unpredictability (Mearman, 2006). Critical realist research can, therefore, be difficult research to undertake and prove.

After considering the different epistemologies available, it was decided that the research would follow a critical realist approach. While it seems reasonable of positivism to postulate some type of objective reality, positivism goes too far in seeing social research as predictable. Alternatively, interpretivism goes too far in the opposite direction in believing that no objective reality exists beyond our interpretations of reality. Critical realism allows for something of a compromise in seeing an objective reality, but understanding that people are unpredictable and that knowledge will never be perfect. Research within emotion in organisation, in particular Bolton (2005), shares this critical realist epistemology, looking beyond the observable to the structures and mechanisms that exist beyond. The preceding chapters have also noted how important the context and structures underpinning education are to the research. However, it is perhaps fair to say that no epistemology entirely matches up with the beliefs of the research, with critical realism just coming the closest.

5.4   Methodological Choice and Strategy

Now that the philosophical aspect of the research has been discussed it is important to consider the methodological choice and strategy of the research, which will determine how the research questions are answered (Saunders *et al*., 2012). The methodological choice and strategy is an important stage in the research process and Bryman and Bell (2011, 40) note that this stage 'provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data', reflecting 'decisions about the priority being given to a range of dimensions of the research process'.   While there are a significant number of different methodological choices and strategies that can be used, this section will focus on two approaches: survey; and case study. This section will also examine and discuss how the selected approach was used in practice.

The first approach considered was survey research, which tends to be associated with positivism and a deductive approach, favouring quantitative data (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). Surveys will ask a number of standardised questions, typically conducted through a questionnaire or structured interview, where the interviewer would not diverge from the questions, to a defined sample population or group, with the intention being to infer relationships from the results that can then be generalised across the population being studied (Saunders *et al*., 2012; Singleton Jr. and Straits, 2012). Indeed, generalisability, as well as validity and reliability, are considered key parts of survey research. Such an approach can also be potentially cheaper than other approaches that require more in-depth access to participants. Programmes such as SPSS will typically be used to analyse results and can be a necessity due to the high

number of responses surveys can generate (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Survey research can also be attractive due to the high amount of survey data that is already available (Dale, 2006). This can allow researchers to use publicly available datasets, rather than having to collect their own primary data, making survey research potentially cost effective.

While survey research has its strengths, it also has its weaknesses. A particular challenge can be around reducing the potential for bias, particularly in relation to response rate, as it can be difficult to get a high response rate for surveys (Baruch and Holtom, 2008; Cascio, 2012; Dale, 2006). It can also be difficult for surveys to claim generalisability if either the response rate is low or if the responses have all came from a potentially non-representative segment of the population being studied. Sampling, therefore, becomes a key part of survey design and can be very complex, depending on the population being studied (Bryman and Bell, 2011). It can also take a lot of skill to design a good survey, though irrespective of how well designed a survey is it will always be challenging to infer underlying causes or why something has happened, as survey research can lack the depth of competing approaches (Farquhar, 2012; Saunders *et al*., 2012). As previously noted, critical realism focuses on these underlying causes and so it is questionable how well survey research can work with critical realism (Danermark *et al*., 2002; Johnson and Duberley; 2000). Therefore, there must be caution as regards how much is claimed from survey research, with researchers potentially claiming correlations that are either not there or are to a more limited level than is being claimed (McCarthy, 1994; Verschuren, 2003).

An important consideration when deciding upon the methodological choice and strategy to use is whether the research will be quantitative or qualitative. While possible to use most methodological choices and strategies with either quantitative or qualitative, different approaches will tend to favour one over the other, such as surveys typically being quantitative (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Saunders *et al*. (2012) define quantitative research as focusing on numbers, while qualitative research focuses more on words. This is a limited way of viewing quantitative and qualitative, but does help to highlight a key difference between these approaches, with measurement important to quantitative and interpretation important to qualitative (Farquhar, 2012). After considering both, it was decided that qualitative research best suits the proposed research. This is a view supported by Fineman (2000a; 2006), who notes that quantitative research may not always be appropriate when studying emotions and feelings, with qualitative approaches important in being able to get the level of understanding that this research requires. While using both quantitative and qualitative was considered, it was felt that using both may overstretch the research and would also have proved challenging around the time required and the level of access needed (Brewer and Hunter, 2006; McCarthy, 1994).

Given the research is focusing on qualitative data, it is important that the research methodology and strategy can work with qualitative data. Therefore, it was decided to utilise case study research, as, while case studies can be used to collect quantitative data, case study research tends to be associated with qualitative research, with qualitative case studies also typically favouring inductive research, which again matches this research (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Case study research focuses either on

one specific case, such as a person, organisation or location, or on a number of cases, typically being used when answering how and why questions and when situated within a real life context (Yin, 2009). Though it can be used with different types of research, case study research is an appropriate strategy when the research is exploratory and aiming to build up a good level of knowledge about a specific context (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). Due to the lack of research on emotion in teaching from a work and employment perspective, it makes sense for this research to be more exploratory. Case study research also arguably matches up well with critical realism and the level of depth such research requires (McGovern and Alburez-Gutierrez, 2017; Ryan *et al.*, 2012).

Bryman and Bell (2011, 60) note that the distinguishing feature of case studies are 'that the researcher is usually concerned to elucidate the unique features of the case'. While there was initial thought to adopt a multi-case study approach, with different types of schools representing different case studies, the decision was made to have the school-based education system in Scotland as the case study. Chapter three has noted the differences that exist between Scotland and England and this contrast has shown that the school-based education system in Scotland is unique and so there is scope to better understand the school-based education system in Scotland and the uniqueness of it (Menter *et al.*, 2004; Saunders *et al.*, 2012; Stake, 2000). Using the school-based education system in Scotland as the case study adopts a loose definition of what constitutes a case study, though what actually constitutes a case study can be difficult to define anyway and is a point that is discussed later in the chapter (Verschuren, 2003).

However, it is important to break this case study down further to make it more possible to research, as otherwise writing up the findings could prove challenging. As noted in chapter four, public sector schools run by local authorities and private sector schools (also called independent schools) are the main types of schools in Scotland. Public sector schools can be further split into primary and secondary schools (as well as special needs schools), while private sector schools can focus on just primary or secondary education or can be all-through schools, which offer both primary and secondary education. Each findings chapter will focus on one of public sector secondary schools, public sector primary schools and private sector schools (all-through schools in this instance). As Table 1 highlights, 15 schools participated, with public sector secondary schools numbered one to five, public sector primary schools numbered six to twelve and private sector schools numbered thirteen to fifteen. The level of deprivation indicator included in Table 1 was arrived at through the following sources: Dumfries and Galloway Council (2019); East Lothian Council (2019); Glasgow City Council (2019); Stirling Council (2019); Scottish Government (2019c); SIMD (2016); and The City of Edinburgh Council (2019).

Table 1: List of schools that participated

School	Type of School	Participants	Level of Deprivation
School One	Public Sector Secondary School	16	Mixed
School Two	Public Sector Secondary School	1	Less Deprived
School Three	Public Sector Secondary School	1	More Deprived
School Four	Public Sector Secondary School	1	More Deprived
School Five	Public Sector Secondary School	1	Less Deprived
School Six	Public Sector Primary School	2	Less Deprived
School Seven	Public Sector Primary School	1	More Deprived
School Eight	Public Sector Primary School	4	Less Deprived
School Nine	Public Sector Primary School	2	Less Deprived
School Ten	Public Sector Primary School	6	Less Deprived
School Eleven	Public Sector Primary School	3	Mixed
School Twelve	Public Sector Primary School	3	Not Applicable
School Thirteen	Private Sector All-Through School	3	Not Applicable
School Fourteen	Private Sector All-Through School	7	Not Applicable
School Fifteen	Private Sector All-Through School	5	Not Applicable

The majority of the interviews for the public sector secondary schools were conducted in one school in Edinburgh (n=16). Four additional interviews were conducted with classroom assistants who were also active within their union, across four schools, with two working in Glasgow, one working within Stirling Council and the other working in Dumfries and Galloway. The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD), which shows the level of deprivation by areas in Scotland, and Scottish Government (2019c) figures indicate that schools three and four in Glasgow are more deprived comparatively, school two within Stirling Council and school five in Dumfries and

Galloway are less deprived comparatively, while school one in Edinburgh is more mixed (SIMD, 2016). Such indexes and figures will always be limited, especially as pupils may not attend the school within their catchment area, but highlight that a cross section of schools were included. Schools three and four in Glasgow are denominational, whereas the other three schools are non-denominational. Access to public sector secondary school one was the simplest, as there was a personal contact who had access to the headteacher and helped convince a number of other staff to participate. Other public sector secondary participants from different schools were classroom assistants and access to them was through a trade union that represents classroom assistants. The choice to participate, though, was always left to the individual and consent forms were signed before interviews commenced, with anonymity promised (Baez, 2002; Saunders *et al*., 2015).

Gaining access to public sector primary schools was more challenging. Three interviews across two schools in Edinburgh were once again gained through the personal contact noted previously. The majority of interviews were gained through emailing schools to outline the research and ask if they could help. Emails were sent to the majority of public sector primary schools in Edinburgh and East Lothian, as well as a number in Glasgow, and responses were received from two schools in Edinburgh (contributing six participants), one school in East Lothian (contributing six participants) and two schools in Glasgow (contributing six participants), with three of the six participants in Glasgow working in a special needs primary school. Headteachers acted as gatekeepers within five schools, allowing access to the school and passing the research request on to staff, with two headteachers and a support for

learning teacher from Edinburgh also interviewed (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Saunders *et al.*, 2012). Due to the inability to get access to enough staff within one public sector primary school to match the numbers done within the public sector secondary schools, a decision was made to spread the research across a number of public sector primary schools. While not ideal, it was the best option available and allowed access to a good number of teachers and classroom assistants, though the unique nature of special needs schools means that the participants from there must be seen in a somewhat different light.

The SIMD (2016) ratings and Scottish Government (2019c) figures for each primary school are somewhat similar in that most tend to have lower levels of deprivation. The two exceptions are school seven in Edinburgh, which has a higher level of deprivation comparatively, and school eleven in Glasgow, which, while having areas of low deprivation, also has areas of quite high deprivation within their catchment. As school twelve is a special needs school it would be inappropriate to use the SIMD ratings for them, as the school does not have a catchment in the traditional sense and pupils would be referred to that school based on their needs. While primary school catchments will be smaller than secondary school catchments, it should still be noted that not all pupils will go to the school within their catchment area, as well as the fact that just because a family lives in a deprived area does not mean that the family would be similarly deprived and vice-versa (McIvor, 2018b). Therefore, while only so much can be taken from the SIMD ratings, they do show that a cross section of schools were included, though most had a generally similar mix of pupils from less deprived backgrounds.

While there were no personal contacts at private sector schools, access was less challenging than with public sector primary schools, as a good number of the schools contacted did reply and at least showed an initial interest, even if that did not lead to access. Initial contact was made with a body representing private sector schools to gain any insights about how best to contact the schools. Research was conducted within three private sector schools, with three people participating in school thirteen, seven people participating in school fourteen and five people participating in school fifteen. Unfortunately, the private sector schools that participated did not use classroom assistants across the school in the way the public sector schools that participated did, typically only having classroom assistants at the junior (primary) level and occasionally just in the first few years of school. Therefore, only one participant within the private schools could be identified as being similar to the classroom assistant role within public sector schools. Most of the teaching staff interviewed were also within the senior (secondary) level and so the findings are skewed towards teaching staff teaching older pupils.

The private schools that participated were all-through schools, which means that they cover both primary and secondary education within the school as a whole, and were all within the same city. It would be inappropriate to use SIMD with private sector schools given they do not have a traditional catchment area like public sector schools. However, each of the schools did have barriers to entry to some extent, for example requiring pupils to complete an entrance exam before being accepted. While the other two schools indicated that they were not overly selective in their approach to pupils, school fifteen indicated that they had the lowest barriers to entry, although barriers to

entry was not a significant focus of the research or discussed in detail during the interviews. However, all of the schools are going to have some barriers to entry due to the fact that they charge parents fees for their child to attend, although each school does offer bursaries and other such approaches to ensure that children from less well-off backgrounds can still attend the school.

It is unfortunate that it was not possible to have one school per type of school, as comparisons and data analysis become more challenging as a result (Bryman and Bell, 2011). However, this was not possible due to difficulty getting access, as well as the fact that public sector primary schools can have small staff numbers and so it was always going to be challenging to get the same number of participants as with a public sector secondary school, so there was a need to be pragmatic. Also, the focus of the research is less on specific schools and more on Scottish school-based education as a whole, which meant it was not essential that only one school was used for each type of school. It was, though, important during the data analysis to be aware of the different contexts within which the participants are speaking from, in particular how working within a special needs public sector primary school could be significantly different from a mainstream public sector primary school. As noted previously, the research is adopting a loose definition of case study research. However, case study research has been loosely defined by others, with Bryman and Bell (2011) noting that a case study can be: an organisation; a location; a person; or a single event. Saunders *et al*. (2012, 666) defines a case study as a 'research strategy that involves the empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, using multiple sources of evidence'. Both of these loose definitions of case study

research support the approach taken by this research to use the school-based education system in Scotland as the case study.

While not ideal and a compromise, it is still felt that the number of interviewees across each type of school was good and achieved a relatively good balance across public sector primary and secondary schools and private sector schools. Use of the case study approach is beneficial in allowing for the collection of in-depth and rich data, which can be particularly relevant when studying emotion (Fineman, 2000a; McGovern and Alburez-Gutierrez, 2017; Yin, 2009). Case study research can allow for new knowledge to emerge that could be hard to see through other approaches, with more of a focus on understanding people and their context (Saunders *et al*., 2012). This knowledge can then allow for theory to be developed, which can be applied to a wider context, for example through a survey (Kitay and Callus, 1998; McCarthy, 1994). Studying such a broad case study can also allow for limited generalisations to be drawn, allowing for a greater understanding as to how what was studied could be seen in other cases (Bryman and Bell, 2011).

However, a criticism of case studies is that they cannot attain the generalisability of, for example, surveys, with the more focused and in-depth nature of case studies making it difficult to prove that findings can be applied outside of that specific case (Farquhar, 2012; Verschuren, 2003). While engaging across multiple case studies can overcome this lack of generalisability somewhat, such an approach can be very time consuming in collecting and analysing the data, particularly as there will not be easy like-for-like comparisons (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Gummesson, 2000; Saunders *et al*.,

2012). It can also be argued that focusing on multiple cases or on comparing cases can potentially dilute the unique context of each case (Baez, 2002; Stake, 2000). Case study research also requires a lot of commitment from the organisations and participants taking part, with a number of schools noting this as a reason why they could not help with the research (Kitay and Callus, 1998). Therefore, there was little real control over the schools selected and it was largely down to who was willing to help.

It is important that appropriate consideration is given to the methodological choice and strategy used, as this choice will determine the type and amount of data that is collected. The survey approach was considered, as it can allow for a high number of participants to take part in the research and potentially allow for generalisations to be made (Saunders *et al*., 2012). However, as the research is focusing on qualitative data, this made survey research less suitable, with a belief that emotions and feelings are better understood through in-depth qualitative research (Fineman, 2000a; 2006). Therefore, it was felt that a case study approach was the most suitable, as it allowed for a good range of schools to be included within the research, but without overstretching. Such an approach also matches the more exploratory and inductive approach being taken by the research, allowing for a good level of depth (Bryman and Bell, 2011). While it would have been preferable to have limited the research to a smaller number of schools, the research has still engaged with a good range of staff across the three types of schools.

5.5   Research Method

As the decision was made to focus on qualitative data and a case study, consideration must now turn to the most appropriate research method (or methods) to collect this data. Bryman and Bell (2011, 41) define research methods as 'a technique for collecting data', which is different from the research methodology choice and strategy, as that more establishes the boundaries within which data will be collected through research methods. There are a wide number of research methods available, each allowing for different data to be collected in different ways (Saunders *et al*., 2012). It is, therefore, necessary to consider the different methods available and to select one (or more) that allows the research to collect rich, in-depth data through an exploratory approach (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Admittedly, critical realism is quite flexible as regards research methods and most can be used within critical realist research (Easton, 2010). Three possible research methods will be analysed: observation; questionnaires; and semi-structured interviews. This section will also outline who participated in the research across the case study.

Observation, as defined by Saunders *et al*. (2012), is where the researcher will observe the actions and activities of those being studied, for example at their place of work. The type of observation used can vary from the researcher simply observing and not taking part in the activities being observed to the researcher taking an active role in the activities alongside those being observed. Therefore, different types of observation will allow for different types of data to be collected, in particular whether those being observed know the identity of the researcher or not, though covert research has

significant ethical issues (Quinlan, 2011). Observation can be useful if the researcher works at the organisation being studied and can also have good ecological validity, as the researcher will be observing participants in their place of work as they undertake their activities (Saunders *et al*., 2012). However, it was decided that observation would be unrealistic, as, given the observations would be taking place within a school and classroom, gaining ethical approval and access would have been too challenging (Iphofen, 2011). Observation can also be a demanding process as regards taking notes and knowing where to focus observations, though technology does make it feasible to observe more than was previously possible (Angrosino and Mays de Pérez, 2000; Anleu *et al*., 2016; Wasserman *et al*., 2009). Those being observed may also be conscious of this and change their actions (Bryman and Bell, 2011).

Questionnaires are defined by Saunders *et al*. (2012, 679) as a research method 'in which each person is asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order'. A questionnaire was considered, as it can be less resource intensive in comparison to other methods, while also being less onerous for respondents to complete, as they can complete it in their own time, and the data can be easier to analyse compared to other methods (Saunders *et al*., 2012). The standardisation of questions can also allow for high validity and reliability, as each respondent will answer the same questions (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Quinlan, 2011). However, it was decided that a questionnaire would not be appropriate, as the qualitative nature of the research would mean that any questionnaire would be overly onerous on participants to complete. Bryman and Bell (2011) also note the lack of flexibility in questionnaires, with no opportunity to probe, clarify or add new questions. Response rates can also

be low with questionnaires, typically falling the longer and/or more complex the questionnaire gets, and the researcher can never be sure who completed the questionnaire if they were not there at the time, which can reduce validity (Dale, 2006; Remenyi, 2012).

The final research method considered is semi-structured structured interviews, which Saunders *et al*. (2012) compare to a structured conversation between two or more people. Interviews are a popular method within qualitative research and the semi-structured approach is the most popular type of interview (Kallio *et al*., 2016). While not always being clear in how structured or otherwise the interviews were, it also appears that a number of key readings within emotion in organisation and emotion in teaching have used semi-structured interviews, as well as other methods, in particular Bolton (2005), Hebson *et al*. (2007), Hochschild (2012) and Jenkins and Conley (2007), indicating its appropriateness. Semi-structured interviews aim to discuss certain key themes with an interviewee, while retaining a level of flexibility and openness (Bryman and Bell, 2011). As a result, semi-structured interviews typically allow for a greater richness and depth to the data than questionnaires, with more flexibility to probe points or explore new ideas. Additionally, semi-structured interviews can be less intrusive than observation and potentially engage with a broader range of participants, as observation will tend to focus on a small number. It was decided to use semi-structured interviews for the research and to keep the interviews one to one to keep the focus on each interviewee. Table 2 outlines who was interviewed.

Table 2: List of who was interviewed across each case study

Type of Schools	Number of Schools	Classroom Teachers	Teachers with Management or Additional Tasks	Classroom Assistants	Senior Management (such as headteachers, deputy headteachers)	Males	Females
Public Sector Secondary	5	6	1	11	2	7	13
Public Sector Primary	7	7	3	8	3	3	18
Private Sector All-Through	3	4	7	1	3	4	11
Total	15	17	11	20	8	14	42

As noted, anonymity/confidentiality was offered and achieved through anonymising names and other relevant information, though anonymization will never be completely perfect (Saunders *et al.*, 2015; Tilley and Woodthorpe, 2011). As noted in Table 2, 20 interviews were conducted with staff working across five different public sector secondary schools, though 16 were within one school, a secondary school in a culturally diverse area of Edinburgh, while the other four schools were with one classroom assistant each, interviewed outside of their schools. One teacher in school one was a curriculum leader, which is similar to a head of department, though she still spends the majority of her time teaching and so is considered as a teacher with management responsibilities. Similarly, the classroom assistant in school four had

additional responsibilities akin to a senior role amongst the classroom assistants in her school, though she was still primarily a classroom assistant and so will be treated as such outside of when it is appropriate to note her other responsibilities. A headteacher and the teacher in charge of support for learning were also interviewed and are included as senior management.

More classroom assistants were interviewed than teachers within the public sector secondary schools. Four of the seven males interviewed were teachers, two were classroom assistants and one was a headteacher. Data from the Scottish Government (2018) and the EOC (2007) indicate that teachers and classroom assistants are predominantly female and this has been largely reflected in those interviewed. Experience of staff also varied from a few months for a number of the classroom assistants to 35 years for the headteacher. The rationale for speaking to the headteacher and the head support for learning teacher was to bring in a different, though still related perspective. There was a significant time gap between the initial 16 interviews and the additional four classroom assistant interviews of around a year. Therefore, the context within which both sets of interviews took place had changed, particularly as Education Secretary John Swinney had only just been appointed during the initial interviews and had not introduced any significant reforms at that time (BBC News, 2016). This added another point to consider during the data analysis.

As regards the public sector primary schools, 21 interviews were conducted across seven schools. The three teachers with additional responsibilities that were interviewed were a principal teacher, which is the role between a teacher and deputy

headteacher, though she indicated that she still largely works a full teaching timetable, and two nursery teachers. Nursery teachers are also registered as primary teachers and the nurseries included were a part of the primary school, with the potential that the nursery teacher could be moved into the primary school if required, so it was felt that they could be considered as primary teachers. Two headteachers and a support for learning teacher, who only dealt with small groups and did not work within the classroom, are included as management interviews. Three of the classroom assistants interviewed worked within a special needs school and so it will be important to highlight when using data from these classroom assistants, as, while still a primary school, the context will be different compared to other classroom assistants. SCER (2007) highlight this difference in role, noting that the classroom assistant role can differ in potentially significant ways between special needs schools and mainstream schools, particularly around complex medical needs.

The three males interviewed were teachers, with the split between males and females matching the fact that the vast majority of staff within primary schools are female (EOC, 2007; Scottish Government, 2018). Public sector primary school interviews were more widely spread across schools than the public sector secondary school interviews. Interviews were conducted over roughly eight months, meaning that there is less of a time delay with these interviews in comparison to the public sector secondary interviews, though the interview schedule did evolve throughout the interview process and so it is not possible to entirely compare one interview to another. In particular, the first nine interviews differed to the final 12 interviews, as there was time to reflect on the data that had been collected. For example, the second half of

interviews focused more on issues such as work-life balance. However, the interview schedule remained largely the same and so good comparisons can still be drawn across the interviews.

The private sector schools had the smallest number of interviews at 15 and were spread across three schools within one city. While the schools offered both primary and secondary education in some form or another, all but one member of staff (a teacher) came from the secondary education part of their school. There was also only one member of staff that could be somewhat identified as a classroom assistant. However, it became clear during the interview that her role was perhaps not as representative as hoped about what a classroom assistant would do within private sector schools, as she only helped out with support for learning to a limited extent, so that interview is only used to a very limited extent. Also, as private sector schools tend to focus their classroom assistants at primary school level and only one teacher working at this level was interviewed it meant that it was not possible to speak to the teachers in any great depth about classroom assistants within their school. A principal, headmaster and deputy headteacher were interviewed across the three schools and have been included as management. Of the four males interviewed two were teachers and the other two were the principal and headmaster, while school fourteen was a single sex school.

A broader range of teachers were interviewed at the private sector schools in comparison to the public sector schools, in particular including two teachers teaching English as a foreign language and a support for learning teacher, all at school fourteen. While the two teaching English as a foreign language only dealt with quite small

groups, it appeared that teachers across the private sector schools could also potentially deal with quite small groups and so there was enough of a similarity there to include them. One English as a foreign language teacher was included as a classroom teacher in Table 2, whereas the other was the head of department and so has management/additional responsibilities. The support for learning teacher was a trained English teacher and also noted that she can co-teach on occasions, so it was also felt to be appropriate to include her responses alongside the other classroom teachers with additional responsibilities in Table 2. As regards those teachers with management/additional responsibilities, two were in school thirteen (a head of department and year head); three were in school fourteen (the head of department for English as a foreign language, a support for learning teacher and an assistant principal teacher); and two in school fifteen (both in roles akin to a head of department). Interviews with school-based staff across all of the cases were generally between 70 to 90 minutes, with the shortest 65 minutes, the longest 125 minutes and the average roughly 85 minutes (Remenyi, 2012).

A further 13 interviews were conducted with individuals that were identified as being significant in some way to teachers, classroom assistants or education in general and have been outlined in Table 3.

Table 3: List of significant others interviewed

Type of Organisation	Number Interviewed	Roles of People Interviewed	Rationale for Interviewing
Local Authority	2	Director of Education and Educational Psychologist	Role of local authority within education and the impact of mainstreaming within education.
Government Agency	1	Assistant Director	National government role in education and the impact of reform.
Private Schools Association	1	Deputy Director	Better understanding of private sector schools in comparison to public sector schools.
University Providing Teacher Education	3	Academic Staff	Focus on teacher education and how it prepares teachers for the role, particularly the emotional demands.
Headteacher Union	1	General Secretary	Better understand role of headteachers within schools and impact of reforms.
Union Representing Classroom Assistants	1	Union Officer	Greater understanding of classroom assistant role and how much is being asked of them within schools.
Teacher Unions	4	Union Officers, Officials and Assistant Secretary	Current issues within teaching and the impact of reforms on teachers.

These interviews played an important role in allowing the research to get a much broader view than was possible by just speaking to school-based staff, whose focus, understandably, is going to be more on the day to day issues that they face, with this broader focus important given the case study is examining school-based education in Scotland as a whole. As a result, these interviews allowed the research to collect a rich amount of additional data on issues such as reform, additional support needs and key stressors for staff. Interviewing union representatives was helpful in allowing the research to gain an understanding of how teachers, classroom assistants and headteachers are currently feeling on a far broader level than would have been possible through individual interviews, while interviews with those representing the government and employers allowed the research to better understand how these groups view some of the key issues raised within the school-based interviews. Therefore, the research has been able to engage with a broad range of stakeholders, which works well with the more exploratory approach adopted by the research and the fact, as noted in chapter three, that a range of different groups, such as unions, can wield significant power within Scottish education (Menter and Hulme, 2008). Interview schedules are included as an appendix.

Semi-structured interviews can be a useful research method due to their ability to gather a significant amount of rich, in-depth data, while also allowing for some flexibility in how the interview is conducted (Kallio *et al.*, 2016). This flexibility allows the researcher to adapt the interview to make it more relevant to the researcher and more appropriate to the interviewee (Remenyi, 2012). Therefore, semi-structured interviews can work well with exploratory and inductive research, as both approaches

are very much dependent on building up a broad understanding of the research area, which can then be drilled down and better understood during the data analysis (Saunders *et al*., 2012). As the interviews were conducted over a 16 month period, this amount of time allowed for an element of reflection on the interviews conducted and for amendments to be made, particularly around broader changes in the context. Semi-structured interviews also only required limited access to schools, which helped to avoid the ethical issues observation can face (Bryman and Bell, 2011).

However, an issue with semi-structured interviews, and one that was challenging during the research, is the length of time such interviews can take to conduct, as this can make negotiation of access more challenging and can require a high commitment from interviewees (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Due to time pressures, a number of interviews had to be completed over multiple parts, which, while allowing for an element of reflection on what had been discussed, impacted upon the flow of some interviews. On a related point, the long length of the interviews also meant that transcription took longer than was expected and, due to the sheer amount of interviews, it was just accepted that, while every effort was made to transcribe interviews as close to verbatim as possible, there will undoubtedly be some mistakes within the transcriptions (Hammersley, 2010; Myers and Lampropoulou, 2016). An audio recorder was used, alongside taking brief field notes, and a recorder can be off-putting for some interviewees, particularly when talking about sensitive topics, while recorders will also never pick up every word clearly (Saunders *et al*., 2012). Finally, designing a good interview schedule is challenging, with little clear guidance available on how to approach the design (Kallio *et al*., 2016; Rabionet, 2011).

While it can be questioned how appropriate concepts such as validity, reliability and generalisability are to non-positivist and qualitative research, it is still important for the research to justify the approaches used and show some rigour, with validity, reliability and generalisability one means of highlighting this (Farquhar, 2012; Kallio *et al*., 2016; McGovern and Alburez-Gutierrez, 2017; Saunders and Townsend, 2016). Due to their level of control, questionnaires can potentially have quite high internal validity and reliability in collecting relevant data and doing so consistently, as standardised questions will be asked and time will be spent controlling biases and designing an appropriate sample (Bryman and Bell, 2011; Saunders *et al*., 2012; Verschuren, 2003). However, the naturalness of such research, the ecological validity, can be low, while bias can never fully be controlled, with critical realism questioning if it even should be (Fleetwood, 2005). In contrast, observation will have high ecological validity by placing the research within the workplace, but internal validity and reliability can be harder to achieve due to the flexible nature of such research, the fact such research will focus on a small sample and the lack of control over what happens and how much can be observed (Anleu *et al*., 2016; Saunders *et al*., 2012; Wasserman *et al*., 2009). Interviews can have internal validity and reliability, though both will fall the more unstructured the interview becomes and so for semi-structured interviews the validity and reliability can be limited, with rapport and how questions are asked influencing this (Hammersley, 2017; Irvine *et al*., 2012). Semi-structured interviews can potentially claim some limited generalisability, though the interviewer must be aware of the biases and agendas that can affect the data (Jacobsson and Åkerström, 2012).

This section has attempted to explain and justify the research method used by the research, as well as ensure that the selected research method was appropriate for the research methodology and ontology/epistemology of the research (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). Questionnaires and observations were considered, but it was felt that the rigidity of questionnaires went against the qualitative nature of the research, while observation was unlikely to be allowed within a school (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Semi-structured interviews, though, were felt to match up well with the qualitative and exploratory nature of the research, as well as working with the research methodology and ontology/epistemology selected. Data collection was not perfect. It would have been good to have spoken to more classroom assistants, as well as speak to more men. However, it is accepted that data collection will never be perfect and the 69 interviews matches up favourably with Saunders and Townsend (2016), who note that a single case study should have around 30 participants, while multi-case study research should aim for 50 interviews. Even taking out the additional 13 significant other interviews this still leaves 56 interviews, above the numbers noted by Saunders and Townsend (2016). Overall, it is felt that a good number and range of interviews were conducted and that semi-structured interviews allowed for a significant amount of in-depth, rich data to be collected.

5.6   Data Analysis

This final section will engage with how the data was coded and analysed. As regards how the interview data was coded, there were a number of different stages, with the

first three stages utilising NVivo and the remaining stages using Microsoft Word. By coding the data multiple times, it meant that the interview data could be read through a number of times, but with different focuses. The first coding was to code each interview into the specific interview question asked, which was important, as the semi-structured nature of the interviews meant that questions could be asked and then returned to later, making it difficult when reading through the transcripts to know which interview question was being asked. The next stage was to categorise the interview data by emotion in organisation theories, indicating which parts of the interviews best related to emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management. Given that one of the research questions relates to applying the emotion in organisation theories to the data this stage was important, both in highlighting which parts of the interviews best related to each theory and helping to show how the different theories could best be applied to the interviews. The final coding undertaken on NVivo was to further code the data that had been applied into the emotion in organisation theories into specific themes, which were based off the interview data and the literature review chapters and comprised areas such as acting, pupils, autonomy and parents.

The information on NVivo relating to each of these themes was then moved to Microsoft Word and was edited down to highlight the most relevant data. It was also possible at this point to identify majority views across the interviews on a range of points. There was then a final read through of the data to pick out specific quotes to use in the findings chapters. Following an initial draft of the findings chapters, it was decided that it would make sense to situate the different themes within the five sections outlined at the end of chapter four: motivation to work in a school; the reality and

expectations of the role; techniques for managing and regulating emotions; the impact of stress and burnout; and the emotional content and nature of the job. This meant that the coded data was still relevant and useable, but was simply structured in a more readable way. Finally, given the significant others interviews were much smaller in length compared to the other interviews there were only two stages to coding that data. The first stage was to edit the significant others interviews down to remove any extraneous details. Secondly, there were two further readings of the interview data, first to pick out quotes relevant to the key themes and then again to identify key quotes from each interviewee.

It should be noted that there was a need to quantify the qualitative data to some extent during the analysis of the data, for example to understand where a majority opinion may be (Saunders *et al*., 2012). It was accepted that trying to quantify qualitative data in the form of basic statistics will always mean that some of the nuance of the interviews is lost, as few of the questions asked requested simple yes or no answers and the questions asked were not always the same for each interviewee (Hannah and Lautsch, 2011). However, it is hoped that by including the quotes of interviewees and letting their voice come through that the thesis will not lose the richness and depth of the data.

5.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has attempted to note how the research was conducted, as well as highlight the beliefs that underpin the research and justify the approach taken. The chapter was loosely structured on the approach used by Saunders *et al*. (2012), with the aim being of trying to show how each part of the research process feeds into the next. However, there is an acceptance that research will never be as limited as this and that, for example, methods and methodology will inevitably feed back into epistemology and ontology (Crotty, 1998). It is also accepted that there are no universal terms to describe the different parts of the research process (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Therefore, the approach taken within this chapter will not satisfy everyone, but there has been an attempt to use terms consistently to avoid unnecessary confusion.

Overall, it is felt that the research was able to get a good balance of cases and participants. The research engaged with the three main types of schools in Scottish education and was able to talk to both men and women, teachers and classroom assistants across these schools, as well as other people identified as significant to education in some regard. There are limitations, particularly in needing to engage with a larger number of schools than initially hoped and not getting a perfect balance between men and women, teachers and classroom assistants. However, access was challenging and so it had to be accepted that the number of schools and interviewees would never meet the ideal that the research would have liked. Ultimately, this chapter has outlined the approach to research that has been adopted, noted that the research

will be qualitative, inductive and exploratory in nature and justified why the specific ontologies, epistemologies, methodologies, research methods and data analysis approaches have been used.

6.0   Findings: Public Sector Secondary Schools

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on the public sector secondary schools, which comprised five schools, 20 participants, seven teachers, 11 classroom assistants and two members of senior management. The chapter will be structured around five sections. The first section focuses on why teachers and classroom assistants decided to work in a public sector secondary school. The second section examines the reality of both roles and how teachers and classroom assistants experience the role. The third section examines the training and techniques that teachers and classroom assistants use to work within this reality and deal with the emotional demands of their roles. The fourth section focuses on the stresses and strains that can be associated with both roles and the potential for burnout. The final section examines the emotional content of both roles, as well as identifying the important role that pupils play. Coding is provided beside each quote to inform the reader which school the interviewee works at, their tenure at the school and in education and their gender. For simplicity the school that the interviewee works at will just be put as 'School X', rather than noting, for example, 'Public Sector Secondary School X', particularly as the three findings chapters will only quote from teachers and classroom assistants working at the type of school being discussed in that chapter. Please refer to Table 1 (chapter five, pg.165) for further information on each school.

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6.2 Motivation to Work in a School

To start this chapter, it is appropriate to first ask why teachers and classroom assistants want to work within a public sector secondary school in Scotland. Attributes such as passion and a love of children have been noted in the literature as being important reasons why teachers enter the profession (Hargreaves, 1998; Intrator, 2006; Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006). For classroom assistants, the school hours and holidays have been noted as important, but the literature has also noted that classroom assistants are motivated by the opportunity to work with children (EOC, 2007; Warhurst *et al*., 2009). Therefore, it is important to further examine why the teachers and classroom assistants got into their roles and whether they consider passion for their role to be important, particularly as a criticism of Hochschild (2012) is that she overlooked the role of passion and commitment in employees (Bolton, 2005; Wouters, 1989).

On why the teachers interviewed decided to enter the profession, a majority became teachers either because they loved their subject or because they always wanted to be a teacher. One teacher noted that 'I always really loved English, like my subject was the thing first of all that I wanted to do' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female) and another teacher noted he got into teaching 'because I love mathematics and I loved school and I thought why don't I go, become a teacher and instil this love of mathematics in pupils' (School 1, 15 years at school, 15 years in role, male). Both quotes indicate a passion as regards teaching, with a particular focus on their subjects, and reflects Coldron *et al*. (2015) noting that secondary teachers can strongly relate to

their subject. As regards working in a public sector school, a majority of teachers noted that it was a conscious decision to work in the public over private sector. One teacher noted 'I very strongly like the model of public sector education' (School 1, 3 years at school, 20+ years in role, male), indicating a belief in the public sector. Another teacher, while indicating a softening in his approach and that he got into the role somewhat due to it being the best option, noted 'I am against the private sector. Maybe less so now in some ways, but I'm generally, big corporations, businesses…yeah, I'm generally, I feel…more positive about the public sector' (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male).

For the classroom assistants there were two main reasons as to why they became classroom assistants: firstly the hours and holidays were convenient; and secondly because they have a belief in education or enjoy working with children. One classroom assistant illustrated the convenience of the hours offered, noting 'at the beginning it was because my kids were young and it was a job that fitted in with the hours sort of, around school hours and holidays' (School 1, 11 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant noted the importance that she attaches to the role of classroom assistants, noting 'I think it's a very important role to sort of be in the middle and work with kids in a slightly different relationship to a teacher' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, female). Finally, another classroom assistant recognised both of these points, noting 'I think I enjoy working with young people and people in general and at the time I had young children and time-wise it fitted in perfectly for me' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). In sum, the majority of classroom assistants emphasised both points, indicating that for many their

motivation goes past just the convenience of the hours. In contrast to teachers, a majority of classroom assistants indicated no particular conscious decision to work in the public sector.

Alongside understanding why teachers and classroom assistants got into their roles, it is also important to consider whether passion is considered to be an important attribute. The vast majority of teachers noted that you do need to have a passion (or something similar) or to like children to be a teacher. One teacher noted as regards passion that 'I can't think that you could do it without some' (School 1, 15 years at school, 15 years in role, male). Another teacher noted that you do need passion 'if you want to do it well' and that 'sometimes you hear or you see things and you think "why are you still here?" You know, if it really is that bad, why don't you go and do something else?' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female), indicating that those who constantly complain may have lost their passion, with the teacher seeming to not want such people to remain in teaching. On a more personal level, another noted as regards whether you need to have passion:

> I think you do…it doesn't just stop when you leave here. I do a lot of work at home. I've got small children as well, so I don't compromise when I…my own children don't suffer, they won't see me sitting marking while they have to do other things. So if I do all of that when they are in bed or away somewhere at a friend's…it eats into a lot of your own time. You have to want to do it (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female).

It is particularly relevant to see whether classroom assistants indicated a similar level of passion as teachers, as classroom assistants have only been researched to a limited extent within emotion in teaching research. A majority of classroom assistants noted that you do need to have a passion or to like children. For example, one classroom assistant noted that 'I think without the passion you would struggle to do it long term' (School 1, 4 months at school, 3 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant referenced the need to have passion due to behavioural issues and noted 'yeah, you need to have a passion to, especially the behavioural side, nobody goes to work to be, get some of that flung at them every day and come back the next day with a smile on their face' (School 2, 7 months at school, 11 ½ years in role, female). A number of classroom assistants also noted the need to like children to do the role, with one recognising 'I think you need to be interested in education and have a liking for teenagers and children in general…I think some people come in to teaching and don't particularly like children [laughs], which I've never managed to understand' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female).

6.3   The Reality and Expectations of the Role

While the previous section has outlined why teachers and classroom assistants have decided to work in public sector secondary schools in Scotland, it is important to dig deeper and ascertain what it is actually like to do both roles. In particular, chapter three outlined a number of changes that have been made to Scottish education. One such change has been the rise in classroom assistants within Scottish classrooms and

so it is important to understand what their current role is and also whether, as the literature has indicated, they are teaching or getting close to it (EOC, 2007; Warhurst *et al.*, 2014). CfE has also been a major change and one that has not been without controversy and so that, along with other areas of government involvement, such as inspections, must also be considered (Priestley and Minty, 2013; Priestley *et al.*, 2014). It is also relevant to consider what role gender plays within these schools, particularly as teacher and classroom assistant roles tend to be identified as more feminine (Conley and Jenkins, 2011; Simpson, 2005).

Initially focusing on the role of classroom assistants, teachers saw the role of the classroom assistant in a range of different ways. One teacher noted that the classroom assistant 'should know that particular pupil well and know their needs', but also noted that 'they can't just sit with one person the whole time. Sometimes they have to, but they need to be conscious…there are other pupils in the class that may need attention' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). Another teacher was more negative about the role of classroom assistants, noting 'I don't feel that they're much use in the classroom' and, while noting that may be down to how he uses classroom assistants, noted 'often they don't even have the basic math skills. They can't add, they can't subtract, so that's a hindrance I would have thought. The kids are stronger' (School 1, 15 years at school, 15 years in role, male). Perhaps feeding into these different views was the fact that a majority of teachers noted that the classroom assistant job description and/or role can be vague. One teacher noted:

It's kind of up to the teacher, but the pupil support assistant, they'll come in and they'll help people and the teacher could maybe say maybe you could do this person or you could do that person, but a lot of the time with the pupil support assistant…I think they're pretty good at knowing what they've got to do (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male).

Another teacher noted with classroom assistants that 'there's a lot more sort of personal type things…pupils with disabilities, the PSAs will maybe be in and out for the toilet or medication' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). This quote perhaps notes the variability in the classroom assistant role, as well as a move towards greater physical labour, which will be noted later in the chapter. A majority of teachers also noted that there was little or no time to plan with classroom assistants. Perhaps related to this lack of time to plan is concern around the lack of protection of classroom assistant numbers, with a teacher union representative noting that a consequence of protecting teacher numbers 'is that your support staff in schools have become easy targets to cut back to make the savings'.

For classroom assistants, they appear to see their role as supportive, be that supporting the pupil, teacher or both. One classroom assistant noted 'our role is, I would say, to support the kids, first and foremost. But you can't do it on your own…you have to have some kind of a working relationship with the teacher' (School 1, 11 years at school, 16 years in role, female). As a result, classroom assistants also noted a range of ways that they work with teachers and there does appear to be a variability

depending on the teacher. One classroom assistant noted that 'some teaching staff barely acknowledge that you're in the room [laughs]. And others do engage and tell you what they're going to be doing and make you feel quite welcome and make you feel of some use' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). As with teachers, a majority of classroom assistants noted that their job description and/or role can be vague, an issue also noted in chapter three (Gilbert *et al*., 2012; Warhurst *et al*., 2014). The representative for the classroom assistant union noted how widely defined the classroom assistant role can be, noting 'basically they can be asked to do anything in a school that needs to be done, anything…could be cleaning, could be working one to one with a child with dyslexia or an array of medical and behavioural tasks'. A majority of classroom assistants also noted that there was little or no time for them to plan with teachers, which can potentially result in classroom assistants going beyond their role. One classroom assistant illustrated this and the potential need to differentiate work for pupils, noting:

> I want to work as a team and that means knowing what we're doing in advance of the lesson, which I don't get told. Kind of knowing what the long term plan for the work is, which I don't get told unless I ask. Knowing what the differentiation is for the children that I'll be working with, which sometimes I just have to make up on the spur of the moment (School 1, 4 months at school, 3 years in role, female).

A point that was discussed in depth in chapter three was how close classroom assistants get to the role of the teacher and whether classroom assistants are actually teaching

pupils. The vast majority of teachers noted that they did not believe that classroom assistants were teaching. One teacher noted 'I don't think they teach, because they're not delivering the content or necessarily the skills, but I do think there's a massive support role there and often they're modelling things…that you want the child to be able to do' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female). Another teacher noted 'a lot of the background knowledge they don't have, so…they might be able to teach some kids that need learning support, but it'd be questionable without a serious amount of training whether they could teach things like critical essay writing' (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male). A teacher also noted about the limits of the classroom assistants, noting 'there is a point where the work becomes a level that is beyond. You know, even Nat 5's really challenging for some of them', though noted 'it's not a criticism' (School 1, 11 years at school, 13 years in role, male). All of these quotes indicate that, while classroom assistants may have an important role within the classroom, they are not teaching and would perhaps lack the skills to be able to teach.

In contrast to teachers, a majority of classroom assistants noted that they can either be teaching or get very close to the role of the teacher. One classroom assistant noted:

> There's some classes where I feel like I'm kind of the one wandering around and checking on how people are getting on, where the teacher, they probably have things that they're needing to do at the computer, but it seems like they're kind of sat there while I'm the one wandering around seeing how people are doing (School 1, 3 months at school, 3 months in role, male).

One example of classroom assistants potentially going beyond their role was the need for them to adapt or differentiate work from the teacher for pupils, with a majority noting this can happen. One classroom assistant noted 'they'll say "I don't understand that", so you've got to break it down for them kind of thing, get them to that point where, you know, "do you understand it now, do you need me to do it again?"' (School 4, 3 years at school, 14 years in role, female). However, it is interesting that the representative for the classroom assistant union actually casts some doubt on whether classroom assistants are teaching, noting:

> I possibly should not be saying this, but one of the things that when that equal opportunities report came out, one of the things we looked at was thinking actually I think some of our members might be making exaggerated claims about what they're doing and they maybe don't understand what teaching is.

As noted in chapter three, a significant recent reform in Scotland has been the introduction of CfE, which attempted to bring a more holistic approach to teaching, away from the more prescriptive and, arguably, more rational approach used in England (Education Scotland, 2018; Priestley, 2018). However, CfE has not been without criticism, with a majority of teachers noting that they had found issues with CfE (McIvor, 2018a). While there does appear to be general support for the ideas and philosophy underpinning CfE, a number of teachers noted issues around the implementation of it and the additional workload burden it created. One teacher summed this view up well, noting:

I think the fundamental principles are great and I'm fully in agreement with it. I like the broad general education…I like a lot about it. I like the curriculum, I think it needed to be refreshed, there's no argument that we could have kept going with the system we had ten years ago, because it was terrible. But the…one of the stated aims of the Curriculum for Excellence was to reduce teacher workload and assessment workload, in particular, and that hasn't been my experience. It's not been well implemented (School 1, 3 years at school, 20+ years in role, male).

Other teachers also noted issues with the implementation and workload of CfE, with one teacher noting 'it's not enough and it's too early. They've just bunged it in, it's not ready, it's too early. They needed to give it more thought' (School 1, 11 years at school, 13 years in role, male). Equally, though, the representative for one of the government bodies working within education questioned teachers approach to CfE, noting 'I don't know what it is about Curriculum for Excellence that people have thought its…ok to do stupid stuff'.

For classroom assistants, a majority noted that they were not particularly involved with CfE and that CfE was more the responsibility of the teacher. One classroom assistant noted that 'we are kind of required to work within it and be part of that', but noted that 'we can only really do what the child says they need from that class and it's more down to the teacher to create opportunities for that' (School 1, 3 months at school, 3 months in role, male), indicating a more limited involvement with CfE. It also appears that

classroom assistants may have limited knowledge of CfE and may not necessarily have received any training on CfE, which may limit the involvement classroom assistants can have with it in the classroom. One classroom assistant noted:

> We didn't really even get any training on. So it would have been maybe handy to, because you do feel a wee bit lost, because everything's changed as well since I was at school, when we were doing O Grades and Higher, well, we still do Highers, but…everything has kind of changed now (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, male).

Another classroom assistant noted as regards any training on CfE that 'I think that was mainly teachers that had to deal with that side of things. We didn't get anything. That I can remember anyway' (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female). While some indicated that they did receive training on CfE, the fact a number did not may reflect why a majority of classroom assistants felt that they had little involvement with CfE.

As noted in chapter two, a key aspect of emotional labour research is gender and so it is important to assess how gender impacts upon staff in schools, particularly as teacher and classroom assistant roles are traditionally identified as feminine (Conley and Jenkins, 2011; EOC, 2007; Simpson, 2005). A majority of teachers noted that men and women can be seen differently, both positively and negatively, and that each gender may approach the role in different ways. A male teacher noted that if a pupil was to seek help then 'I think male teachers…more inclined to go "why don't I see if

I can get you somebody to talk to", rather than as a female teacher "oh, come in and we'll have a wee chat"' (School 1, 11 years at school, 13 years in role, male), indicating women can be more inclined to engage emotionally with pupils. There was also an indication that some pupils may not necessarily respect women teachers as much as men, perhaps particularly younger females, with a teacher noting:

> I do notice certain groups within the school, certain pupils within the school may not respond as positively to instructions or usually discipline-related instructions to a younger female member of staff than they possibly would to a man or indeed…an older female (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female).

All of the classroom assistants noted that there can be a gender difference in their role. One classroom assistant noted that different pupils can work better or worse with different genders, noting that 'it depends on the child. I think some children with needs react better to a male support, some find that a challenging relationship and they tend to get argumentative and fighting, so a female presence is maybe better' (School 1, 4 months at school, 3 years in role, female). Related to gender, and discussed in more detail shortly, there was also a discomfort from a majority of classroom assistants about the need to deal with medical/intimate care, which SCER (2007) have noted can be an important part of the classroom assistant role in Scotland. One classroom assistant noted that it 'is fine working with disabled kids, but we're now being pushed more to medical care…doing jobs that are more for nurses, for care workers. That's not really what we came to the job to do' (School 1, 11 years at school, 16 years in

role, female), indicating a move away from the classroom and more towards physical work. Related to these increased demands, a number of classroom assistants also questioned the level of needs they are dealing with, with one noting there are 'kids here that we feel shouldn't really be in this school, they should maybe be in another kind of school that would help them more, because mainstream school is just quite big classes and some of the kids don't cope' (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female).

One particular factor around gender that was discussed in the literature review chapters is the issue of touch and whether it is acceptable for staff to appropriately touch pupils. A majority of teachers indicated that they have either been told they are not meant to touch pupils or that there was an assumption that they would not, but may touch a pupil if it is felt to be appropriate to do so. A male teacher noted you are not meant to touch:

> Unless in the case where you're breaking up a fight where the harm
> that's caused by not acting outweighs the risk that you're taking when
> you touch a pupil. Now, having said that, I've seen people do it, I do it
> myself sometimes where I feel I can get away with it (School 1, 3 years
> at school, 20+ years in role, male).

It is interesting that the teacher noted about touching when he feels he 'can get away with it' and a female teacher builds on that in noting that she would tend not to touch as it is 'not what you do in teaching. You don't touch pupils if you can help it, because…I've brushed past a pupil before and they're like "ah, ah, you, ah, you hit me

miss, you hit me miss"' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). Indeed, a teacher union representative offered a rather extreme example of when she felt touch was fine, noting 'I would say is if a kid's…about to get hit by a car…anyway you could grab them and haul them off the road would be in that split second moment appropriate'. A majority of teachers also indicated that this use of touch can vary based on gender, with some referring to the gender of the teacher and others to the gender of the pupil. A male teacher noted that 'I'm sure a pupil could be hugged by a female teacher no problem, but if me or a male member of staff did it, certainly to a teenage girl…you just couldn't do it' (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male).

In contrast to teachers, it was less relevant to ask whether classroom assistants are allowed to touch pupils, as, particularly in school one, it appeared some level of touch was just a requirement of the job, such as helping with medical/intimate care or physically helping pupils move about the building. However, as noted, a majority of classroom assistants did note discomfort around medical/intimate requirements and so, while it may be a part of the role, not all classroom assistants appear to appreciate it. A majority of classroom assistants also indicated that there was a gender difference with touch, with touch perhaps more acceptable for females than males. One classroom assistant noted on the issue of toileting that the classroom assistants asked management '"why can't the boys work with the boys and the girls work with the girls and that would…", but, no, as far as they were concerned boys were used to having mothers, so they were used to having a woman' (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Therefore, it appears that management see a gender difference around

touch, with females expected to work with both genders. More generally, there was an indication that touch was more difficult for male classroom assistants, with a male classroom assistant noting 'I think female PSAs can be more physically comforting…if someone's upset, they can go "do you want a hug?". Whereas I feel that as a male, I don't think I could do that' (School 1, 3 months at school, 3 months in role, male).

As detailed in chapter three, national government in Scotland have a significant impact on schools, for example in pushing for classroom assistants and CfE, while local government also retain a good level of control over schools (Arnott and Menter, 2007; Gilbert *et al*., 2012). However, as regards the role of government in schools there was no clear point coming through, with some teachers noting that government should have more involvement and others noting that they should be less involved or less political. One teacher questioned the level of accountability from government, noting:

> The school's held accountable, but it's kind of hard if you're held accountable for something, but you're told to do everything in a certain way. It's like but how can I be the person that's done something wrong and you told me how to do it (School 1, 11 years at school, 13 years in role, male).

As noted in chapter three, a particular tool that government use to ensure accountability from schools is inspections. A majority of teachers did, though, note issues or concerns with the inspection process, with school one having previously had a poor

inspection. One teacher noted that certain aspects related to inspections 'can be very manufactured in, just for an example, like offering a learning intention and success criteria, having them displayed every lesson' and that it can be the case 'that's done at the beginning of the week and it's the one that runs through for the week. And I think sometimes it's just a tick box exercise' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female).

As with teachers there was no specific view coming through from classroom assistants about the role of government. However, a number of classroom assistants did reference the level of funding currently available to schools or how funding was being used. One classroom assistant noted 'I think they need to stop cutting back all the time [laughs]. Because I just found out today that there's going to be staffing cutbacks at some point' (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female), indicating the potential direct impact funding cuts can have on classroom assistants. Related to cutbacks, some classroom assistants also noted a frustration with government generally, with one classroom assistant noting 'I don't think the Council kind of, the way its organised, kind of pay you enough, for example, or support you well enough' and later noting he had 'kind of given up on the government now' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, male). As regards inspections, a majority of classroom assistants noted issues or concerns, though some had not been through an inspection and were more unsure of the process. Other classroom assistants who had been through inspections cited issues around how realistic an image inspections got and the response of management to inspections. One classroom assistant noted 'I think they're

a waste of time, because they know they're coming and they change everything before they come' (School 2, 7 months at school, 11½ years in role, female).

6.4   Techniques for Managing and Regulating Emotions

Having now discussed the reality of the teacher and classroom assistant roles within Scottish public sector secondary schools, this section will look at how teachers and classroom assistants cope with the demands they face. In particular, this section will focus on what training teachers and classroom assistants receive and how effective it is considered to be, as well as what emotion regulation is felt to offer. It is particularly interesting to analyse EI in relation to classroom assistants, as the likes of Goleman (1998a) have tended to focus on professionals and those higher up in the organisational hierarchy than classroom assistants (Fineman, 2000b). This section will also engage with the role of both colleagues and autonomy, which chapter two has noted are important parts of emotion management and the 4Ps model (Bolton, 2005).

Training can be important in preparing people for their role and keeping their knowledge up to date. Teacher training (or teacher education) is well established in Scotland, with secondary school teachers generally completing a postgraduate diploma in education after receiving an initial degree in the subject they wish to teach. Given that teachers in public sector schools in Scotland must be registered with the GTCS and so must hold the necessary academic qualifications it was not surprising that all of the teachers had gone through some level of training. However, a majority of teachers

noted issues with the training they received. One teacher noted that alongside his placements in schools 'we generally had the lectures twice a week and, to be honest, I could hardly tell you anything about what we did…I can't remember much of practical value' (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male). Another teacher had a similar criticism, noting 'the training at Moray House, there's an awful lot of theory and that apparently still is the case now, which is pretty useless and, yeah, I didn't think it was particularly helpful. But the…real training is when you're in school' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). Perhaps related to that point is the fact one of the teacher educators noted that 'we're quite clear, these are not tips for teaching courses' and so universities and teachers may have different ideas about what training/education should cover.

A majority of classroom assistants noted that they had either had no training or that it had been limited. One classroom assistant, while indicating she had received some training at previous schools, noted as regards her current school that 'since I've been there for three years I haven't really been on any training at all' (School 3, 3 years at school, 16 years in role, female). A number of new classroom assistants at school one noted that, while not the entirety of it, a significant amount of their initial training was done through e-learning. One classroom assistant noted that, while some of the other training offered was more useful, 'we had to do this awful kind of online training, which you don't really learn much from it, because it's like how to climb a ladder properly' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, male). Alongside its usefulness, there was also criticism around the time provided to complete the e-learning, with one classroom assistant noting:

We were meant to have finished within the first seven weeks on the job. We have no non-contact periods timetabled. We're not even paid for our break or our lunch time, so there's no chance that I'm adding…doing things for work in my unpaid lunch break (School 1, 3 months at school, 3 months in role, male).

Related to training is how emotionally ready teachers and classroom assistants felt upon starting their role and to what extent training helped. A majority of teachers indicated that, while they were not completely unprepared for the role, they were perhaps not fully emotionally ready for the role. For example, one teacher noted 'looking back on it I wasn't really at all ready and there were a lot of things that I found quite shocking and quite difficult in my first years of teaching' (School 1, 3 years at school, 20+ years in role, male), with others agreeing that it can take time. Equally, though, other teachers questioned whether it was possible to ever be fully emotionally ready or if training can provide that, with one teacher noting 'I don't think it's possible to be emotionally ready for teaching, unless you're an experienced person' (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male). While only three teachers were asked if they felt trained enough around additional support needs, a majority noted issues with their level of training. A teacher educator, who focuses on inclusion, also noted such issues: 'we actually need to do a much better job of helping teachers to understand the behaviour and to start to think about, rather than simply responding to the behaviour'.

There were mixed views amongst classroom assistants as regards how emotionally ready they were for the role when they started. Around half indicated that they were

emotionally ready, while around half indicated that they were not. As regards not feeling emotionally ready, a classroom assistant noted 'I started in August and I was going to leave at Christmas. I just…I don't know, I felt a bit out of my depth with pupils that were a foot or two higher than me and just felt it was quite overwhelming' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Equally, though, there were classroom assistants that did feel emotionally ready, with one noting 'I was about 30 when I started this role, so yeah, I was ready to do something with a wee bit more challenge to it than what I had done previously' (School 2, 7 months at school, 11½ years in role, female), though indicating preparedness came more from personal experience than training. While not all were asked, most of the classroom assistants that were asked indicated that they were either uncomfortable with or would like more training on additional support needs.

Focusing specifically on the ability of teachers and classroom assistants to control and regulate their emotions at work, which is an important aspect and belief of the social-psychological view of emotional labour, there was an equal split amongst teachers between those noting that they have a relatively good level of self-control and those noting that there can be challenges to their self-control. One teacher, while noting it can be challenging in certain respects, believed self-control to some extent was simply a necessity, noting 'I can't imagine anybody that doesn't have self-control. I mean, you couldn't do the job, could you?' (School 1, 15 years at school, 15 years in role, male). Another teacher, while noting that she generally does have self-control, also indicated the potential importance of context, noting 'I'm quite fortunate, in the grand scheme of things there will be some children who exhibit annoying behaviour in a

classroom, but, touch wood, I can't think that I've had any really bad behaviour' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female). Another teacher indicated that her control, while generally very good, was not always perfect, noting 'I suppose someday if you're tired or whatever you can be not quite as good a teacher as you would hope to be' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female), indicating that a lack of self-control makes you a poorer teacher. While a number of teachers noted that their control was not always perfect, it does still seem that teachers generally have a good level of self-control. A majority of teachers also noted that they prefer something of a mix between controlling their emotions and showing a range of emotions.

While research around regulation of emotions has been done with teachers and is detailed in chapter four, there has been little focus on classroom assistants thus far. Most of the classroom assistants that were asked felt that they did retain a relatively good level of self-control, with one noting 'I think I have control of my own emotions. I have to have control of my own emotions' (School 1, 4 months at school, 3 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant noted 'I think it's just general common sense that you don't…there's no point in getting raging angry with children, because you're not going to get results from them' (School 3, 3 years at school, 16 years in role, female), indicating a belief that self-control can improve pupil performance somewhat. Similar to the other two quotes, another classroom assistant noted that she felt she has self-control and that 'in the past, there was one woman who would just scream and shout at the kids, which I wouldn't do. But I always…feel quite in control' (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Therefore, it appears that

classroom assistants consider it to be important that they retain this self-control and that those who do not have that self-control may not be as good at the job. As with teachers, a majority of classroom assistants also noted that they went for something of a mix between controlling their emotions and showing a range.

As noted in chapters two and four, a key development in the area of emotion regulation research has been the development of the concept of EI. A majority of teachers indicated that they had heard of EI and appear to consider it to be important/relevant to their role. However, it was interesting that there was a range of definitions of EI given by teachers and it is useful to detail some of these. One teacher noted 'I think it is important for your role to have an awareness of somebody else's state of mind, balance, where they've come from, their kind of background and what they can kind of gauge as being acceptable, unacceptable' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female). Another teacher noted 'emotional intelligence for me is understanding or being able to use your emotions' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). Another teacher offered a much broader definition of EI, noting it as:

> Your emotional approach to life, both your empathy for people, your awareness…but also your ability to persevere with a problem. To manage your emotions…sometimes to understand that these emotions, a lot of people might label them negative, but actually there's a reason for them and they actually might be telling you something (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male).

Therefore, while these definitions tend to revolve around emotional awareness, understanding and empathy, they are quite disparate definitions and so, while EI appears to be a term teachers have heard of, their understanding of what it is varied.

As noted, there has been little research on EI amongst classroom assistants and so it was interesting to see how, or if, classroom assistants viewed EI differently to teachers. A majority of classroom assistants noted that they had heard of EI and that it was important/relevant to their role, which is interesting given most EI research focuses on professionals and yet it appears that paraprofessionals have heard of and believe in EI. Indeed, one classroom assistant referenced an oft-cited claim mentioned in chapter two, noting 'I would agree that emotional intelligence is a better predictor…than success in IQ' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, female). Equally, though, as with teachers a wide range of definitions were noted. One classroom assistant noted 'I guess a lot of it's to do with…psychology, bit of empathy, working out, given the stimulus, how are the individuals going to react to it' (School 1, 4 months at school, 3 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant saw EI as both 'being in touch with…your own emotions…and being in control of them' (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Therefore, and as with teachers, it is questionable how well classroom assistants understand EI beyond simply knowing the term.

Another way that teachers and classroom assistants could look to cope with the demands of their roles, both emotionally and more generally, could be through the support of colleagues. A majority of teachers noted that support from colleagues is important. There was, though, an indication from some that there was not always a

significant amount of time to work with colleagues, with one teacher noting 'I think colleagues are crucial. I mean, I think if you've got good colleagues, you'll really enjoy your work. I think it becomes harder, because people tend to work now all the time' (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male). Another teacher similarly noted 'I've noticed there's not a lot of cars in the car park when I leave work at 4:15, 4:20 and that surprises me. I think there used to be more cars in the car park' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female), indicating teachers are no longer staying at school as long now. There does, though, appear to be a general willingness amongst teachers to go beyond for their colleagues if needed, with a vast majority of teachers noting this. One teacher noted 'I think there's that recognition that it is a difficult, difficult job and there are points across everyone's year where there are critical points that…you just sometimes need a helping hand to get through' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female).

Similarly, a majority of classroom assistants noted that support from colleagues is important. Indeed, a number of classroom assistants noted that they would perhaps leave their job if they did not have the colleagues that they have, with one classroom assistant noting 'if we didn't have that I think we would all be leaving…we've got quite a strong sort of bond quite a few of us' (School 1, 11 years at school, 16 years in role, female). One of the more recently started classroom assistants noted 'our team is fantastic. I think if our team wasn't so supportive of every other member in our team people would have left sooner' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, female). As regards the type of support that colleagues offer, this can range from more

moral support to more practical support and sometimes both. One classroom assistant noted this range of support and the important role it can play:

> Break and lunch time is when we can come together and go "ahh, that lesson was awful" or "ooh, so and so did a brilliant thing"…"you need to watch out for this person, because this has happened at home" and we just tell each other information and kind of unload (School 1, 4 months at school, 3 years in role, female).

There appears to be a willingness amongst classroom assistants to go beyond for their colleagues if needed, with a majority of classroom assistants noting this.

An important point to also consider is identity, both to understand whether teachers and classroom assistants are able to identify a collective element or traits amongst themselves and also whether the more individual and rational identity that it has been argued that EI pushes has taken hold (Burman, 2009; Neophytou, 2013). A majority of teachers noted that they either still see a collective identity or certain collective traits that teachers (should) have. For example, one teacher noted as regards traits successful teachers should have: 'I think empathy, realism, a realistic balance between strictness and tolerance' (School 1, 3 years at school, 20+ years in role, male). One teacher did clarify that it will not necessarily be the case that all teachers will share these traits and that these are more considered ideal traits, while another teacher noted it may be the case that there are certain traits that may not be shared, but other traits that would be expected to be seen in teachers, noting:

I think you can kind of see similar traits in many people, but they are dependent on their subject and dependent on their interests, background, it'll be…different, but no, I think teachers, as a whole, have a common interest in young people, want to do the best and generally they're people who will go out of their way to help other people, so they're quite…hands-on, quite…generally have good social skills, they're interactive (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female).

A majority of classroom assistants noted that they did believe there was a collective identity or collective traits that are typically seen amongst classroom assistants. One classroom assistant detailed how he sees the identity of classroom assistants:

I think I view us as being more accessible than teachers necessarily are. There'll be some teachers who are…more accessible than others. But I think we start from a more accessible point, because we are there as kind of more personal interaction for those who are vulnerable. And that by fact that a lot of us go by our first names as well, it removes a barrier (School 1, 3 months at school, 3 months in role, male).

Interestingly, some of the classroom assistants in school one indicated that there was perhaps a different identity amongst the old and new classroom assistants, particularly around how they see the role. One of the experienced classroom assistants noted about the new classroom assistants 'I think they would probably want to do a lot more, but,

sadly, I think they're starting to realise that there are limitations to what you can do within a secondary school' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). A number of the classroom assistants who were union reps also noted an identity based around being mothers, either in adopting a motherly approach or that mothers tended to be interested in the role. One classroom assistant noted 'I think we're all interested in kids…and in supporting kids and enjoy working with kids…dealing with them, so I think all of us are mothers, so I think that's something that unites us' (School 3, 3 years at school, 16 years in role, female), with a desire to treat pupils as they would their own children.

A key aspect of emotion management and the 4Ps model is autonomy and the belief that employees retain a higher level of agency over their performance than Hochschild (2012) indicated (Bolton, 2005). A majority of teachers noted a somewhat mixed view, indicating that they have a decent amount of autonomy and discretion to perform their role, while also highlighting certain factors that can restrict their autonomy. One teacher within this majority, while noting that she does have a high level of discretion, noted her frustration with such constraints, noting 'we should just be allowed to have the freedom to teach', and that 'it feels teaching's a bit prescriptive now' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). Another teacher indicated less frustration with such moves, noting 'there's always a focus on a particular thing…but within that, so, for example, questioning's been a big thing or…learning intentions has been a big thing. But I think that you're always left to do that in your own way' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). This autonomy was noted by another teacher, though she instead noted that 'if we're talking about people in the school, I don't think

I've seen anybody exhibiting behaviour that's totally out of line and I think…if they were, somebody would have a word with them about it' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female), indicating that, while people do have autonomy, people would generally stay within certain limits. Perhaps related to this trust from management, a majority of teachers also noted that they believe that the headteacher would support them if their performance or professionalism were called into question.

For classroom assistants, a majority noted that their autonomy and discretion are either limited or controlled to some extent by the teacher. This was not always seen as a negative and did not mean that classroom assistants had no discretion or communication with the teachers, more just that their level of discretion was quite dependent on the teacher. One classroom assistant noted as regards her level of discretion 'that depends on the teacher. You get teachers who are maybe less experienced in…or just appreciate you being there and give you maybe more leeway and there's other teachers who…don't really give you much…"just keep him quiet"' (School 3, 3 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant, while noting that she feels she has a generally good level of discretion, noted a previous example:

> I know there used to be a woman that worked here that was like that
> and the teachers didn't like her because she would come in and just
> totally take over…it's not really our job to be doing that, because the
> teacher is basically in charge and we're there just to support her or him
> and the kids (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female).

In contrast to teachers, a majority of classroom assistants either did not believe that their headteacher would support them if their performance or professionalism were called into question or were unsure, potentially indicating a poor or limited relationship with senior management. One classroom assistant in school one potentially highlights this poor relationship with management when noting how she had previously been reluctant to refuse requests and had sought external advice on an issue, noting:

> We now know that we can refuse to do things, but that was not really made clear to us, it was only when we approached our union that we were told that we could do this. But at no time did anybody in management tell us that we could refuse to do this without fear of losing our jobs (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female).

6.5   The Impact of Stress and Burnout

An issue that was discussed in-depth in chapter two, particularly as regards emotion regulation research, was burnout and the impact it can have. It was also noted in chapter four that teachers can be particularly at risk of burnout and so it is important to consider the potential for and impact of burnout on teachers and classroom assistants (Tsouloupas *et al*., 2010; van Droogenbroeck and Spruyt, 2015). A key factor that can lead to burnout is stress and, given teacher workload was previously noted in chapter four as potentially excessive, while research such as UNISON Scotland (2017) indicate classroom assistant workload may also be excessive, this section will initially focus on

what the workload is currently like for both roles and then focus on the issue of burnout (Arnott and Menter, 2007; BBC News, 2017).

It is important to examine the current workload demands within Scottish public sector secondary schools. As regards an average day for teachers, a range of different responses were given. One teacher summed up her average day as being 'variety, stressful and I would say just unpredictable…the day can be very unpredictable' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). Other teachers highlighted the manic nature of their day, with one teacher noting that her average day is 'non-stop, just non-stop. But I'm constantly amazed at how much I can do in one period of, you know, a free period. I can just…multi-task constantly and just everything's at high speed' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). As regards time away from the classroom, a majority of teachers noted that there can be issues with their breaks or the amount of time they have away from the classroom. One teacher, while noting he was fine enough with the level of breaks provided, noted about his non-contact time, which is the guaranteed time teachers have away from the class to do preparation and other related work, that 'there's not enough time for planning and preparation' (School 1, 15 years at school, 15 years in role, male). Other teachers highlighted the fact that a lack of breaks can make it more difficult to speak to and collaborate with colleagues.

Classroom assistants also noted a wide variety of tasks during an average day. One classroom assistant noted that he will typically be 'primarily focused around maybe two or three kids in a class, sometimes one named kid…who has specific additional

support needs. But if they're not needing too focused attention, then I'll kind of dot around the class' (School 1, 3 months at school, 3 months in role, male). Another classroom assistant noted that she will 'usually follow a timetable with kids that need extra support in the classroom. So we're in classes most periods. Sometimes we're up in the learning base, taking kids who have got specific needs' (School 3, 3 years at school, 16 years in role, female). A majority of classroom assistants noted concerns around breaks or the amount of time that they have away from the classroom. One classroom assistant noted a common concern:

> We used to have a prep period once a week…you knew that you had that one period a week, non-contact that you could catch up with things. Go speak to a teacher, organise stuff, do things like that. We don't get that anymore, we're just constantly class, class, class back-to-back (School 1, 11 years at school, 16 years in role, female).

Another criticism noted in school one by a classroom assistant was that 'they used to pay pupil support assistants for lunch, to do lunch, but now we don't get paid, we have to take the time back' (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female), with a number of classroom assistants noting that the process for claiming time back is not ideal, though is perhaps being fixed. Also, another classroom assistant noted that on the room that the classroom assistants go to for their breaks 'there's a big sign on the door saying "No Children Allowed", but I mean it's not stopped anyone. But they just constantly coming back and forth, so…it's difficult' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, male).

Focusing on the specific aspects of the workload that can lead to stress, a majority of teachers noted that the worst part of their role was paperwork, with CfE potentially feeding into this. One teacher noted with CfE 'that was stated to be one of the goals was to reduce paperwork and its actually, at least in the short term, its lead to a massive increase in paperwork' (School 1, 3 years at school, 20+ years in role, male). Therefore, it does appear that CfE has had a negative impact on paperwork for teachers. Another teacher referenced government policy and lamented 'all the paperwork and stuff that we have to do that's so unimportant that's just the government ticking boxes' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). A majority of teachers also indicated that there can be a need to take work home, though half of this majority indicated that it was either to a more limited extent or were referring to earlier in their career. One teacher noted that:

> I probably take a bag home every night with the intention, sometimes it just is my guilty conscience that sits at the top of the stairs in that bag and other things take over…and I don't get round to it, but I probably do spend an hour, two hours most nights doing something (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female).

A representative for a teacher union also noted the excessive hours teachers can potentially work, noting that teachers 'are contracted to work a 35 hour week. You'll not find a single teacher in Scotland who does that. The average on any survey we do is 45 hours a week. So workload is a huge issue'.

Some classroom assistants also highlighted the need to take work home and that there can be limited free time during school hours. For the newly employed classroom assistants a number noted that management provided little to no time for them to complete their e-learning and so one noted while the expectation may be that these are done during free periods that 'you end up doing it in your own time, because you don't get many…free periods' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, male), which is not ideal in ensuring that classroom assistants are finishing their training. Some of the classroom assistants who were union reps also indicated that they may not be given much facility time to undertake their union duties, with one noting 'I tend to minimise them as best I can during the working day and over the past three years have done most of my union work in my own time' (School 2, 7 months at school, 11½ years in role, female), with only limited time provided to attend some meetings. Regarding work-life balance, there was a split amongst classroom assistants who were also union reps as to whether it was acceptable or not. Those indicating that there was an issue were more referencing the mental and emotional demands they can take home, rather than necessarily physical.

A pertinent point to consider, then, is whether staff feel that they are being asked to do too much and whether they believe their workload is excessive. A majority of teachers indicated that the demands of their role can be high and can become overly demanding or have concerns that it may move in that direction. One teacher noted that 'I think we're asked to do too much. I don't think I necessarily do too much [laughs]' (School 1, 11 years at school, 13 years in role, male), indicating that while the demands can be too high, that does not always mean that teachers will meet these demands in full.

There was an indication from the teachers that they can be asked to do too much at times, while a representative for a teacher union noted her concern around 'the number of members who would not recommend teaching as a profession to others and that was quite concerning. Can't remember the exact percentage, but it was quite a large number'. However, it would appear that these demands, while potentially high, were not coming across as a significant issue and for some the demands were only getting too high at certain times.

As regards classroom assistants, a majority noted that they can be asked to do too much or that they are concerned that too much may be asked going forward. One classroom assistant noted on whether she was asked to do too much that 'I think we are. Because at the end of the day we are all…we seem fairly burnt out and we all seem quite determined to get home' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, female), with poor pay coming across as a contributing factor. One classroom assistant noted that too much was being asked within the classroom, noting 'I think we're asked to do too much. I think sometimes we're taking on the role of the teacher, most definitely' (School 4, 3 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Some of the classroom assistants were more concerned about what may be asked of them in the future, rather than actually feeling that too much was being asked currently. In particular, medical and intimate care were considered a step too far and one classroom assistant noted that 'doing something like that, that's more of a medical person sort of job they tried, but, I mean, as it is at the moment I'm fine with what I'm doing' (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female).

A potential result of a demanding workload and stress is burnout, where a task or job becomes too much for a person and starts to become damaging (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002). Given this research is not using the Maslach Burnout Inventory or trying to objectively prove whether staff are burnt out, the focus instead is more on qualitatively understanding whether staff feel burnt out (Maslach and Jackson, 1981). A majority of teachers noted that they either had felt burnt out or had been close to that level, with a teacher noting he got 'not burnt out, but so close to burnt out, you think "why am I not burnt out?". And…I can't be far off being burnt out and then you have a holiday and it gets a bit better' (School 1, 15 years at school, 15 years in role, male). There was, though, no specific reason. Instead a variety of reasons were offered, ranging from workload, to missing their holidays and the role becoming monotonous. One teacher noted how she had previously done additional work alongside her normal workload prior to the end of the school year and that she can 'get to the summer holidays and just think "oh God, it's going to take me about a week actually just to feel like I can go on holiday" sort of thing. So yeah, you do get close to burnout' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female).

As with teachers, a majority of classroom assistants noted that they had suffered from burnout, been close to that level or had been signed off with work-related stress at some point. Similar to teachers there were a wide range of different reasons given for this burnout, though they tended to be either related to what was happening in the classroom/with pupils or due to the actions of others within the school. One classroom assistant noted how she is 'dealing with a lot of the pupils now that we probably didn't have to deal with before' and noted how this had been felt 'especially over I would say

about the last five years, it's become very, very challenging in a lot of classes' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant noted a similar point and noted in regards to suffering from burnout 'I have, especially I think in primary, I've been physically attacked a few times in primary and…being a steward now that's, it's a kind of, it shouldn't be, but it is in the increase' (School 4, 3 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Coming from a different angle, another classroom assistant, who had been signed off due to work-related stress, noted both the actions of management and that 'the stress part that I was off for was to do with too much, because I got my hours cut and I was given more work to do and that part was work-related, because I just couldn't fit everything in' (School 2, 7 months at school, 11½ years in role, female). These quotes illustrate the demands placed on classroom assistants and the impact such demands can have.

There was a split amongst teachers as to whether they believe that there is formal support available if they were to get burnout. A number of teachers, while indicating that there was support available, indicated that the support available was unhelpful or limited, with one teacher noting that he had talked about stress with his manager and was told '"no, people who get stressed are weak people who should be dealing with it properly"' (School 1, 15 years at school, 15 years in role, male), potentially blaming stress on the person who has gotten stressed, rather than looking at what caused that stress. However, a larger number of teachers, though not a majority, indicated that there was support or they believe there is, with one teacher noting 'I'm sure if it became a problem I would be offered, through occupational health, I'd be offered some sort of support' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female). Another teacher noted

the support that she got from the school due to the fact 'I refused to have that many different levels in my class, so do something about it. So they, two pupils didn't come in to the class that were going to' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). It is difficult to say if this split finding is due to different managers having different approaches or if the school is poor at advertising such support.

A majority of classroom assistants noted that either they do not believe that there is any formal support available or that the support available was unhelpful/limited. One classroom assistant noted 'I don't think if I was going through any emotional turmoil that the support would be there' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, male), indicating scepticism about whether there would be formal support available for anything other than perhaps a very significant issue. Related to burnout, a classroom assistant who is also a union rep noted about being physically assaulted by pupils and that 'a lot of our, um, basically our members have not been supported at all and have been threatened by managers, because they'll basically say it's part of your job, it's under that challenging behaviour, which it's not' (School 4, 3 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant noted that she had used the formal support mechanisms when she was signed off, but noted as to whether it was helpful: 'nope, just found it added more stress, their policies and the way they do their…so-called supportive measures just gave you more stress' (School 2, 7 months at school, 11½ years in role, female). As a result, there appears to be greater scepticism amongst classroom assistants than teachers about the level of support available.

Perhaps in contrast to what would be expected given the findings noted above about teachers feeling burnt out, the majority of teachers did not consider their role to be too emotionally demanding or were accepting of the expectations placed on them. While this finding does not mean that the role of the teacher is not draining or demanding, as teachers noted that it can be, there appeared to be an understanding or acceptance around that side. One teacher noted:

> Quite happy with the expectations that are placed on me. I think that…I once saw one of these funny Facebook things that says "I am a teacher" and then there was like…the ellipsis and then the list of "which means I am a social worker, counsellor, detective", do you know, "negotiator". I think if you enter teaching you have to expect…all of those things (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female).

Another teacher noted a similar point, noting as regards the demands 'it comes with the job, it's fine, it's what I expect' and that 'it's more than your average person has to deal with on a day, but it's part of the job, that's why you're a teacher, because you want to work with people [laughs]' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). Coming from a different angle, another teacher noted that he 'used to work a lot harder and so that was more demanding. But now I know that I can do less without really the job…the standards getting worse…and also a lot of your materials are prepared' (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male), indicating that how he now views the role has made it less demanding.

The classroom assistants offered mixed views as to whether their role was too emotionally demanding, with the largest number, though not a majority, indicating that they were comfortable with the expectations placed on them. As regards those feeling that their role was too demanding, a classroom assistant noted 'I think it's more and more so. We're all feeling quite drained just now' (School 1, 11 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant noted a similar point, noting 'you can be non-stop from the minute you come in till the minute you go home, so it is very demanding. And even at break times, we have pupils coming to the door pretty often' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Equally, though, another classroom assistant noted 'I'm happy with the expectations' (School 3, 3 years at school, 16 years in role, female) and so it is difficult to say with any great certainty whether the classroom assistant role is too emotionally demanding or not.

6.6   The Emotional Content and Nature of the Job

The final section of this chapter will focus more explicitly on the emotional side of being a teacher and classroom assistant working within a public sector secondary school in Scotland. While the previous sections have dealt with the emotional side, there has also been a more general focus on what it is like to be a teacher and classroom assistant working in a public sector secondary school. This section considers aspects that relate to both roles more generally, but has a stronger focus on issues such as how teachers and classroom assistants see and understand the emotional aspect of their roles. It is also important to consider the importance of acting, which is a fundamental

part of Hochschild's (2012) conception of emotional labour. Finally, the section will engage with the role of parents and pupils, who were noted in chapter four as being two key stakeholders within schools, to understand their role within public sector secondary schools in Scotland and how teachers and classroom assistants view them.

As chapter four noted, there has been growing research on emotion in teaching and emotional labour in teaching, with a desire to better define and understand the emotional side of teaching. However, there is still no clear definition of what emotional labour and the emotional nature of teaching is, with definitions ranging from ideas around flexibility in being able to meet job demands to focusing more on acting (Hargreaves, 1998; 2005). Teachers and classroom assistants tended to define it around two aspects: the emotions of pupils and their relationship with pupils; or around the ability of staff to control their emotions, similar to Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) for example. A majority of teachers focused more on the importance of the emotions of pupils and their relationship with them, with a teacher noting that, given he is working with adolescents, it is 'a time in your life where your emotions are very important to you and if we don't take account of kids emotions then we won't be able to get the best out of them' (School 1, 3 years at school, 20+ years in role, male). However, this focus on the emotions of pupils also means that negative emotions are dealt with, with another teacher noting 'the emotions that I feel generally are frustration with pupils not doing something or being arsey with me or giving me attitude' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). A majority of teachers indicated that, while they may enjoy their job, there are certain frustrations. Regarding the most emotionally challenging part of their role, a majority of teachers related it to

pupils. One teacher noted that 'sometimes you end up feeling quite shallow that your priority for that 57 minutes is examining two scenes from a play…and knowing that's not their priority for whatever good reason' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). Other teachers noted that the most challenging part was related to frustration with pupils.

As regards the classroom assistants, a majority agreed with teachers and defined the emotional aspect of their role around the emotions of pupils and their relationship with them. One classroom assistant noted that 'every day, as far as pupils are concerned, there's a range of emotions. They're going from way up high to the lowest of the low' (School 1, 11 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant also indicated that classroom assistants may deal with the emotions of pupils more than the teacher, noting:

> I think maybe we deal with it more than the normal class teacher in some respects, because we get to know the vulnerable kids that need support and they'll maybe talk to us a bit more than they talk to the class teacher, because they are moving from teacher to teacher. They know us a bit more, so we do maybe hear their stories a bit more and maybe know more where they're coming from sometimes (School 3, 3 years at school, 16 years in role, female).

Therefore, it does appear that classroom assistants have a close relationship with pupils. There was a split amongst classroom assistants who enjoy their job and those

who, while enjoying their job, noted negative or frustrating aspects. Regarding the worst part of the role, a majority of classroom assistants related it to pupils through their behaviour and the increasing demands that pupils can bring. Related to this, a majority of classroom assistants noted that the most emotionally challenging aspect of their role related to pupils, such as the issues they can bring or the limited support that can be offered to those that need it and the frustration that can bring. One classroom assistant noted that 'I'm not a psychologist, but we don't have a lot of access to psychologists anymore, because of the cuts in the money' and that as a result 'you are like firefighting every day. You're there and you're being that emotional support, but you don't feel like…you're actually getting anywhere, you're achieving anything' (School 4, 3 years at school, 14 years in role, female).

As noted, the importance of acting is a key part of the emotional labour literature, in particular Hochschild's (2012) conception of it. There were mixed views from teachers about whether they put on any sort of an act. A majority of teachers indicated that they do put on an act, though a number of them indicated that either they do not act as much as they used to or that they only act to a limited extent. These acts can range from surface acting to deep acting and are used in different ways. One teacher noted 'a lot of the time my angry thing is a persona. And again it's based on…what you're doing, how it's affecting somebody else' (School 1, 11 years at school, 13 years in role, male). Another teacher noted 'it's an act…because you can be quite sternly talking to somebody, but then turn around to the next person and that's forgotten' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female), both indicating that they can use their acting to express frustration with pupils. As noted, though, some teachers act

less now than they used to, with one teacher noting 'I think when I was a younger teacher I felt much more governed by people's expectations of me and I felt like I would have to put on more of an act' (School 1, 3 years at school, 20+ years in role, male).

A majority of classroom assistants noted that they can use acting. One classroom assistant noted 'I think you have to do that all the time', noting it as 'sort of "come on then, let's smiley smile"…and underneath you're probably thinking "ugh, this class again". Yeah, yeah. A lot of it is a bit of acting' (School 1, 11 years at school, 16 years in role, female). As with teachers, there appeared to be a number of ways and reasons as to why classroom assistants act. A number of classroom assistants emphasised the need to be professional and seem to see putting on an act as a means of achieving this professionalism, with one classroom assistant noting 'it's like you have a work persona where you're trying to be professional and calm and collected and then when you get home it's, you don't have to worry about what people think of you [laughs] in the same way' (School 1, 4 months at school, 3 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant noted that as regards acting 'it's just a strategy that I use' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, male), with an indication that these acts are purposeful and with the intention of getting certain responses from the pupils, as well as covering how the classroom assistant may actually be feeling. Therefore, classroom assistants seem more willing to use acting than teachers and see it as a means of allowing them to do their job the way they want to.

It is also important to understand if staff feel under any pressure to put on an act and who any act is for the benefit of. Of those teachers that do act, most indicated, at least to an extent, that they do so for the benefit of the pupils. This could be the specific pupil the teacher is dealing with or the rest of the class, while others noted that they put on their act for the benefit of both the pupils and themselves. Therefore, any act may not be done purely to benefit the pupils, but pupils appear to be a key motivation behind any act. There was more of a split view as regards whether teachers feel coerced to put on this act, with roughly half of the teachers indicating that they do not feel coerced, while an equal number indicated that they can feel coerced. One teacher noted that 'it's up to me' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female) as regards her acting and only one teacher indicated any coercion comes from management, which is in contrast with the findings of Hochschild (2012). Other teachers indicated some level of coercion from around the time they were training, with one teacher noting that it was pushed that 'you *should* feel happy, you should be, you should feel this, you should feel that. And, yeah, so I feel like there is pressure to emotionally try and conform (emphasis added)' (School 1, 12 years at school, 15 years in role, male).

As regards classroom assistants, a majority of those that do act noted that their acting is, at least to an extent, for the benefit of the pupils. As with teachers, some classroom assistants noted that their acting was also for their own benefit and the benefit of the teacher, but pupils again appear to be a key motivation. One classroom assistant noted that she does her acting for both the pupils and herself, noting:

You want to be consistent with the pupils, but obviously…you don't

want to be seen as somebody who's swinging wildly from one extreme

to the other, because then nobody knows how you'll react and then kids

get wary of you and that filters up and then…you don't want to lose

your job over something like that (School 1, 4 months at school, 3 years

in role, female).

Interestingly, a majority of classroom assistants also noted that they do not feel coerced to put on this act and that it is their choice. It would be difficult to say whether this is due to classroom assistants resisting management or more due to management having little involvement with classroom assistants. One classroom assistant noted that 'I think it's my choice' (School 1, 3 months at school, 3 months in role, male) as regards whether he feels coerced to act and of those that did feel coerced a majority were indicating it was the teacher more than management that were coercing them. Therefore, it does not appear that management are coercing classroom assistants to act (or at least successfully).

All of the teachers noted that the best part of the job was working with the pupils. One teacher noted that for her the best part was 'when you see children doing something…doing something well. And that doesn't necessarily mean it's fantastic, but when they have got it and they're doing it as well as they can do' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female). As a result, a majority of teachers noted that they would generally be willing to go beyond the standard expectations of their role to help a pupil. As regards how teachers make this decision about who to help,

particularly as time may be limited, teachers noted a range of responses. The teacher previously quoted in this paragraph noted 'I do make an effort with all pupils to engage them, to get them to come back after school, I regularly email children. But it has to be a two way street, they have to initiate something as well' (School 1, 18 years at school, 21 years in role, female). Another teacher noted that 'you can only really suggest and offer help to pupils, you can't force them to do stuff', as well as noting that 'the tendency seems to be to support the ones that are struggling' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female), with an acknowledgement that the school is not as good at offering extra to more able pupils. One way in which teachers can offer this additional help is through after-school/extracurricular activities, which a majority of teachers noted they do or have done, though some were noting in a more limited or ad hoc way, rather than a regular commitment.

All of the assistants agreed that the best aspect of the role, at least in part, was working with pupils. One classroom assistant noted that 'I enjoy working with teenagers and chatting to them and…getting to know them and sort of building up a relationship with them…I enjoy that aspect of it and feeling that you've done some good' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). In turn, a majority of classroom assistants also noted that they would be willing to go beyond the standard expectations of their role to help a pupil. As with teachers, classroom assistants noted a range of different ways as to how they decide which pupils to help. One classroom assistant noted her decision was based around the needs of pupils, noting 'I suppose there's some kids that are more needy than others, so they're the ones that you'll be helping' (School 1, 11 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Additional help can also be dependent

on pupils asking classroom assistants for this, with one classroom assistant noting 'we're not mind readers in a sense, so I think a child needs to tell you when they're upset about something' (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, male), though also notes he will try to keep an eye out for pupils who may be struggling. Unlike teachers, a majority of classroom assistants noted that they do not help with any after-school/extracurricular activities.

Another means of focusing on this relationship between teachers and classroom assistants with pupils is around whether it is difficult for staff to accept that they may not be able to help all pupils as much as they would like to, even if they have tried their best. A majority of teachers noted that it can be or has previously been difficult to accept when they have not been able to help some pupils as much as they would like for whatever reason, though most within that majority indicated either an acceptance that they can only do so much or that it had become easier to accept. One teacher noted about the difficulty of not always being able to offer everything to all pupils:

> That's the million dollar question and that's the one that keeps you
> awake at night is where you think, although you've tried your best, that
> you weren't able to provide enough help to somebody and that they're,
> they've gone away still struggling. But I'm afraid that's just the way it
> is (School 1, 3 years at school, 20+ years in role, male).

Another teacher noted a similar acceptance, noting 'I think it does come with experience, but it is a frustration that you can't give more to everyone' (School 1, 18

years at school, 21 years in role, female), with both quotes indicating that, while there was some acceptance that they cannot offer more, it can still be difficult to accept.

While not all classroom assistants were asked about the difficulty in not being able to offer more to all pupils, a majority of those asked noted that it can be challenging to accept or has previously been, though half within that majority appear to largely accept that they can only do so much. One classroom assistant noted that 'it is hard, because sometimes you feel the wee quiet ones are being disregarded in favour of the pupils that are causing all the disruption' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). However, as regards having to accept this reality one classroom assistant noted 'it's a bit frustrating, but I think we've kind of got used to it now, because you just know there's nothing you can do' (School 1, 8 years at school, 14 years in role, female). One classroom assistant also highlighted the challenges that can be associated with going beyond for a pupil she works with, noting:

> She has cerebral palsy and she's wheelchair bound, but she also has a very young mental age for her age. I don't know if you've ever looked online for activities to meet that criteria, but it's very difficult. And I don't actually have any support from any other members of staff in helping to organise this one hour that I have with her. So…I've done my own timetable, I've done a whole bunch of extra research, which is very painstaking (School 1, 4 months at school, 4 months in role, female).

Finally, it is important to consider the role of parents, as chapters three and four outlined the desire of modernisation to give parents a much greater role in the running of schools, while the Scottish government has also been pushing for parents to have a greater say (McIvor, 2017a). Perhaps surprisingly, the majority of teachers noted that they do not have a significant role with parents. One teacher noted that, outside of contracted times such as parents evenings when teachers have to meet parents, parent contact was more limited to 'you may get occasional sort of phone calls if there's been something you've needed to convey to home. But generally I don't find that the parents are in touch very often' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female), with some teachers indicating that the type of school they work at means parents are less inclined to be actively involved. Another teacher made a similar point, noting that 'parents are important, but I don't know if we have enough communication with them' (School 1, 11 years at school, 12 years in role, female). There was also no clear view as to whether parents were getting more demanding or becoming like customers. Some teachers noted that (some) parents can be unreasonable, but others noted that it was not a significant issue.

A majority of classroom assistants indicated that their role with parents can be quite limited. One classroom assistant noted 'we don't really deal with parents an awful lot. That would be in sort of…the manager's job' (School 1, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). It also appears some schools may not encourage any interaction between classroom assistants and parents, with a classroom assistant noting there is 'nothing at all with parents, nothing, we're not allowed to speak to parents' (School 4, 3 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Another classroom assistant noted how

any such previous interaction has perhaps been removed, noting 'I used to be involved in care plans and dealing with pupils, parents. Not our remit anymore…way above our pay grade' (School 5, 11 years at school, 24 years in role, female). A majority of classroom assistants noted that parents are demanding or are getting more demanding, though more within that majority are noting that it would just be some parents.

6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has outlined the data that was collected from the public sector secondary schools. The chapter has engaged with the range of teachers and classroom assistants that were interviewed, as well as senior management and significant others, to provide a good understanding of what it is like to work within a public sector secondary school in Scotland and how teachers and classroom assistants can experience working within these schools differently. This chapter has been useful in outlining the views of staff working across these schools, giving a voice to the participants about the experiences they have had during their time in their roles and outlined the key areas that will be taken forward in chapter nine.

7.0   Findings: Public Sector Primary Schools

7.1   Introduction

The focus of this chapter is primarily on the data collected from Scottish public sector primary schools. The data collected on public sector primary schools is spread across seven schools, 10 teachers, eight classroom assistants, which were further broke down into five mainstream classroom assistants and three classroom assistants working in a special needs school, and three senior management. The same approach used in chapter six will also be used in this chapter, with the chapter split across the motivations to enter education, the reality of the role, techniques used to manage/regulate emotions, the impact of stress and burnout and the emotional content of both jobs.

7.2   Motivation to Work in a School

To understand why teachers and classroom assistants are currently employed in their current roles it is worthwhile analysing the level of belief and passion that staff have for teaching and education. Perhaps surprisingly, there was no clear answer coming through from teachers as to why they became teachers, with half indicating either a desire from an early age to become a teacher or at least an initial idea to work in education or with children, whereas the other half either came into the role later in life or through trying other occupations. One teacher noted that 'I think I've known

from…quite a young child that that's what I wanted to do' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female), whereas another, who got into the role later in life, noted her motivation as more 'to have a challenge in life and also to give something back almost' (School 10, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, female). However, a majority of teachers noted a preference to work within the public sector, thereby indicating there is some belief in public sector education. Equally, though, one teacher noted how it may also be difficult to move into the public sector if you have worked in the private sector, as 'the state sector's not quite as keen to sort of say "ok, you've made that jump, why? Why would you...now want…". Yeah…it does seem to be tougher' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male), perhaps making some teachers reluctant to move into the private sector.

Similar to teachers, there was no clear motivation coming through from classroom assistants as to why they got into their line of work. There was a relatively even split between those noting that they became classroom assistants due to the convenience of having school hours/holidays and those noting some belief or value in working in education or with children. A special needs classroom assistant noted that she got into the role due to having a 'cousin who's blind and has quite profound learning difficulties and stuff like that, so I think just through…being with him and then I just kind of fell into it' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female). A mainstream classroom assistant noted that she became a classroom assistant 'for the holidays…it was because it suited me with my own daughter's time for school and what I didn't realise was how much I would actually enjoy it' (School 11, 18 years at school, 18 years in role, female). Also, some classroom assistants highlighted both a convenience

and something deeper, with a classroom assistant noting that 'it was more convenience than anything…I do like working with kids. I've always worked along, I used to teach dance, so I've always worked with kids' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female). However, in contrast to teachers, a majority of classroom assistants noted that there was no particular conscious decision to work within the public sector and it was more the job itself that interested them.

Aligning with emotion in teaching literature such as Hargreaves (1998) and Intrator (2006), the vast majority of teachers believed that you do need to have some passion to do the job. One teacher noted that 'this is not a nine till three job, as much as people think it is. The amount of people that have said that to me, I just laugh, because they've got no idea' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male), with another agreeing that 'this isn't just a come in and pick up a wage job' (School 9, 5 years at school, 18 years in role, female). Building on that, another teacher noted that 'I think you've got to want to do it. I think if you don't want to do it then find another job…it's difficult enough when you enjoy it' (School 10, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, female), with these quotes highlighting that people need a commitment due to the challenges that the job brings. Another teacher noted that 'some people maybe think that you need brains. I think that you definitely need passion and a love for young people' (School 10, 1½ years at school, 12 years in role, female).

While coming across less strongly than with teachers, a majority of classroom assistants noted that you do need to have a passion to do the job or something similar, with a mainstream classroom assistant noting more of a keenness than a passion. A

mainstream classroom assistant noted that 'you can't just treat it as a job' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female), with another mainstream classroom assistant noting that 'if you came in and you weren't interested then that would show' (School 11, 4 years at school, 12 years in role, female). A special needs classroom assistant puts it across more bluntly, noting 'you can't do this job for the money, because the money's mince, so…I think it's one of those things that you've got to be passionate about it' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female), with a general belief coming through from the classroom assistants that you need to like children and enjoy working with them to do the role.

7.3   The Reality and Expectations of the Role

Now that the chapter has outlined why the teachers and classroom assistants got into their current roles, it is important to understand the current reality that teachers and classroom assistants work within and the expectations placed on them. Starting with the role of classroom assistants, whose numbers have sharply risen in the past two decades, teachers were generally positive about the role of classroom assistants (Bach and Kessler, 2012). One teacher noted that he sees the classroom assistant as 'a partner, partner in class helping these kids…get to where they need to be' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). Another teacher noted that the way he, and he believes other teachers, use the classroom assistant is that:

Most of the time the PSA works with the lower ability, it's just the way…it's the easiest way to do it frankly…I am therefore teaching 18, 19 kids and giving them me, whereas five or six of them are getting [the PSA], which is the way it probably should be (School 8, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, male).

Another teacher noted a similar point, though more critically, noting 'I think sometimes they are used to work with the children that have the lower ability. Whereas I'm thinking potentially that should be the teacher' (School 6, 5 years at school, 27 years in role, female). It does, though, appear questionable how well defined the classroom assistant role is, with a majority of teachers noting that the role and/or job description can be defined either very broadly or not as clearly as it could be. One teacher, who was previously a classroom assistant, noted that the role can vary and that 'it depends on the school, it depends on the nature of the school and the kinds of children you've got in the school as well' (School 10, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, female). While only asked to the second half of teachers interviewed, a majority of these teachers indicated that there is some time for the teacher and classroom assistant to plan together, but that this time can be limited and not formally set aside, potentially coming out of the teacher and classroom assistant's own time.

Classroom assistants define their role in a number of ways. A number of classroom assistants emphasised that they are there to reinforce what the teacher has taught and support the teacher. A mainstream classroom assistant defined her role as: 'I would say it's still in a teaching capacity. I mean, you're doing a bit of everything…you're

doing pastoral care, you're teaching, you're comforting…you're doing a bit of everything' (School 11, 18 years at school, 18 years in role, female). Another mainstream classroom assistant noted 'I suppose in a way we're a friend to the children, more than maybe anything else in a way…that's just a wee bit more able to help them with their work' (School 11, 4 years at school, 12 years in role, female). The special needs classroom assistants tended to emphasise the importance of the team and teachers working together with the classroom assistants. One special needs classroom assistant noted for her 'we all work as a team and you all have input' (School 12, 25 years at school, 25 years in role, female), though another special needs classroom assistant noted that her class team was not as good and the teacher plans everything. A mainstream classroom assistant also questioned how well teachers, particularly new teachers, know how to use classroom assistants, noting 'they're not sure. "I'm not really sure, should you be doing, are you allowed to do reading, are you allowed to do this". I think that's something that could be clarified for them' (School 11, 18 years at school, 18 years in role, female). Related to this, and supported by a majority of classroom assistants, was the fact that the classroom assistant role and/or job description can be very broadly defined. As a result, classroom assistants can go beyond their job description, with a mainstream classroom assistant noting 'we do do more than we should. I mean, there's any other duties is on there…that list is endless' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female). A majority of mainstream classroom assistants did note at least some time to plan with the teacher, whereas a majority of special needs classroom assistants noted that there is not or it is limited.

A concern about the introduction and use of classroom assistants, as noted in chapter three, was that they would move too much into the teacher role and be teaching, even if that is not formally part of their role. This concern was somewhat supported by the fact that a majority of teachers noted that classroom assistants can come close to teaching. One teacher noted 'I think they would come very close to teaching. I think they teach all the time, and I think they're very good at it [laughs]' (School 10, 1½ years at school, 12 years in role, female). A teacher union representative also noted that there can be difficulties differentiating between what teachers and classroom assistants do, noting:

> I think the boundaries, particularly further down the school, are blurred…for example what is the difference between hearing reading, which is what a teacher would do, and being an audience for the pupil, which is what a classroom assistant would be.

It also appears that teachers can expect very specific standards from classroom assistants, with one teacher noting 'that learning assistant has to know every process of what's going on, what I've already taught, so that they're able to fill any gaps and re-teach it, reinforce it' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male), though he noted that he will spend as long as is needed to ensure the classroom assistant understood his methods. One teacher did, though, note that 'I do hear of concerns that they're maybe teaching and they haven't had sufficient training' (School 9, 5 years at school, 18 years in role, female). However, these concerns were not widely noted by

other teachers and if classroom assistants are coming close to teaching then it appears to be with the blessing of the teachers involved.

A majority of classroom assistants noted that they can potentially come quite close to the teacher role or be teaching pupils. A special needs classroom assistant noted that in the classroom the teacher and classroom assistant role can be quite similar and 'if it's something like putting pasta on a…shoelace or whatever, you're having to coach the child and show them what to do, so you're effectively teaching them' (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female). A mainstream classroom assistant also noted that there can be a need to do tasks that the teacher would do and noted 'you do do things that the teacher does as well, yeah. Because you're maybe working with a wee group doing their maths or something and then you're maybe marking their work and things like that' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female). One mainstream classroom assistant did, though, note that she needs clear instruction from the teacher and that the teacher will:

> Say "listen, I haven't got time, can you take this wee group and explain this sheet to them and whatever" and I'll say "right, that's fine, but you need to tell me, because I don't want to be telling them a different way from what you would tell them", so I'll make sure I've got it right first before I go and put anything on to them (School 11, 18 years at school, 18 years in role, female).

As noted in chapter three, CfE has been a significant change in Scottish education, with a stated aim to give teachers and schools more freedom over how they teach. However, a vast majority of teachers noted that there have been issues with CfE. While there seems to be a broad appreciation of the theory/philosophy that underpins CfE and an appreciation of the freedom that it can give teachers, there was also a feeling that it can offer too much freedom and lack guidance. One teacher cited both good and bad aspects, noting 'it gives you a bit of flexibility and free reign to do odds and ends, but a bit more guidance and more specifics on what's expected here, there sort of thing would be better' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). Another teacher noted CfE was 'good in theory, but in practice it wasn't clear enough to be good' (School 10, 1½ years at school, 12 years in role, female), though a number of teachers indicated that the introduction of benchmarks are improving CfE and making it clearer how it should be used. A teacher noted that the cross-curricular nature of CfE means that there is 'going to be a primary, secondary divide. Curriculum for Excellence matches so much better with our way of teaching in a primary school' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male).

There was a split view amongst classroom assistants over CfE and the impact it has had on them. A majority of mainstream classroom assistants indicated that they either do not have much involvement with CfE or noted that it had not significantly changed their role. The indication is that CfE was more of a change for the teachers, with a mainstream classroom assistant noting 'our job didn't really change…we still just work alongside the teachers and whatever they're doing' (School 11, 4 years at school, 12 years in role, female). While some mainstream classroom assistants believed they

may have received some training on CfE, they did not seem overly certain about that and it does not appear to have been anything significant. In contrast, all of the special needs classroom assistants seemed to have a better understanding of CfE and believed that it was not appropriate within their type of school. One special needs classroom assistant noted 'I personally feel that we shouldn't have Curriculum for Excellence in our school' (School 12, 25 years at school, 25 years in role, female), while another noted that there are parts of the curriculum that 'you need to stick to it…there's not any ifs, wheres or buts, but I think within this it could be looked at more flexibly within a special needs establishment' (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female). While it does appear that the special needs classroom assistants have received some training on CfE, it did not appear that a lot of this training was provided through the school or through their role as special needs classroom assistants.

While not directly related to modernisation, the increasing drive for inclusion has meant that mainstream teachers and classroom assistants are now dealing with more pupils with greater needs than they may have before (Allan, 2010; Barrett *et al*., 2015). Interestingly, though, behaviour was not seen as a significant issue for a majority of teachers. For example, one teacher noted that 'behaviour issues in here are he's talking too much or he's not listening, so, no, they're not the same, they're not like throwing tables up and that sort of behaviour' (School 8, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, male). Part of the reason behind a lack of behaviour issues could be due to schools with limited behaviour issues self-selecting to take part in the research, though the same teacher just quoted noted that luck can also come into it, as his school has had pupils with more severe behaviour issues previously. Behavioural issues are, though, being

taken seriously by unions, with a teacher union representative noting that his union 'have adopted almost like a zero tolerance approach to violence by saying being punched, being kicked…having your hair pulled, being slapped, being spat at is not part of your job'. Regarding additional support needs, half of the teachers interviewed indicated that additional support needs can be an issue. One particular issue can be lack of support for schools by the local authority, with one teacher noting in regards to planning that 'up to five years ago you used to get a day out and then it was cut to a half a day out if you had a child with Down's Syndrome', but that now 'that's been taken away, I get nothing' (School 10, 10 years at school, 11 years in role, female).

There was a split between mainstream and special needs classroom assistants regarding behaviour, with most mainstream classroom assistants not considering behaviour to be a significant issue, whereas all special needs classroom assistants indicated that it can be a problem, which was somewhat expected. Indeed, one special needs classroom assistant noted that they can be physically assaulted by pupils and that 'obviously you don't kind of think "oh I'm going to my work thinking that I'm going to get hit", but I think it certainly is always in the back of your mind that that could happen' (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female), indicating potentially quite severe behaviour issues for some classroom assistants. A representative for a classroom assistant union also questioned how such behaviour can be viewed by others and the support available, noting:

> I don't think it's minor to be kicked at your work anyway, you shouldn't
> be kicked at your work, it's not acceptable, it shouldn't be part of the

job, any of that sort of thing. And if you have to deal with a child that's

going to be kicking you all the time then where's the training, where's

the support.

A majority of mainstream classroom assistants noted that additional support needs can

be an issue, with a majority also noting that they are dealing with these needs more

than they used to. A mainstream classroom assistant noted that pupils are less likely

to be sent to special needs schools now 'because apparently they've shut…most of

them down. So they're wanting everybody in the mainstream and it's just not really

working' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female). As was expected,

the special needs classroom assistants noted that they regularly work with children

with additional support needs, with these needs potentially quite severe.

A majority of teachers noted that the role of the teacher in a primary school can change

based on gender. For example, a male teacher noted that 'I think as a male you're

expected to be firmer' and 'you're expected to be a good male role model' (School 8,

5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). This gender difference was not always put

across as a negative by teachers and can just be a belief that men and women are able

to engage with pupils in different ways. Potentially related to gender is expectations

around touch, with Hancock *et al.* (2015) noting that touch can be controversial, in

particular when it involves children. A majority of teachers indicated that they would

touch pupils if they felt it was appropriate to do so, though, perhaps reflecting the

controversy around touch, most within this majority noted that they are either

instructed or feel pressured to minimise any touch. The potential difficulty around

touch was reflected by one teacher, who noted that it is 'a grey area, I think you just have to be very careful that it's not misinterpreted or overdone' (School 10, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, female). A majority of teachers did, though, believe that there can be a difference with touch depending on the gender of the teacher, with a feeling that men are either more reluctant to touch pupils or can feel more pressure not to. The male teacher quoted earlier in this paragraph noted that 'it would be a real extreme case that I would actually touch a child at all' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male), while another male teacher indicated that the insinuation can be hurtful, noting 'I think when I cuddle the children and, or hold the children's hand or that, I think you can get funny looks, because you're a boy, rather than a girl, which I think's wrong frankly' (School 8, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, male).

A majority of classroom assistants also indicated that gender can make a difference. One mainstream classroom assistant noted that there have been issues with some pupils from an Asian background and that 'there was one or two that we had a problem like that, as if to say..."women not going to tell me what to do"' (School 9, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Equally, though, another mainstream classroom assistant noted that some teachers felt that it was inappropriate for men to be working with younger pupils as a classroom assistant, so it appears such gender differences can impact on both men and women. There was something of a split between mainstream and special needs classroom assistants around the issue of touch. In the mainstream, a majority of classroom assistants indicated that they are not meant to touch, but may do so to some extent if necessary. In contrast, it appears that special needs classroom assistants have to touch pupils to some extent, such as for personal/intimate care or de-

escalating a situation, though one special needs classroom assistant noted that she can still feel pressure around touch and that if she got it wrong then 'that could be me, that could be the end of my career…that's always in the back of your mind when you're working with these kids' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female). There was, though, a split view as regards the impact of gender on touch. There was no clear view coming through from mainstream classroom assistants as to whether touch would be seen differently based on gender, though an arguable majority indicated there could perhaps be a difference. However, for the special needs classroom assistants it was noted that male classroom assistants can only perform personal care on male pupils, whereas female classroom assistants can do so with either gender, indicating a clear gender difference.

Given the significant impact government in Scotland can have on education, it is important to understand how teachers and classroom assistants view the role of government. A majority of teachers were somewhat critical about government. In particular, a number of teachers felt that government was perhaps not in touch with the reality that teachers face. One teacher noted that government should 'listen to the teachers, listen to headteachers, listen to people who actually have a background in education, rather than coming at it from a political angle' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). The tendency for government to continually change policy and limited funding were also criticised. A majority of teachers also noted some issues with inspections. Perhaps not unsurprisingly, a school that had recently had a positive inspection (school eight) was more positive about the role of inspections, whereas the staff at school ten who had been present when it had a negative inspection were less

positive about the inspection process. One of the teachers at school ten noted 'I thought our inspection was dreadful, I found the whole experience horrific, it was just awful' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female). Another teacher at the same school criticised the stressfulness of inspections, noting hearing of 'a headteacher that took her life because of inspection…that can't be right' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male). A few teachers also noted potential concerns around whether inspections get a realistic image.

While it was not asked of all classroom assistants, there did appear to be a split between the mainstream and special needs classroom assistants over the role of government. The only common point made by most of the mainstream classroom assistants that were asked about the role of government was around a lack of funding. One mainstream classroom assistant referenced budget cuts and that as regards funding and resources 'it's very tight', further noting that 'there's no money in the budget left to buy paper and jotters' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Special needs classroom assistants appear more frustrated with government than their mainstream counterparts and a majority referred to a belief that government do not understand their smaller, special needs type of school. One special needs classroom assistant noted that government are 'just seeing it from a bigger scale and not looking at it from a small school environment and what our needs are and what the needs of the kids are that come to the school' (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female). There was a similar split with inspections, with a majority of mainstream classroom assistants not noting any significant concerns around inspections, whereas a majority of special needs classroom assistants did note some concerns. One special

needs classroom assistant does not believe there should be any notice given, whereas another is sceptical about the process, noting 'I mean, they come in and they look at the paperwork. How can they ask our children that they've done that?' (School 12, 25 years at school, 25 years in role, female).

7.4   Techniques for Managing and Regulating Emotions

It is now relevant to consider how teachers and classroom assistants cope with the demands they face in their roles and what techniques they can use, particularly around regulating and managing their emotions. On training received, of the teachers that were asked all of them noted that they had had some level of training prior to starting their job, which, as was noted in chapter six, is to be expected in Scotland. However, a majority of teachers noted criticisms of their training, with some noting that training did not prepare them for teaching. One teacher noted that she felt the balance was too much on:

> The sort of academic side of education, rather than, for example, teaching you how to teach others to read or the first steps in forming letters and writing, all the kind of things that you would think would probably be quite useful (School 10, 2 years at school, 5 years in role, female).

Another teacher noted that 'the balance is still far too strongly to theory and stuff that's irrelevant quite frankly' (School 8, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, male). A majority of teachers also noted that they either did not feel emotionally ready for the role following training or not as ready as they could have been. One teacher noted that his first school was in a difficult area and that it was a 'different world. And I was not ready for any of that' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male).

A vast majority of classroom assistants noted that they either did not get any training when they started the role or that the training they received was limited/of a poor standard. A special needs classroom assistant noted that it tended to be that 'as you start it's more on the job training and then once you've kind of been on the job it's then courses kind of then come up' (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female). A mainstream classroom assistant noted that she was mostly pushed straight into the role at her first school and 'I was basically just there you are, one to one with one child and can you…pick him out was the question I was asked when I came out the room' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female), which she did not appreciate. The lack of training for special needs classroom assistants is particularly concerning, though it was noted that training would be given for areas such as using equipment or de-escalation before needing to do them. As with teachers, a majority of classroom assistants noted that they either were not emotionally ready for their role or not as ready as they could have been. A special needs classroom assistant noted an extreme example that made her emotionally ready for the role, noting that it happened with the 'first child that died' and that 'that hit me hard' (School 12, 25 years at school,

25 years in role, female), as prior to that she had not fully appreciated how severe the issues some of her pupils had.

As regards how trained teachers are around additional support needs, a majority of teachers noted that they either do not feel trained enough or not as fully as they could. One teacher noted that 'we have courses to help us and so on. But I don't feel fully qualified to deal with these kids as a mainstream practitioner' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). There appears to be a variableness as to how easy it is to cope with additional support needs as well and that some classes can be harder to cope with than others. One teacher noted as regards feeling trained enough that 'this year at the moment yes, but I have had classes before where…no, I haven't been trained enough, but it would be up to me then to go and do my own research' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female). This quote highlights another issue that a number of teachers indicated, which was that their base knowledge around additional support needs is not always enough, but it would be up to the teacher to do their own research or find relevant training and it is questionable with inclusion if such training should be just left to teachers and schools individually. A representative for a teacher union noted how they offer some initial training on behaviour to teachers and that 'it's the first time anyone's ever sat down and gone through the nuts and bolts of how to manage disruptive behaviour', with questions as to whether such training should be the responsibility of unions to provide.

A majority of mainstream classroom assistants also noted that they are not trained enough around additional support needs or that there are potential gaps in their

knowledge. A mainstream classroom assistant, who has recently struggled with additional support needs pupils, noted the example of a pupil with autism who can use 'kicks, punches and when they do that you don't know what to do. You're not really supposed to handle the children and you've not been trained, so you don't really know how to approach them' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female). As with teachers, there does appear to be a variability as to how much classroom assistants can cope with and feel trained enough around additional support needs, with a mainstream classroom assistant noting with one pupil that 'the child that we had I would say no, I would say we weren't meeting his needs, because we're not, we haven't been trained as special unit teachers have been trained, so hence him being moved' (School 11, 18 years at school, 18 years in role, female), with others referencing the seeming lack of special needs schools. A majority of special needs classroom assistants, while not specifically noting that they are not trained enough, indicated that it can take time for staff to be put on training for specific additional support needs and so staff may be working with pupils with these needs before they have received the relevant training. While feeling comfortable enough herself due to her background, a special needs classroom assistant noted 'had I not had that background then no I don't think you really know enough about certain conditions, but then again that probably comes down to interview and them deciding at interview whether you've had previous experience' (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female).

Another technique teachers and classroom assistants could use to fulfil their roles and control their emotions is emotion regulation, with a key belief of researchers such as

Grandey (2000) and Gross (1998) being that employees can self-control and regulate their emotions. A majority of teachers felt that they currently have a relatively good level of self-control over their emotions within the classroom. One teacher noted 'I would say so, yeah, I'm quite a calm person, I don't tend to get emotional very easily' and that the classroom can be a good escape to some extent, as it lets her put 'a different hat on and you kind of forget about things for the hours that the children are there and then deal with it all when you go back home again' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female). Another teacher indicated that self-control can vary by school and that with her previous school 'there were higher levels of social and emotional deprivation. That's more difficult to control your own emotions, because sometimes things happen that effect your own emotions' (School 10, 1½ years at school, 12 years in role, female). Some teachers indicated that this self-control was not always easy, with a teacher noting that it can sometimes be challenging if you have 'got things going on at home or outside the school or even physically or whatever with yourself, it's very hard to always switch that off completely' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male), though he also noted that pupils can bring the best out in him and cheer him up. There was a mixed response as regards whether teachers should control their emotions and show a consistent emotional display or whether they should show pupils a range of emotions. Indeed, roughly half of the teachers went for somewhere in between the two or a mixture, while an equal number of teachers were split equally between either control or showing a range.

A majority of classroom assistants also felt that they had a relatively good level of self-control. A mainstream classroom assistant noted that some of her colleagues 'can get

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quite teary about things, but I think no, this is my job and I have to just be professional about that, but it's hard when you see them doing a performance and they've worked on it' (School 9, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Somewhat agreeing with that, another mainstream classroom assistant noted 'I think, yes…you're in control. I think if you weren't in control, well…you shouldn't be doing the job. But I think the older you get, it's harder' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female), indicating that self-control may become more challenging over time. In contrast to that view, a special needs classroom assistant noted:

> It's got better as I've worked in it for obviously a few years now…you get used to stuff, you get used to it…some of the things you probably shouldn't get used to, like being attacked and the challenging behaviour, you do get used to it (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female).

The above quote may indicate that, while time and experience may improve self-control, it could also mean that classroom assistants accept behaviour that they perhaps should not and just see it as part of the job. A majority of classroom assistants also suggested that their approach would be a mix or somewhere in between controlling their emotions and showing a range, though a majority of mainstream classroom assistants indicated they would favour either control or showing a range.

As was noted in chapter four, EI is a concept that has gained a significant amount of traction within teaching. This increased awareness of EI is perhaps reflected in the

fact that all of the teachers interviewed noted that they considered EI to be important, with some considering it crucial and others noting a general relevancy. One teacher noted its value as regards dealing with a pupil with issues, noting 'I think emotional intelligence is so important, because if I didn't have the emotional intelligence to be knowing what's going on in his wee head, there's no way I could help him' (School 8, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, male). As regards what EI is, one teacher defined it as:

> Just being able to understand sort of the emotions of others, the emotions of the children, how that affects them, how it affects the class, how it affects day to day them learning or my own teaching. That would be my understanding of it (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female).

Another teacher defined EI as 'having confidence in yourself and what you think and feel and, I don't know if controlling's the word, controlling emotions…just understanding your emotions' (School 9, 5 years at school, 18 years in role, female), indicating there are a range of ways teachers define EI.

There was a split between the mainstream and special needs classroom assistants as regards EI. A majority of mainstream classroom assistants had generally not heard of the term or did not consider it relevant to their job. One mainstream classroom assistant noted when she is dealing with pupils 'I don't think about my emotional intelligence, I just do what I do [laughs]. I do what I think is right for that situation'

(School 11, 18 years at school, 18 years in role, female). However, a majority of special needs classroom assistants did consider EI to be important or relevant. One special needs classroom assistant noted that 'you do need to be aware of your emotions and…obviously some people have more emotional intelligence than other people' and indicated that people with EI 'can keep things a bit more this isn't the appropriate time to be behaving like that then, we just need to…deal with that at a later date or whatever and I guess put a face on' (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female). Another special needs classroom assistant noted:

> You've got to have emotional intelligence…you've got to be able to respond to the kids in a certain way, and your other staff as well, you've got to be aware of other people's feelings and how other people are coping, reacting (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female).

A key aspect of emotion management research is the role of colleagues and the support they can offer, with communities of coping important in showing how colleagues can make jobs more palatable to employees (Korczynski, 2003). A majority of teachers noted that colleagues do play an important part in how much they enjoy their role. A number of teachers offered examples when colleague support had not been great and the negative impact it had, with one teacher noting that if you are 'in an environment where you're not getting along with colleagues it can be quite a difficult job. I think it's quite a difficult job anyway and yeah, I would find that very difficult. It would make a big impact' (School 10, 1½ years at school, 12 years in role, female). A nursery teacher noted that colleagues can be particularly important due to the team nature of

nurseries and that she had a colleague where 'it was her way or the highway and it was not a pleasant situation to be in. Because you aren't trained, you're not their line manager, you've got no authority over them, but you have to work together as a team' (School 6, 5 years at school, 27 years in role, female). A majority of teachers noted that they are willing to go beyond for their colleagues if required. However, one teacher within this majority noted that he is less willing to offer more now after previously doing more to help his colleagues, which 'meant I wasn't going to do this, because I was doing this instead, and a certain management person didn't like the fact I hadn't done this and I had done that instead' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male).

A majority of classroom assistants noted that their colleagues are important as to how much they enjoy their role and would generally go beyond for them if the situation arose. It appears that colleagues in this instance include both classroom assistants and teachers, though some noted it would more be classroom assistants given they would understand the role and its demands better. A mainstream classroom assistant noted 'it's good that you can talk to them and talk about your day and what's happening. Yeah, it wouldn't be any good if you couldn't talk to them' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female). Another mainstream classroom assistant noted that her colleagues make her remain in the job, noting 'I do consider retiring sometimes, but I would really miss them, they're real friends, especially the ones I've started with' (School 9, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). A special needs classroom assistant highlighted the importance of the staff room to her, noting it is 'your wee kind of safe space that you can go, because nobody else knows what it's like. So,

when you've got your colleagues in here they're the only people that know exactly what's going on' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female).

Related to both EI and the role of colleagues is identity and whether teachers and classroom assistants can still identify a collective identity or collective traits. The vast majority of teachers noted that there was some sort of collective identity or collective traits within teaching. One teacher, who sometimes uses his own money to buy resources for the classroom, noted that most teachers are people who are 'just trying their best for these kids, who have a lot of empathy for kids, who want the best for kids and sometimes struggle to give the best to kids, because they're stressed' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). While believing that any identity is mostly individualised, another teacher noted:

> I think from my experience I would see teachers as quite passionate people, we do the job because we care about the job, you don't come into this job certainly for money or anything like that. So I would see us as quite sort of passionate about what we believe in and about sort of the good of the children and doing what's best for the children and…hopefully say that that's a trait that all teachers would have (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female).

Another teacher, though, noted that 'I would hope people who are teachers like working with children, but I've definitely met teachers, and I'm not going to say in this school, but as a parent [laughs], who definitely don't seem to like children' (School

6, 5 years at school, 27 years in role, female), indicating that not all teachers share this collective trait. Finally, another teacher noted that the identity between primary and secondary teachers may differ to an extent, with 'those that have gone into primary it's very much about the children, rather than the subject, whereas secondary teachers are quite often subject first and then teaching afterwards' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male).

A vast majority of classroom assistants also noted that there was a collective identity of sorts or certain collective traits you would expect to see in classroom assistants. One mainstream classroom assistant, in reference to a classroom assistant that she does not believe should be in the role due to not having these traits, noted that classroom assistants should be 'calm and somebody that doesn't fly off the handle about things' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female). Specifically for special needs schools a special needs classroom assistant noted that:

> I know a lot of people who people with special needs bother them or scare them…because they just don't know. It's like a fear factor almost of people that have got special needs and that's something that everybody that works in this environment doesn't have (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female).

Another special needs classroom assistant noted that within her environment, alongside noting the need for a sense of humour and to be a positive person, that 'patience is one of your biggest things I would say. And a…caring and a love for your

kids. If you don't care about your kids then what's the point?' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female). Coming through from these definitions is an enjoyment of working with children and a desire for people to treat pupils in an appropriate manner.

A key part of emotion management and the 4Ps model is autonomy and whether employees retain control and freedom over their performance and how they use their emotions (Bolton, 2005). A majority of teachers indicated that they do have a decent level of discretion, though most teachers within that majority indicated that it might be limited to some extent. In general, it would seem these limitations related to certain curricular or government initiatives that they may need to follow. One teacher noted 'so there are definitely things where we have…processes that we've got to follow, but then within that I can do it in my creative way' (School 6, 5 years at school, 27 years in role, female). Another teacher offered a similar point, noting 'quite often it's a combination of you adapting to what the school is kind of saying "here's our line", but also you making that line adapt towards who you are as a person, as an individual as well' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male). As regards the relationship that teachers have with management, the vast majority of teachers believed that their headteacher would support them if their performance or professionalism was called into question.

A majority of classroom assistants noted that their discretion was somewhere in the middle, with an indication that they currently have a decent level of discretion, but that the teacher is the one in charge of the class. One mainstream classroom assistant noted

'we can put a lot of input in, we can make a lot of suggestions, come up with new ideas for doing things, everybody's willing to learn, everybody's willing to listen to you' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female), though the implication is that the teacher is in charge. Another mainstream classroom assistant indicated that her discretion very much depends on the specific teacher, noting 'as I said every teacher's different, so it just depends whether you've got that relationship or whether they want you to do that in their class, they might, they might not' (School 11, 4 years at school, 12 years in role, female). The vast majority of classroom assistants believed that their headteacher would support them if required and it would appear that most classroom assistants have a decent relationship with their headteacher.

7.5   The Impact of Stress and Burnout

While the previous section has outlined ways that teachers and classroom assistants can cope with the emotional demands of their roles, stress and, ultimately, burnout do still remain a threat. Therefore, it is important to understand what the workload of teachers and classroom assistants is like and whether it is causing stress. When asked about an average day and the hours worked, one teacher noted that 'I'm in in the morning between 7:45 and 8:00 and I'll leave probably about 5:00, 5:30' (School 10, 1½ years at school, 12 years in role, female). Another teacher noted even longer hours, noting 'I'm normally in school till sort of 6:00, 6:30. Go home, have some dinner and do more work in the evening. And one day of the weekend will be working' (School 6, 5 years at school, 27 years in role, female). Therefore, as noted by another teacher,

'it can be quite a long day sometimes. It's a type of profession I think if you let it consume you it totally would' (School 10, 2 years at school, 5 years in role, female). A majority of teachers did, though, note that they were content with their level of breaks, along with the two and a half hours of non-contact time they get away from the classroom in a week. Some teachers did, though, work through their breaks, with one also noting 'I probably work three days, three lunches out of four' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male), so some teachers can use their breaks as extra time to do work.

A number of classroom assistants noted that there is perhaps not an average day and that days can be quite changeable, with a mainstream classroom assistant noting that 'no two days are the same' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Some of this changeability will depend on the specific teacher, though equally it does appear that the classroom assistant role can vary across schools. One classroom assistant noted that 'I work specifically with one class…when I started first it was…a quite different job, it was more whole class, but now...tends to work with certain children' (School 9, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female), whereas other classroom assistants noted they can work with pupils across a number of classes. Therefore, it does not appear that there is one specific role for classroom assistants within the class and that their role may vary based on the teacher and the pupils. There was, though, a split between mainstream and special needs classroom assistants regarding breaks. A majority of mainstream classroom assistants noted that they are satisfied enough with their level of breaks, with a majority also getting non-contact time away from the classroom. However, a majority of special needs classroom

assistants noted an issue with their level of breaks. One special needs classroom assistant focused on incidents in the classroom and noted 'I think there could be more breaks when there's incidents, when incidents happen, I think that management could be more supportive when things happen and I think that management could be more willing to go into classes when something happens' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female).

Focusing on the workload of teachers, a majority noted that they can need to take work home. Admittedly, a number of the teachers noted that they try to limit the amount of work they take home or noted that they have improved in that regard, but a majority of teachers still indicated that there can be a need to do additional work at home. As one teacher noted, 'I think teaching's one of those jobs where you're never on top of everything' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male). Related to this is the fact that, of the teachers asked, all of them noted that they do not stay within their contracted 35 hours a week, with some teachers noting that it is simply impossible to do so. One teacher noted that 'I don't think there's a teacher in this country that can say that they only stick to their 35 hours, when you try and do everything that you need to do, want to do' (School 10, 2 years at school, 5 years in role, female). There was, though, little sympathy from the director of education around working hours, noting 'we expect our social workers to work on, we expect our child protection, our health professionals, so why not, you know'. A majority of teachers indicated that work-life balance can be challenging, though half of the teachers within this majority were more noting that their work-life balance used to be challenging, rather than noting it currently still is. One teacher noted that 'I think when you're a young idealistic teacher

it's a bit harder and I think when you have a family…you realise you can't take work home…so yeah, work-life balance is pretty good just now' (School 9, 5 years at school, 18 years in role, female).

A majority of classroom assistants noted that they do not generally need to take any physical work home. One mainstream classroom assistant noted it as: 'no, no you don't take anything home with you. If you wanted to take it home…I'm sure they would say "oh, that would be silly" or something' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female), indicating no expectation from the school that she would take work home. While most classroom assistants were not asked, it also appears that classroom assistants would not tend to work much beyond their contracted hours. A special needs classroom assistant noted that 'we're different to the teachers in that way that we're not taking stuff home, we're not staying after school' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female), though indicated she may stay behind to help with events such as parents nights. As a result, the majority of classroom assistants noted that their work-life balance is fine or did not have any significant issues with it.

When questioned if they were asked to do too much, there was a split view from teachers. The answer that received the most responses, though not a majority, was that too much can potentially be asked of teachers. One teacher noted 'there's far too much to do, but you do it, because that's what the job is and it just goes with the turf' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male). Equally, though, others noted that the demands are either acceptable or somewhere in between, with one teacher noting they consider the demands 'realistic, I think…at times you think "aw, not doing that as

well", but I think it's all, it's just part of the role, to do it properly you have to be willing to put the hours in' (School 10, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, female). While referring to headteachers, the representative for the headteachers union noted a point that may also be relevant for teachers, that 'it's not a job for them, it's just life', which the findings support to some extent. However, a majority of teachers noted concerns around the current level of paperwork, with a number of teachers considering paperwork to be the worst part of their role, with one teacher noting some paperwork can feel like 'a tick box for somebody up there that you're doing it and, yeah, that's a frustrating bit, because it takes up your time' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female).

There was a split between mainstream classroom assistants and special needs classroom assistants over whether they are asked to do too much. A majority of mainstream classroom assistants noted that they are not asked to do too much or are happy with the expectations placed on them. A mainstream classroom assistant, while noting that previously too much could be asked by teachers, noted that there is now a greater expectation that teachers will do more of their own admin and so 'it's much more balanced now' (School 9, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). However, a majority of special needs classroom assistants noted that they can potentially be asked to do too much. One special needs classroom assistant, while indicating she is not generally asked to do too much, noted:

> Sometimes the teachers will say "can you maybe go and do this" and
> you're like "well, you need to tell me what to do, because there needs

to be a purpose to the activity, so you tell me what I've to do within the activity". So, I think sometimes if they didn't have to do that they wouldn't and you need to kind of remind them of that fact, otherwise you're then doing the teaching role (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female).

However, a majority of classroom assistants did not indicate that they would deal with a significant amount of paperwork.

Potentially following on from workload and stress is burnout and so it is appropriate to focus on the issue of burnout. A majority of teachers noted that they either had felt burnt out or had been close to that level. A relatively recently qualified teacher noted that his burnout got so bad that:

> I was very close to going…to being done with it…it was too much. I wasn't sleeping enough…yes, I think burnout is a huge part of this role and if people…I know that people who are not teachers think you get all the holidays etc., but…honestly if you didn't get the holidays…there would be no teachers (School 8, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, male).

Another teacher noted that with this stress and burnout 'I think it does, it does manifest in your health…in different ways' (School 10, 10 years at school, 11 years in role, female), indicating how burnout can physically affect teachers. As regards where this burnout comes from, a majority of the teachers that have suffered from burnout noted

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that it was, at least in part, related to workload. One teacher noted that burnout comes from 'just too much, just a huge amount of expectation and a huge amount of work…not enough help' (School 10, 1½ years at school, 12 years in role, female).

There was a split amongst classroom assistants regarding whether they have suffered from burnout or felt close to it. There was an even split between the mainstream classroom assistants noting they have suffered from burnout and those noting that they have not, with another mainstream classroom assistant noting somewhere in between. One mainstream classroom assistant noted that this burnout has only come recently and that 'lately I've felt quite stressed thinking "hmm, is this really what I'm wanting to do every day, go in there". I didn't feel like that before. No' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female). Equally, though, another mainstream classroom assistant noted that 'there's moments you think "oh help, how am I going to do this" and you think...but not for long, nothing that would stress me out or burn me out' (School 9, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). However, a majority of special needs classroom assistants noted that they have had issues with burnout. As regards where this burnout is coming from, all of the classroom assistants that have suffered from burnout noted that it was, at least in part, related to pupils, for example the demands of the pupils. A mainstream classroom assistant related it to wanting to help a pupil and that the burnout came 'because I can't…I couldn't…I wanted to solve the world's problems basically and I couldn't solve this problem' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female).

For those teachers that have suffered from burnout, there are a range of ways that they recover from it. A recently qualified teacher noted that 'I only actually survived I think because I eventually broke down and spoke to [another teacher] across there and said "this is getting too fucking much and I can't"' (School 8, 2 years at school, 2 years in role, male). Another teacher noted that for her it was a case of 'power through and it was kind of experience and it was in myself going "I'm going to have to learn how to time manage better, I'm going to learn, have to learn how to prioritise better"' (School 9, 5 years at school, 18 years in role, female), alongside starting a family, which was a key catalyst. As regards any formal support that would be available, half of the teachers noted that such support is available to them or that they believe it is, though this question was not asked of all the teachers. Only one teacher noted otherwise, noting at a previous school that it was 'brought into question are you, I was asked if the, this is the job for me. "Are you sure this is the job for you..."' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male), with a focus more on competency than support. However, it does appear formal support may be available, though perhaps not used, with one teacher noting 'if I asked for support I'm sure I would get support. I've never asked for it, because I've never felt it's got to that level that...I needed that' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female).

Classroom assistants also noted a range of different ways that they have been able to recover from burnout. A special needs classroom assistant noted that she will 'personally just push through it, but I know for a fact I could go to [the head] and say I need time out or whatever and…she would take you out of class for a wee while' (School 12, 25 years at school, 25 years in role, female). A mainstream classroom

assistant noted that, while she will still offer help, 'there comes a time where you think right…do you know what if they're not responding it's not your fault' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Also, a special needs classroom assistant noted that to recover 'I just went to the doctor, I got signed off for a couple of weeks just to kind of…get back my strength' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female), as well as being moved to another class, indicating burnout may potentially require that outside support as well. In contrast to teachers, a majority of classroom assistants noted that they either did receive formal support or believed such support would be available.

Interestingly, given that a number of teachers have noted that they have suffered from burnout, only one teacher felt their role was too emotionally demanding, noting 'I think we're always asked too much of, bottom line, across the board. I think they're always asking too much of us and then asking more' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). Half of the teachers interviewed did not consider their role too emotionally demanding or accepted these demands, with one teacher noting that the role 'is emotionally demanding, but I think teaching is just like that, it's just the nature of the job…I think it's just the way it is and you just get on with it' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female). Some other teachers noted something of a mix, with one teacher noting 'some of the decisions that are being made worry me for the education as a practice, for the job as a practice, but not in my specific local role at the moment, no' (School 10, 2 years at school, 5 years in role, female).

A special needs classroom assistant highlighted the potential for burnout in her role and noted that burnout can almost be an accepted part of the role, noting 'we can all suffer from burnout in here I think. You can burnout quite easily, because you give so much that sometimes you're just like "I've got nothing left, I've got nothing else"' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female). There was, though, a split amongst classroom assistants as to whether their role is too emotionally demanding. A majority of mainstream classroom assistants noted that they are content with the emotional demands of their role. However, there was an even split amongst special needs classroom assistants, either noting concerns that their role can be too emotionally demanding or being content with the emotional demands. One special needs classroom assistant questioned the role of the council, noting 'I think it's more and more so demanding than what head office think' (School 12, 25 years at school, 25 years in role, female).

7.6   The Emotional Content and Nature of the Job

This section will focus more explicitly on the emotional aspect of being a teacher and classroom assistant than the other sections. It is important to understand how staff working in the classroom understand the emotional aspect of their role. The two primary definitions offered by teachers tended to revolve around: the emotions of pupils and their relationship with pupils; or focus on control of emotions and/or health and well-being. However, a majority of teachers related the emotional side of their role, at least in part, to the emotions of pupils and their relationship with them. Two

teachers within this majority, as well as noting pupils, also noted the emotions of others. One teacher noted her relationship with parents, while the other noted a range of relevant parties, noting 'you're dealing with situations, you're dealing with the families, you're dealing with children who could have real issues going on and you take all these emotions in', as well as 'dealing with the emotions of other staff members' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female). Another teacher noted that 'in my role at the moment…some children don't like coming into school, so they're crying leaving their parents, some find learning really quite challenging. So yeah…I deal with emotions every day' (School 10, 1½ years at school, 12 years in role, female). The majority of teachers enjoyed their job. There was, though, less of a clear view on what was the hardest part of their role emotionally, with half of the teachers interviewed relating it to pupils. For example, one teacher noted that the most difficult aspect was 'when you hear stories of home life or things like that, those can be quite difficult to hear' (School 9, 5 years at school, 18 years in role, female). A number of other teachers noted that the most challenging aspects of their roles can be having to juggle everything within the role, as well as being able to completely switch off from issues.

In comparison to teachers, classroom assistants are clearer in defining the emotional aspect of their role around the emotions of pupils and their relationship with them, with a vast majority noting this. A mainstream classroom assistant noted that 'sometimes you do actually get emotional when the kids get emotional, because…you're not actually supposed to get attached, but you can't help it' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female), highlighting that there can be a

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pressure to limit this emotional attachment. A special needs classroom assistant noted the emotional and contrasting nature of the role and that:

> It's the wee things in here that kind of make your day, but also there is…the hard stuff, when you are dealing with extreme…challenging behaviour, that kind of thing, it can really get you down, you can really, you can start to think to yourself am I in the right job, is this for me, is this no, but then something…comes along and…changes your mind completely (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female).

The majority of classroom assistants noted that they do generally enjoy their job. There was no clear view coming through as regards the worst part of the role, though the vast majority of classroom assistants noted that the most difficult part of their role, at least in part, related to pupils. One mainstream classroom assistant noted that she can struggle when she is physically assaulted by pupils, which is exacerbated by the fact 'nobody's told you how you should…how you could help them, because you haven't had any specific training' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female). In contrast, another mainstream classroom assistant noted that she can struggle with 'letting them go at the end, just when I see them away at assembly and I think I've worked with you for all these years and that that's you off again and not sometimes with a backward glance' (School 9, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Both quotes highlight that classroom assistants can struggle emotionally with pupils, but for quite different reasons. Interestingly, most special needs classroom assistants, alongside noting pupils, also highlighted other challenges, such as the

teacher or health and safety bureaucracy. For example, one highlighted that some teachers can see themselves as in charge of the classroom and that classroom assistants can feel 'kind of not respected and that can probably be quite frustrating...like banging your head off a brick wall' (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female).

A key aspect of emotional labour as defined by Hochschild (2012) is the need for employees to put on an act to allow them to use their emotions in the way that the employer requires. All of the teachers interviewed noted that they do put on an act to some extent while at work. A range of motivations were given, with one teacher noting that 'you're trying to engage the children, you're trying to make it exciting for the children, you're trying to help them to learn, happy learners are good learners' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male), indicating that acting can make his job easier and more enjoyable. Another teacher related what she does more to switching off than acting, noting 'you just go into teacher mode and I don't know if it's so much putting on an act, but it's just sort of filing things to the back of your mind and not thinking about them' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female). A teacher educator noted her belief that acting is important, but challenging for primary teachers due to the wide range of subjects they need to cover, noting 'I don't care whether you like it or you don't like it, you pretend every subject's your favourite subject. And in primary school that's problematic'.

All of the classroom assistants also noted that they can need to put on an act to some extent. A number noted that they will put on an act when they are either struggling with an issue outside of work or where they are having difficulties with a particular

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pupil, with a belief that it would not be fair on either that pupil or other pupils if the classroom assistant loses control of their emotions. A special needs classroom assistant noted that she can have to 'put on a face…if you're not feeling that great, it's not the kids fault you're not feeling that great, so you've just got to…get on with it' (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female). Another special needs classroom assistant noted the importance of her act, which was to not laugh when pupils are acting inappropriately and that when others have laughed 'they never get that respect from that child, ever, ever, that's it gone, so it doesn't matter if you, how much you try and put it back into place' (School 12, 25 years at school, 25 years in role, female).

It was interesting that no teachers noted that they put on this act solely for their own benefit. Instead, a majority of teachers noted that their act was either for the benefit of the pupils or for both the pupils and their own benefit. One teacher noted that her act is for herself and the pupils:

> I wouldn't want to get really upset or anything with the children there, because I think they would find that quite upsetting and confusing and so on and so. But yeah, also for my own benefit, you need to sort of keep things together so you can do your job (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female).

Perhaps related to the fact teachers tend to be putting this act on, at least in part, to benefit the pupils, a majority of teachers noted that they do not feel any coercion to act and it is their choice. One teacher noted 'no, you don't feel coerced to do it all, no. I

think to engage with children you need to…have a certain manner with you' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). Any teachers that noted any sort of coercion tended to be referring more to general beliefs within teaching or the ethos within the school, which the teachers indicated they also believed in.

The majority of classroom assistants were not asked whom they put on their act for. Of those classroom assistants that were asked, both indicated that their act was for the benefit of both the pupils and themselves. There was, though, a split between mainstream and special needs classroom assistants as to whether they feel coerced to act. The majority of mainstream classroom assistants noted that they do not feel coerced, with one noting 'I don't ever feel any pressure to do anything that I'm…I'm not that type of person anyway, if somebody pressurised me and I didn't want to do it, I wouldn't do it' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female), indicating she would refuse any request she disagreed with. However, a majority of special needs classroom assistants indicated that there was some pressure coming from above them, with one noting that she understands management are under pressure and does not want to add to that and so 'you've got to put a brave face on it' (School 12, 6 years at school, 9 years in role, female). Another special needs classroom assistant noted:

> Well, no I think there probably is an expectation if you're working with kids in a school environment, the kids are here to learn and be…relatively happy…and feel safe and secure. So, they should always feel that and you should never let your own emotions make them feel a certain way (School 12, 3 years at school, 3 years in role, female).

All of the teachers noted that the best aspect of their role, at least in part, related to working with the pupils. One teacher noted that the best part of her role is 'kids achieving their goals, sometimes taking quite a long time to get there, teaching them resilience and determination and teaching things that don't come naturally to kids is a real sense of achievement' (School 10, 1½ years at school, 12 years in role, female). As a result, a vast majority of teachers noted that they are willing to go beyond the standard expectations of their role to help a pupil. As regards how teachers decide upon which pupils to offer this additional help to, a range of responses were noted. One teacher noted that 'I think you just sort of weigh it up between sort of needs in and what you can do' (School 10, 2 years at school, 5 years in role, female). However, it appears that this can be challenging and a teacher noted that as a result he tries to take into account that there are 'certain children that will suck your attention, there's…certain kids will never ask for your attention, you have to physically go, consciously go to them. And…it's a juggling act. You do the best you can' (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). One means by which teachers can go beyond for pupils is through after-school/extracurricular activities and a majority noted that they either are doing such activities or have previously done them. Some teachers indicated it was to a more limited extent and there was also an indication from some that there can be an expectation from the school that they would attend certain after-school events.

The majority of classroom assistants noted that the best part of their role relates to the pupils. One mainstream classroom assistant noted that the best part is 'watching a child who couldn't do something…suddenly the light bulb switches on' (School 11,

15 years at school, 16 years in role, female). A vast majority of classroom assistants also noted that they are willing to go beyond the standard expectations of their role to help a pupil. There does not, though, appear to be the same decision making as noted with teachers. For example, a number of classroom assistants indicated that they will try to help everyone, with a mainstream classroom assistant noting:

> I try and help them all, because I don't want the wee one to slip through the net…you've got to be aware of that, that it's not always the ones that look needy or act needy that are the ones that actually need you the most (School 11, 18 years at school, 18 years in role, female).

A mainstream classroom assistant, while noting she would go beyond, highlighted certain limitations, noting any decision would be 'depending on what it was. As long as it wasn't over stepping the boundaries that…what you were supposed to do in your job' (School 11, 4 years at school, 12 years in role, female). A majority of mainstream classroom assistants noted that they do not help with any after-school/extracurricular activities and it does not appear that the special needs school has any such activities.

It can, though, be difficult for teachers to accept when they have not been able to help a pupil as much as they would like or when they can see pupils missing out, with a vast majority noting that it can be difficult or that it had previously been. A number of teachers within this vast majority, though, indicated either an acceptance of these limitations or that it had become easier to accept, with one teacher noting that 'that's I think a lesson that a lot of people haven't learned is that you can only do so much'

(School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male). Another teacher noted that she does still find it difficult as she wants to help all of her pupils, but noted:

> You just do what you can and I think it takes quite a long time to realise
> that you can only do what you can do and not to go home and just feel
> awful that you haven't been able to be there for everybody that day…it
> is hard (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female).

While some teachers indicated that it can take time to get this certain level of acceptance that you can only do so much, another teacher, while noting a need to be realistic, indicated such limitations can still be hard, noting 'you never give up, you never give up. But…yeah, it's frustrating [laughs]' (School 10, 8 years at school, 13 years in role, male).

A majority of mainstream classroom assistants noted that it is still or has previously been difficult to accept when they have not been able to help a pupil as much as they would like, though a mainstream classroom assistant within this majority noted that she accepts her limitations now. A majority of special needs classroom assistants noted that it can be hard to accept when they have not been able to help a pupil as much as they would like or they can see pupils missing out, though half of this majority indicated that it had become easier to accept over time. A mainstream classroom assistant noted that she does not have the time to help everyone and noted 'you just can't do it, actually, really. You can't…they maybe get a wee five minutes of your time if, or if they're stuck at something, but…it's very hard to fit something in with

them' (School 7, 22 years at school, 23 years in role, female). Another mainstream classroom assistant will try to highlight any pupils that are missing out to the teacher 'because I know they're worrying about maybe their two times table and that and I try gently to say to the teacher and some are very receptive, others have got their own ideas' (School 9, 16 years at school, 16 years in role, female). Equally, though, another mainstream classroom assistant noted that she just uses any instances where a pupil has missed out for reflection and noted 'I suppose it just makes you reflect and think…I could've did that differently and…I'll think about it differently if it ever happens again, just try and learn something from it, that's all you can do, you can't change it' (School 11, 18 years at school, 18 years in role, female).

Finally, chapters three and four noted the belief that parents are more involved within schools and that the government has continually tried to increase their role. One teacher agreed that parents have a bigger role within schools, noting 'I think in general parents probably feel like they have more of a voice now. I think they probably have got more of a voice now' (School 10, 5 years at school, 24 years in role, female) and noted that this can be both good and bad. Another teacher noted:

> You get supportive parents, you get parents who want to question everything you're doing and why you're doing it, you get parents who don't care and it's hard juggling with that, because you're trying to do the best for the kids, that's my job (School 8, 5 years at school, 17 years in role, male).

There was, though, no clear view as to whether parents are becoming more demanding or akin to customers. Half of the teachers noted that parents may be demanding or are becoming more demanding, though most within this number indicated that it was more specific parents or at certain schools.

Classroom assistants noted that their level of interaction with parents can vary, though the role of parents was not discussed in-depth with the special needs classroom assistants, so the focus here is on mainstream classroom assistants. A majority of mainstream classroom assistants noted that they do not have a significant relationship with parents and it would usually be the teacher or headteacher that would interact with parents. One mainstream classroom assistant noted that 'parents are really nice. We don't really have much dealings with the parents' (School 11, 15 years at school, 16 years in role, female). A classroom assistant did, though, raise concerns about the number of parent helpers in her school and how beneficial that is, noting that 'if it happens on a greater scale it might not be, because it makes you think do they really need…three of us here if they're going to have parents in all the time' (School 11, 4 years at school, 12 years in role, female), indicating a potential threat to classroom assistants from parents. A majority of mainstream classroom assistants indicated that parents can be demanding or are becoming more demanding, though most within this majority noted that this can vary by parent or school.

7.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has outlined the data that was collected from the public sector primary schools. The chapter has been able to engage with a range of teachers and classroom assistants, as well as senior management and significant others, highlighting what it is like for both teachers and classroom assistants to work within public sector primary schools in Scotland. This chapter has served its purpose in outlining the key findings from the interview data, provided an understanding of both roles within public sector primary schools and, where appropriate, has highlighted how the data can be used with emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management.

8.0 Findings: Private Sector All-Through Schools

8.1 Introduction

The final findings chapter focuses on interview data that was collected across the private sector all-through schools, with 15 interviews conducted. The 15 interviews comprised three all-through schools, 11 teachers, one person identified as a classroom assistant and three senior management. However, it became apparent during and following the interview that the classroom assistant interviewee's role was not overly representative of what a classroom assistant would do within a private sector school and so that interview has only been used minimally. As per the previous two chapters, the same structure will again be used, with five section headings: motivation to work in a school; the reality and expectations of the role; techniques for managing and regulating emotions; the impact of stress and burnout; and the emotional content and nature of the job.

8.2 Motivation to Work in a School

It is interesting to initially understand why teachers working at private sector all-through schools got into education and whether they consider passion to be important. A majority of teachers noted an alternative reason for getting into teaching than either a long term wish to be a teacher or a love of their subject. Indeed, most teachers indicated that they got into teaching somewhat by chance, that it was a role that they

got into later on in life or that it became an option while at/following university. One teacher noted simply that 'I wanted to move here, I wanted to have a job and that was that' (School 15, 3 years at school, 5 years in role, female). Another teacher noted:

> During my undergraduate degree there was a science in society section whereby we had to go out into society and obviously educate the public about science and I loved it, really loved it. So I decided to…continue on with that and then go into teacher training and then become a teacher (School 15, 4 years at school, 6 years in role, male).

It was interesting how few of the teachers indicated any long-term passion or desire to teach. In contrast, it was perhaps unsurprising that a majority indicated that there was no conscious decision in moving to the private sector, with the decision to move to the private sector tending to be made either because it was the best option available or the first job that came up. One teacher noted that 'it was the first job that came up and I just happened to get it' (School 13, 6 years at school, 7 years in role, female) and another noted 'it was the best option available. I was very open to either option, but…this job came up' (School 14, 3 years at school, 4 years in role, female). A majority of those interviewed noted that they had also worked in the public sector.

As regards passion, the majority of teachers noted that you do need to have a passion to do this type of job. One teacher noted that 'you have to have commitment, you have to have passion, you have to enjoy the job, as far as I'm concerned' (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male). A number of teachers noted that you need to have

some passion or the job itself would become too difficult, with one teacher noting 'you need to have a bit of oomph behind you, because it's too hard a work otherwise' (School 13, 6 years at school, 7 years in role, female) and another noted that 'I don't think you could do it like just for, I don't know, just for the money [laughs], you couldn't do it for that' (School 15, 3 years at school, 5 years in role, female). Another teacher indicated that someone without passion would not be a good teacher, noting that 'I just don't see how you can do it…if you don't like the kids or your subject very much or…you've got to like something about it a lot' (School 14, 3 years at school, 18 years in role, female).

8.3   The Reality and Expectations of the Role

It is important to understand what it is actually like for teachers working in private sector all-through schools in Scotland, particularly due to the fact, as will be noted, that certain government reforms at national level have not impacted on private sector schools as much as they have public sector schools. One such example is classroom assistants, who have been a key part of the previous two findings chapters, yet were more challenging to discuss within private sector schools. This was because, as noted by the senior management in each of the schools, classroom assistants are focused at the primary school level and sometimes only work with the younger pupils in the primary school. Given all but one of the teachers interviewed were secondary teachers, it meant that only one teacher had experience of working with a classroom assistant in the private sector. Others indicating that they can work with classroom assistants

appear perhaps, on reflection, to have been referring to support for learning teachers and seemingly only work with them on rare occasions. Therefore, the information in the next two paragraphs will mostly just focus on the one teacher working with a classroom assistant. The teacher who currently works with a classroom assistant explained their relationship well and the work that has gone into it, noting:

I'll obviously do all the planning and [her classroom assistant] has a supportive role in terms of helping me organising resources and setting up the classroom and all that kind of stuff. But she's able to help identify educational needs or weaknesses within the children's evidence of work, she's able to spot that and I've kind of trained her in to doing that really specific to the role that I have in P1 (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female).

As regards how well defined the classroom assistant role is, the teacher noted 'she has a job description, but she goes way beyond that, I would say', also noting as regards the role that 'it's responsive to the needs within the class at the time' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female).

As regards how close classroom assistants come to teaching, it is again difficult to comment too much, given only one teacher is working with a classroom assistant in the private sector schools that were studied. It was interesting that the teacher who is currently using a classroom assistant noted that her classroom assistant can teach to some extent, noting that 'within my literacy and numeracy carousel she leads two of

the activities, so she is teaching and…extending the children's capacity, learning capacities through questioning, I would say. So aye, she does' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Therefore, while it is impossible to say whether this is being reflected amongst other teachers and classroom assistants working together in private sector schools, the only teacher interviewed with experience of using a classroom assistant in the private sector indicated that her classroom assistant can be teaching and does so with her blessing and support.

CfE is somewhat different in the private sector compared to the public, as the deputy headteacher at school fourteen noted that private schools do not need to follow CfE as long as they can justify their own approach. As a result, each of the schools was using CfE somewhat differently to what is seen in the public sector, with school fourteen diverging the most in not using the Nationals exams. A majority of teachers did, though, still indicate issues with CfE and noted a wide range of different problems. One teacher noted that 'there was a point where the syllabus or syllabi needed to be updated' and 'that something had to be done to shake up what was going on in classrooms. But you can't do that by going "there's a bit of paper, you do this". That doesn't work with teachers' (School 13, 1 year at school, 14 years in role, female). Another teacher noted that CfE is actually 'a pedagogy, it's not a curriculum. The whole thing is a misnomer…that's why it all fell to bits in the initial stages. Nobody knew what was to be done at what time' (School 14, 16 years at school, 17 years in role, female). The potentially contradictory message of CfE was also noted by a teacher in noting 'I think in secondary schools teachers feel the pressure of Curriculum for Excellence on the one hand saying all these beautiful things you should do with the

kids and then they have to prepare them for exams, again' (School 14, 3 years at school, 18 years in role, female).

Looking at issues related to inclusion, a majority of teachers indicated that behaviour either is not a significant issue or is less of an issue than it would be within some public sector schools. This is not to imply that there are no behavioural issues within private sector schools, but a teacher noted that 'in terms of overall big behavioural issues there's none' (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male). However, a majority of teachers noted that they can have quite a lot of pupils with additional support needs at their school. A teacher at school fifteen, which has more limited barriers to entry than other private schools, noted 'most of the other schools will have entrance exams that screen those people out and so we get quite a few' (School 15, 4 years at school, 6 years in role, male), indicating other private sector schools may not have as many pupils with additional support needs. It does, though, appear that good support is available for pupils with additional support needs, as a teacher noted 'we've got more resources here, they're better supported, which is unfair, because then obviously pupils whose parents can't afford this don't have the same access' (School 13, 1 year at school, 14 years in role, female).

A majority of teachers indicated that there can be a gender difference within schools, which can be positive or negative for both males and females. A teacher noted that she attended a function with the head of biology and noted that a lot of people assumed she was his wife and said that 'the undertone of that is shocking that, the assumption is made that I'm there not as the head of the chemistry department, but as Mr Biology's

wife' (School 13, 1 year at school, 14 years in role, female). Equally, a teacher, who was also a year head, noted that 'I have a partner year head who's male and there have been occasions where I've felt he's in a more vulnerable position as a male than I am as a female' (School 13, 6 years at school, 7 years in role, female). Specifically focusing on the issue of teachers touching pupils, a majority of teachers indicated that they would touch a pupil if they felt it was appropriate to do so or to reciprocate. Most teachers within this majority, though, indicated that they either felt there was a pressure not to touch or that the general rule of their school, or at least what they assumed it would be, was that they should not touch pupils. One teacher noted that 'I've even given a girl a hug. And…jury's out, some people say "oh you shouldn't", but I mean for goodness sake, we're just human and as long as it's a totally appropriate situation' (School 14, 16 years at school, 17 years in role, female). A majority of teachers also believed that there was a gender difference as regards touch and that men may need to be more careful than women.

Teachers noted a range of different views about what role government should have in education, though a majority indicated either that their role should be limited or that people in education should have a greater role. A majority of teachers noted that there can be issues with the inspection process. One teacher noted 'there was a lot of stress in the school. And we came out very well, but I don't think, I've been here for two inspections and they were both horrendously stressful. And they shouldn't have necessarily been' (School 14, 16 years at school, 17 years in role, female), seemingly more blaming it on the school than inspectors. Another teacher noted the amount of paperwork and need for lesson plans, which are less appropriate given most

departments in his school are single person departments, were an issue and that 'it would definitely be more appropriate in a different setting, but the procedures the same regardless of the school I would say, which isn't necessarily wise' (School 15, 4 years at school, 6 years in role, male). Another teacher also doubted how accurate a picture inspections can capture, as 'you just prepare the best lesson that you can think of [laughs], but that's not what happens day to day, you have some rubbish lessons and I think if they just arrived unannounced that would be a lot more realistic' (School 15, 3 years at school, 5 years in role, female). The representative for one of the government bodies working within education questioned this view on accuracy, though, noting 'that's a myth, because it doesn't take long to find out what the real thing is, you just say to a pupil "how long has that display been up for?"'. However, outside of specific criticisms, there were few teachers that were overly critical of the inspection process as a whole.

8.4   Techniques for Managing and Regulating Emotions

Switching focus to how teachers cope with the demands they face and the techniques they can use, all of the teachers, as expected, indicated that they did receive some training for their role. One of the English as a foreign language teachers was slightly different to the rest, as her background was in English as a foreign language, so her training reflected that and was to a high level. However, a majority of teachers did highlight certain limitations in their training. One teacher noted 'I would say it skims the surface, because when you actually start working that's when you learn how to

teach' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Another teacher, who also criticised the workload required at teacher training/education, noted 'there were also a lot of things that you learn at teacher training that you're just sitting there thinking what the heck am I doing here' (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male). There was a relatively split opinion as regards how emotionally ready teachers felt upon starting their role following training, though there was an arguable majority indicating that they were ready to some extent. One teacher indicated that her training helped prepare her for teaching, noting 'I was probably a little bit naïve when I left university from my undergrad, but that teaching year forced me to grow up and by the end of it I certainly felt ready' (School 14, 3 years at school, 4 years in role, female). However, some teachers within this majority caveated their response somewhat to indicate they were not completely ready.

There was also a split opinion regarding how comfortable and trained teachers felt around additional support needs at their school. The largest number, though not a majority, noted that they felt generally fine as regards additional support needs. The remaining majority of teachers were equally split between those that did not feel particularly well trained on additional support needs and those that, while indicating they do not find such needs overwhelming, indicated that either such needs can still be challenging or that there is still room for improvement. The teacher in support for learning noted that she can cope, but that that was 'to the level that we are presented with it' and that 'we do not have extreme cases of autism' (School 14, 16 years at school, 17 years in role, female), indicating that the additional support needs that she would deal with are not as extreme as can be seen elsewhere. Another teacher, while

suggesting that working with additional support needs was not a significant issue for him, noted that 'there's always new things coming in and new bits coming in that we could do with a little bit more training on' (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male), indicating that there was room for further training. However, others did suggest gaps in their knowledge, with one teacher noting that 'for example, things like using different colour of paper. I really don't know about that…I haven't got the skills to know whether…using cream paper would help' and that 'I don't feel it's my area of expertise' (School 14, 8 years at school, 25+ years in role, female).

As regards regulating their emotions, a majority of teachers noted that they do feel relatively in control of their emotions within the classroom. One teacher noted 'I'm an emotional person anyway, but I think I can put my professional hat on and I can sort of channel it appropriately' (School 14, 3 years at school, 4 years in role, female), indicating that she is able to switch between her personality when inside and outside of the school and use that to her benefit. Another teacher noted that he feels that he does have good emotional self-control and that with him the pupils 'know where the line is with me…they've never seen me properly lose the rag, because I control that as best I can. I mean, don't get me wrong, I have shouted on occasion, but every teacher has' (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male). A majority of teachers also noted that they would tend to show something between a range of emotions and controlling their emotions, which is similar to what the educational psychologist recommended in noting 'I would want a mixture of a bit of containment, I don't want people showing the whole [laughs] going mad in front of a class full of children, but neither do I want them to pretend it's not happening'.

As noted in chapter four and the previous findings chapters, there has been a push to show that EI is relevant and important within teaching. The data may reflect that EI research has been successful in doing this to some extent, as a majority of teachers noted that they had heard of EI and considered it to be important or relevant to them. While, as with the public sector teachers as well, there was no clear definition of EI being offered, a number of teachers related it to having an awareness or understanding of emotions for themselves, others or both. One teacher noted that 'I see it as being aware of how you're feeling, being aware of how other people are feeling, responding appropriately if there is a problem, being supportive, being positive' (School 14, 3 years at school, 4 years in role, female). Another teacher defined EI as having an 'awareness of your own being' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Other definitions went beyond just noting an awareness or understanding of emotions, with another teacher noting that it is having 'a balanced view, understanding how you feel and not being frightened to say how you feel' and 'is about dealing with failure and turning that into a positive, positive thing', as well as 'being able to pick yourself up' (School 14, 8 years at school, 25+ years in role, female).

Emotion management, and related work such as on communities of coping, has noted the important role that colleagues can play in how much an employee enjoys their job and how colleagues can help each other better cope with the demands of their job (Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Korczynski, 2003). A majority of teachers noted that colleagues are important. One teacher noted as regards colleague support that 'it's really important, if you don't get on…with who you're working with then the work'll be miserable' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Providing an

example of that, another teacher noted 'in my previous school people didn't really congregate and talk to each other, whereas here that's much better, so you feel like there's somebody there, you can talk to them' (School 15, 3 years at school, 5 years in role, female), indicating that colleague support can vary by school. Finally, another teacher noted that colleagues can play an important role due to the unique nature of his school, noting:

> It's quite a supportive school network as it is, because we're mostly one person departments and therefore there's a lot that one might miss having not spoken to colleagues within the same subject, so by just communicating out with subjects then actually it can be quite beneficial in terms of professional development (School 15, 4 years at school, 6 years in role, male).

A majority of teachers noted that they would be willing to go beyond for their colleagues if the situation arose.

A majority of teachers also noted that there is still a collective identity of sorts within teaching or certain collective traits that teachers would tend to share. One common thread that was noted by a few teachers was some sort of love of learning or working with pupils, with one teacher noting:

> We all enjoy working with children, obviously, otherwise we couldn't be doing this job, and I think we also all want to have an impact in some

way or…shape young people. Or we like to think we do [laughs]

(School 15, 3 years at school, 5 years in role, female).

As regards traits, one teacher noted that 'well, I would say we're all kind of control freaks' (School 13, 6 years at school, 7 years in role, female). Equally, though, not everyone saw this sort of collective identity as a positive thing, with one teacher noting 'you can spot a teacher a mile off. And I don't like it. I don't want anybody to ever spot me as a teacher', relating this collective identity to 'probably a bossyness in the voice [laughs]. That's one thing, kind of loud when they're out and about. Authoritative speaking, very made up their minds about things' (School 14, 16 years at school, 17 years in role, female).

In considering how employees cope with the demands of their role and manage their emotions it is important to consider the level of autonomy and discretion they have, with both autonomy and discretion key aspects of the 4Ps model (Bolton, 2005). A majority of teachers noted that they feel that they have a decent level of discretion over what they do, though most teachers within this majority did identify factors that can limit their discretion to some extent. One teacher noted as regards accountability 'we get more breathing space at [name of school] than…you do in the state sector or speaking to other colleagues who work in other private schools. We definitely have less bureaucracy to deal with in terms of reporting and paperwork' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Another teacher noted that for the school 'they emphasise positivity certainly. But…on the staff there are a range of different teachers, different personalities and I think they encourage you to bring your own life

experience and interests to the classroom' (School 14, 3 years at school, 4 years in role, female), indicating that the school pushes positivity, but that the staff are generally allowed to be themselves. As regards dealing with management, a majority of teachers noted that they believe that their headteacher would support them if their performance or professionalism were ever called into question.

8.5   The Impact of Stress and Burnout

The above techniques and approaches, though, will not necessarily prevent the potential for burnout and so it is important to look at burnout, as well as any workload and stress that can contribute to burnout. In trying to understand the workload of teachers and the level of stress that is being placed on them, it is interesting to better understand what their average day consists of, both in how it unfolds and the hours being worked. One teacher noted as regards his average day that:

> It's quite a hectic day…I mean, I say tiring as a joke at the start, but you do feel pretty knackered by the end of it, but still happy…I'm not tired and depressed or anything at the end of the day, I'm tired, but at the end of the day sit and go "phew, here we go" (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male).

Others indicated there is not an average day. As regards hours worked, one teacher noted 'I'm in about 8:10 and I leave about 4:40' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years

in role, female), which was relatively similar to what others noted who specified the hours they work. On the issue of breaks opinion was split equally between those noting no issue/satisfied enough and those noting a problem, with most problems generally relating to their non-contact time. Another teacher did not offer a clear answer, though noted she rarely takes a full lunch, with a number of others similarly noting they may not use their full lunch/break.

Focusing specifically on workload, a majority of teachers noted that they can take work home, though most within that majority noted that they try to limit the amount they take home. For example, one teacher noted 'I used to take home a lot of marking, but now I try to do the marking onsite. But I do all my…prep at home' (School 14, 8 years at school, 25+ years in role, female). Perhaps related to the fact teachers are taking work home and, as noted earlier, can work long hours, a majority of teachers indicated that they can work beyond their contracted hours, which was assumed to be 35 hours. One teacher noted:

> Teachers never stay within 35 hours, nah…I mean, I try not to take stuff home, but you'll rarely stay within your 35 hours and here…most people will take part in extracurricular activities and that's generally expected of you, at least once a week, to support out with your classroom (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female).

A majority of teachers also indicated that work-life balance can be challenging, though most within this majority were more noting that their work-life balance used to be

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challenging, rather than noting it currently still is. One teacher indicated that her work-life balance has improved with time and also highlighted that at her current school 'the classes are much smaller, so in terms of like behaviour management it's much easier, because you don't need to plan the lesson to avoid certain situations, which is what I used to have to do a lot more' (School 15, 3 years at school, 5 years in role, female), as well as having less marking and only needing to teach one language.

There was a spread of opinions on whether teachers are asked to do too much, with an equal number noting either that they are not asked to do too much or noting that it can depend, for example certain tasks ask a lot, while other tasks do not. One teacher noted that 'I don't think the expectations are too high, I think we get off quite lightly here actually, to be honest' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female), perhaps indicating that demands may be higher at a different school. Equally, though, others noted a variability in whether their role was too demanding, with a teacher noting 'I think if you ask me that today I'd say I'm happy, tomorrow might be a very different feeling. Each day is different' (School 13, 6 years at school, 7 years in role, female). A majority of teachers noted that the worst part of their role, at least in part, related to paperwork and the administrative/bureaucratic side of their role, for example marking, the number of meetings they need to attend or the demand to use new technology. Some teachers also indicated that CfE has not helped with paperwork and workload more generally, with one teacher noting he would have preferred that it was released at a more complete stage:

Instead of changing it each year so we're going to have to go back every single year, revamp everything we've done, get to the end of the year and then they go "actually, we're changing again", so we've got to go back and re-do it. So the workload has been quite hefty in terms of stuff like that (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male).

As noted in chapter two, burnout can occur when stress levels become too high. Therefore, it is important to understand how teachers see the issue of burnout and also what sort of support is available to them if they suffer from it. A representative for a body that represents private sector schools felt that burnout was not a significant issue and that 'the evidence that would support that would be the turnover. If you look at the turnover in these schools…not high'. However, a majority of teachers noted that they either have felt burnt out or close to it, though admittedly different teachers indicated different levels of burnout, some more severe than others. One teacher noted 'I have at times felt completely and utterly overwhelmed. Not to the point where I've not wanted to come in or whatever, but to the point where I've had a kind of firm talking to myself' (School 13, 1 year at school, 14 years in role, female). As regards where this burnout comes from, teachers offered a number of different reasons. A number of teachers highlighted workload, with one teacher noting 'the workload increases' and that quite often 'more things are added and nothing's taken away. And so something's got to give, so you prioritise, but there'll always be something that you're not giving enough time to' (School 13, 6 years at school, 7 years in role, female), though she was not sure if that was just at her current school. Another teacher related burnout more to emotional demands and that:

If you have about 100 pupils and you have then 200 parents on top of that, that's a lot of emotions to carry around with you and you want the best for everyone and you have to divide it, you can't give everyone one on one time all the time. And I think at the end of a term I feel emotionally exhausted (School 14, 3 years at school, 4 years in role, female).

For those teachers that have suffered from burnout, there was a number of means of recovering from it. One teacher noted 'I never asked for any help' and that 'I suppose I just gradually found the way to manage it all, I suppose. I have become much, much better at doing it' (School 14, 8 years at school, 25+ years in role, female). Other teachers indicated that they just push through any burnout, use their holidays to recover or speak to others. A majority of teachers indicated that there are at least some means of formal support available for burnout. One teacher referred to formal support she had procured for one of her staff and noted 'considering what I went through with that member of staff in my team that if it was going to affect my work then there are support mechanisms in there. But what I've sought's always been kind of informal' (School 13, 1 year at school, 14 years in role, female). Another teacher did, though, note that 'I think there's an ethos in this school, nobody really takes time off sick for stress or…anything along those emotional side of things. No one does' (School 13, 6 years at school, 7 years in role, female).

Regarding the emotional demands of the role, a majority of teachers noted that their role was not in general too emotionally demanding or they accept the emotional

demands of the role. One teacher noted 'I'm very happy with the expectations' (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male), indicating that he has no issues with the emotional demands placed on him. Another teacher noted more that the emotional demands are just a part of being a teacher, noting 'I wouldn't say it's too emotionally demanding. I would say it is emotionally demanding, but that's part of the job' (School 13, 1 year at school, 14 years in role, female). A further teacher noted a similar acceptance as regards the emotional demands of the role, noting that 'it is demanding, but the stimulating and challenging elements outweigh the demanding elements, so I think it's worth it at the end of the day' (School 14, 3 years at school, 4 years in role, female). Other teachers indicated that the role may be emotionally demanding to some extent, but that they generally are able to cope with these demands.

8.6   The Emotional Content and Nature of the Job

This final section will engage more explicitly with the emotional side than the other sections have. The majority of teachers related this emotional side to their relationship with pupils and the emotions pupils bring. One teacher noted he sees the emotional side primarily as the 'emotions in terms of your relationships with pupils, because it's absolutely key…especially somewhere like this, to have a good working relationship with the pupils and that's not possible without some kind of emotional connection in some way' (School 15, 4 years at school, 6 years in role, male). As regards whether there is a difference between this emotional side in the public and private sector, a teacher noted as regards the pupils that 'the emotion you get from them, I feel that's a

lot different here. Because you get to know the kids on a slightly better basis they're more open to you' (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male), indicating private sector schools may allow for a closer connection between teacher and pupil. A majority of teachers noted that they do enjoy their job. As regards the most emotionally challenging part of the role, a majority of teachers related it to pupils. One teacher noted that the hardest part for her was 'when I see a child who…doesn't have a happy home life. I find that really, really, really hard. That's a nice thing coming here. Not that it doesn't happen here, but it's not quite as prevalent' (School 13, 1 year at school, 14 years in role, female).

A core aspect of emotional labour is the need for employees to put on some sort of an act at work and the coercive influence of management that requires employees to do this (Hochschild, 2012). All of the teachers indicated that, to some extent, they can need to put on an act. However, there was a relatively even split between those noting that they can need to act, which was just a majority, and those indicating that they now perhaps more limit their act or emphasise the importance of showing their true self. However, these teachers that try to limit their act still appear to put on an act when required. A teacher related her act to not showing pupils that she may be struggling, noting that 'there are days that I really have, I've had really bad days for lots of different reasons…and I've always come in to work and I've never let it show' (School 14, 8 years at school, 25+ years in role, female). One teacher noted how 'the way my teaching persona is not what I'm like in real life at all' (School 15, 3 years at school, 5 years in role, female), indicating a strong separation between her professional and personal life and persona. Another teacher noted as regards acting that 'as a new

teacher that was hard, because…the main problem was you were genuinely nervous, whereas you're not anymore' (School 14, 16 years at school, 17 years in role, female). Therefore, it appears that acting can become easier with experience.

As for who teachers put this act on for the benefit of, pupils appear to be an important motivator, with a majority indicating that their act, at least in part, was to benefit the pupils. Most of the interviewees within this majority did, though, note that they put on their act to benefit both the pupil and themselves, which is akin to what was noted in the positive view of emotional labour discussed in chapter two. One teacher noted that she does her act for both her benefit and her pupils, noting it is:

> To give me confidence to make sure that I know that I am portraying that I know what I'm talking about, but also to give them confidence and belief in me to continue developing the trust, the relation, the positive relationship that I try to create there (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female).

A majority of teachers also noted that they do not feel coerced to put on this act. One teacher noted that he did not feel pressured by others and that 'what might work for one person does not work for another person, so there's no point letting somebody else put you under pressure, you've got to be the teacher that you can and you want to be' (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male).

The vast majority of teachers noted that the best part of the job was related to pupils, though half of this vast majority also noted other positives as well as pupils. On that front, and given that this chapter has noted that pupils can be a key motivator for teachers, it is perhaps unsurprising that all of the teachers indicated that they are willing to go beyond for pupils. As regards how they decide which pupils to offer this additional help to one teacher noted that 'usually, because of time constraints, you wait until they come to you' (School 13, 6 years at school, 7 years in role, female). Another teacher noted 'it depends on them as a person, depends on again what their expectations are and what requirements they need' (School 15, 4 years at school, 6 years in role, male). One way in which teachers can go beyond for pupils is to help with after-school/extracurricular activities, with the vast majority indicating that they do or have helped with after-school/extracurricular activities. Indeed, a number of teachers, particularly in schools thirteen and fifteen, indicated that it was an expectation of the school that they help with after-school/extracurricular activities and that it may be contractually required. One teacher sums up what a number of teachers noted that 'it's an expectation, because it needs to be done, but I enjoyed doing it as well' (School 13, 1 year at school, 14 years in role, female). The representative for a body representing private sector schools confirmed this expectation, noting:

Most schools will pay above national agreed levels and that's really to…the extracurricular level, which can involve after school, it can involve Saturdays, it can involve…especially last week, this time of year accompanying trips abroad, twenty four seven and that's part of

what's expected if you buy into the independent sector, it's that holistic

education of the child, which includes a co-curricular side.

A majority of teachers noted that it can be or has previously been difficult to accept when they have not been able to help a pupil as much as they would like, even if they have tried their best, though most within that majority indicated it may become easier over time or that they may need to just accept the situation. One teacher noted an example of a pupil where there was a clash with the parents over support, with the pupil being withdrawn in the end, and noted 'I think we did fail that wee boy, but not through any fault of us not trying…I literally don't know what else we could have done' and noted that it still 'plays on my mind regularly' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female). Another teacher indicated a certain variability, noting 'it's frustrating when you can't do it. It's not as frustrating if you know the best route for them to go that's not you to get the help' (School 15, 5 years at school, 6 years in role, male), showing that it can be easier to accept if you at least know somewhere else that the pupil can get help from, though is difficult when that option is not available.

To conclude, the role of parents is particularly interesting within private sector schools given the fact parents (generally) pay fees to allow their child to attend. A majority of teachers noted that parents can be potentially demanding or are getting more demanding in their expectations, though most within this majority noted either that it was only some parents or that it could vary by school. One teacher noted that there had been 'a bit of a…drive a few years ago about customer service, which didn't go down very well with staff, but in reality you are providing a service that they're paying

for, so…there is a subtle awareness of it', though noted 'it doesn't change the way I teach' (School 13, 6 years at school, 7 years in role, female). Another teacher noted 'some think they have a bit more power and influence than you might find in the state sector, because they're paying the fees…they should be able to shout louder' (School 15, 9 years at school, 14 years in role, female), with a majority of teachers noting a similar point. Admittedly, this desire to be more involved was not always seen negatively, with one teacher noting 'it's not too bad. It's better than having parents that are not interested at all' (School 15, 3 years at school, 5 years in role, female).

8.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has been able to outline the data that was collected from the private sector all-through schools, with a particular focus on the views of teachers given that it was not possible to engage with any classroom assistants. As with the previous two findings chapters, the intention has been more to outline the interview data, provide an understanding of what it is like to be a teacher in these schools and relate the findings to emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management to some extent. The following chapter will look to engage with the three findings chapters and provide an in-depth analysis and discussion of the data.

9.0   Analysis and Discussion

9.1   Introduction

The intention of this final chapter is to provide a thorough analysis of the data outlined in the previous three findings chapters and to discuss this analysis to ascertain whether the research questions have been successfully answered. The first part of this chapter will focus on analysing the data outlined in the findings chapters through the theoretical framework referenced at the end of chapter four and explained more fully below. This framework will look to apply emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management from a work and employment perspective to the findings to assess what each theory can say about the findings and to provide an understanding of what it is like to work as a teacher and classroom assistant within Scottish education.

In comparison to the findings chapters that focused on a single type of school, this chapter will engage across the three types of schools and both teachers and classroom assistants. Doing so will allow the chapter to dig deeper into the findings, to compare results across different types of schools and to analyse the findings in relation to the literature discussed in chapters two to four. The chapter will then re-engage with and discuss the research questions that were outlined at the end of chapter four. For simplicity when referring to classroom assistants, the public sector secondary classroom assistants will be referred to as secondary classroom assistants, public sector primary mainstream classroom assistants will be referred to as primary classroom

assistants and public sector primary special needs classroom assistants will be referred to as special needs classroom assistants, as all of the groups are public sector.

9.2   Theoretical Contribution

It is sensible at the start of this chapter to return to the theoretical contribution of this research, which was noted in chapter four, as this chapter will be strongly underpinned by this contribution. The theoretical contribution of this thesis is the use of each of the emotion in organisation theories from a work and employment perspective within one piece of research and adapting them to work within the unique context of schools, similar to how Lopez (2006) adapted emotional labour for care workers (Labaree, 2000). While work such as Bolton (2005) highlights this work and employment perspective, key emotion in teaching research such as Hargreaves (1998) has tended to favour a narrower education studies perspective. Although this approach does lose some of the depth of using just one emotion in organisation theory, it does allow for each theory to be used and to inform the findings of the thesis. To do this, the following sections will be based around emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management, with the points discussed in chapters six to eight placed within the theoretical area they most closely match. The following paragraphs will outline and justify what parts best relate to each theoretical area, though there is an acceptance that certain points, in particular around training, workload, parents and the role of classroom assistants, do not neatly fit within one area. Therefore, while each has been placed within a theoretical area and there has been an attempt to justify this, there is

also a willingness to engage with these points across the different sections where appropriate.

Starting with emotional labour, both Hochschild's (2012) conceptualisation of emotional labour and the more positive view of emotional labour tend to engage with certain key aspects. One point discussed in chapter four is that it has proved difficult to define what emotion in teaching or emotional labour in teaching is, as evidenced by the range of research Uitto *et al.* (2015) outline, and so it is relevant to see how respondents defined the emotional side of their role. Emotional labour research, such as Hochschild (2012), has focused on the challenging side of work and work intensification, with inclusion having been identified in this thesis as a challenging area for teachers and classroom assistants, so it is important to engage with this across the different types of schools (Allan, 2010). Related to inclusion is the role of training around additional support needs and, while training is not as clearly linked to emotional labour as other points, emotional labour literature such as Taylor and Tyler (2000) has still discussed the role of training extensively, while research such as Conley and Jenkins (2011) and Jenkins and Conley (2007) has highlighted potential issues with teacher training.

The issue of passion and a love of one's job is a point frequently made by research such as Wouters (1989) in the positive view of emotional labour, with Bullough Jr. (2015), Hargreaves (1998) and the EOC (2007) indicating such a passion exists amongst both teachers and classroom assistants. Related to this passion is a belief in public sector employment and so it is relevant to consider these points within the

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emotional labour section (Gerrard, 2015). A key part of emotional labour that this section will consider is the role of gender and touch, two areas that also have a relevance to school-based staff given they are working with children (Hancock *et al.*, 2015; Pullen and Simpson, 2009; Simpson, 2004). Finally, it is critical that this section engages with the importance of acting for teachers and classroom assistants, as well as whether they feel coerced to do so, as both points are fundamental aspects of Hochschild's (2012) conceptualisation of emotional labour.

It is important that the section on emotion regulation engages with both the social-psychological view of emotional labour and EI. A point that is agreed within both of these areas is the importance of self-control and regulation of emotions, so it is important to see if such control is reflected in the findings (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Goleman, 1995; Gross, 1998). A key aspect of research within the social-psychological view of emotional labour is burnout and the impact of emotions on burnout, with the Maslach Burnout Inventory a key tool within this research (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002; Maslach and Jackson, 1981). While it is an area that extends beyond just emotion regulation research, this section will also engage with issues of workload and work-life balance given they have a clear link to burnout and have been identified by research such as Conley and Jenkins (2011) and UNISON Scotland (2017) as being potentially overly demanding on both teachers and classroom assistants. It is also important that this section engages with EI, both as regards whether respondents consider it to be important/relevant to them and also how they define it given there have been multiple definitions, for example from Goleman (1998a) and Mayer *et al.* (2012). Finally, and related to EI, is identity and whether

respondents still consider there to be a collective identity or whether there is now more of an individualised identity (Neophytou, 2013).

The next section will engage with emotion management research, which was initially proposed by Bolton (2005) through the 4Ps model, yet has only really been engaged within teaching by Hebson *et al*. (2007) and Jenkins and Conley (2007). A key aspect of emotion management research is the level of autonomy and discretion employees retain and, given research such as Hulme *et al*. (2013) and Locke *et al*. (2005) has indicated that the level of autonomy offered in Scotland differs from that in England, it is relevant to consider this issue. Two aspects that impact upon autonomy and discretion are the role of inspections and the introduction of CfE, so it is important to consider the impact of both (Perryman, 2006; Priestley and Minty, 2013). While extending beyond just emotion management research, the role of classroom assistants is best situated within this section, given there was both a clear pecuniary push by government to introduce classroom assistants, while research such as Warhurst *et al*. (2009; 2014) indicate a prescriptive impact by potentially changing the role of teachers through pushing classroom assistants towards teaching (Bach and Kessler, 2012). Given research such as Nias (1996) has noted the importance of the relationship between teachers and pupils, it is important to consider how far respondents are willing to go to help pupils, as well as whether prescriptive influences reduce this desire for philanthropic support (Lewis, 2005; O'Connor, 2008). It is also important to consider the social aspect of work and the role that colleagues play, such as through forming communities of coping (Korczynski, 2003). Finally, it is important to consider the role of parents and whether respondents consider them to be demanding. While the role of

parents could fit within the emotional labour of Hochschild (2012) or the pecuniary emotion management of Bolton (2005), it was felt that the best fit was within presentational emotion management given the role of parents in Scottish education, which will be discussed in more detail in the emotion management section.

9.3   Emotional Labour

A good starting point when examining the findings through the prism of emotional labour research is to clarify how emotional labour and the emotional nature of teaching is defined by respondents, given it has previously been noted in chapter four that neither are currently well-defined. When asked how they would define the emotional side of their role most teachers and classroom assistants relate it to their relationship with pupils and the emotions pupils bring, with some also additionally highlighting the importance of others, such as parents or colleagues. This finding indicates that pupils are important to both teachers and classroom assistants and supports the findings of Hebson *et al*. (2007), whose respondents saw capability in teaching as being related to relationships in the classroom. This finding also supports Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) noting that caring is a key part of teaching and that teachers (and classroom assistants) need to care for their pupils. It is important, therefore, to understand this clearly important relationship with pupils if there is a desire to better define the emotional side of being a teacher and classroom assistant (Malderez *et al*., 2007). Equally, though, a majority of teachers and classroom assistants also cited pupils, at least in part, as the most emotionally challenging part of their roles, indicating a

dynamic relationship between respondents and pupils (Newberry, 2010). These challenges can differ, with teachers noting hearing about the difficulties pupils can face, whereas classroom assistants, while noting these difficulties, also cited pupil behaviour (Mackenzie, 2012).

Inclusion has been noted by Watson (2010) as being a significant change to education in Scotland, with Allan (2010) noting that this has raised a number of challenges. However, most primary and private sector teachers indicated that behaviour was not a significant issue. Most primary classroom assistants also did not note a significant issue with behaviour, though, as was expected, the special needs classroom assistants did note challenging behaviour. This finding supports SCER (2007) in relation to the demands on special needs classroom assistants, as well as a majority of secondary classroom assistants noting discomfort around the need to deal with medical/intimate care. There is, though, only limited support regarding an assertion from the representative for one of the teacher unions and the representative for the classroom assistant union that staff are dealing with significant behaviour issues, as well as the literature highlighting the damaging nature of pupil misbehaviour, as the findings did not fully show this (Tsouloupas *et al*., 2010; Wróbel, 2013). Regarding additional support needs, a majority of private sector teachers noted that there can be quite a lot of pupils with additional support needs at their school, while half of the public sector primary teachers noted that these needs can present challenges. A majority of primary and special needs classroom assistants noted that they can have to work with pupils with additional support needs and that these needs can present issues, with the special needs classroom assistants working with pupils with potentially quite severe needs.

Focusing specifically on training around additional support needs, a teacher educator, who focuses on additional support needs, noted that there is not enough training at university on behavioural and additional support needs. Most of the teachers that were asked indicated that they may not be trained enough around these needs, though a number clarified that they had received training and it was more that they did not feel as comfortable as they would like to or that such needs can still be challenging. However, it was perhaps surprising, given the concerns that have been noted around inclusion, that there were not more teachers noting that they did not feel trained enough around behaviour and additional support needs (McKay, 2016). It does, though, appear that it is up to the teacher to do their own research on these needs, rather than training being provided as standard. A majority of the mainstream classroom assistants that were asked indicated that they can also have issues around how trained they feel with behaviour and additional support needs, even though a number noted they had received some training. Most special needs classroom assistants noted concerns around the lack of such training that their colleagues may receive. Such additional training likely should be offered due to the complex and challenging needs special needs classroom assistants can have to deal with over potentially long periods of time (Blatchford *et al.*, 2007; EOC, 2007).

Looking at training more broadly, it was assumed that the teachers interviewed would have received training due to the fact that teachers in Scotland must be registered with the GTCS. However, most teachers noted criticisms of their initial training. A key criticism was that training focused too much on the abstract theoretical side and not enough on the practical realities of the role, a point that research such as Malderez *et*

al. (2007) and McKay (2016) have also noted. Others noted training can be inadequate in actually training teachers how to teach. In comparison, a majority of classroom assistants indicated that their training was either poor/limited or non-existent. One example was the e-learning that new classroom assistants at public sector secondary school one received, which was generally considered lacking. Such a finding is particularly concerning for special needs classroom assistants, who appeared to receive little training unless they had to use a piece of equipment or perform a technique, and little appears to have changed since the EOC (2007) and SCER (2007) considered this issue, with classroom assistants still dealing with very challenging or complex pupils with potentially little or no training.

As noted in chapter two, a key part of research within the positive view of emotional labour, such as Wouters (1989), is that work, in particular the emotional component of it, is not simply negatively experienced and that employees can enjoy their job and be passionate about it (Schweingruber and Berns, 2005). Agreeing with this, a majority of teachers and classroom assistants noted that either passion or enjoying working with children is an important attribute, with some people noting that their job is hard enough already with passion. Therefore, the finding supports literature such as Intrator (2006) and Hargreaves (1998), which highlighted the passion that teachers can have for their role and the need to like children, and the EOC (2007) and Warhurst *et al*. (2009), which have noted the desire amongst classroom assistants to work with children and the enjoyment they can get from doing so. Such a finding also relates back to the primary school teacher who highlighted how he spent his own money to help pupils due to not wanting to see pupils miss out. A number of teachers and classroom

assistants also noted how they cannot understand people that get into these roles who do not seem to like children.

A point related to passion is whether teachers and classroom assistants assign any significance over whether they are working in the public or private sector, with Gerrard (2015) noting that this public sector ideal can be positioned as opposite to the neoliberal view. The majority of teachers in public sector schools noted a preference to work in the public sector in comparison to the private sector. Such a finding may suggest that, notwithstanding Bach and Kessler's (2012) view that modernisation has favoured using private sector concepts within the public sector, teachers still believe in public sector education and the value of it (Bolton, 2005). Perhaps unsurprisingly, this belief in public sector education was not seen amongst private sector teachers, with most noting no particular conscious decision about choosing public or private sector education. Classroom assistants also tended to note no conscious decision about choosing public sector education over private. Part of that may relate to the fact that there are less classroom assistant roles available in the private sector, but also suggests classroom assistants focus more on the job itself.

It is clear from the findings that both teachers and classroom assistants are passionate about their role and enjoy working with children. Teachers and classroom assistants also highlighted the importance of their relationship with pupils and the value that they attach to this relationship. While classroom assistants may have initially been attracted to their job for the hours and convenience, it appears to be reasons other than the profit motive that underpins Hochschild's (2012) work that keeps teachers and classroom

assistants in their roles, such as a belief in their role or their colleagues. Therefore, as previously noted by Bolton (2005), Hochschild's (2012) view of emotional labour may be less appropriate in jobs such as the ones considered here that either require passion or attract people with passion, with the positive view of emotional labour better highlighting the importance of passion and why people can look to do these types of jobs (Guerrier and Adib, 2003; Wouters, 1989). That is not to underplay challenging aspects to both roles. The findings show that there are many challenges, although it was surprising that issues related to inclusion did not come across as being as significant an issue as was perhaps expected (Allan, 2010; Boyle *et al.*, 2013).

A key aspect within a significant amount of emotional labour research has been the importance of gender, for example Taylor and Tyler (2000) highlighting the undervaluing of feminine skills. A majority of teachers and classroom assistants noted that there can be a gender difference, which can work positively and negatively for both men and women. There was no strong support, though, for the assertion in the literature that given teaching is a feminised role that women would be expected to do more of the caring side, although some supported that view (Nias, 1996). On the issue of touch, a majority of teachers noted that they would be willing to touch pupils if they felt it was appropriate to do so, though most noted that touch was not encouraged by schools. For both the secondary and special needs classroom assistants it appeared that touch can be a job requirement due to intimate/medical care, while most primary classroom assistants would touch if needed, even though they felt touch was not encouraged by their schools. The majority of teachers and classroom assistants did, though, note that there can be a gender difference around touch, which was also noted

by Hancock *et al*. (2015). Men appear to feel under more pressure with touch, which was noted in chapters three and four, and this pressure can come from wider society or within the school, such as from management or teachers (Bullough Jr., 2015; Pullen and Simpson, 2009).

Reflecting on these findings related to gender and touch, there was no strong evidence of men doing or undoing gender by focusing on more feminine or masculine skills, which was an issue highlighted by Pullen and Simpson (2009). There was, though, a clear difference around touch within the findings, which did appear to be gendered, with men typically seen as the 'Other' when it came to touch, potentially coming from colleagues, management or wider society, with male touch considered more dangerous (Simpson, 2011). This assertion that male touch is more dangerous did appear to be hurtful to a number of the men interviewed, though, while it did make a number of men cautious around their touch, others were still willing to touch, although touch is generally not encouraged by the schools. Work within the emotional labour literature, such as Taylor and Tyler (2000), has proved to be useful in highlighting these hidden rules and expectations around gender within schools and also highlighted how emotional an issue touch can be for both teachers and classroom assistants.

To close this section it is important to examine acting, which is a key aspect of emotional labour. A majority of teachers noted that they can act, though a number noted they are less inclined to act now in comparison to earlier on in their career. A majority of classroom assistants also noted that they use acting as well. These findings are not saying that teachers or classroom assistants constantly act and do not show

their true emotions, but is, as with Hochschild (2012), noting that staff can feel the need at times to put on an act, such as how a teacher educator highlighted the importance of appearing enthusiastic in front of the classroom (Jenkins and Conley, 2007). It does, though, seem that classroom assistants are more inclined than teachers to act. However, there does not appear to be any great support for the points made by Grandey (2003) and Torrington (2006) that employees who enjoy their job are less likely to act, as both teachers and classroom assistants generally enjoyed their jobs (even if some did note frustrating parts as well), yet most still used acting.

While the findings indicated that teachers and classroom assistants do use acting, it is important to clarify whether they feel any pressure or coercion to put on this act. The majority of public sector primary and private sector teachers noted that they did not feel coerced or pressured to put on any act, while there was a split view from public sector secondary teachers as to whether they feel coerced or not. The majority of classroom assistants also noted that they do not feel coerced, though most special needs classroom assistants indicated that they can feel pressured from above. Overall, then, most classroom-based staff do not feel pressured or coerced to act in the manner outlined by Hochschild (2012). Rather, the findings are more in keeping with Bolton (2005) in that staff appear to generally retain control over their actions and choose to act. Therefore, this finding raises questions about the suitability of Hochschild's (2012) conceptualisation of emotional labour in the context of emotion in teaching, as coercion driven by management is not reflected in the findings.

In reflecting on acting, it is relevant to outline the view of Hochschild (2012), who noted how employees need to follow feeling rules set by their employer and do this through either surface or deep acting, both of which are ultimately damaging for employees. However, while most teachers and classroom assistants can put on an act (even if some teachers now limit it), teachers and classroom assistants in general, outside of public sector secondary teachers and special needs classroom assistants, did not feel coerced by management to act. A number of teachers and classroom assistants considered their act to simply be a strategy they choose to use. Therefore, there does not appear to be the same coercive feeling rules that Hochschild (2012) emphasised that put pressure on staff to act. A number of teachers and classroom assistants believe it is right for them to put on the act that they do and most also have a passion for their role, which is arguably more in keeping with the organised emotional care of Lopez (2006) than the emotional labour of Hochschild (2012). Alternatively, emotion management by Bolton (2005) may be even more appropriate given the more limited direct role management can play within schools and the fact teachers and, to a lesser extent, classroom assistants appear to retain at least some level of discretion (Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Labaree, 2000). It is, therefore, challenging to see how Hochschild's (2012) view of emotional labour can be used to explain emotion in teaching, at least in full.

9.4   Emotion Regulation

A key focus across emotion regulation research is on the regulation of emotions, the belief that employees can control their emotions at work and that their self-control can improve over time, with self-control featuring heavily in both the social-psychological view of emotional labour and EI (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Goleman, 1995; Grandey, 2000). A majority of public sector primary and private sector teachers noted that they do feel they can retain a generally good level of self-control over their emotions, with a number considering it as the appropriate way to behave around children and agreeing with Gross (1998) that there will always be some need to control emotions, even if self-control will never be perfect (Akın *et al*., 2014). Public sector secondary teachers offered more mixed views as to whether they felt they had a generally good level of self-control. The majority of classroom assistants asked noted that they felt they had a relatively good level of self-control over their emotions. This finding is surprising given the potentially low standing classroom assistants can have within schools and the limited training the findings have highlighted that they receive, as well as the variable nature of their role. While it appears classroom assistants may lack control over the role itself, the findings indicate that classroom assistants feel they do retain a generally good level of self-control over their emotions.

These findings on self-control would seem to indicate that staff do believe they can regulate their emotions successfully, with a number being able to use their emotions in what they consider to be the most appropriate way at that time to perform their role (Grandey, 2000; Gross, 1998). Emotion regulation research has, thus, been useful in

highlighting this self-control that teachers and classroom assistants appear to feel that they have, as the other emotion in organisation theories have less focus on self-control. These findings could also be related to those on acting in the previous section. Given teachers and classroom assistants are indicating they generally retain self-control over their emotions, there does not appear to be any clear evidence of employees having to follow coercive feeling rules that they do not agree with, with any such rules seemingly either less coercive or potentially left to the teacher or classroom assistant to decide (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). It also appears that teachers and classroom assistants consider there to be right and wrong ways to behave, which will inherently be somewhat subjective (Fineman, 2004; Mayer *et al*., 1999; Neophytou, 2013).

The issue of burnout was discussed in chapters two and four and features heavily within the social-psychological view of emotional labour (for example Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002). As a result, it is important to understand how teachers and classroom assistants feel about their workload and the issue of burnout. Initially, it is important to consider how much time teachers and classroom assistants are allowed away from the classroom and whether previous promises that teachers will have more time to do other tasks have materialised (Bach *et al*., 2006). There was, though, a mixed view amongst teachers, with public sector secondary teachers indicating that there can be issues around time away from the classroom, public sector primary teachers being relatively content and private sector teachers being split. Admittedly, a number of teachers who noted that they were content also noted that they can work through breaks or lunches, for example to get away earlier at the end of the day, and may suggest teachers do not then have enough formal time away from the classroom,

though that is still their choice. Classroom assistants were equally split, with secondary and special needs classroom assistants tending to note there can be issues around time away from the classroom, whereas most primary classroom assistants were generally content. A reason for this difference, particularly amongst mainstream classroom assistants, was free periods, with classroom assistants in public sector secondary school one noting they used to have a free period, but that it had been taken away, whereas a majority of primary classroom assistants had free periods. Therefore, while the EOC (2007) recommended that classroom assistants have more formal time away from the classroom to help with, for example, planning, most classroom assistants do not believe they are provided with enough time away from the classroom.

Looking at the broader issue of work-life balance, Bach and Kessler (2012) noted that a desire of modernisation under New Labour was to allow employees greater flexibility over their contract and how they did their job, though Conley and Jenkins (2011) noted that work-life balance for teachers can still be challenging. There was a somewhat mixed picture from teachers. A majority of public sector secondary teachers noted that they can take work home, though half of this majority noted this was either to a limited extent or were referring to earlier on in their career. Similarly, a majority of public sector primary and private sector teachers noted that work-life balance can be challenging, though most were noting that it had previously been challenging, rather than noting it currently still is. This finding indicates that what has been written about teacher workload may not be relevant for all teachers, though a number do appear to work beyond their contracted hours, with Arnott and Menter (2007) indicating that that can be a reality for teachers working in Scotland. A majority of primary and special

needs classroom assistants noted that work-life balance is not a significant issue. While not asked of all, a number of secondary classroom assistants noted that they can need to take work home, though it did not appear that classroom assistants either took a significant amount of work home or worked significantly beyond their contracted hours.

There were varying views amongst teachers over whether they feel they are asked to do too much, with only a majority of public sector secondary teachers noting that they can be asked to do too much or have concerns it may go that way. Public sector primary and private sector teachers were more split, with this finding contrary to Conley and Jenkins (2011), as, while the findings indicate that teacher workload is demanding and paperwork/bureaucracy is disliked, workload is not clearly coming across as overly demanding or forcing people out of teaching. Equally, though, a number of the union officials for the teacher unions noted that workload can be excessive and, as the unions will have contact with more teachers than this research, this idea that teacher workload may be excessive for some teachers cannot be dismissed. Most classroom assistants noted that they can be asked to do too much or are concerned that might happen, with research by UNISON Scotland (2017) similarly noting a potentially excessive workload, though a majority of primary classroom assistants did not feel they were asked to do too much. This finding can be related to the preceding paragraphs, as it appears primary classroom assistants, in comparison to secondary and special needs classroom assistants, are more content with their workload.

Moving on to the issue of burnout, Akın *et al*. (2014) notes that teachers are at high risk of burnout, while research by UNISON Scotland (2017) highlights the significant demands that can be placed on classroom assistants. While the Maslach Burnout Inventory was not used to measure burnout in this research, it is still important to understand how burnout is seen across the different types of schools (Maslach and Jackson, 1981). A majority of teachers indicated that they had suffered from burnout or felt close to it, though teachers were using the term burnout in a variety of ways. Burnout was considered by many as just part of being a teacher and may indicate a culture amongst teachers that considers burnout as something that just has to be accepted. A majority of secondary and special needs classroom assistants also noted they had suffered from burnout, felt close to it or had been signed off with work-related stress at some point. Primary classroom assistants noted more of a split view, which may relate back to the previous points on primary classroom assistants and indicate they may have an easier workload than other classroom assistants, their workday is structured better or they are more accepting of their workload.

On the point of support for burnout there was a mixed view from teachers, with public sector secondary teachers split, half of the public sector primary teachers (not all were asked) believing that there is support and a majority of private sector teachers noting there is support or they believe there is. There could be different reasons for this discrepancy, for example that private sector schools may advertise their services better or that public sector teachers may also need to look to their local council for support, which teachers may not be fully aware of. Only a few teachers felt that burnout support can turn into a disciplinary/capability issue with a punitive element, though a number

of teachers noted that they would not tend to look for formal support if possible (Earnshaw *et al*., 2004). A majority of primary and special needs classroom assistants had either received formal support or believed it was available, while most secondary classroom assistants either did not think support was available or it was unhelpful/limited. This finding could be explained by the fact that the secondary classroom assistants seemed to have a poorer relationship with senior management in comparison to the primary classroom assistants and so secondary classroom assistants may either not know what support is available or not trust management to deliver it.

Given that teachers have been noted as being at high risk of burnout and teaching has been described as being an emotionally demanding role it is somewhat surprising that a majority of teachers did not consider their role to be too emotionally demanding or accepted the emotional demands of the role (Akın *et al*., 2014; Brackett *et al*., 2010). It is interesting so many teachers noted that they have suffered from burnout and yet do not consider their role to be too emotionally demanding. This finding could relate to the acceptance, previously noted from teachers, that burnout is just part of being a teacher and so there is a certain acceptance around these demands. It could also be the case that teachers set a high bar as to what would be considered too emotionally demanding, but a lower bar for burnout, meaning they could feel burnt out, yet not consider the role too emotionally demanding. There was a mixed view from classroom assistants, with most primary classroom assistants not considering their role to be too emotionally demanding, whereas secondary and special needs classroom assistants offered a more split view. Therefore, the view from the classroom assistant union that

classroom assistants are struggling significantly with burnout and exhaustion is not entirely supported.

Burnout has been noted as something that can be a result of the effort put in to performing emotional labour, while education has also been noted as an area in which staff can struggle with burnout (Akın *et al*., 2014; Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002; Grandey, 2003). While models such as the Maslach Burnout Inventory have not been used within this research, emotion regulation has still been beneficial in highlighting that the demands placed on teachers and classroom assistants may be getting too high given most teachers and classroom assistants (excluding primary classroom assistants) noted that they have had issues with burnout (Maslach and Jackson, 1981). The findings have also indicated a certain acceptance from some towards burnout and it appears that public sector schools may not be as good at advertising the services that they have to help with burnout. However, it becomes more challenging to explain why there seems to be less support from both teachers and classroom assistants about their roles being too emotionally demanding. This discrepancy may relate to not using a defined model to measure burnout, as well as allowing staff to define burnout as it relates to them, rather than using a clear definition in the way Wang *et al*. (2015) and Foley and Murphy (2015) took advantage of the Maslach Burnout Inventory and its variants in their research (Biron and van Veldhoven, 2012).

Finally, it is important in this section to focus on EI and related areas. A majority of teachers noted that EI is important/relevant to them and their role. There was, though, no definitive view of EI and definitions ranged from, for example, understanding your

own emotions, understanding others emotions, having an awareness of your emotions, empathy, being able to read people and being able to talk to people. While these definitions are cited within the EI literature, they would only form part of a broader definition offered by the likes of Goleman (1998a; 1998b), Mayer *et al.* (1999) and Salovey and Mayer (1990). Therefore, the findings support the view noted in chapter two that, while EI has undoubtedly achieved a high level of public buy-in, there remains no clear definition of it and so people can offer quite significantly different definitions (Fineman, 2003; 2004; Kristjánsson, 2006; Neophytou, 2013). A majority of secondary and special needs classroom assistants noted that EI is important/relevant to them and their role, while a majority of primary classroom assistants had not particularly heard of it. Classroom assistants also offered a range of definitions, though classroom assistants did not appear to believe in EI to the same degree as some teachers did. It is, though, notable that EI as a term has reached and resonated with paraprofessionals such as classroom assistants.

An area related to EI is identity, with Burman (2009) and Neophytou (2013) highlighting that EI pushes an identity that favours greater individualism and rationalisation. As a result, it is important to assess whether teachers and classroom assistants still consider there to be a collective identity that underpins their roles. Most teachers and classroom assistants noted that they felt there was still a collective identity to some extent or shared collective traits and, even if these may be ideal or desired traits, indicates there is still a view of what a teacher or classroom assistant should be. A number of teachers and classroom assistants also noted how it takes a certain type of person to do their role and those that lack these characteristics can be considered as

inappropriate for the role, for example those noted earlier that lack passion or do not appear to enjoy working with children. Therefore, there is no clear evidence from the findings that teachers or classroom assistants are becoming more individualised or, as Wilkins and Comber (2015) noted could be the case as regards new teachers, more accepting of a performative identity. There can, though, be different group identities within roles, such as how secondary school teachers can identify strongly with their subject expertise, which was also highlighted by Coldron *et al.* (2015).

The findings indicate a clear buy-in amongst professionals and paraprofessionals as to the importance of EI, indicating an expanding reach for EI in teaching (Brackett *et al.*, 2010; Fineman 2000b; 2004). A clear problem, though, with EI is that neither teachers nor classroom assistants were able to offer a clear and consistent definition, with this lack of a clear definition having been a criticism of EI for a long time (see for example: Kristjánsson, 2006; Neophytou, 2013). The inability of people to provide a consistent definition of EI indicates that, while EI as a term has gained a good level of purchase, people still appear unsure as to what EI is and instead create their own definitions (Thory, 2013). This research was not looking to categorically state whether EI research is suitable for teachers or classroom assistants. However, it is clear that there remain doubts as to whether staff understand what EI is and so it must be asked when interviewees are noting that EI is important whether they are actually referring to any of the defined versions or just their own personal definition. It is also questionable from the findings whether there has been a substantial shift amongst teachers and classroom assistants towards a more individualised identity.

9.5   Emotion Management

A key aspect underpinning Bolton (2005) and emotion management research is the belief that employees do retain some level of autonomy and discretion over their role and performance (Bolton, 2000a; Bolton and Boyd, 2003). There was, though, a mixed picture as regards autonomy. A majority of teachers indicated that they had at least a decent level of autonomy and discretion, though most within this majority indicated that their discretion can be limited to some extent. However, lack of autonomy was not coming across as a big issue for teachers and does not support the concerns noted in, for example, Perryman (2006) or Warhurst *et al*. (2009) that there has been a deprofessionalisation of teachers or that their autonomy is being significantly challenged. For classroom assistants, most secondary classroom assistants felt their autonomy was limited/controlled by the teacher, while a majority of primary and special needs classroom assistants noted their autonomy was somewhere in the middle, indicating they currently have a decent level of discretion, but that the teacher is the one in charge of the class. While primary and special needs classroom assistants indicated that they could be limited by the teacher, this was noted more strongly by secondary classroom assistants, although these limitations were not always seen as negative.

One aspect that can impact upon autonomy and discretion is the national curriculum, with the likes of Priestley (2018) and Priestley and Minty (2013) indicating that an aim of CfE was to allow for greater autonomy, particularly in comparison to the more prescriptive curriculum favoured by England (Sanderse *et al*., 2015). However, a

majority of teachers noted issues with CfE. There was general support from teachers around the principles underlining CfE and the move away from the previous curriculum, but the implementation of CfE was considered poor. These issues related both to the workload, which was seen to have been a particular issue when CfE was launched, and the assessment element, both in the constant changes and because it forces CfE to reduce its flexibility in the final years to allow for nationwide exams. The representative for one of the government bodies working within education did, though, indicate that a lot of the issues were with teachers and schools themselves. For classroom assistants, a majority of secondary and primary classroom assistants either had little involvement with CfE or had felt little difference, with a number also appearing to have had no or limited training. Special needs classroom assistants had a better understanding of CfE, though seemingly not through training offered by their school, and felt CfE was not appropriate for their type of school.

Another factor related to autonomy is inspections, which are a means of government exerting a level of accountability over schools, with research such as Perryman (2006) noting the issues inspections have created in England. As regards Scotland, a majority of teachers noted issues or concerns with Education Scotland inspections. The findings indicated that those schools that had had a poor inspection, such as public sector secondary school one and public sector primary school ten, had a more negative view of inspections than schools that had had a more positive inspection, such as private sector school fifteen, though that is not to claim either side was entirely positive or negative. There was agreement from a number of teachers that inspections can be somewhat fake, agreeing with a similar point made by Ball (2003). There was, though,

no strong evidence that schools had become overly obsessed with inspections or, as Clapham (2015) noted, trying to be constantly ready in case an inspection is called. A majority of secondary and special needs classroom assistants also noted issues or concerns with inspections, for example the atmosphere inspections can create and how realistic an image inspections get, while a majority of primary classroom assistants did not note any significant concerns. While a number had been interviewed by inspectors, it does not appear that classroom assistants have a prominent role during inspections. The findings do, though, indicate that there is seemingly less anger and opposition towards Education Scotland inspections than the literature indicates is the case with Ofsted in England (Locke *et al.*, 2005).

One of the most significant moves by government across UK public sector schools in the past twenty years has been the significant increase in the number of classroom assistants (Blatchford *et al.*, 2007; Warhurst *et al.*, 2014). However, while the number of classroom assistants may have substantially increased, a majority of teachers and classroom assistants across the public sector schools indicated a vagueness as regards the classroom assistant role and/or job description. Therefore, the findings support the work of the EOC (2007) and Warhurst *et al.* (2009; 2014), who noted that classroom assistants can be asked to do tasks outside of their job description and that the role can vary by teacher. Therefore, classroom assistants can help out in either minor or major ways depending on the teacher and school (Bach *et al.*, 2006). A majority of secondary school teachers and classroom assistants, as well as special needs classroom assistants, also noted that there is little time for teachers and classroom assistants to plan together, whereas a majority of primary classroom assistants noted that there can be time, as did

most of the primary teachers that were asked. Therefore, there is partial support for the EOC (2007) assertion, which has also been noted in England through research such as Bach *et al*. (2006; 2007) and Lehane (2016), that there can be little formal time set aside for teachers and classroom assistants to plan, but this again varies by school and type of school.

A key concern around the use of classroom assistants is that they could deprofessionalise teaching and result in classroom assistants either teaching pupils or moving very close to the teacher role (Blatchford *et al*., 2009; Warhurst *et al*., 2009). There were mixed views amongst teachers on this point, with most public sector secondary teachers not feeling that classroom assistants were teaching or coming too close to their role, whereas a majority of public sector primary teachers felt that classroom assistants can be teaching or close to it. Most classroom assistants noted that they felt that they either can be teaching or get very close to the role of the teacher. Part of the reason for this discrepancy may be due to public sector secondary teachers and classroom assistants working with each other in a more limited way, perhaps just one lesson a week, whereas public sector primary teachers and classroom assistants may be working with each other a lot each week. Equally, this discrepancy could be related to how teaching is defined, with public sector secondary teachers potentially setting a higher bar as to what teaching entails in comparison to the others. This finding largely supports the research by the EOC (2007) and Warhurst *et al*. (2014) in that classroom assistants can be stretched and required to actually teach.

In considering the value of the 4Ps model of Bolton (2005), it is important to consider each part of the model and what they have shown, with the preceding paragraphs more relating to pecuniary influences and pressures. The pecuniary part of the 4Ps model has, therefore, been useful in highlighting that there may be increasing pecuniary demands from both management and government, for example around the implementation and constant changes with CfE (Conley and Jenkins, 2011; Jenkins and Conley, 2007; Priestley *et al*., 2014). The role of classroom assistants does appear to be vague and, perhaps related to this, more also appears to be getting asked of classroom assistants, which has also been noted by the EOC (2007) and Warhurst *et al*. (2014). In particular, the secondary and special needs classroom assistants are increasingly pushed to deal with more extreme behaviour and medical/intimate needs. There do also appear to be concerns from most teachers and classroom assistants around inspections, though not to the same extent as the more performative push of Ofsted in England that research such as Ball (2003), Clapham (2015) and Perryman (2006) details. The findings have also indicated that classroom assistants appear to have less autonomy than teachers and that teachers can be one means of reducing classroom assistants discretion, though that is not always felt negatively (Lehane, 2016). Therefore, pecuniary influences have been useful in highlighting that management/government are exerting pressure on teachers and classroom assistants, but that these pressures have either been less than those in England or they are not experienced as negatively as they are in England.

Switching focus more towards prescriptive and philanthropic influences, the analysis thus far has indicated that the role pupils play with teachers and classroom assistants

is both important and emotional, a point also noted by the likes of Hargreaves (2000) and Nias (1996). One means in which staff can offer a philanthropic gift to pupils is by choosing to go beyond the standard expectations of their role to help pupils (Bolton, 2005; Hargreaves, 1998). A majority of teachers noted that they are willing to go beyond for pupils. There was also a majority of teachers noting that they do or have helped with after-school/extracurricular activities, which is a way to offer this additional help. There appears to be an expectation on staff at private sector schools to help with after-school/extracurricular activities due to the higher wage they typically earn. However, private sector teachers also noted that they enjoy helping with after-school/extracurricular activities, while public sector teachers also appear willing to help, even though there is generally no contractual obligation to do so. Similarly, the evidence points to the majority of classroom assistants being willing to go beyond for pupils. This finding supports Gilbert *et al*. (2012) in noting that classroom assistants are willing to go beyond their contractual demands. Most classroom assistants, though, would not tend to help with formal after-school/extracurricular activities. The implication from a number of classroom assistants is that formal after-school/extracurricular activities are more for the teacher to do and so classroom assistants find other more informal ways to go beyond.

A majority of teachers also noted that it can be or has previously been hard to accept when they cannot help a pupil as much as they would like, even if they have tried their best, though most within this majority (with the exception of public sector primary teachers) noted either an acceptance of their limitations or that it had become easier to accept over time. This finding supports Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) in showing

that it can be difficult for teachers to accept that they can only do so much, but, as O'Connor (2008) notes can happen, there can also be a prescriptive need to accept they only have so much time available. Similarly, most classroom assistants who were asked noted that it can be or has previously been hard to accept when they cannot help a pupil as much as they would like, though a number of classroom assistants noted either an acceptance of their limitations or that it had become easier to accept. Therefore, as with teachers, while it appears difficult for classroom assistants to accept their limitations, particularly when they start, there appears an acceptance from some that they can only do so much. This finding highlights the importance of pupils, though equally shows amongst a number of teachers and classroom assistants what they consider realism in that they cannot do everything they may wish to.

There is a clear relationship between prescriptive and philanthropic influences and such influences, as noted by Lewis (2005), can either be complementary or conflicting (Bolton, 2005; Bolton and Boyd, 2003). The analysis has already noted how most teachers and classroom assistants have a strong professional and personal belief in the importance of passion, enjoy working with children and believe that there can be specific types of people suited to these roles, while there is also a clear philanthropic influence in most teachers and classroom assistants wanting to work with and go beyond for pupils (Hebson *et al.*, 2007; Jenkins and Conley, 2007). This conflict between prescriptive and philanthropic influences can be seen when interviewees noted the pain they can experience when they cannot go beyond for pupils, a philanthropic influence, while there is also a number that have come to accept this as just reality, which is a more prescriptive influence (Isenbarger and Zembylas, 2006;

O'Connor, 2008). Most interviewees were also willing to show a mix/somewhere in between controlling their emotions and showing a range, which indicates a similar thought process to the emotional boundary management of Hayward and Tuckey (2011). This relationship between prescriptive and philanthropic influences has been useful in highlighting how and why teachers and classroom assistants make the decisions that they do in relation to pupils.

Work colleagues are an important group in illustrating the social aspect of work and the role of presentational emotion management, with communities of coping by Korczynski (2003) one example of colleague support (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Indeed, the importance of colleagues came through across the findings chapters, with a majority of teachers noting that colleague support is important to them. This support can be practical or moral, with a few teachers also noting instances when they lacked colleague support and that it was very challenging. It was also the case that most classroom assistants noted that colleague support is important. Indeed, a number of classroom assistants noted that their colleagues were an important reason as to why they had remained in their role. The findings indicate that there are communities of coping in schools, though it would appear that staff tend to stick to their own occupational group (Korczynski, 2003). There was also evidence, for example with the secondary classroom assistants, that it is not always easy to find time to get together and talk, for example due to constant interruptions during scheduled break times, with any communities of coping quite informal.

Finally, a key aim that generally underpins modernisation reform is the needs of the customer and a desire to increase their power and rights, with Gunter (2015) noting that parents are typically seen as the main customer within schools (see also Bach and Kessler, 2012). As to whether parents are either currently demanding or getting more demanding, there was no clear view from public sector secondary teachers. A majority of private sector teachers and half of the public sector primary teachers noted that parents can be potentially demanding or are getting more demanding in their expectations, though most within this majority specified that it was only some parents or that it could vary by school. Most private sector teachers also noted that at least some parents can have high expectations due to the fact they are paying a fee (O'Connor, 2008). A majority of mainstream classroom assistants noted that parents can be quite demanding or like customers, though most within this majority were indicating that it can depend on the parent or school. It should, though, be recognised that classroom assistants across both secondary and primary typically had quite a limited role with parents and saw parents as more the responsibility of the teacher and school. There is limited evidence from the findings to indicate the aggression and violence from parents that was noted by Conley and Jenkins (2011) and Jenkins and Conley (2007) existing in Scottish schools.

The final aspect of the 4Ps model to consider is presentational influences, which focuses on those influences that come from wider society, with the role of colleagues and parents two of the key presentational influences that schools must consider (Bolton, 2005; Gunter, 2015). Colleagues support appears to be important to both teachers and classroom assistants, with such relationships typically the responsibility

of employees to maintain and, as noted by Bolton (2005), typically falling outside the purview of organisational feeling rules. In turn, there was evidence of communities of coping existing, with such communities generally appreciated by interviewees (Korczynski, 2003). While most private sector teachers and mainstream classroom assistants noted that at least some parents either are demanding or are getting more demanding, parental demands did not come across as being a significant issue, particularly in comparison to parents in England, who were discussed in chapter three. It does appear that the Scottish government want to increase the role of parents, with the Scottish Government and CoSLA (2018) noting a number of changes that they hope will increase the role of parents in schools, potentially indicating a push for teachers and classroom assistants to perform more pecuniary emotion management. However, these changes are still not as far reaching as is currently seen in England, supporting the view of Adler (1997) that parental power in England is stronger than in Scotland, while there is also support for the assertion of Arnott (2011) that Scottish parents do not appear to want to run schools. As a result, there is evidence that the relationship between teachers and classroom assistants with parents in Scotland may be based more around general social rules and presentational emotion management, with less of a need for pecuniary emotion management.

9.6   The Research Questions

Now that each of the emotion in organisation theories have been discussed in relation to emotion in teaching it is appropriate to reconsider the three research questions that

were posed at the end of chapter four to assess how the thesis has answered each. First, to what extent can a work and employment perspective on emotion help to improve our understanding of emotion in teaching? Second, how is the emotional role of teachers and classroom assistants affected by working in either primary or secondary schools? Finally, in what way is the experience different for teachers and classroom assistants working in public compared to private sector schools? While the rest of the chapter has also contributed towards it, this section will also show the empirical contribution of the research, which has been made by focusing on teachers and classroom assistants in Scotland. While other research has focused on Scottish schools, such as the EOC (2007) and Warhurst *et al.* (2014), there has been little focus on emotion in teaching in Scotland and little emotion research focusing on classroom assistants, outside of Graves (2014) and Lehane (2016). Indeed, there has been only a limited amount of research generally on classroom assistants in Scotland, so this research is useful in providing insights into what it is like to be a classroom assistant in Scotland. Therefore, the research has looked to improve the current understanding of the role of teachers and classroom assistants in Scotland, with a particular focus on the emotional sides of both roles.

Starting with the first research question, the approach taken to applying the emotion in organisation theories has been useful in providing a broad insight/snapshot of what it is like to be a teacher and classroom assistant in Scotland, while still allowing for an acceptable level of depth. As a result, such an approach works well with exploratory research (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). Using this approach and range of theories has allowed for a number of pertinent issues to be highlighted, such as the high workload of

teachers and the sometimes excessive demands placed on classroom assistants, highlighting issues that could be studied in further depth going forward. Each emotion in organisation theory has also been useful in showing the importance of pupils to teachers and classroom assistants, the passion that staff have for their role/children and a desire to go beyond what is contractually expected of them. The approach adopted has also indicated that classroom assistants may be getting close to the teacher role (or at least believe in themselves that they are), but that teachers in different types of schools may be more or less inclined to consider that classroom assistants are teaching.

It is felt that adopting a work and employment perspective and using each of the emotion in organisation theories in this more limited way has been beneficial in helping to improve understanding of the teacher and classroom assistant roles in Scotland, particularly the emotional content of both roles. In particular, such an approach has worked well with the exploratory approach that the research adopted and has been able to give a broad view of both roles across a range of different schools in Scotland. This approach has shown that such an approach can offer something to our understanding of both roles, in particular the emotional aspect, and can engage with topics that the other theories are less naturally able to. In this respect these theories offered their own unique insights. There is an acceptance that this approach has limitations, as it cannot get the level of depth that using the theories individually would provide. Overall, though, the thesis has shown that such an approach can work well with school-based education and offers one potential means of conducting such research.

Moving on to the second research question, there does appear to be differences between working in a primary and secondary school in Scotland, with the focus of this question more on public sector schools, as the private sector will be engaged with in the next research question. One difference within primary schools was that the teachers and classroom assistants appeared to have a close relationship and worked with each other more than appears to be the case in secondary schools. As a result, it would appear that there is a greater chance for teachers and classroom assistants to plan together, though that, as seen with the special needs classroom assistants, is not guaranteed. Primary classroom assistants also did not appear to deal significantly with physical labour or medical/intimate care, though special needs classroom assistants obviously did. There was also more agreement between teachers and classroom assistants that classroom assistants can teach or come close to teaching. Primary teachers, while still generally noting issues with it, were perhaps less critical of CfE, which may relate to the view from one of the primary teachers previously noted that CfE better suits primary school teaching and its style. Both primary teachers and classroom assistants (discounting the special needs classroom assistants) also did not appear to have as significant concerns around their workload going too far.

Switching the focus to secondary schools, classroom assistants do not appear to have as close a relationship with teachers and generally do not have time to plan together, which may relate to the classroom assistants tending to be timetabled and so only seeing teachers when they are in their classes. Moreover, classroom assistants in secondary schools do not seem to get free periods and there are more issues from both teachers and classroom assistants in secondary around the amount of time they get

away from the class, which was less of an issue in primary. There was also a discrepancy over whether secondary classroom assistants teach, with classroom assistants noting that they do, while teachers noted that they did not, which may relate to this more limited relationship. Teachers were also critical of CfE and secondary teachers are always likely to feel the impact of changes in exams and assessment more than primary teachers, though the teachers were interviewed before a number of recent changes to CfE (McIvor, 2016). Classroom assistants also appear to be getting pushed more towards physical labour and medical/intimate care in secondary compared to primary, supporting the findings of SCER (2007), with most uncomfortable with these pushes.

A particular point to consider is classroom assistants and the differences that exist there between primary and secondary, both in what classroom assistants do and their relationship with the teacher. Primary classroom assistants appear to generally be within one class all the time or spread across a small number of classes across the week, whereas secondary classroom assistants tend to go from class to class and deal with a range of different pupils and classes throughout the day. Therefore, primary classroom assistants appear to work more closely with specific teachers (although the special needs classroom assistants indicated that their relationship can still be limited), have time to plan and may get close to teaching, with the blessing of the teacher. The fact that teachers and classroom assistants in primary also appear to be satisfied with the amount of time they get away from the classroom in comparison to secondary may also indicate that there is more time set aside for teachers and classroom assistants to work together, which did not appear to be the case as much within secondary.

Secondary classroom assistants did believe that they got close to teaching, but teachers did not agree with that belief and the relationship between teachers and classroom assistants in secondary appears to be more transactional. A key difference, therefore, between primary and secondary schools is the classroom assistant, particularly the relationship between teachers and classroom assistants.

The final research question relates to the difference between public and private sector schools, with the focus here just on teachers. A point made by most public sector teachers was that they have some belief in public sector education and chose to work within the public sector, with some disagreeing in principle with private sector education. There was also a willingness amongst most to go beyond for pupils, such as through after-school/extracurricular activities, which, while there did not appear in general to be any contractual obligation to undertake such activities, most teachers were either currently doing or had previously done. Teachers were generally noting concerns around burnout and, perhaps more concerning, also seemed unsure whether there were formal means of support available, which could relate to such services being poorly advertised or a lack of trust in management and local government. There was perhaps some indications that, while some parents can be demanding, they may not be considered as being as demanding as those at private sector schools, though this could equally be due to the types of schools used. Most teachers also noted that there can be a need to take work home, though a number of teachers had become better in that regard, and, of those asked, it is considered, at best, very challenging to stay within contractual hours.

Private sector teachers generally did not make a conscious decision to work in the private sector and it appeared to more be either the job itself or just what was available. There were some who did consciously move to the private sector and others working within the private sector who were ideologically uncomfortable with private sector education, but these were not majority views. An important contractual difference in the private sector is that it appears teachers are required to help with after-school/extracurricular activities and that this can be written into their contracts, with the additional wage private sector teachers receive compensating for this additional work. Most teachers noted that at least some parents can be difficult to deal with and have high expectations, believing that because they pay a fee it means that they can expect more in return, with O'Connor (2008) noting a similar point. Most teachers noted that they can take work home, though most within that majority try to limit the amount they take home. Private sector teachers do, though, appear more aware of services available for burnout, although a number still indicated that they would not be inclined to use them unless absolutely necessary.

A key difference between public and private sector schools is classroom assistants. While concern was noted around the protection of their numbers, classroom assistants are now a standard part of public sector schools and, as noted previously, are seen to be a key means of helping with inclusion. In contrast, private sector schools do not appear to employ classroom assistants across their school and instead focus them on primary school. Part of this difference may also relate to, as was indicated by a private sector teacher, private sector schools having higher barriers to entry, such as fees and entrance tests, and so inclusion, while still present, is not the same as it is for public

sector schools, with more resources also potentially available to their support for learning departments than public sector schools would have. It also appears that parents may be more demanding in the private than public sector, which may be related to the fact that parents in the private sector pay fees, though parental demands did not come across as an overly significant issue within either sector. Work-life balance appears to be challenging for both public and private sector teachers, at least at certain points in their careers, with teachers across the board noting about having to take work home and working beyond their contracted hours.

9.7   Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the findings across the three different types of schools in Scotland, discussed these findings in relation to the emotion in organisation theories and engaged with the research questions. To do this, the chapter has noted the theoretical contribution that the research is making and used the theoretical framework of the three emotion in organisation theories to highlight what each theory, when used from a work and employment perspective, can say about teachers and classroom assistants. This chapter has also provided an empirical contribution by focusing on teachers and classroom assistants in Scotland, in particular analysing the emotional side of both roles.

10.0 Limitations and Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

This final chapter has two intentions. First, the chapter will examine and discuss the limitations of the research. It is accepted that there have been factors throughout the research process that have either not been ideal or have limited the research in some way. As a result, it is important that the research identifies these areas of weakness and understands the impact they have had. Second, this chapter will offer the final conclusions of the thesis. These conclusions will encompass each part of the thesis, from the literature used, to the methodology chosen and the findings. This chapter has an important role in both highlighting the limitations that have impacted upon the research, while also illustrating what the research has achieved.

10.2 Limitations

A number of limitations of the research have been noted throughout the thesis and it is important to reiterate these limitations now. The interviews were long in length and took longer to conduct than was expected, which meant that the transcription took longer than originally hoped (Remenyi, 2012; Saunders *et al*., 2012). The length of the interviews also meant that to cover everything important there were topics that were either not engaged with or not as much as would have been ideal, such as whether use of emotions is considered to be a skill, reducing the breadth and depth of the

research. As regards who was interviewed, it would have been ideal to get an even split between teachers and classroom assistants across the public sector schools and to interview classroom assistants in the private sector. The lack of private sector classroom assistants is a particular weakness of the thesis and does not allow for any comparisons between public and private sector classroom assistants. It could also be argued that the significant others could have been interviewed at the beginning of the data collection period, akin to pilot interviews, though doing these at the end equally allowed for better and more up-to-date information to be collected (Bryman and Bell, 2011).

A potential issue with semi-structured interviews is the fact that each interviewee will not always be asked the same questions or in the same way, making direct comparisons challenging (Saunders *et al.*, 2012). This lack of consistency was an issue, as the evolving nature of the interview schedule meant that there were certain topics, for example around workload and stress, that were not developed as fully at the beginning of the data collection process as they were at the end, which meant that the findings in certain areas are more limited than would have been hoped. While the basic interview schedule did not change, the follow up questions did change and the focus placed on certain questions changed as the data collection process proceeded. Therefore, there is a difference between the interviews conducted at the beginning and the end of the data collection process and the thesis has not been able to either engage with certain issues with all interviewees or do so as much as would have been liked, reducing the breadth of the research. The decision to use each of the emotion in organisation theories from a work and employment perspective across the findings and

analysis/discussion can be argued to have allowed for breadth, but limited depth. Such a limitation was accepted as being a by-product of having to adapt the three emotion in organisation theories to allow them to be used within one piece of research. Also, as was the case with Lopez (2006), such an approach may only be suitable with school-level education. Such an approach does, though, appear to work well with exploratory research.

The need to quantify parts of the qualitative data collected was another challenge, as most answers were not simple yes or no answers and so inevitably some of the richness of the data is lost through this quantification (Hannah and Lautsch, 2011; Saunders *et al.*, 2012). While it was considered necessary to quantify parts of the data to allow as much of the findings to be discussed as possible in as clear a manner as possible, the depth of the findings were undoubtedly reduced as a result. The final key limitation is the fact that, due to difficulties in getting enough participants within single schools, there was a need to have participants across a range of different schools included within each type of school. As a result, the decision was made to change from having a multi-case study, with each type of school a case study, to having the school-based education system of Scotland as the case study. In that sense it is acknowledged that the thesis adopts a loose definition of case study research, though it was felt to be a necessary compromise to ensure enough teachers and classroom assistants across each type of school were interviewed (Bryman and Bell, 2011).

10.3   Conclusions

A key desire of this thesis was to gain a better understanding of what the teacher and classroom assistant roles are currently like across Scottish schools and to assess how well the emotion in organisation theories when used from a work and employment perspective work with emotion in teaching. Given that there has been a lack of research on education in Scotland, particularly around emotion, it was felt that focusing on teachers and classroom assistants across public and private, primary and secondary schools in Scotland offered a unique perspective. It was felt that case study research was the best means of undertaking this research, with the school-based education system in Scotland chosen as the case study. Furthermore, it was felt that exploratory research would work best with this research, as each emotion in organisation theory had to be streamlined to an extent so as to not overextend the research, with the focus more on breadth than depth (Saunders *et al*., 2012). Semi-structured interviews worked well with this exploratory case study design and allowed for a broad range of topics to be discussed (Bryman and Bell, 2011).

To undertake this research it was necessary to engage with a wide range of different literatures. The emotion in organisation literatures, in particular work on emotional labour, emotion regulation and emotion management, were key in providing the theoretical underpinning of the research and in building up a broad understanding of how emotion in organisation can be conceptualised. The modernisation literature was important in showing how education reform in Western societies has tended to focus on increasing marketization, managerialism and performativity, although Scotland has

been more limited in embracing this modernisation reform in comparison to countries such as England (Bach and Givan, 2011; Ball, 1993; 2003; Hulme *et al*., 2013; Menter, 2008). The rise of classroom assistants has been a key aspect of modernisation reform and it was important that the literature review highlighted how the classroom assistant role is not well-defined in Scotland, which can lead to role stretch (Warhurst *et al*., 2014). The final literature reviewed was on emotion in teaching, which helped to show what research had already been done in this area. In particular, emotion in teaching research has tended to adopt a narrower education studies perspective when using the emotion in organisation theories, which highlighted a gap in the research and indicated that a theoretical contribution could be made by adopting the broader work and employment perspective typically used within emotion in organisation research to study school-based education in Scotland through applying the emotion in organisation theories to the findings.

By following this approach the thesis has been able to produce a broad picture of what it is like to be a teacher and classroom assistant working within Scotland in both public and private sector schools and primary and secondary schools. The classroom assistant role appears to change depending on the type of school, with primary school classroom assistants appearing to have a closer relationship with teachers than in secondary and more of a common belief that classroom assistants can teach, while private sector schools only tend to have classroom assistants working at primary level. There is a common passion amongst teachers and classroom assistants in relation to their jobs and/or working with children. Potentially related to this passion and desire, there were concerns around burnout across most of the groups interviewed and it would be a good

idea for public sector schools to better advertise what support they have available for burnout, while all schools could encourage teachers and classroom assistants to take up such services when needed. Gender does appear to make a difference and can be particularly witnessed with touch, where men can be treated differently by the school or feel more pressure on them, although touch appears to be a tricky subject in general. It was also noted across the different types of schools that teachers and classroom assistants can use acting, though there does not generally appear to be the coercion or feeling rules within Scottish schools that Hochschild (2012) identified within her research.

The thesis was also able to engage with inclusion, which research such as Allan (2010) notes has grown in importance in Scotland. Most that were asked highlighted concerns around the level of training for additional support needs or noted the challenges around dealing with these needs, although issues with inclusion did not come across as significantly as was perhaps expected. Engaging with emotion regulation research, most interviewed tended to feel that they did have an acceptable level of control over their own emotions, even if that may not always be perfect, and most (excluding public sector primary classroom assistants) had heard of and had some belief in the value of EI. It is particularly relevant that classroom assistants, as paraprofessionals, have a belief in EI, though there was no clear definition of EI coming through from the findings. Both teachers and classroom assistants felt that support from their colleagues was important and there is evidence of communities of coping, though such groupings appear quite informal and require work from staff to maintain (Korczynski, 2003). Finally, a clear finding from the research has been that both teachers and classroom

assistants consider their relationship with pupils to be a key part of their role, with a general willingness to go beyond the standard expectations of their roles to help pupils if needed.

The thesis has engaged with each of the research questions and shown that the three emotion in organisation theories can be used with emotion in teaching, with each theory providing information and data that the other theories do not focus on as much. The findings indicate that a work and employment perspective can work with emotion in teaching and has been useful in strongly engaging with the context around education in Scotland and highlighting the impact of reform on both teachers and classroom assistants. There are also clear differences between primary and secondary schools, in particular around the relationship that teachers and classroom assistants have and the influence that this can have within the classroom and on the classroom assistant role. Private sector schools also have notable differences to public sector schools, for example less belief in public sector education, a requirement to undertake after-school/extracurricular activities and potentially more demanding parents. Therefore, the approach adopted has worked and the research questions have been answered.

In conclusion, the research has engaged with each of the research questions and has been able to make two original contributions to knowledge. Firstly, the research has made an empirical contribution by engaging with emotion in teaching in Scotland and also by engaging with the emotional role of classroom assistants, two areas that have received little focus. In turn, the research has improved the current understanding of the teacher and classroom assistant roles within Scottish schools, with a particular

focus on the emotional sides of both roles. Secondly, the research has made a theoretical contribution by engaging with each of the emotion in organisation theories from a work and employment perspective within a single piece of research and by adapting these theories to make them appropriate for school-based education. Therefore, the thesis has shown that such a synthesis of these theories can work and that others could potentially use such an approach to study other contexts. Overall, then, the thesis has successfully engaged with each of the research questions that were outlined and has made an original contribution to knowledge.

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Appendix – Interview Schedules

Please note that some of the interview schedules have been amended to take out any questions that could identify interviewees or the organisation they represent. However, the questionnaires do still provide a good representation of the types of questions that were asked.

Interview Schedule – Teachers and Classroom Assistants

Career choices

1. Why did you decide to become a teacher/classroom assistant?

    a) Could you explain what an average day would be like for you?

2. Could you explain what it is like to work in a public/private/primary/secondary (delete depending on interviewee) school?

    a) Did you make a conscious decision to work in the public/private sector or was it just the best option available?

    b) Are you happy with the decision you made?

What is emotion work?

3. Could you explain how you see emotions in your role, for example how

emotional your role is or how often you need to deal with emotional situations?

    a) How well defined would you say the emotional aspect of your role is?

    b) Do you believe that the emotional aspect of your role is important?

    c) What do you consider to be the most difficult part of your role emotionally?

What organisation rules are visible (scripting, monitoring)

4. What level of control do you believe that you have over your performance within the classroom and your use of emotions?

    a) Do you believe that it is important that you control your emotions in front of pupils or do you believe it is important that they see a range of emotional responses?

    b) Do you believe there are strong expectations around the sort of emotions you should use in the classroom?

5. Do you believe that you ever have to put on an act of some sort within the classroom and who is it for the benefit of?

    a) Is this purely because you feel that it is correct to act in this way or do you feel coerced to put on a certain performance?

    b) If you have ever felt coerced to act in a certain way, who was coercing you and did you feel comfortable going along with this?

    c) Are you consciously aware that it is just an act that you are putting on or do you genuinely try to summon up the emotions you are showing?

Discretion over when used

6. How much discretion do you believe that you have over your use of emotions within the classroom and the school in general?

   a) Do you believe the school is willing to give you autonomy to perform your role or is there a desire to establish a specific way of working?

   b) Have you ever felt pressured to act in a way that you did not emotionally agree with and do you feel you have the authority to refuse this?

   c) Would you be willing to refuse a certain policy or request from the school if it was just yourself or would you want the collective support of your colleagues to do this?

Types and who for (pupil, parent, colleague)

7. Roughly speaking, could you describe on average the types/backgrounds of children that you get at your school?

   a) How do you believe that the background of these pupils impact upon your job and how you perform?

8. How do you feel about the role of parents within and around the school today and does it affect how you do your job?

   a) How do you see the role of the headteacher in schools today?

   b) How much do you believe the headteacher would support you if your

performance or professionalism were called into question?

c) What role do colleagues play in how much enjoyment you get from your role?

Skills needed (adequate training)

9. Could you go into a bit of detail about what the training for your role was like?

   a) Roughly, how much time would you say that training spent on the more technical parts of your role and the more emotional parts of your role? Did you think the balance was right?

   b) Did you feel emotionally ready when you started your first job following training?

   c) What was induction like for you at this school and how long did it take for you to feel comfortable in your role?

10. Thinking back to an instance when something unexpected happened within the classroom, how did you respond?

    a) Was your response due to your training or was it more of an instinctive response?

    b) How well does your training prepare you for such unexpected events?

11. Do you consider how you use your emotions within the classroom to be a skill or is it something more natural and intrinsic?

   a) What do you think emotional intelligence is and do you believe it is important for your role?

Identity

12. Could you explain to me how you see the identity of teachers/classroom assistants (delete as appropriate)?

   a) Has this identity changed during your career or remained stable?

   b) How important to you is the identity you have as a teacher/classroom assistant?

13. As a male/female, do you believe that your gender impacts upon how you do your role and the expectations placed on you?

   a) Do you believe that females/males (delete depending on interviewee) are treated differently within the school due to their gender?

   b) Do you believe that males/females (delete depending on interviewee) are expected to do more or less based on their gender?

   c) Can you think of an instance where your gender meant that you were expected to act in a certain way? How did you feel about this?

Recognition via rewards and appraisals

14. How is your performance managed/appraised within the school?

    a) Are you happy with this process and do you believe it is fair?

    b) Do you believe that enough attention is given to the emotional aspect of your role and is it fairly rewarded?

    c) How much control do you think the school and teacher should have over issues that relate to your performance, such as setting the curriculum, compared to the government?

Going above and beyond

15. Are you willing to go beyond the standard expectations of your role to help a pupil?

    a) How do you decide which pupil needs more help than others?

    b) Has offering additional help ever had a damaging effect on you?

    c) Would you also be willing to offer something additional to your colleagues?

    d) How much of your free time would you be willing (or forced) to give to a parent with an issue that wasn't directly related to your job?

Burnout

16. Have you ever suffered from burnout in your role?

    a) Why do you think you suffered burnout, was it being asked to do too much or was it doing things you were uncomfortable with?

    b) If you suffered from burnout, how did you recover from it and were you offered support during this time?

    c) Do you believe that your role is too emotionally demanding or are you happy with the expectations placed on you?

Enjoyment of this part of role

17. How much do you enjoy your role?

    a) What is the most enjoyable aspect of it?

    b) What is the least enjoyable aspect of it?

    c) What do you believe it would take for you to stop doing this role?

    d) Do you believe it is important that people teaching have a passion for it?

    e) Do you feel a sense of loyalty to your school and/or the headteacher?

Education reform

18. How do you see the role of the teacher/classroom assistant (delete as appropriate)?

    a) How do you see the role of classroom assistants in direct relation to the teachers' role?

    b) How well defined is the classroom assistant role?

    c) Do you believe that classroom assistants have been a positive or negative addition to the classroom?

19. How important do you believe that testing is or should be in schools?

    a) How do you feel about the return of standardised testing to Scottish schools?

    b) Could you give me your thoughts on the Curriculum for Excellence?

    c) What role, if any, do you believe that the government should play in education?

Inspections

20. How do you feel about the role inspections play within schools?

    a) Do you find the inspection process stressful?

    b) Do you believe that you understand what is expected from you during inspections?

c) Do you believe that the inspections you have underwent have been fair?

d) How many inspections do you undergo within a year, both mock/real?

Interview Schedule – Senior Management at Schools

Career choices

1. Why did you decide to become a headteacher?

   a) Could you explain what an average day would be like for you?

   b) Do you still do any teaching? If not, how long has it been since you last taught?

2. Could you explain what it is like to work in a public/private/primary/secondary (delete depending on interviewee) school?

   a) Did you make a conscious decision to work in the public/private sector or was it just the best option available?

   b) Are you happy with the decision you made?

What is emotion work?

3. Could you explain how you see emotions in your role, for example how emotional your role is or how often you need to deal with emotional situations?

   a) How well defined would you say the emotional aspect of your role is, both from your time as a teacher to currently as a headteacher?

   b) Do you believe that the emotional aspect of your role is important?

   c) What do you consider to be the most difficult part of your role emotionally?

What organisation rules are visible (scripting, monitoring)

4. Thinking back to your time as a teacher, what level of control do you believe that you have over your performance within the classroom and your use of emotions?

   a) Do you believe that it is important that you control your emotions in front of pupils or do you believe it is important that they see a range of emotional responses?

   b) Do you believe there are strong expectations around the sort of emotions you should use in the classroom?

5. Do you believe that you ever have to put on an act of some sort within the classroom or as headteacher and who is it for the benefit of?

   a) Is this purely because you feel that it is correct to act in this way or do you feel coerced to put on a certain performance?

   b) If you have ever felt coerced to act in a certain way, who was coercing you and did you feel comfortable going along with this?

   c) Are you consciously aware that it is just an act that you are putting on or do you genuinely try to summon up the emotions you are showing?

Discretion over when used

6. How much discretion do you believe that you have over your use of emotions within the classroom and the school in general?

    a) Do you believe that you have sufficient autonomy to perform your role or do you feel that is there a desire to establish a specific way of working?

    b) Have you ever felt pressured to act in a way that you did not emotionally agree with and do you feel you have the authority to refuse this?

    c) Would you be willing to refuse a certain policy or request from above you if it was just yourself or would you want the collective support of your colleagues to do this?

Types and who for (pupil, parent, colleague)

7. Roughly speaking, could you describe on average the types/backgrounds of children that you get at your school?

    a) How do you believe that the background of these pupils impact upon your job and how you perform?

8. How do you feel about the role of parents within and around the school today and does it affect how you do your job?

    a) How do you see the role of the headteacher in schools today?

    b) Are you able to get support from colleagues at your school or would you

need to look to other headteachers to get this support?

c) Could you describe your relationship with teachers and classroom assistants, given you have gone from being a fellow teacher to, in essence, becoming their boss?

Skills needed (adequate training)

9. Could you go into a bit of detail about what the training for your role was like, both as a teacher and now as a headteacher?

    a) Roughly, how much time would you say that training spent on the more technical parts of your role and the more emotional parts of your role? Did you think the balance was right?

    b) Did you feel emotionally ready when you started your first job following training?

    c) What was induction like for you at this school and how long did it take for you to feel comfortable in your role?

10. Thinking back to an instance when something unexpected happened within the classroom, how did you respond?

    a) Was your response due to your training or was it more of an instinctive response?

    b) How well does your training prepare you for such unexpected events?

11. Do you consider how you use your emotions in your role to be a skill or is it something more natural and intrinsic?

    a) What do you think emotional intelligence is and do you believe it is important for your role?

Identity

12. Could you explain to me how you see the identity of headteachers?

    a) Has this identity changed during your career or remained stable?

    b) How important to you is the identity you have as a headteacher?

13. As a male/female, do you believe that your gender impacts upon how you do your role and the expectations placed on you?

    a) Do you believe that females/males (delete depending on interviewee) are treated differently within schools due to their gender?

    b) Do you believe that males/females (delete depending on interviewee) are expected to do more or less based on their gender?

    c) Can you think of an instance where your gender meant that you were expected to act in a certain way? How did you feel about this?

Recognition via rewards and appraisals

14. How is your performance managed/appraised at the school?

    a) Are you happy with this process and do you believe it is fair?

    b) Do you believe that enough attention is given to the emotional aspect of your role and is it fairly rewarded?

    c) How much control do you think the school and teacher should have over issues that relate to their performance, such as setting the curriculum, compared to the government?

    d) How worthwhile do you feel that staff find the performance appraisal process?

Going above and beyond

15. Are you willing to go beyond the standard expectations of your role to help a pupil?

    a) How do you decide which pupil needs more help than others?

    b) Has offering additional help ever had a damaging effect on you?

    c) As headteacher, how far would you go to help a colleague with an issue? Would this be because you wanted to or because you felt it was expected of you?

    d) How much of your free time would you be willing (or forced) to give to a parent with an issue that wasn't directly related to your job?

Burnout

16. Have you ever suffered from burnout in your role as headteacher or previously as a teacher?

    a) Why do you think you suffered burnout, was it being asked to do too much or was it doing things you were uncomfortable with?

    b) If you suffered from burnout, how did you recover from it and were you offered support during this time?

    c) Do you believe that your role is too emotionally demanding or are you happy with the expectations placed on you?

Enjoyment of this part of role

17. How much do you enjoy your role?

    a) What is the most enjoyable aspect of it?

    b) What is the least enjoyable aspect of it?

    c) What do you believe it would take for you to stop doing this role?

    d) Do you believe it is important that people teaching have a passion for it?

    e) Do you feel a sense of loyalty to your school?

Education reform

18. How do you see the role of teachers/classroom assistants?

   a) How do you see the role of classroom assistants in direct relation to the teachers' role?

   b) How well defined is the classroom assistant role?

   c) Do you believe that classroom assistants have been a positive or negative addition to the classroom?

19. How important do you believe that testing is or should be in schools?

   a) How do you feel about the return of standardised testing to Scottish schools?

   b) Could you give me your thoughts on the Curriculum for Excellence?

   c) What role, if any, do you believe that the government should play in education?

Inspections

20. How do you feel about the role inspections play within schools?

   a) Do you find the inspection process stressful?

   b) Do you believe that you understand what is expected from inspectors?

   c) Do you believe that the inspections you have underwent have been fair?

   d) How many inspections do you undergo within a year, both mock/real?

Interview Schedule – Local Authority: Director of Education

1. What is your background and how did you get into this role (any history/interest in education etc)?

2. Could you explain your role and the decision making structure of the council?

3. How does the role of the council compare to the Scottish Government (who controls which parts, how do they work together/against)?

4. What is the role of the council in relation to schools (how much freedom they give schools, what the council dictates, relationship with heads)?

5. How does the council watch over schools and ensure accountability (appraisals, inspections etc)?

6. Are schools dealing with more issues around behaviour and special needs (mainstreaming/inclusion)? Does this tend to be in specific areas (poorer) or is it spread across council? School staff trained enough to deal with this?

7. How do you see the role of parents in schools and education? Have they become more demanding, like customers?

8. Do you consider burnout to be an issue for staff in schools? Is there expectation staff take work home (staying in contracted hours)? Formal support?

9. How do you feel about level of testing currently in schools and in relation to standardised tests coming back? Council prepared for it?

10. Thoughts on Curriculum for Excellence and any issues experienced, particularly around workload?

11. What do you think emotional intelligence is and is that important in schools?

12. How do you see the role of classroom assistants and how they should work in the school? Do they receive enough training to be dealing with children with special needs? How defined is their role and how close to teaching do they come? Who is their manager in school and is that person appropriate for that task?

13. Are staff, particularly classroom assistants, respected within schools and how should they deal with abuse, such as physical abuse in special needs schools? Are staff allowed to touch pupils in any way (does gender make a difference)?

14. Is funding/resourcing levels amongst schools at an acceptable level? How is resourcing for classroom assistants done and are there enough in schools?

15. What do you think the role of government, both local and national, should be in education? Are schools and their staff being asked to do too much?

Interview Schedule – Union Representing Classroom Assistants: Union Officer

1. What is your background and how did you get into this role (any history/interest in education etc)? What is the general make-up of classroom assistants within schools (gender, age etc)?

2. Could you explain your role and how you work with and support/protect staff in schools? What role does the union play with local and national government?

3. How many workplace union reps do you have for classroom assistants within schools? How does this affect workload of staff and do schools offer support for burden?

4. How is level of funding within schools at the moment? Have there been cuts? In what way is level of funding impacting on how classroom assistants do their job and enjoyment gained from it?

5. Do classroom assistants generally deal with children with special or additional needs or do they work with variety of pupils? How defined is the classroom assistant role (within job description etc)? Do teachers and schools know how to use classroom assistants?

6. How much training do classroom assistants typically receive upon starting the role? What level of development and training do they receive when in the role? Are they trained enough to deal with pupils with special or additional needs? Are they trained enough to deal with the medical needs of some pupils?

7. Have any of the changes around Curriculum for Excellence and assessment impacted upon classroom assistants? Do classroom assistants receive training for changes, in particular introduction of Curriculum for Excellence, and should they?

8. How much are classroom assistants being stretched into different roles? How close do classroom assistants come to actually teaching? What level and type of unpaid work are classroom assistants doing? Concern that parent helpers might mean role of classroom assistant seen as less valuable? Concerns of burnout?

9. How big of an issue is discipline and behaviour for classroom assistants (any support from council)? Are they trained enough to deal with this side of role? Seen to be any differences based on gender and how is touch seen by staff and schools? Do rules around touch restrict staff?

10. Any means of progression for classroom assistants and how is performance appraisal managed? What are the biggest current and future challenges facing classroom assistants?

Interview Schedule – Government Agency: Assistant Director

1. What role do you see your organisation playing in Scottish education? How important a role is this? What is your specific role in the organisation? How do you work with local and national government?

2. What do you believe Curriculum for Excellence offers? How has the implementation of Curriculum for Excellence been and how do you think it is doing at the moment?

3. Do you believe Curriculum for Excellence offers schools and staff autonomy or discretion or does it try to be prescriptive and set a standard? Has it got the balance right there? Do the benchmarks and guidance help with this or restrict discretion?

4. Has Curriculum for Excellence led to an increase in workload? What steps are being taken to reduce chances of burnout?

5. What is the justification for the new national tests? Will this add to teacher workload or just replace existing tests? Will these tests be useful for schools and teachers? Could they lead to league tables and teaching to the test? Is the testing load too much, not enough or at a good level currently?

6. Is there a difference in inspections between public and private sector? What do you consider to be a good amount of notice for inspections?

7. Can inspections get realistic image of a school?

8. What is your thoughts on inclusion and mainstreaming seen in schools? Are teachers trained enough to deal with these special needs? Can it mean other children get overlooked? What support do you offer around special needs and behavioural issues?

9. What do you consider the role of classroom assistants to be? Are they trained enough to perform their role and deal with special/behaviour needs? How defined is their role and how close to teaching do they get?

10. What do you believe the role of parents and parent bodies, like Parent Councils, should be in education? Thoughts on emotional intelligence and importance in education? How is the level of funding in education and is it enough? What are the current and future challenges facing education in Scotland?

Interview Schedule – Local Authority: Educational Psychologist

1. Could you explain your role and what you do as an educational psychologist? Has your role changed in any ways since you started? What is your role within the local authority? How many educational psychologists are there in the local authority?

2. How involved are you with schools and how frequently do you go into schools and classrooms? Do you just focus on work within the local authority or do you have any involvement at national level? Would you only work in public sector schools or do you have involvement with private sector?

3. How has the push for inclusion within mainstream schools worked out in practice? Are mainstream schools dealing with pupils with needs that are more severe than they are trained to deal with? Are teachers trained enough to deal with the range of special needs that pupils are bringing? What support does the local authority offer to staff and schools to ensure they are able to deal with these needs?

4. Do you only work in mainstream schools or do you also work with special needs schools? Are there enough special needs schools within the local authority? Is there enough funding and resources for workers like yourself dealing with special needs?

5. What involvement do you have with classroom assistants, how do you see their role within schools? Would they tend to be the main people working with pupils with special needs? Is that fair on them or pupil or should it be teacher? Do you believe the classroom assistants are trained enough to deal with these needs?

6. Do you believe it is important that staff either control their emotions in front of pupils or show a range of emotions? Would you and/or the local authority have any expectations about what emotions staff should show? How much discretion do you believe schools have, do you believe it is at an acceptable level or not currently?

7. Do pupils with special needs tend to be mostly in poorer areas or are they spread across authority? How big of an issue is behaviour and discipline currently in schools? How much support is offered to staff to deal with such issues? How much of a concern is burnout amongst school staff?

8. Do you consider how you and staff in schools use their emotions to be skilled? Thoughts on emotional intelligence and whether it is or should be used more in schools? How do you recommend staff respond to unexpected events in class?

9. Do you believe that gender makes a difference in schools or expectations people have? How do you recommend staff deal with issue of touching and

does gender impact upon this? Do rules around touch restrict staff? What involvement do you have with parents and what role should they play within education?

10. How have you found Curriculum for Excellence? Does it offer enough support for those with special needs? What role do you believe government should play in education? What do you think of the current state of education in Scotland? Are staff being asked to do too much or are you happy with what is being asked?

Interview Schedule – University Providing Teacher Education: Academic Staff (Inclusion Focus)

1. What is the general make-up of the degree and postgraduate programmes (student make up as well, such as their gender)? What is your involvement in the course? What is your background in teaching, could you speak about this for a bit?

2. How closely do you work with schools and headteachers, how good is that relationship? What involvement, if any, do you have with local and national government? How have the programmes the university offers changed in your time at the university (focus on inclusion, pressure from government etc)?

3. How do you feel the balance is in the training between the theoretical side of teaching and the practical side? What about with the technical and emotional side of teaching, is the balance right in that regard? Is there enough focus on getting teachers ready for emotional demands of the role? Are teachers prepared for the role following training?

4. How important do you consider inclusion to be in schools? How do you feel inclusion/mainstreaming has worked in practice? Do you believe mainstream schools are taking in pupils that are beyond their capabilities to cope with?

5. Do you believe there are enough special needs schools available and do you have any involvement with them? What training do you provide to teachers as regards inclusion and for special needs? Do you believe teachers are trained enough for these special needs? What additional training is offered once in the role and is it required?

6. Who typically deals with special needs pupils in school, the teacher or the classroom assistants? How do you see the role of the classroom assistant and their relationship with the teacher? Are there concerns people without training potentially working with pupils with special needs? Do you train teachers how to work with assistants?

7. Do you recommend that teachers control their emotions when dealing with pupils or show a range of emotions, perhaps particularly around special needs? Does the university provide any training around regulating or controlling emotions? How easy is it to control emotions at all times, particularly in unexpected situations?

8. What are the demands currently on students and probationers? Are there concerns around burnout amongst students, probationers and teachers? Do you believe gender makes a difference to being a teacher and expectations on you? How do you see the issue of touch in teaching? Does gender make a difference around touch?

9. Do you have any thoughts on emotional intelligence and is it used in the programmes? How have you found Curriculum for Excellence? Does it offer enough support around inclusion? Does Curriculum for Excellence give freedom and autonomy to teachers or more standardisation? Do inspections consider inclusion and context?

10. What role do you believe the government should play in education, both locally and nationally? How do you see the current state of education in Scotland? How is the level of funding currently in education? What is the university looking to do to solve issues in education (if any were noted)? Are teachers asked to do too much currently?

Interview Schedule - University Providing Teacher Education: Academic Staff (General Focus)

1. What is the general make-up of the degree programmes (as well as student make up, gender etc)? Do you have a background in teaching? What relationship do you have with schools, such as with placements? What involvement do you have with local and national government?

2. How have the courses changed and developed over the years? What focus on the courses is given to the technical/pedagogical side of teaching compared to the emotional side of the role? How much attention is given to the emotional side and how important do you consider that side of the role to be?

3. How do you train teachers in the emotional side of the role? What sort of training is provided for unexpected events happening at school? Can training prepare them? Do you believe you have the right balance between the technical and emotional side of the role? What about the balance between theoretical and practical, are teachers prepared enough for actual practice of teaching?

4. How emotionally ready do you believe teachers are for the role following training? What role do placements play in this and are there enough? How do placements work with public and private sector, is there a difference?

5. Does training teach students how to control emotions? Does training note appropriate emotions to use in school? Do you consider how teachers use their emotions to be a skill or just natural? Thoughts on emotional intelligence and used in courses? What training is there for special needs and/or behaviour? Is it enough?

6. How do you see the identity of teachers and what role does training play in shaping this? What do you believe the image of teachers is currently with others? Does gender impact upon the role of teachers and perceptions on them? How is touch covered in training and does gender change this? Does lack of touch restrict teachers?

7. What is the workload like for students and probationers? Has this increased and are you comfortable with the current level? Are there any means of reducing workload on students and probationers? How big of an issue or concern is burnout? What support is available for students and probationers that are struggling?

8. How do you see the role of classroom assistants, particularly their relationship with teachers? Do you include classroom assistants in teacher training and how to use/work with them? Can teachers ask too much of classroom assistants (do they mostly deal with special needs pupils)?

9. How do you feel about the current level of testing in schools and the new nationals? Do teachers still have autonomy or is role becoming more standardised and how does training deal with that (teaching to the test etc)? How have you found Curriculum for Excellence and how has training dealt with it? Has it been a good or bad change?

10. Does the university have any involvement with inspections or in preparing teachers for them? Do inspections get realistic image? What role do you believe the government should have in education and how is the current state of education? How are the current levels of funding in education? Are teachers asked to do too much? What is the university doing to help issues in education (if any noted)?

Interview Schedule - University Providing Teacher Education: Academic Staff (Emotional Focus)

1. What is the general make-up of the degree and postgraduate programmes? What is your involvement in the programmes? Do you have a background in education, could you speak about it if so?

2. What relationship do you have with schools and headteachers, do you work closely with them? Do you have any involvement with either local or national government? In what ways have the programmes the university offers changed during your career (preparing more for emotional side, pressures from government)?

3. How do you consider the current balance in the training between the theoretical side and the practical side of teaching? Are teachers prepared for the actual practice of teaching? How would you see the emotional side of teaching? Is it well defined or understood? Does training focus on it and preparing teachers emotionally for role?

4. How do you feel the balance currently is in training between the technical and emotional side of teaching? Is it at a good level? Are students emotionally prepared for the role following training? Do they help to prepare teachers for dealing with unexpected situations or that not everything will work out perfectly?

5. What is the current workload on students and probationers and what support is offered by university for dealing with it? How much contact does university maintain during probation year and following it? How big of an issue is burnout in teaching? Does the university offer support for this? Most onerous bits of workload?

6. Is teaching becoming too emotionally demanding role or are you comfortable with expectations? How easy is it for teachers to switch off from role? How easy is it to stay within working time agreements? Do you recommend students control their emotions or show a range and what, if any, training is offered for that?

7. Does the university help to push any sort of an identity for teachers or of what the role should be? Has that identity changed? What do you believe the image of teachers and education is currently? Do you consider how emotions are used to be skilled work? Thoughts on emotional intelligence and if used on the programmes?

8. Do you see gender as making any difference in teaching and how you approach their training? How do you see the issue of touch and how do you recommend students approach it? Do rules around touch restrict teachers? Does gender influence touch? What is the gender make-up typically amongst students?

9. What are your thoughts on Curriculum for Excellence? Did it lead to an increase in workload in schools and how did it impact upon the university and the programmes offered? Do you have any thoughts on return of standardised testing and level of testing generally (issues of teaching to the test)? Are you comfortable with current levels of discretion and autonomy offered or move to standardisation?

10. What role do you believe government should have in education? What are your thoughts on the current state of education in Scotland? What is the university doing to help on this front (if any issues noted)? How is funding currently in education? Are teachers and students asked to do too much or not?

Interview Schedule – Headteacher Union: General Secretary

1. Could you explain what your organisation does and the role that it performs? What is your role within the organisation? Do you have a background in education and, if so, what? What is the general make-up of your members (gender etc)? How do you tend to organise in schools (do they have reps etc)?

2. Does your organisation represent heads in both the public and private sector? If so, what tends to be the split? What is the split in membership between primary and secondary heads? What level of involvement with local and national government?

3. How do you see the role of headteachers currently within Scottish schools? Has it changed during your time in education? Would you consider heads to be educators or administrators?

4. What training is offered to become a head? Is it enough and does it fully prepare people for the role? Does your organisation offer any training as regards preparing heads? Thoughts on emotional intelligence and its relevance to the role?

5. What is the current workload like for heads generally? Do you consider it too much or at acceptable level? What about the pressures currently on heads? Is

the role of head different in primary and secondary? What about between public and private?

6. How big of an issue is burnout in education and amongst heads? What support is offered for this, including from your organisation? How emotional is the role of headteacher and how much of that side within school do they deal with? Is it important to control emotions or show range and how hard to do? Staff restricted around touch?

7. How do you feel about the level of autonomy currently given to heads? What are your feelings on plans to give more power to heads? How is funding currently and has the Pupil Equity Fund helped enough? How do you feel about the role of inspections? Do they get a realistic image? Would you like more or less notice?

8. How do you feel about the role of parents within schools? Have they become more demanding or has that not been experienced or can it depend on school? What role do Parent Councils play? Can they have too much authority over the school?

9. How big of an issue are behaviour and special needs within schools currently? Are heads having to take on pupils beyond their capabilities? Is it generally the teacher or assistant dealing with these pupils? How close do assistants come to teaching?

10. What are the feelings on return of standardised testing and current level of testing? Thoughts on Curriculum for Excellence? What do you see the role of government as being in education? What about the current state of education in Scotland? Are heads asked to do too much and is it attractive role? Current challenges facing heads?

Interview Schedule – Private Schools Association: Deputy Director

1. Could you explain what your organisation does and the role it performs? What is your role within the organisation? Do you have a background in teaching and, if so, what? How involved are you with independent schools? Do you have any relationship with public sector schools?

2. How do you see the difference between public sector and independent schools? What are the advantages for you of being an independent school? What controls are kept in place to watch over independent schools (role of governors etc)?

3. What level of autonomy do independent schools have, such as on setting the curriculum? How is funding within these schools? What would they potentially miss out on not being public sector (funding, resources)? Does your organisation have a role with local and national government?

4. What are average class sizes within independent schools? Do these schools tend to deal a lot with behavioural and special needs? Can such needs become too much or do class sizes mitigate this? Do entrance exams and the fees restrict the number of pupils with these needs in school? Do your schools represent society as a whole?

5. Would there tend to be classroom assistants within independent schools? If so, how would they tend to be used? How much authority do teachers tend to retain over the curriculum and what they do within the classroom?

6. How are workloads currently within independent schools? Are there concerns around burnout within these schools? What support is available for this and also from your organisation? Are staff expected to do more, such as with after-school activities?

7. What is the relationship with parents like in independent schools? Are they more like customers due to the fee paying nature of these schools? What role do parent bodies and associations have? Does the gender of the teacher change their role, such as within single sex schools? How is touch seen and does it restrict teachers?

8. Would there tend to be a union presence within independent schools? Does your organisation deal with these unions? Is it just up to independent schools to arrange their own training or how do they access it? Does your organisation offer any training for schools? Thoughts on emotional intelligence?

9. Thoughts on Curriculum for Excellence and do your members need to follow it? What about with standardised testing and also whether your members can teach to the test excessively? Is there any difference between public and

independent when it comes to inspections? How do you find them? Public

perception of these schools?

10. What do you believe the role of government should be in education? How do

you feel about current state of education in Scotland?   Are schools

asked/expected to do too much or less an issue in these schools?   Current

challenges facing these schools?

Interview Schedule – Teacher Unions: Union Officers, Union Officials and Assistant Secretary

1. Could you explain what your organisation does and the role it performs? What is your role within the organisation? Do you have a background in education and, if so, what? What is the general make-up of your members (gender etc)?

2. What is the split in your membership between the public and private sector and do you operate in both sectors in the same way? What are the current focuses of your organisation in education? Do you have any role with local/national government?

3. Do you have reps within schools and, if so, how many (primary/secondary, public/private)? How do you tend to organise (at local/national level)? Does being a rep add to the workload of teachers and make it more/less attractive? How is funding currently within schools (have there been cuts, has the Pupil Equity Fund helped)?

4. What are your thoughts on the current level of training that student teachers receive? Do you believe it gets a good balance between the theoretical and practical? Between the technical and emotional? Are teachers prepared for the role after training? Thoughts on emotional intelligence?

5. How do you feel about the current workload of teachers? How is the work-life balance for your members (stay within contracted hours)? How big of an issue is burnout currently in teaching? What support is offered for burnout, including from the union? Is teaching too emotionally demanding or is it at an acceptable level?

6. How big of an issue are special needs within schools currently? Are your members trained enough to deal with these needs? What sort of training is offered or is it the responsibility of the teacher to get the right training? Do the union offer any help? How big of an issue is behaviour/discipline and the respect given to teachers?

7. How do you see the role of classroom assistants? Are teachers offered training on how to use classroom assistants? Is it typically classroom assistants or teachers that deal with pupils with special needs? Are classroom assistants trained enough to work with these special needs? How close do classroom assistants come to teaching?

8. How do you see the identity of teachers at the moment? Has it changed? To what extent does gender change the role or expectations of teachers? Is touch seen differently depending on gender? How do you see the issue of touch in teaching?

9. How have you found Curriculum for Excellence? What do you feel about the current level of testing and the return of national standardised assessment? What is your view on the proposals to increase headteacher power and reduce local authority control? What about the role of parents? Do teachers have enough discretion/autonomy?

10. How do you see the current state of education in Scotland? What do you believe the role of government should be in education? What are your thoughts on inspections? Are they too stressful? Can they get a realistic image? Are teachers being asked to do too much currently? Is teaching still an attractive job?