



Doctorate in Educational Psychology Professional Training

2013

Looking After the Teachers:

**An Exploration of the Emotional Labour Experienced by Teachers of
Children Looked After in Key Stage Two**

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Part A: Major Research Literature Review

Part B: Major Research Journal Article

Summary

This document contains two parts. Part A, a literature review, explores research relating to outcomes for Children Looked After and the role of adults in supporting this group of children. The concept of emotion in the teaching profession and teachers' experiences of emotional management are also explored. It is accepted that Emotional Labour (Hochschild, 1983) is commonplace in the teaching profession (Kinman, Wray, & Strange, 2011), thus, research relating to Emotional Labour theory is detailed to clarify whether this theory may be of relevance in considering teachers' experiences of supporting Children Looked After. Part B, a journal article, provides further exploration; detailing evidence gathered during semi-structured interviews with teachers of Children Looked After in Key Stage Two. Findings are discussed in relation to the need for Educational Psychologists to understand better the impact of Emotional Labour on teachers of Children Looked After.

Declaration

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and in not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree

Signed: *Lisa Nyree Edwards*

Date: *24th April, 2013*

Statement one

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DEdPsy.

Signed: *Lisa Nyree Edwards*

Date: *24th April, 2013*

Statement two

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|--|
| CLA | Children Looked After |
| D-QEL | Dutch Questionnaire for Emotional Labour |
| DT | Designated Teacher |
| EL | Emotional Labour |
| ELS | Emotional Labour Scale |
| EP | Educational Psychologist |
| KS2 | Key Stage Two |
| LA | Local Authority |
| <i>N</i> | Number of participants |
| NQT | Newly Qualified Teacher |
| SEN | Special Educational Needs |
| TELS | Teacher Emotional Labour Scale |



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Part A: Major Research Literature Review

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**Looking After the Teachers:
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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Research Rationale

Negative outcomes for Children Looked After (CLA) in terms of academic achievement, mental health, social and emotional needs are often cited (Jackson & McParlin, 2006). However, studies gathering CLA's viewpoints indicate a perception that they are treated differently to other pupils, and desire greater emotional support from teachers (Honey, Rees, & Griffey, 2011; Improvement and Development Agency, 2006). Less attention has been given to the experiences of teachers of CLA (Goddard, 2000), and little is known about how teachers may manage their own emotions, in addition to those of CLA.

1.1.1 Defining Children Looked After.

CLA are children placed in Local Authority (LA) care or provided with social services accommodation for over 24 hours (Dent & Cameron, 2003). Children may become looked after due to a variety of circumstances, although it is commonly a result of adverse familial experiences which leaves parents unable to provide on-going care in a temporary or permanent capacity (Rocco-Briggs, 2008). Four categories of CLA exist; those:

- accommodated under a parental voluntary agreement;
- subject to a care order;
- under an emergency order for their protection; and those
- accommodated compulsorily.

(Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1989)

1.1.2 Data relating to the prevalence of Children Looked After.

On 31 March 2012, there were 5,726 CLA in Wales, representing an increase of 6% from the previous year, and an increase of 24% over the previous five years (Health Statistics and Analysis Unit, 2012). Moreover, 9% of CLA in Wales had three or more residential placements during 2011-2012, highlighting the transient lives of some of these children.

1.1.3 Relevant legislation.

The need for LAs and schools to ensure effective monitoring and holistic support for CLA has been a prominent focus in Government legislation over recent years, with emphasis on supporting the aspirations and educational achievements of this group (Department for Children Schools and Families, 2010; Wales Audit Office, 2012). Correspondingly, an obligation for LAs to appoint virtual school head teachers has been highlighted, to ensure effective tracking, information sharing, and holistic services for CLA (Department for Education, 2013). Schools are also encouraged to appoint a Designated Teacher (DT), who is responsible for ensuring that CLA receive appropriate educational support (Department for Children Schools and Families, 2009a, 2009b).

1.2 The Educational Psychologist Role in Supporting Children Looked After

CLA make up a significant proportion of most EPs' workloads (Farrell et al., 2006; Jackson & McParlin, 2006). However, the Division of Educational and

Child Psychology (2006) suggested that EP practice in relation to CLA may be inconsistent. Thomson (2007) subsequently highlighted an increase in EPs fulfilling a direct role in supporting CLA, and observed that many LAs had recently developed specialist EP roles for CLA.

This is further demonstrated by Norwich, Richards, and Nash (2010) who showed that 80% of England based EPs surveyed undertook direct work with CLA, and 18% of EPs fulfilled a specialist role for CLA. Fifteen percent of EPs were involved in systemic work relating to CLA, with 24% participating in multi-agency groups supporting CLA. EPs may also be involved in teacher training (Greig et al., 2008), systems level interventions such as nurture groups (Greig et al., 2008), consultation (Norwich et al., 2010) and supporting carers and teachers (Dent & Cameron, 2003; Jackson, Whitehead, & Wigford, 2010) in relation to CLA.

However, Thomson (2007) noted that 10% of EPs were unaware of which pupils were looked after and EPs expressed concerns regarding the difficulty involved in encouraging schools to take a flexible and holistic approach to supporting CLA. The need for such an approach was emphasised by the Division of Educational and Child Psychology (2006); as was the need for EPs to be involved in a wide range of work relating to CLA, including supporting their well-being, care placements and education.

Norwich et al. (2010) assert that an insufficient amount of research has investigated EPs' work with, or related to, CLA. Moreover, whilst it is

acknowledged that teachers play a key role in supporting CLA in the school setting (Dent & Cameron, 2003), little is known about the views of teachers of this group of pupils (Goddard, 2000). Emotions are an integral part of the teaching profession, both in terms of teachers' management of their emotions, and those of their pupils (Hargreaves, 2000). However, little is known about how interactions with CLA may impact on teachers' emotions or the ways in which teachers may manage both their own emotions and those of CLA.

It could be argued that teachers may be unable to support the emotional coping of CLA if they feel unable to manage their own emotions and emotional responses. Although consultation is a prominent feature of EP practice (Farrell et al., 2006), the extent to which EPs are involved in exploring and supporting the emotional needs of teachers in relation to interactions with CLA remains unclear. This highlights a potential role for EPs to better understand and support the emotional experiences of teachers of CLA and to offer ongoing consultation regarding this to ensure positive outcomes for both schools and pupils. Given the prominence of negative outcomes for CLA (Jackson & McParlin, 2006), and the desire that CLA express for emotional support from teachers (Honey et al., 2011), it may be beneficial to explore this further. It is intended that the current study will contribute towards knowledge and understanding in this area. Emotional Labour (EL) theory (Hochschild, 1983) will be utilised to explore whether it may be of relevance in understanding teachers' experiences of interactions with CLA.

1.3 The Current Study

The current study provides an exploration of the perceived experiences of Key Stage Two (KS2) teachers of CLA. How teachers experience interactions with CLA and their reported experiences of managing their own emotions, in addition to those of CLA, are explored. EL theory is proposed as a potential way to gain an understanding of such experiences. Thus, an exploration of the extent, and manner, in which teachers employ EL in interactions with CLA is provided herein. In line with EL research, teachers' constructions of their role and perceptions of support received in relation to teaching CLA are investigated. KS2 teachers were invited to participate in order to explore the experiences of a specific group of teachers and ensure generalisability of findings. It could also be proposed that KS2 teachers have regular contact with CLA in their class and may work to support and develop pupils' emotional coping skills.

2.0 Literature review

2.1 Overview of Literature Review

The literature review provides an exploration of outcomes for CLA, their educational experiences, the teacher role in supporting CLA and teachers' experiences of emotion management. An exploration of EL theory and the relevance of its application to the experiences of KS2 teachers of CLA is also provided. Although there are several theoretical and research arenas that could be explored in considering teachers' emotional management, an emphasis is placed on EL theory to determine the extent to which it may help explain KS2 teachers' experiences of interaction with CLA and their role constructions.

2.2 Literature Search

The literature cited in the present study was found using PsychInfo and the British Education Index databases. The literature search was based around CLA, teachers' emotional experiences and EL theory. Search terms included 'looked after children', 'foster care', 'institutional care', 'public care', 'teacher', 'school', 'education', 'emotional labour', 'emotional labor', and 'emotion'.

Due to time limitations it was not possible to review all relevant literature, and literature was selected that was felt to be most relevant to the current study. Only peer reviewed journals were included to ensure robustness of the literature review. Literature searches were conducted regularly, and a final

search date of 22nd March 2013 was specified to ensure inclusion of current research. The literature search process led to the confirmation that, to the researcher's knowledge, no previous research had explored whether KS2 teachers experience EL in relation to CLA.

An exploration of outcomes evident for CLA follows to provide a context for the current study.

2.3 Outcomes Evident for Children Looked After

Sixty three percent of CLA enter the care system as a result of experiences of abuse or neglect (Department for Children Schools and Families, 2009a), highlighting the traumatic situations that CLA may experience. Moreover, *"...few social groups exhibit as many of the indicators of social exclusion (homelessness, joblessness, poor qualifications) as those young people who have been through the care system..."* (Goddard, 2000, p. 82). Jackson and McParlin (2006) further assert that CLA are four times more likely to require mental health services, nine times more likely to have special educational needs, seven times more likely to misuse drugs or alcohol, 60 times more likely to become homeless, and 66 times more likely to later have children who themselves access public care. Whilst these figures are compelling, Jackson and McParlin (2006) fail to reference which groups comparisons relate to.

2.3.1 Mental health outcomes.

In comparison to the general population, CLA may show significant mental health needs (Millward, Kennedy, Towlson, & Minnis, 2006; Phillips, 1997). Moreover, CLA may seek repetition of abusive experiences and mental health needs may be expressed through self-harm, suicidal behaviours, affective-conduct disorders, depression, or oppositional disorder (Butler & Vostanis, 1998; Rocco-Briggs, 2008). In a sample of 1,543 CLA, Ford, Vostanis, Meltzer, and Goodman (2007) found that 39% of children in foster care, and 71% in residential care, were experiencing a psychiatric disorder. However, results should be treated with caution due to high ineligibility rates.

2.3.2 Social and emotional outcomes.

CLA may show both internalising and externalising behaviours in the school setting (Fernandez, 2008; McAuley & Trew, 2000) as a result of previous negative experiences, and may need support to deal with associated feelings (Hedin, Hojer, & Brunnberg, 2011). Moreover, Sullivan, Jones, and Mathiesen (2010) suggest that externalising behaviours may result in CLA frequently moving schools. This claim was supported by Jackson and Sachdev (2001), who found that CLA were ten times more likely to be excluded from school, than their peers.

DTs in the study of Honey et al. (2011) similarly identified risk factors in CLA such as difficult behaviour, aggression, anger, a lack of confidence, bullying behaviour and experiences of being bullied by peers. Moreover, a higher number of risk factors were associated with a higher number of

placement changes. Similarly, in a study of pupils attending an emotional and behavioural difficulties school, CLA showed lower levels of resilience than non-looked after pupils (Jackson et al., 2010). However, Honey et al. (2011) evidenced differences in pupils' resilience levels, with some CLA showing high levels of resilience. Encouragingly, CLA in the study of Honey et al. (2011) showed more protective factors than risk factors overall, and more positive self-perceptions than the non-looked after comparison sample (Honey et al., 2011). Similarly, Rees (2012) found that 16% of CLA showed average levels on a questionnaire battery including emotional intelligence, mental health, literacy and attendance measures. Thus, the aforementioned studies highlight the heterogeneous nature of CLA and the fact that many may have stable care histories and show positive social and emotional outcomes (Ward, 2011). Rees (2012) similarly warns that studies investigating outcomes for CLA should be treated with caution, as they often involve small, unrepresentative or purposeful samples and tend to be static representations rather than longitudinal studies.

2.3.3 Educational outcomes.

The need to support the education of CLA was first highlighted in the 1960s (Harker, Dobel-Ober, Lawrence, Berridge, & Sinclair, 2003). Although CLA span a range of educational potential (McClung & Gayle, 2010), and despite a recent upward trend in the attainment of CLA (Sims & Holtom, 2009), a significant attainment gap exists in Wales between CLA and the rest of the pupil population (Wales Audit Office, 2012). Thirty five percent of CLA in Wales leave formal education with no qualifications and only 36% gain five

examination qualifications (Sims & Holtom, 2009). Moreover, children entering the care system may have already experienced risk factors associated with low academic attainment, such as experiences of abuse and living in poverty (Sims & Holtom, 2009). Educational difficulties are often associated with initial admission into care (Goddard, 2000), and the educational progress of CLA is often not enhanced by being looked after away from their families (Francis, 2000).

Government statistics further suggest that CLA are nine times more likely to have a statement of Special Educational Needs (SEN), compared to the general pupil population (Department for Children Schools and Families, 2010). However, Jackson and Simon (2006) claim that schools may assign CLA to the SEN register, regardless of their academic status, suggesting that teachers may treat CLA differently due to 'labels' assigned to them.

Thus, the low academic achievement evident for CLA is likely to be a result of a range of interacting factors such as:

- limited communication between education and social care (Dent & Cameron, 2003; Harker, Dobel-Ober, Akhurst, Berridge, & Sinclair, 2004);
- a lack of teacher awareness of which pupils are looked after (Dent & Cameron, 2003; Harker et al., 2004);
- low expectations of teachers and carers (Dent & Cameron, 2003; Harker et al., 2004);

- an emphasis on care or behavioural needs, as opposed to academic achievement (Jackson et al., 2010);
- a lack of educational focus in care placements (McClung & Gayle, 2010);
- placement changes and/or disruptions in learning (Sullivan et al., 2010); and
- insufficient support for emotional, mental or physical health and well-being (Social Exclusion Unit, 2003).

However, CLA attending a school for pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties had higher levels of attainment than non-looked after children (Jackson et al., 2010). Similarly, Fernandez (2008) asserted that 48% of carers felt their foster child was performing ‘very well’ at school, with positive school experience specified as a factor in this; highlighting the varied educational experiences of this group.

To understand supportive factors contributing to good academic attainment, Jackson and Martin (1998) interviewed high achieving young people who had previously been looked after. Protective factors included stability, continuity, learning to read at an early age, having friends who also achieved well, regular attendance, hobbies, and meeting a significant adult who listened to them and made them feel valued. However, Hayden (2005) noted an increase in part-time and distance-learning provision for CLA, leading to the question of whether there are limited opportunities for CLA to experience positive relationships with adults in school.

It has been proposed that interactions with others contribute towards children developing a personal identity and sense of self-worth (Social Work Inspection Agency, 2006). Given the amount of time that children spend in school, it could be proposed that teachers may act as significant adults in the lives of CLA, contributing to their well-being. However, researchers have asserted that little is known about the educational experiences of CLA and claim that their needs are often ignored or ineffectually addressed within the school setting (Dent & Cameron, 2003; Francis, 2000; Zetlin, 2006). The next section will explore research relating to the educational experiences of CLA.

2.4 The Educational Experiences of Children Looked After

The importance of school in providing stability and positive educational and social experiences for CLA has been highlighted (Dent & Cameron, 2003; Gilligan, 1998), but as Kent, Brodie, Berridge, Dobel-Ober, and Sinclair (2006) assert “...*although the education of looked after children has been a matter of policy concern for over a decade, the role of schools has been curiously neglected...*” (p.1).

The Division of Educational and Child Psychology (2006) assert that CLA may move into a different area, loose contact with family or may have carers that feel too overwhelmed to support school experiences. Such factors may prove problematic for schools to support and, in some schools, the entry of CLA may have a profound impact on the academic attainment of other pupils

(Sims & Holtom, 2009). Moreover, schools may struggle to support more than a few CLA and staff may refuse to accept CLA into their school, particularly if the pupil has received an exclusion from a previous school (Fletcher-Campbell, 1997; Hayden, 2005). Thus, it could be questioned whether teachers feel able to fulfil a caring role consistently to CLA whose arrival may have influenced changes in teacher perceptions and classroom dynamics.

Indeed, as Sims and Holtom (2009) assert, for some CLA “...*education, which should be a source of stability, can impact negatively on their [CLAs] experiences of care...*” (p. 11). Similarly, Dent and Cameron (2003) suggested that “...*much needs to be done to enhance the educational opportunities and outcomes for children and young people in public care...*” (p. 13). Correspondingly, a need for all teachers to know about, understand and feel able to support CLA has been highlighted (Greig et al., 2008; Hayden, 2005). In considering the educational experiences of CLA, it may be of most use to explore the viewpoints of pupils themselves.

2.4.1 Children Looked After’s reports of their educational experiences.

Whilst researchers acknowledge that gaining the viewpoints of CLA is advantageous, there is little evidence that the views and daily experiences of this group are regularly sought (Goddard, 2000). Moreover, CLA highlight a desire to be listened to more regarding the educational support they would like to receive (Harker et al., 2003).

Children currently and recently looked after in the Improvement and Development Agency (2006) study stated that school did not equip them adequately for later life or offer opportunities for preferred ways of learning. CLA often express a desire to be treated normally, but perceive that teachers have low expectations of them, lack understanding of what it means to be looked after or treat them differently to their peers (Day, Riebschleger, Dworsky, Damashek, & Fogarty, 2012; Honey et al., 2011; Improvement and Development Agency, 2006; McClung & Gayle, 2010).

CLA assert that difficulties may be exacerbated by teachers' lack of knowledge regarding their situation or needs, and an assumption that their behaviour should be interpreted in terms of their care circumstances and past experiences (Improvement and Development Agency, 2006). However, Save the Children (1995) asserted that 40% of CLA leaving care perceived that they were not treated differently because of their care status, but felt that this was due to the fact that they had hidden their care circumstances.

Honey et al. (2011) further highlight differences in the perceptions of teachers and pupils, with CLA perceiving themselves more positively than teachers in terms of sociability and the extent to which they were reaching their potential in life, whilst teachers rated the behaviour of CLA more positively than pupils themselves did. Thus, a need for teachers to understand better what it means to be looked after, and to hold higher expectations of CLA is highlighted, as is a need to train teachers to

understand the daily difficulties that CLA may encounter, in order to compensate for previous negative experiences (Harker et al., 2003; Improvement and Development Agency, 2006).

Contrastingly, Goddard (2000) asserts that teachers may be perceived as being too supportive, whilst 76% of CLA in the study of Martin and Jackson (2002) stated that they would like teachers to be more supportive. CLA in the study of Winter (2010) went further, expressing feelings of guilt, sadness and injustice, in addition to a desire to be listened to, valued and treated as individuals. Similarly, using anonymous messages, CLA in the study of Honey et al. (2011) identified a desire for teachers to be more “...*supportive, understanding, nice, caring and loving...*” (p. 43). Young people looked after in the study of Harker et al. (2003) contrastingly identified a teacher as being a supportive figure in their lives, stating that teachers offered academic assistance, helped with concentration difficulties, promoted their self-belief and provided emotional support.

It could be claimed that incongruence exists in pupils’ desire for teachers to have a better understanding of them (Harker et al., 2003) and treat them in a more caring way (Honey et al., 2011), in addition to a desire to be treated the same as other pupils (Improvement and Development Agency, 2006). The next section will further explore the role that adults may play in supporting CLA.

2.5 The Role of a Supportive Adult in the Lives of Children Looked After

Jackson and Sachdev (2001) highlight the complexity of the lives of CLA and the need for a stable adult figure “...when children are placed away from home a bewildering number of people may be involved in their care. But there may be no one who... feels a special interest in the child and can act as an advocate in times of trouble as parents do...” (p. 2). Indeed, many CLA experience unstable, inconsistent and unreliable care placements (Winter, 2009), and a consistent placement may be insufficient if CLA do not also have access to stable, trusting relationships with adults (Cashmore, 2002; Martin & Jackson, 2002; Watson, 2003). Thus, whilst CLA may vary in the amount of contact they desire with supportive adults (Goddard, 2000), the need for CLA to have long-term relationships with someone who is empathetic, reliable, listens to them, shares information about themselves and offers emotional support has been emphasised (Holland, 2010; Jackson, Simon, & Chase, 2006; McLeod, 2010; Mitchell, Kuczynski, Tubbs, & Ross, 2010; Munro, 2001).

However, it has been suggested that CLA may feel disempowered by their experiences of the care system and may subsequently experience difficulty forming trusting relationships with adults (Golding, Dent, Nissim, & Stott, 2006). McParlin (1996) further suggested that CLA may act negatively due to previous experiences and current feelings, and such behaviours may be misinterpreted by the adults around them (Peake, 2006).

2.5.1 The social worker role in supporting Children Looked After.

Although social workers often act as a key figure in the lives of CLA (Leeson, 2010), CLA may view their social worker as being involved only briefly (Holland, 2010), at a bureaucratic level, rather than showing genuine interest (Dobel-Ober, Brodie, Kent, Berridge, & Sinclair, 2006). CLA in the study of Munro (2001) identified the importance of social workers in their lives, but also spoke of a high staff turnover, unreliability and feelings of not being consulted about decisions; highlighting the complexity of relationships around CLA and the sense of powerlessness and frustration that may be felt by these young people.

McLeod (2010) similarly cited mixed perceptions of CLA regarding their social workers. Although some participants described experiences of not being listened to and being perceived as ‘different’, several participants described their social worker as a ‘friend’. This was constructed as a person that was respectful, sociable, offered effective emotional support and was always willing to share personal information.

2.5.2 The teacher role in supporting Children Looked After.

Potentially, teachers may play an important role in the lives of CLA due to the extended time that children spend in school (Dobel-Ober et al., 2006). As Coulling (2000) asserts “...it is clear that for a child in foster care to stand any chance of succeeding in the mainstream environment, the nurture and support of caring teaching staff is essential...” (p. 34). Similarly, Fernandez (2008) states that “...teachers have a key role to play in the enhancement of

children's outcomes and should be recognised in an extended capacity by other professionals and systems working in a corporate parenting role..." (p. 1298). However, Gilligan (1998) notes that "...*the role of the teacher as the professional with most contact with children seems to go virtually unacknowledged in much of social work and wider child welfare circles...*" (p. 13).

Gilligan (1998) asserts that schools may provide CLA with stability, security and positive role models of helpful, caring adults. Positive pupil-teacher relationships may act as a buffer for other adversities that CLA may experience (Fernandez, 2008), and may promote pupils' self-esteem (Social Exclusion Unit, 2003), resilience and self-efficacy skills (Honey et al., 2011; Jackson et al., 2010; Social Exclusion Unit, 2003).

Similarly, McParlin (1996) highlights the vital role of the teacher in supporting CLA through the emotional experiences associated with placement and relationship changes. However, it has been claimed that DT contact with CLA may be reactive and problem-focussed, and that class teachers may only be aware of which pupils are looked after when concerns arise (Dobel-Ober et al., 2006). Moreover, CLA may experience difficulties communicating openly and coherently about their thoughts and feelings and teachers may be unaware of the implications of factors such as insecure attachment on their practice (Greig et al., 2008). This raises the question of whether teachers may need further assistance to support CLA's emotional experiences.

2.6 Supporting Teachers to Support Children Looked After

Goddard (2000) asserts that insufficient attention has been given to the views of teachers of CLA. The National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence (2010) similarly recognises the need for professionals to help teachers to support CLA “...it is important that educational professionals are equipped with the necessary skills, knowledge and understanding to help looked-after children and young people get the most out of their time in education...” (p. 56). Honey et al. (2011) highlight the vital role of the EP in providing school-based training in relation to CLA, but also assert that there is a need to understand whether training helps teachers to understand the complexities of supporting CLA, equips them with the skills and confidence to support the social, emotional and academic abilities of these children and helps facilitate improvements in pupil-teacher relationships.

It could be argued that teachers may need to be better equipped not only in supporting the skills of CLA, but also in recognising CLA’s emotions and the impact on their own emotions and teaching. Thus, the next section will consider the impact that interactions with CLA may have on teachers’ emotions, and how teachers may work to manage their own emotions and those of CLA.

2.6.1 Teachers' management of their own emotions and the emotions of Children Looked After.

Whilst acknowledging the important role of the teacher in the lives of CLA, Greig et al. (2008) assert that “...*children with troubled histories and their teachers have extensive exposure to each other, yet have little or no information to facilitate understanding and intervention...*” (p. 14). Pupils may express emotions verbally or non-verbally, which may subsequently cause adults around them to experience a wide range of emotions, including feelings of rage, rejection, abuse, injustice or shock (Garner, 2010; Rocco-Briggs, 2008; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002).

Thus, although positive feelings of joy, satisfaction and pleasure are frequently mentioned by teachers, feelings of anger, anxiety and frustration are often also cited (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003) in relation to pupils' non-verbal behaviour, disruption, inattention or disengagement (Garner, 2010; Rocco-Briggs, 2008). Moreover, teachers may experience feelings of being unacknowledged or misunderstood if pupils fail to show affection for them or appear to not enjoy their teaching (Hargreaves, 2000). The Social Work Inspection Agency (2006) further suggest that, in such situations, adults may “...*sometimes protect themselves by denying the strength of their and the children's feelings...*” (p. 38). Correspondingly, Rocco-Briggs (2008) highlights a need for adults to have time to acknowledge and reflect on their emotional experiences following interactions with CLA.

Thus, whilst teachers may fulfil an important role in the lives of CLA, the extent to which teachers feel able to offer consistent emotional support to these pupils could be questioned. To explore this in more detail it will first be necessary to consider the concept of emotion in the teaching profession as a whole.

2.6.2 The emotional practice of teaching.

Emotions underpin and are integral to teaching practice (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006), as they are “...*located not just in the individual mind, they are imbedded and expressed in human interactions and relationships...*”(Hargreaves, 2000, p. 824). Woods and Jeffrey (2003) further conceptualise the teaching profession as being “...*centred around values relating to holism, person-centeredness, and warm and caring relationships...*” (p. 92). Indeed, teachers may feel an emotional commitment to their pupils that relates to concern for their well-being in both the school and home setting (Kirk & Wall, 2010).

Golding et al. (2006) further assert that “...*for workers to be genuine partners in the journey these children [looked after] take, they need to enter emotionally as well as intellectually into the network around the child...*” (p. 15). However, whether teachers feel able to offer such emotional commitment remains unclear. Emotional commitment may act as a sense of vocation for teachers and teachers may perceive their ‘self’ as inseparable from their role (Kirk & Wall, 2010; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002). This is illustrated by a participant in the study of Woods and Jeffrey (2002) “...*the*

Ofsted [inspection] team cannot come in and say, 'we're looking at your teaching practice', without saying, 'we're looking at you as a person' ..." (p. 97).

However, Sutton and Wheatley (2003) highlight the complexity of the concept of emotion "*...emotions, although sometimes thought of as a guide to our true selves, are often thought of as out of control, destructive, primitive and childish, rather than thoughtful, civilised and adult...*" (p. 327-8). Such perceptions may be problematic, and as Sutton and Wheatley (2003) assert "*...the power of emotions when teaching and the difficulty teachers have in regulating their own emotions, especially negative emotions, are rarely discussed...*" (p. 336). Yin and Lee (2012) correspondingly observe that "*...in their [teachers'] daily conversations, 'emotion' is a word with negative connotations rather than neutral...*" (p. 60).

Thus, teachers may display a variety of emotions in the classroom. Garner (2010) asserts that competent teachers attend to their own emotions as well as to those of their pupils. Contrastingly, Hargreaves (2000) asserts that teachers may commonly manage or mask their emotions to teach effectively, although it has been suggested that pupils may be aware of underlying emotions, even if the teacher attempts to conceal them (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Thus, the extent to which teachers are fully aware of their own emotions and the degree to which they are 'acting' in their practice could be questioned (Hargreaves, 2000).

High rates of occupational stress, depression and anxiety are evident in the teaching profession (Johnson et al., 2005; Smith, Brice, Collins, Matthews, & McNamara, 2000), and an association between teaching and exhaustion is frequently cited (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Kinman et al. (2011) correspondingly suggest that there is a need to better understand aspects of teaching that threaten psychological health and job satisfaction and assert that “...the teaching role is likely to involve a considerable degree of emotional labour...” (p. 844).

2.7 Emotional Labour Theory

EL was first conceptualised by Hochschild (1983), who defined it as an action that requires one to

...induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others...this kind of labour calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honour as deep and integral to our individuality (p. 7).

Hochschild asserted that many professions require management of the feelings of others, in addition to the professional’s own feelings, which may result in engagement in EL. Jobs that require EL have three common characteristics (Hochschild, 1983), they require:

- face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with clients;
- individuals to produce an emotional state in another person; and

- employers or organisations (via training and supervision) to exercise a degree of control over employees' emotions.

Thus, EL theory holds that feelings may be suppressed or induced, depending on the expectations of the organisation and in order to display socially acceptable emotions (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Glomb & Tews, 2004; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Leeson, 2010; Mann & Cowburn, 2005; Seery & Corrigan, 2009). EL entails both internal and external components; internal conflict may be evident due to felt discrepancy of emotion which may result from external organisational expectations of how an emotion should be displayed (Mann, 1999).

Therefore, in undertaking EL, individuals consciously and unconsciously monitor their own and others' emotions, and subsequently use this information to guide interactions (Walsh, 2009). Thus, teaching involves EL, as, for example, a teacher may manage or hide disappointment felt in relation to a pupil in order to show that she/he cares for the pupil, as specified by his/her role as a caring teacher (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006).

2.7.1 Components of Emotional Labour.

Brotheridge and Lee (2003) conceptualised EL in terms of six distinct components: surface acting, deep acting, the frequency, intensity and variety of emotional display and duration of interaction. Emotional intensity refers to how strongly an emotional reaction is experienced or expressed (Morris & Feldman, 1996). It has been suggested that emotions experienced during

short interactions may be of low intensity, with those required in longer interactions of greater intensity, as the interaction itself may be less scripted, and thus involve emotions of different varieties and intensities (Mann & Cowburn, 2005; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Duration of interaction has recently been thought of as less important (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Mann & Cowburn, 2005), and a triadic approach to EL has more recently arisen involving deep acting, surface acting and suppression (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Naring, Vlerick, & Van de Ven, 2012). However, confusion exists in that each component alone may not indicate the presence of EL, nor are all components necessary to indicate EL (Mann, 1999).

2.7.1.1 Surface acting, deep acting and suppression.

Surface acting occurs when an individual changes her/his outward emotional display (facial expression, gesture, voice tone) to represent the emotion s/he perceives is demanded by the organisation, despite inner feelings being different (Hochschild, 1983; Nylander, Lindberg, & Bruhn, 2011). In contrast, deep acting occurs when the individual makes an emotive effort to feel the emotion s/he perceives is expected by the organisation (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Nylander et al., 2011). Although it is acknowledged that surface and deep acting are distinct constructs (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011), both may occur simultaneously during an interaction (Grandey, 2003; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Mann & Cowburn, 2005). Suppression refers to the inhibition of emotional expression (Naring, Briet, & Brouwers, 2007) and is

thought to be a distinct construct from both surface and deep acting (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011).

2.7.1.2 Emotional consonance.

Although some attention has been given to the concept of emotional consonance (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Naring, Briet, & Brouwers, 2006; Naring et al., 2007; Yin, 2012), much EL research has neglected this construct. Emotional consonance occurs when one effortlessly expresses emotions necessary in a situation (Naring et al., 2007). However, it could be argued that emotional consonance may relate to the individual's perception of necessary emotions, rather than the emotions actually necessary. Positive associations have been found between emotional consonance and personal accomplishment and a lack of emotional exhaustion (Martinez-Inigo, Totterdell, Alcover, & Holman, 2007; Naring et al., 2006).

Although often discussed in relation to EL, it remains unclear whether emotional consonance is a distinct construct from EL (Diefendorff et al., 2005; Yin, 2012) as the fact that genuine emotions occur effortlessly suggests that no labour occurs in the process (Naring et al., 2007). It may be of relevance to subsequently explore factors that cause individuals to engage in EL or experience emotional consonance.

2.7.2 Feelings rules.

Hochschild (1983) asserted that some organisations are proficient in suggesting to their employees how to feel in different situations. Hochschild

(1983) defined this as feelings rules, which are recognised by “...*inspecting how we assess our feelings, how other people assess our emotional display, and by sanctions issuing from ourselves and from them...*” (p. 57). Feelings rules have subsequently been referred to as display rules. It is acknowledged that display rules may be perceived differently by individuals within the same organisation (Diefendorff, Erickson, Grandey, & Dahling, 2011).

Display rules may be formal (organisational rules) or informal rules (implicit assumptions about a way of behaving) (Nylander et al., 2011), and may be perceived positively as they may act as a protector for feelings and lead to interactions being perceived as manageable or predictable (Heuven, Bakker, Schaufeli, & Huisman, 2006). Moreover, individuals may respond positively to display rules as a result of them caring for their clients and wanting to portray the necessary emotions to please them (Mann & Cowburn, 2005). Heuven et al. (2006) assert that whether display rules suggest that emotional displays should be positive or negative may mediate such an assumption, but state that more research is needed to qualify this claim.

Hochschild (1983) asserted that only when one’s feeling does not fit the situation and when individuals sense that they should feel differently, do they question whether they should be acting. Such discrepancy may result in emotional dissonance, an incompatibility between the feelings desired by the organisation and those felt by the individual (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 1996). Thus, the more an individual perceives that her/his role demands appropriate emotion displays, the greater the

perceived demands on the individual (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Individuals may perceive less control over their own emotions due to the interpretation of display rules and may subsequently surface act and display an emotion they do not feel privately (Wharton, 1996).

Whilst it is acknowledged that emotional dissonance often occurs in EL, it remains unclear whether it is a necessary component (Glomb & Tews, 2004; Mann, 1999). Morris and Feldman (1996) assert that, even if a degree of congruence exists between the individual's actual emotion and the emotion required by the organisation, there will be a degree of effort involved in this management, that is, EL. However, Mann (1999) stated that an individual does not need to perceive EL as being effortful to be engaging in EL.

Thus, although various conceptualisations of EL exist, two common themes are apparent; (1) individuals engage in some regulation of their emotions whilst at work and (2) may engage in surface acting, suppression and/or deep acting to regulate their emotions (Grandey, 2000; Hsieh, Yang, & Fu, 2012). The following section will explore further the concept of EL in relation to its measurements.

2.7.3 Emotional Labour measures.

The need for EL measurements was first highlighted by Mann (1999) in the development of the Emotional Labour Inventory, a self-report questionnaire encompassing three dimensions of EL: expectations and rules about emotional display, emotional suppression and emotional faking (Mann,

1999). More recently, Glomb and Tews (2004) developed the Discrete Emotions Emotional Labour Scale consisting of three subscales, genuine expression, faking and suppression. The Dutch Questionnaire for Emotional Labour (D-QEL, Naring et al., 2006) incorporates four sub-scales; surface acting, deep acting, suppression and emotional consonance; with authors conceptualising emotional consonance as distinct from the other three components of EL. Although Naring et al. (2007) demonstrated acceptable validity of the D-QEL, attention is given only to positive emotions and the genuine or managed display of negative emotions is neglected.

The Teacher Emotional Labour Scale (TELS) (Cukur, 2009) incorporates four dimensions of surface acting, deep acting, automatic emotional regulation (display of natural emotions), and emotional deviance (disregarding of display rules). Cukur (2009) found acceptable internal and construct validity of the TELS, however, for each dimension, participants rate five pre-determined situations on a likert scale, rather than answering non-situation specific questions relating to each dimension. Yin (2012) similarly developed the Teacher Emotional Labour Strategy Scale, incorporating subscales of surface acting, deep acting and the expression of naturally felt emotion. Whilst evidence existed for good internal and external validity, results should be treated with caution as the sample consisted of Chinese teachers, meaning that the scale may not generalise to teachers working within western cultures.

Brotheridge and Lee (2003) developed the Emotional Labour Scale (ELS), incorporating six dimensions of: duration, frequency and intensity of interaction, variety of emotional display, surface and deep acting. The ELS is cited widely in EL research (Diefendorff et al., 2011; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Naring et al., 2007) and is utilised in other measures (Naring et al., 2007). Brotheridge and Lee (2003) demonstrated good internal consistency of subscales of the ELS, with Cronbach alphas ranging from .74 to .91. Participants also completed the Emotional Work Requirements Scale (Best, Downey, & Jones, 1998), which provided evidence of modest convergent validity for the ELS, although it should be noted that the largest correlation evident for subscales was .47 (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). The revised ELS dismisses the importance of intensity, variety and duration of contact and adopts a triadic approach, incorporating three sub-scales of surface acting, deep acting and suppression (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011). In contrast to previous measures (Glomb & Tews, 2004), the revised ELS does not specify discrete emotions and thus provides a broader measure of EL. Whilst emotional consonance is discussed in several measures (Diefendorff et al., 2005; Glomb & Tews, 2004; Naring et al., 2006, 2007; Yin, 2012), it is absent from most recent measures of EL (Diefendorff et al., 2011; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Naring et al., 2012).

The aforementioned quantitative studies utilise mostly student and business samples and provide little information regarding the differing ways in which EL may be utilised in individuals or within caring professions. In contrast, qualitative studies of EL provide evidence of social workers' (Leeson, 2010),

teachers' (Hargreaves, 2000; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006), and prison nurses' (Walsh, 2009) experiences of EL. These studies will be subsequently discussed. Firstly, to understand EL theory further, it may be helpful to explore perceived consequences of EL.

2.7.4 Consequences of Emotional Labour.

Although the consequences of EL may vary within and between individuals (Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009), each aspect of EL may challenge a person's sense of self (Hochschild, 1983). Although "*...emotional labour has long been associated with stress...*" (Mann & Cowburn, 2005, p.156), it may be perceived positively when individuals can pursue their own purposes through it, and negatively when individuals perceive they are manufacturing, masking or faking feelings (Hargreaves, 2000; Leeson, 2010). Zembylas (2004) suggests that two distinct, but related, components of EL exist, positive and negative EL. However, it remains unclear whether these are distinct components or whether the difference lies in whether the individual perceives EL positively or negatively.

2.7.4.1 Positive consequences.

Isenbarger and Zembylas (2006) acknowledge that, whilst maintaining some emotions may be perceived as alienating and stressful, EL may also be perceived as liberating. Deep acting may lead to positive outcomes, in comparison to surface acting, as it may buffer against a negative mood and lead to feelings of authenticity and accomplishment (Hulsheger & Schewe, 2011; Judge et al., 2009; Kinman et al., 2011; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011;

Martinez-Inigo et al., 2007; Phillip & Schupbach, 2010). Moreover, deep acting may be perceived positively by recipients (Grandey, 2003; Hulsheger & Schewe, 2011; Phillip & Schupbach, 2010), and may allow teachers to establish effective pupil relationships, effectively manage pupil difficulties and promote a relaxing classroom atmosphere (Brackett, Palomera, Mojsa-Kaja, Reyes, & Salovey, 2010).

2.7.4.2 Negative consequences.

The majority of research into the consequences of EL has focussed on the concept of burnout (Wharton, 2009), “...*an overwhelming exhaustion, feelings of cynicism and detachment from the job, and a sense of ineffectiveness and lack of accomplishment...*” (Maslach et al., 2001, p. 399).

Surface acting may result in burnout, impact on well-being or cause identity related issues (Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 2009), the effects of which may be worsened if an individual’s personal resources are low (Leeson, 2010). Positive associations between surface acting and depersonalisation have also been noted (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Kinman et al., 2011), as individuals may attempt to distance themselves from the emotional impact of their work (Hochschild, 1983; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Leeson, 2010). This may be evident for teachers, represented in an inability to manage one’s own emotions in addition to pupils’ emotions (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006).

Moreover, positive associations between surface acting and emotional exhaustion have been found, suggesting that the effort involved in surface

acting may produce psychological strain and loss of emotional control, as individuals must expend energy to realign feelings (Brackett et al., 2010; Hsieh, Jin, & Guy, 2012; Hulsheger & Schewe, 2011; Judge et al., 2009; Noor & Zainuddin, 2011). Associations have also been found between deep acting and emotional exhaustion, due to the effort involved in altering one's internal feelings (Naring et al., 2007), and between genuinely expressing negative emotions and emotional exhaustion (Glomb & Tews, 2004). Furthermore, suppression may produce inefficiency as it places demands on cognitive resources and maintains negative feelings, subsequently reducing an individual's capacity to attend effectively to incoming events (Brackett et al., 2010), leading to reduced well-being (Hopp, Rohrmann, & Hodapp, 2012). Contrastingly, Heuven et al. (2006) found that the relationship between intense interactions, emotional exhaustion and disengagement was fully mediated by emotional dissonance, thus, it may not be the interaction itself that is perceived as stressful but the arising discrepancy between actual and felt emotions.

It could be proposed that such negative consequences may prevent teachers from participating in the emotional engagement necessary to develop an effective relationship with CLA. This leads onto the question of potential mediating factors in the consequences of EL.

2.7.4.3 Mediating factors in the consequences of Emotional Labour.

Hochschild (1983) asserted that individuals commonly engage in EL, but rarely do so in isolation from others “...all of us try to feel, and pretend to

feel, but we seldom do so alone. Most often we do it when we exchange gestures or signs of feelings with others..." (p. 76). Thus, individuals' perceptions of, and reactions to, emotional responses may influence emotional displays; and EL may be employed differently through different relationships, such as those with clients, colleagues, the organisation in addition to one's internal processes (Walsh, 2009). Moreover, in educational settings, staff may simultaneously perceive the child and her/his parent as the client (Tyler, 2009).

Experiences of supervision and perceptions of support may influence the extent, and manner in which, EL is experienced (Carlson, Ferguson, Hunter, & Whitten, 2012; Grandey, 2000; Leeson, 2010; Nylander et al., 2011; Walsh, 2009). Hochschild (1983) noted that peer support may be beneficial in allowing workers to "*...separate the company's meaning of anger from their own meaning, the company rules of feeling from their own...*" (p. 197). Thus, individuals who receive high levels of supervision and perceive a positive work environment may work to display authentic emotions frequently and subsequently report high levels of EL, but lower levels of burnout (Grandey, 2000; Pisaniello, Winefield, & Delfabbro, 2012).

Correspondingly, the importance of individuals having 'backstage areas' at work, which allow opportunity for informal colleague discussion or venting of concerns, has been highlighted (Nylander et al., 2011; Sutton, 2004). However, it could be proposed that, in schools where there are few CLA, limited opportunities may exist for teachers to seek support from colleagues

with similar experiences. Moreover, although Nylander et al. note the importance of backstage areas, the authors acknowledge that a degree of EL is still necessary within this setting as workers may be interrupted by clients at any point. Kinman et al. (2011) correspondingly highlight the need for interventions that enhance school-based social support and minimise the potentially harmful effects of EL on teacher well-being. Walsh (2009) similarly identified the importance of forensic nurses having an external supervisor that understood the cultural context of the role, highlighting the potential supervisory role that EPs may provide to teachers of CLA.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) asserted that role identification may help make EL enjoyable and lead to enhanced well-being. Indeed, individuals who identify strongly with their role may be more likely to naturally express felt emotions or assert effort to feel genuinely the emotions specific to their role (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Diefendorff et al., 2005). Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) similarly evidenced an association between a perceived need to show positive emotions and perceptions of personal accomplishment. However, role identification may carry emotional risk as individuals may become psychologically bound to, and perceive well-being as associated with, successes and failures in the role (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Correspondingly, the mediating role of self-concept (Pugh, Groth, & Hennig-Thurau, 2011) and self-efficacy (Heuven et al., 2006; Pugh et al., 2011) in surface acting have been highlighted, suggesting that a belief in one's ability to interact effectively or a lack of belief in one's ability to fake emotions may mediate engagement in EL.

Thus, the extent, and manner in which, individuals engage in EL may depend upon personal rather than organisational identities (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Naring et al., 2012; Scott, Barnes, & Wagner, 2012). Individuals who strive to portray genuine emotional expressions may engage in more deep acting (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Naturally compassionate people may engage in more EL and experience less emotional distress when conforming to display rules (Hsieh, Yang, et al., 2012), whilst extraverted people may be more sensitive to the effects of EL (Judge et al., 2009). Moreover, individuals in caring professions may be more intrinsically motivated to deep act to facilitate positive experiences for their clients (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Wharton, 1996).

It could be proposed that teachers may be governed not only by formal display rules of the profession but also by their own teaching aims. The next section will explore how, and to what extent, individuals working in caring professions may engage in EL.

2.8 Emotional Labour in Caring Professions

The need for nurses to engage in EL has recently come to the fore with media discussion suggesting that nurses may show insufficient compassion towards patients (Adams, 2012; Jackson, 2009). The national health service has subsequently offered staff training in showing compassion towards patients, including the display of appropriate body language, which may indicate the presence of surface acting (Ashton, 2012). A similar sentiment was echoed

by Grandey (2003) who stated that employees may benefit from training in deep acting.

Utilising semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis of daily diaries, Walsh (2009) evidenced that forensic nurses were suppressing emotions they perceived as integral to nursing in order to practice safely; and so were utilising EL during interactions with prisoner patients, with colleagues, with the prison organisation and internally with themselves. However, Walsh presents only an argument that EL is employed in this role, and fails to present evidence regarding the components of EL that may be experienced by forensic nurses. Nylander et al. (2011) went further, highlighting that prison officers' work involved both surface and deep acting in various combinations, and asserted that participants' engagement in EL was mediated by perceptions of both formal and informal display rules.

Using quantitative measures, Mann and Cowburn (2005) found that 69% of mental health nurses' interactions with patients involved medium or high levels of EL. Whilst surface acting was commonly employed by participants, deep acting was more prominent. However, questionnaires were completed following each patient interaction; which may have been perceived as taxing, and may have negatively influenced participant responses.

Leeson (2010) provides a more relevant context for the current study, presenting semi-structured interviews with social workers of CLA. Whilst EL theory was extensively discussed by Leeson, and the stresses, role

tensions and experienced emotions explored, no evidence is provided of how, and to what extent, social workers employed EL in their interactions with CLA.

In line with Hochschild's original conceptualisation of EL (page 23), it seems that EL may be a prominent feature of the work of caring professionals. Mann and Cowburn (2005) assert that "*...nurses themselves acknowledge the centrality of emotional labour to the concept of caring within their job role...*" (p. 155), leading onto the question of whether teachers of CLA similarly note the impact of EL on their practice.

2.8.1 Emotional Labour in the teaching profession.

Teacher emotion is socially constructed and strongly linked to constructions of teacher competence (Yin & Lee, 2012). Teachers may view their role as a vocation (Shapiro, 2010) and may invest energy and emotion in their work, as well as investing heavily in the values, ethics and morals of the profession (Nias, 1996). Indeed, Yin and Lee (2012) note that "*...teachers are required to do emotional labour for both the successful delivery of teaching and smooth interaction with people around them following the social expectations of teachers about the way of feeling and expressing emotions...*" (p. 56). Teachers and their pupils may regularly experience an array of contrasting emotions (Day & Kington, 2008), and teachers may perceive a need to manage the emotions of their pupils whilst simultaneously managing their own feelings. Thus, teachers may commonly engage in EL to:

- support pupils' happiness and emotional well-being (Kinman et al., 2011; Yin & Lee, 2012);
- enter into pupils' emotional experiences (Kinman et al., 2011; Yin & Lee, 2012);
- support pupils in a context-appropriate system of display rules (Kinman et al., 2011; Yin & Lee, 2012);
- adhere to assumptions regarding the profession (Kinman et al., 2011; Yin & Lee, 2012);
- model successful emotional control (Kinman et al., 2011; Yin & Lee, 2012); and
- ensure their own emotions do not interfere with their teaching (Sutton, 2004; Yin & Lee, 2012).

Indeed, as Yin and Lee (2012) observe “...*regardless of whether it is autonomous or enforced, exploitative or rewarding, teachers need to put a lot of effort into management of their feeling and emotional display in the classroom...*” (p. 58). Thus, teachers may perceive EL positively and as rewarding (Hargreaves, 1998; Zembylas, 2004), due to a desire to care for and achieve positive outcomes for pupils (O'Connor, 2008). However, the results of these studies should be treated with caution as they involve anecdotal evidence and extremely small sample sizes.

O'Connor (2008) additionally asserts that perceptions of display rules may cause teachers to perceive a need to detach from the emotional impact of interactions with children. However, O'Connor's results should be treated

with caution as they relate to a sample size of only three teachers. In a larger study of 60 teachers, Hargreaves (1998) asserted that EL may lead teachers to lose their sense of purpose. However, EL was only discussed conceptually in Hargreaves' study, and teachers' utilisation of different constructs of EL was not directly explored.

Utilising a within-subjects longitudinal study of teachers, Phillip and Schupbach (2010) found an association between surface acting and emotional exhaustion. Similarly, in a sample of 365 teachers, Naring et al. (2007) found significant correlations between surface acting, deep acting, suppression and emotional exhaustion. However, surface acting may only be problematic when its recipients identify it as acting or faking (Groth, Hennig-Thurau, & Walsh, 2009), suggesting that, for teachers, EL may only be problematic when pupils recognise it as so.

Kinman et al. (2011) utilised a battery of quantitative measures with 628 teachers and showed significant positive associations between EL and both emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation of pupils. EL was positively related to length of service, with longer serving teachers performing more EL. Kinman et al. (2011) subsequently concluded that teachers may develop less sympathetic, and more cynical, attitudes towards their pupils over time to protect their well-being. However, teachers who received workplace social support reported less EL, emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation and more personal accomplishment and job satisfaction. Therefore, individuals who experience supportive colleague relationships may not perceive the

emotional demands of their work as onerous, appropriate emotional responses may arise spontaneously, and they may develop effective coping strategies (Kinman et al., 2011). However, whilst a large sample size was evident, teachers' perceptions of their engagement in EL and their perceptions of its impact were not qualitatively explored in Kinman et al.'s study.

Tsang (2011) asserts that little is known about how schools may constrain teachers' emotions, or about the implicit emotional rules of teaching that may govern emotion management. In a self-reflective study, Winograd (2003) detailed five self-perceived display rules that governed his teaching practice, teachers:

- have affection and love for their students;
- have passion and enthusiasm for their subject and students;
- avoid displays of extreme emotion and remain calm;
- love their work; and
- have a sense of humour and laugh at their mistakes.

Whilst these assumptions are of interest, they hold no evidential support and relate to one teacher's perceptions of his practice. Other researchers assert that teachers may be guided by school policy, inspection demands and an expectation that teachers are good at portraying positive emotions, and suppressing negative emotions (Hargreaves, 2000; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Moreover, teachers' personal identities may act as self-inflicted display rules, influenced by feelings about themselves and feelings about

their pupils (Day & Kington, 2008). Personal identities may be transient and may be composed of:

- professional identity (social and policy expectations);
- situated identity (school or class context); and
- personal identity (family and social roles)

(Day & Kington, 2008).

Teachers' role perceptions may therefore differ, potentially influencing the extent, and manner in which, different teachers engage in EL. Correspondingly, Oplatka (2007) asserts that teachers may engage in EL voluntarily, and it remains unclear whether interventions may help teachers mitigate any negative impact of EL (Kinman et al., 2011).

2.9 Relevance to the Educational Psychologist Role

A recent emphasis on schools working to meet pupils' emotional and well-being needs is evident (Burton, 2009; Department for Education and Skills, 2005), however, less attention has been given to exploration of, and support for, teachers' emotional needs and well-being (Children and Young People's Mental Health Coalition, 2012; Weare & Gray, 2003). Attention has instead been given to promoting teachers' well-being by ensuring a positive school environment, training and good information sharing (Craig, 2007; Weare & Gray, 2003), rather than exploring the impact that managing one's own, and pupils' emotions, may have on teacher well-being (Briner & Dewberry, 2007).

EPs are frequently involved in supporting the needs of CLA (Farrell et al., 2006). However, there is no understanding of how, and to what extent, teachers employ EL during interactions with CLA, and the perceived emotional demands of teaching this group of children. Moreover, little is known about how teachers construct their role as a teacher of CLA, their perceptions of beneficial support and the factors they perceive as mediating their emotional responses during interactions with CLA. It could be argued that teacher interactions with CLA may require EL due to the child's emotional presentation, potential experiences of abuse or neglect, and potentially difficult interactions with carers or parents. It could further be suggested that teachers may be unable to support the emotional coping of CLA if they themselves feel unable to manage their own emotions and emotional responses. Moreover, teachers may perceive that they should not feel an emotional attachment to pupils due to professional role constraints, but a clear confliction arises in that CLA may desire an emotional bond with their teachers (Honey et al., 2011; Winter, 2010). This highlights a need for EPs to understand better teachers' employment of EL with CLA to support the emotional experiences of this group. This may subsequently allow EPs to offer ongoing consultation and systems level support to ensure positive outcomes for both schools and pupils.

This study aims to explore how, and to what extent, EL is experienced by teachers of CLA in KS2 (school years three to six), in addition to what extent role constructions mediate engagement in EL. Attention will also be paid to perceptions of support received in relation to teaching CLA. An emphasis

will be given to KS2 teachers in order to explore the experiences of a specific group of teachers and ensure generalisability of findings. It could also be proposed that KS2 teachers have regular contact with CLA in their class and may work to support and develop pupils' emotional coping skills.

2.10 Research Questions

1. How do KS2 teachers experience interactions with CLA?
2. How and to what extent do KS2 teachers experience EL in relation to interactions with CLA? How does this impact on their relationships with CLA?
3. How do KS2 teachers construct their role in relation to teaching CLA? How does this differ to the way they construct their role as class teacher within the school? How is it similar?
4. Does a relationship exist between the way participants construct their role as a class teacher of CLA and the extent to which they engage in EL?
5. To what extent may EL theory be of benefit in understanding KS2 teachers' experiences of interactions with CLA, and the ways in which they construct their role in relation to CLA?

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**Doctorate in Educational Psychology Professional Training
2013**

**Part B:
Major Research Journal Article**

**Looking After the Teachers:
An Exploration of the Emotional Labour Experienced by Teachers of
Children Looked After in Key Stage Two**

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3.0 Abstract

Whilst outcomes for Children Looked After have extensively been discussed (Millward, Kennedy, Towlson, & Minnis, 2006; Rees, 2012), and the importance of school in the lives of these children acknowledged (Greig et al., 2008), less attention has been paid to the views and experiences of teachers of Children Looked After (Goddard, 2000). It is accepted that Emotional Labour (Hochschild, 1983) is commonplace in the teaching profession (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006) but no research has investigated how, and to what extent, teachers experience Emotional Labour during interactions with Children Looked After. Fourteen Key Stage Two teachers of Children Looked After participated in the current study by completing semi-structured interviews with a researcher. Results indicate that participants experience Emotional Labour during interactions with Children Looked After and that this may be mediated, to a degree, by factors including role constructions, perceptions of support and self-perceived role facilitators such as perceptions of a professional duty. Findings are discussed in relation to the need for Educational Psychologists to understand better the impact of emotional labour on teachers of Children Looked After. Correspondingly, the provision of supervision and systems level support for teachers of this group of children are explored.

3.1 Introduction

Children looked after (CLA) are children provided with Local Authority (LA) care or social services accommodation for over 24 hours (Dent & Cameron, 2003). CLA constitute a significant proportion of most Educational Psychologists' (EPs') workloads (Farrell et al., 2006; Jackson & McParlin, 2006; Norwich, Richards, & Nash, 2010), and EPs may be involved in consultation and training to support the needs of CLA (Dent & Cameron, 2003; Honey, Rees, & Griffey, 2011; Jackson, Whitehead, & Wigford, 2010; Norwich et al., 2010). However, insufficient attention has been paid to the views of teachers in relation to supporting CLA (Goddard, 2000). The current study provides an exploration of Key Stage Two (KS2) teachers' experiences of supporting CLA, using Emotional Labour (EL) theory to better understand their experiences.

3.1.1 The Teacher Role in Supporting CLA

CLA frequently identify teachers as individuals who have acted as advocates or taken a personal interest in them (Harker, Dobel-Ober, Akhurst, Berridge, & Sinclair, 2004; Martin & Jackson, 2002; Munro, 2001), but express a desire to be treated the same as other pupils by teachers (Goddard, 2000; Improvement and Development Agency, 2006), and state that teachers often hold low expectations of them (Goddard, 2000; Harker et al., 2004). Moreover, CLA in the study of Honey et al. (2011) desired teachers to be more “...*understanding, nice, caring and loving...*” (p. 43).

Greig et al. (2008) further asserted that “...*children with troubled histories and their teachers have extensive exposure to each other, yet have little or no information to facilitate understanding and intervention...*” (p. 14). Moreover “...*deep personal and emotional investment characterises the teaching profession...*” (Kirk & Wall, 2010, p. 631), and although positive feelings of joy, satisfaction and pleasure are frequently cited by teachers, feelings of anger, anxiety and frustration are often also prominent (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Teachers may find strong emotions difficult to acknowledge or manage (Rocco-Briggs, 2008) and may resultantly ‘act’ in their practice (Hargreaves, 2000; Social Work Inspection Agency, 2006).

3.1.2 Emotional Labour Theory

Kinman, Wray, and Strange (2011) correspondingly assert that “...*the teaching role is likely to involve a considerable degree of emotional labour...*” (p. 844). EL occurs when individuals “...*induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others...*” (Hochschild, 1983, p.7). Hochschild (1983) asserted that some organisations are proficient in suggesting to their employees how to feel in different situations, and defined this as feelings rules. Feelings rules have subsequently been referred to in the literature as display rules. Thus, organisations may communicate display rules; formal (organisational rules) or informal rules (implicit assumptions) which suggest how employees should feel in different situations (Nylander, Lindberg, & Bruhn, 2011). Therefore, individuals may perceive display rules, and

subsequently deny or portray feelings, to display acceptable emotions (Chou, Hecker, & Martin, 2012; Glomb & Tews, 2004; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Seery & Corrigan, 2009). Teaching may involve EL, as for example, a teacher may manage or hide disappointment felt to portray a caring persona to pupils (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006).

A triadic conceptualisation of EL has been proposed involving surface acting, deep acting and suppression (Glomb & Tews, 2004; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Naring, Vlerick, & Van de Ven, 2012). Surface acting occurs when an individual changes her/his outward emotional display to represent the emotion s/he perceives is demanded by the organisation, despite inner feelings being different (Hochschild, 1983; Nylander et al., 2011). Contrastingly, in deep acting the individual makes an effort to feel an emotion (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011). Suppression refers to the hiding of emotions (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Nylander et al., 2011). Although these components are thought to be distinct constructs (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011), they may occur simultaneously during an interaction (Grandey, 2003; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Mann & Cowburn, 2005).

Although absent from much of the literature, Naring, Briet, and Brouwers (2006) highlight the relevance of emotional consonance; the effortless expression of required emotions. However, it remains unclear whether emotional consonance is a construct of EL due to it involving genuine, rather than laborious, expression of emotion.

The Emotional Labour Scale (ELS) is a widely cited measure and incorporates three dimensions of surface acting, deep acting and suppression (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011). Although incorporated into some measures (Naring et al., 2006; Yin, 2012), emotional consonance is absent from many recent conceptualisations of EL measures (Diefendorff, Erickson, Grandey, & Dahling, 2011; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Naring et al., 2012).

3.1.3 Consequences and Mediators of EL

Although consequences of EL may vary within and between individuals (Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009), each aspect of EL may challenge a person's sense of self (Hochschild, 1983). Teachers may utilise surface acting more frequently than deep acting (Phillip & Schupbach, 2010), resultantly experiencing burnout (Brackett, Palomera, Mojsa-Kaja, Reyes, & Salovey, 2010) or depersonalising pupils (Kinman et al., 2011). Depersonalisation may have negative consequences for CLA who may desire a trusting bond with adults.

EL may also be perceived positively as it may provide a protector for feelings (Heuven, Bakker, Schaufeli, & Huisman, 2006), or promote client relations (Mann & Cowburn, 2005). Positive associations have been noted between emotional consonance and personal accomplishment, and a lack of emotional exhaustion (Martinez-Inigo, Totterdell, Alcover, & Holman, 2007; Naring et al., 2006). Similarly, deep acting may allow teachers to establish effective pupil relationships, manage pupil difficulties and promote a

relaxing classroom atmosphere (Brackett et al., 2010). Thus, positive effects of EL may be evident for teachers and CLA.

Individuals who receive high levels of peer support and supervision may report high levels of EL and personal accomplishment, but low levels of burnout, depersonalisation or exhaustion (Carlson, Ferguson, Hunter, & Whitten, 2012; Grandey, 2000; Pisaniello, Winefield, & Delfabbro, 2012).

Role identification may lead individuals to perceive the emotional demands of their work as less onerous, leading to the genuine, spontaneous expression of emotion (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Kinman et al., 2011), and enhanced well-being (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Moreover, teachers may perceive their 'self' as inseparable from their role (Kirk & Wall, 2010; Woods & Jeffrey, 2002), suggesting that they may be governed not only by formal display rules, such as school policy (Hargreaves, 2000; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006), but also by role perceptions and personal teaching aims (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005). However, little is understood about how teachers of CLA construct their role and how these constructions may mediate their emotional management.

3.2 The Current Study

It could be argued that teacher interactions with CLA may require a high level of emotional management due to the child's own presentation of emotion, a history of abuse/neglect or difficult interactions with carers. Moreover, teachers may perceive that they should not feel an emotional

attachment to their pupils and may seek to ensure that pupils' emotions do not impact on their feelings and teaching (O'Connor, 2008; Yin & Lee, 2012). However, a confliction arises in that CLA may desire an emotional bond with teachers (Honey et al., 2011; Winter, 2010). Thus, it could be argued that teachers may be unable to support the emotional needs of CLA if they feel unable to manage their own emotions and emotional responses.

An insufficient amount of research has investigated teachers' experiences of supporting CLA (Goddard, 2000) and no research has explored whether teachers experience EL in relation to CLA. Moreover, little is known about how schools may guide teachers' emotions or communicate implicit emotional rules of teaching (Kinman et al., 2011; Tsang, 2011). Craig (2007) asserts that children's emotional and social needs may be met by supporting school ethos and teacher behaviour. This highlights a potential role for EPs to better understand and support the emotional experiences of teachers of CLA to promote positive outcomes for teachers and pupils.

This study aims to explore how, and to what extent, EL is experienced by KS2 teachers of CLA (school years three to six). In line with EL research, attention will be paid to exploration of participants' role constructions and perceptions of support received in relation to teaching CLA. KS2 teachers were invited to participate in order to explore the experiences of a specific group of teachers and ensure generalisability of findings. It could also be proposed that KS2 teachers have regular contact with CLA in their class and may work to support and develop pupils' emotional coping skills.

3.2.1 Research Questions

1. How do KS2 teachers experience interactions with CLA?
2. How, and to what extent, do KS2 teachers experience EL in relation to interactions with CLA? How does this impact on their relationships with CLA?
3. How do KS2 teachers construct their role in relation to teaching CLA? How does this differ to the way they construct their role as class teacher within the school? How is it similar?
4. Does a relationship exist between the way participants construct their role as a class teacher of CLA and the extent to which they engage in EL?
5. To what extent may EL theory be of benefit in understanding KS2 teachers' experiences of interactions with CLA, and the ways in which they construct their role in relation to CLA?

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Epistemology and Study Design

Although a deductive approach was adopted in exploring the relevance of EL theory, an interpretivist paradigm was also utilised to explore participants' experiences, perceptions and reported behaviour from a social constructionist perspective. This approach may allow exploration of participants' role constructions, perceptions of display rules and reported experiences of EL in

relation to CLA, rather than presenting data in terms of variables (Robson, 2002).

3.3.2 Procedure

Ethical approval was gained from Cardiff University ethics committee. KS2 teachers of CLA acted as participants by completing a semi-structured interview with the researcher. Gatekeeper letters (Appendix A1) were sent to CLA officers at three LAs, asking their permission to provide details of mainstream schools with CLA in KS2. Child details were not requested and officers provided Designated Teacher (DT) names and contact details. Gatekeeper letters were subsequently sent to DTs (Appendix A2), with an information sheet enclosed for the class teacher (Appendix A3).

The interview schedule was piloted with two participants from the same sample (Gillham, 2004; Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003). These participants were included in the final sample as only minor changes were made to the interview schedule (Appendices A5-6).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted at each participant's school and lasted approximately 45 minutes. Prior to interviews, confidentiality and withdrawal procedures were verbally reiterated and an opportunity to ask questions offered. Participants were then invited to complete the consent form (Appendix A4). Interviews were recorded using an electronic device and stored confidentially. Pupil details were not obtained and discussion occurred on a no name basis. Participants could decline any questions they

did not wish to answer. Following interview, participants received a debriefing sheet (Appendix A7) and any questions were answered. Data were transcribed and anonymised two weeks following interviews by using a number to refer to each participant, and were later analysed for common themes.

3.3.3 Participants

CLA officers provided school details of 51 CLA in KS2. Five schools were excluded as the pupils attended an out of county placement. Fourteen KS2 teachers of CLA consented to participate. It was confirmed, by telephone, that all participants had taught the pupils for at least one term. Participants' roles and year groups are detailed in table one.

Table 1

Elaboration of Participants' Roles

| <i>Participant role and year group</i> | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|--|----------------|
| | Year group | | | | |
| | Three | Four | Five | Six | Resource class |
| <i>N</i> | 3 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| | Teacher role | | | | |
| | Class teacher only | Newly qualified teacher | Deputy head teacher | Head teacher and special educational needs coordinator | |
| <i>N</i> | 10 | 1 | 2 | 1 | |

Key to table 1. The resource class teacher was responsible for a small group of KS2 pupils with moderate learning difficulties. Participants were representative of all three LAs, and were teachers at 12 schools. Four participants were male and 10 female. Participants had taught the child for between six months and four years.

3.3.4 Measures and Analyses

The interview schedule was developed by the researcher (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2003). Questions from the ELS (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011) were

incorporated into the interview schedule (Appendix A6, questions 9-12) to gain an understanding of the extent, and manner in which, EL was employed by participants during interactions with CLA. Questions were also developed that intended to gain an understanding of participants' perceptions of display rules, role constructions and experiences of support (Grandey, 2000; Hargreaves, 2000; Kinman et al., 2011; Walsh, 2009).

Interview data were transcribed and analysed for common themes using thematic analysis, as this method was thought to be appropriate to the social constructionist perspective of the study. No strict rules exist for data transcription (Braun & Clarke, 2006), and interviews were transcribed verbatim, with only obvious pauses or intonations detailed. An EP colleague read one interview transcript to determine reliability of identified themes. NVivo8 helped manage the thematic analysis process.

3.4 Results

Fourteen KS2 teachers of CLA participated in semi-structured interviews. Thematic analysis of transcripts led to the development of seven main themes based on 51 sub-themes¹.

3.4.1 KS2 Teachers' Experiences of Interactions with CLA

Participants reported ambivalent feelings in relation to interactions with CLA. A sense of accomplishment was described by 13 participants regarding occasions when s/he had worked with the child to help her/him achieve

¹ The reader should refer to appendix B for an example annotated transcript, to appendix C for a thematic map detailing all themes, and to appendix D for a full set of data.

academically, furthered social skills or facilitated a bond with the child “...you’ve worked on something together, and something the child’s been struggling at, and there is a bond there then. You feel, oh yes, we’ve done that, and we’ve done that together...” [teacher one], and “...seeing a child change like that positively... definitely, makes you feel quite good...” [teacher six].

However, negative feelings were described explicitly and frequently. Sadness ($N=10$) and anger ($N=3$) were described regarding the child’s situation, with anxiety ($N=3$) reported regarding parents’ capabilities, forming a bond with the child, to reacting negatively towards the child and in relation to balancing the needs of the child and other pupils. Shock was expressed in relation to disclosures regarding negative home circumstances ($N=4$); and frustration cited ($N=5$) about the home situation and management of the child’s behaviour. Reports of emotional fatigue ($N=3$) were also evident.

One participant, a Newly Qualified Teacher (NQT), described a perception that interactions with the CLA had resulted in negative feelings related to her own competency “...emotionally for me that was difficult because erm I, I felt incapable as a teacher... why haven’t I got those behaviour management strategies to deal with her...” [teacher 13]. Feelings of helplessness were reported ($N=6$) regarding an inability to manage the child’s behaviour or to resolve concerns fully “...a bit helpless, because I wanted to help, you know, I wanted to do...something practical to help her...” [teacher five].

3.4.2 KS2 Teachers' Experiences of EL in Relation to Interactions with CLA

All participants described incidents where s/he displayed emotions that differed to her/his feelings (i.e. surface acting) “...to teach him something I would deliberately show emotion...” [teacher 11], additionally “...some of the things these kids tell you, that genuinely shock you. But you have to make it look like, you know, don't worry, it will all be fine. Even though you're thinking oh god...” [teacher four], and “...it's about keeping calm really when you're not feeling so much on the inside, you've got to come out like that, you've got to show that you're calm..” [teacher 12]. Altering voice and body language was noted as helping to portray different emotions.

Surface acting was discussed in relation to a need to maintain control, to benefit the child and to fulfil a professional role “...I do feel upset but, I've got to carry on. I do think that at least the children, they need to see me in that, that professional role that, maintaining that [long pause] kind of that coolness really...” [teacher 13].

Six participants reported experiences of deep acting “...quite often I find myself then trying to kind of conjure up all this kind of emotion for her, not emotion but trying to make myself feel really, feel sorry for her...change my emotions so I do come across more sympathetic...” [teacher 13], and “...it's trying to create that calmness within yourself I think, when you're listening...” [teacher one].

Examples of suppression were prominent ($N=12$) “...I think the thing is as well, is not to feel anger, that can be hard...” [teacher one], and “...something I’m hearing might make me feel cross but I will, sort of, bury that and put it to one side, erm, to have the conversation...” [teacher 14]. However, the notion that it may be difficult to suppress emotions in distressing situations was evident “...if it was a malicious thing... I might be totally different, I don’t know if I’d be able to hide the way...” [teacher four]. One participant described suppression as integral to the routine of teaching “...you don’t hide them [strong feelings] in the sense that it’s hurting you or...you feel as if you’re not letting something out that you should. It’s just that they’re here, you get immersed in the daily life of the school and the topics and you just teach...” [teacher seven].

Four participants described distressing incidents where s/he had tried but failed to engage in EL, instead openly expressing genuine emotions “...what you’re feeling, you try to not display to the child. Erm, but it, it does happen occasionally...” [teacher one]. All participants detailed occasions where s/he expressed genuine positive or negative emotions (i.e. emotional consonance) “...when he’s done wrong I let him know that I’m cross...” [teacher 10]. A notion existed that emotional consonance may be more evident in distressing situations “...some stories in the past with looked after children, you know, they do upset you and you can’t hide that sometimes. Especially when a child’s upset, you get upset...” [teacher five].

The perception that emotional consonance promoted acceptability of emotions was evident “...emotions are what they are and if you are sad then you’re sad and if you’re not, you’re not. And I don’t think you need to pretend to be if you’re not. I just think it’s good for children to see you as you are...” [teacher five], and “...if you show something that’s emotional to you, that helps them to realise that you’re a person with feelings as well and that it’s not something that they should shy away from...” [teacher seven].

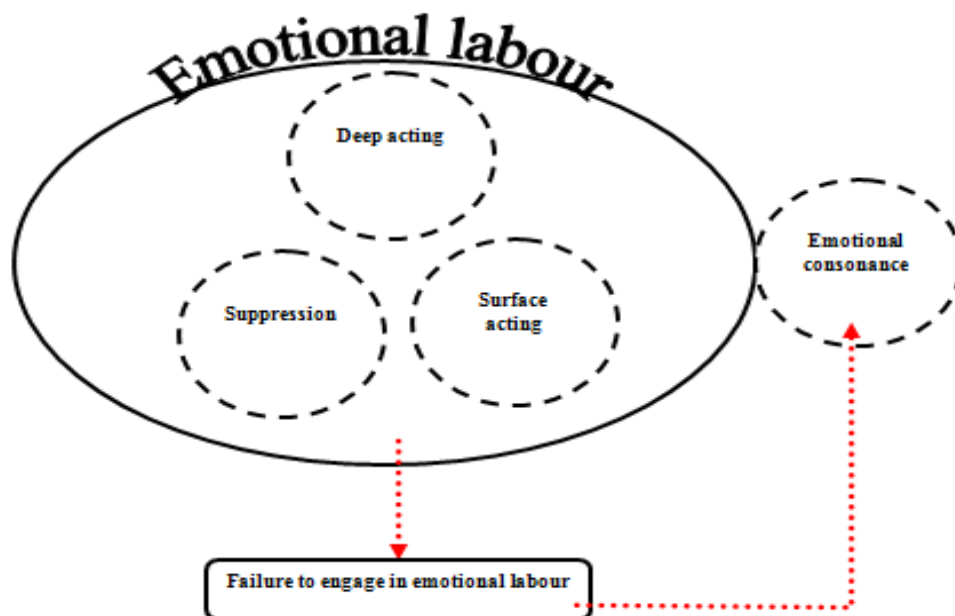


Figure 1. Conceptualisation of emotional labour in the current study.

Key to figure 1. Large oval denotes EL theory. Circles with dashed lines denote constructs of EL. Red dashed lines indicate potential causal relationships. Arrows indicate the proposed direction of causal relationships. It should be noted that emotional consonance also seems to be independent of the causal relationship between failure to engage in EL and emotional consonance. This figure should be interpreted with caution as proposed causal relationships relate to small numbers of participants.

Figure one provides an exploration of the construction of EL in the current study. Surface acting, deep acting and suppression appear to be distinct constructs of EL. Emotional consonance further seems to be distinct from deep acting, surface acting and suppression, but it remains unclear whether it

is a construct of EL theory, or distinct. A notion exists that participants ($N=4$) may attempt to engage in EL but fail to, subsequently expressing genuine emotions. This relationship seems more evident in surface acting during distressing situations such as disclosures ($N=2$). However, emotional consonance is also independent of this causal relationship, as failure to engage in EL does not seem to be necessary for emotional consonance to occur.

3.4.3 The Impact of EL on KS2 Teachers' Relationships with CLA

A desire to promote positive consequences for CLA was prominent, with a reported need to maintain focus on the child's emotional needs rather than her/his own emotions ($N=5$) "*...she's talking about how she's feeling, about what's happened to her. So, it doesn't, in a way, it doesn't matter what I feel...*" [teacher six], and "*...you can't go showing too much in front of them they've probably got enough of their own emotions, they don't need mine as well...*" [teacher three]. Nine participants described how a need to focus on positive behaviour influenced her/his own emotional responses. Regret regarding a lack of positive behaviour was reported, as was a tendency to over-emphasise positive emotion ($N=9$) "*...you want to be positive, you're trying to be positive all the time...*" [teacher nine].

Participants constructed EL as promoting the child's well-being ($N=10$), for example "*...the feelings that I show are to make the child more comfortable, happier...*" [teacher 12]. Additionally, researcher: "*...what you're describing in terms of having to keep a grip on what you're feeling, or not showing your*

anger, why do you think you need to do that...?” Participant: “...I do it for, for the sake of the child really, erm, they’ve got to know... they’re being dealt with in a fair way at all times...” [teacher one].

Participants also reported that emotion management helped facilitate open communication with the child ($N=7$) “...you can’t show that shock and you can’t show that disappointment, because you’ve got to then sit and talk the child through...” [teacher one], and “...it’s those kind of things you could say aren’t genuine feelings but you do it...for that child to be comfortable and happy and to connect with someone...” [teacher 12].

Seven participants described automaticity of emotional response during interactions with CLA “...you seem to go to like an automatic kind of, right this is the best way to deal with this at this time...” [teacher eight]. However, five participants noted that pupils may be aware of teacher emotion even if s/he attempted to modify it “...when a teacher’s cross, they know, even if you’re not shouting, you’re not necessarily doing an angry face...” [teacher one].

Constructions of detachment to ensure that feelings were not affecting teaching were prominent ($N=10$) “...once I walk out of that front door I don’t think about it, I don’t allow myself to...” [teacher 12], and “...you do harden yourself to it [distressing situations], you have to...” [teacher four]. However, one participant described difficulty in achieving this “...it’s quite difficult to switch off. There’s been a few circumstances where err it’s kind of

been Friday night and you hear something about changes that are going to be happening in the family and that can be quite difficult...” [teacher 13].

Two participants described how an ability to detach had developed over time “*...I think you get hardened to it in time... as you get older and the more you come across, err children in care...*” [teacher 12]. Three participants perceived that becoming a parent influenced emotional responses during interactions with CLA.

3.4.4 KS2 Teachers’ Constructions of the CLA Teacher Role and Constructions of the Class Teacher Role.

Positive relational and aspirational role constructions were evident in relation to both the class teacher role, and the role of teacher of CLA. Thirteen participants constructed the class teacher role as providing pastoral support for pupils, and many perceived this as necessary due to a lack of home support. Twelve participants constructed the teacher role as working to meet both academic and pastoral needs “*...I’m there to nurture the children, as well as teach them...*” [teacher two]. Meeting individual pupil needs was also prominent ($N=10$).

Other positive relational and aspirational constructions of the class teacher role were building a bond with pupils ($N=12$), managing and mediating behaviour ($N=10$), facilitating responsibility in pupils ($N=9$) and providing consistency ($N=7$). For example “*...I think I’m quite stable in how I come across, feelings wise...*” [teacher 12], and “*...you’re being real to yourself*

that that's your emotions, and you're being real to the child because you're saying to them this is me, this is what I say, this is how I act, this is how I am, and then it's consistent..." [teacher eight].

Twelve participants perceived CLA as the same as other pupils "...I wouldn't think that a looked after child is different in any way..." [teacher one], and "...there's a lot of children from difficult backgrounds here, whether they're looked after or not..." [teacher three]. Twelve participants described part of the CLA teacher role as ensuring a bond with the child "...he knows that he can trust me and he knows that I'll listen to him..." [teacher 10], and "...I take her down to the infants to choose new toys and things, just to spend that bit of time with her..." [teacher 13].

Twelve participants discussed a heightened awareness regarding the child's appearance, behaviour or attendance "...you've got to be a bit more alert to little things that are sort of going on..." [teacher seven]. Seven participants described seeking to increase her/his understanding of CLA to facilitate positive interactions with the child by, for example, communicating with carers, attending meetings or reminding her/himself of the child's circumstances "...I think a big thing is for me to try and recognise where she's coming from. Erm, recognise that she's feeling angry, that she's feeling confused..." [teacher 13].

However, constructions of time consuming role pressures were evident in relation to balancing the needs of the CLA and other pupils (N=11), with

descriptions of consumption of staff resources and difficulty in maintaining consistency of approach “...I suppose you can be quite anxious because...you just haven’t got that child on her own that you can deal with, you’ve got the rest of the class...” [teacher nine], and “...the other 28 children shouldn’t have a different person in front of them because of one other child...” [teacher 14].

3.4.5 Supportive Aspects

Support from teaching colleagues ($N=14$) was cited positively in relation to opportunities for reassurance, advice sharing and joint-working during difficult interactions with CLA “...there are times that a teacher is upset about something that a child’s said...we’re friends here, which really does help. You have to talk to someone, you can’t just keep it inside...” [teacher four], additionally “...it’s [colleague support] helped me to know I’m not alone...” [teacher 13]. Clear routes for support seeking within the school were also discussed ($N=9$).

Seven participants described the benefit of reflecting after challenging interactions with CLA “...I feel afterwards, no I didn’t handle that well...and then you go over maybe I should have done it this way, or maybe I should have done it another way, did I get the right outcome there...” [teacher one], and “...he’s in school now, he’s safe, he’s had something to eat... I just try and say those things to myself and think ok, right let’s go...” [teacher 14].

The benefit of sharing advice and information with, and gaining information from, colleagues ($N=11$) or LA professionals ($N=7$) was also prominent “...we’re given all the relevant information and we share it back...” [teacher four], and “...they [support staff] say, well I’ll tell you what he was doing today, and he loved that. Great, ok I’ll try that in the class...” [teacher one]. However, two participants discussed examples of poor information sharing. The majority of participants ($N=8$) discussed open communication with parents or carers, although two participants mentioned a difficult relationship with parents or carers.

3.4.6 A Potential Relationship Between How Participants Construct Their Role as a Teacher of CLA and the Extent to Which They Engage in EL

Perceptions of a professional duty seemed to mediate participants’ emotional responses ($N=6$) “...you just act how you’re expected to act, and how you’re professionally, you know, trained to act...” [teacher five], and “...you’ve got to keep a grip at all times...you’ve got to show, right I’m the professional person, I’m here to help you...” [teacher one]. The notion of a professional duty being positive and integral was also evident “...it’s just something that you just do...you just can’t show your feelings sometimes because it’s not appropriate, it’s not going to help the situation. So it’s just part of being professional...” [teacher 14].

Motivating role facilitators were also evident, such as a commitment to pupils ($N=9$) “...you don’t want to give up on her...I like to think that I’d

never give up on a child...” [teacher 13], and “...if you’re a teacher and you can’t, you’re not in it for the children then you shouldn’t really be in the job...” [teacher eight]. An enjoyment of teaching was also cited (N=11).

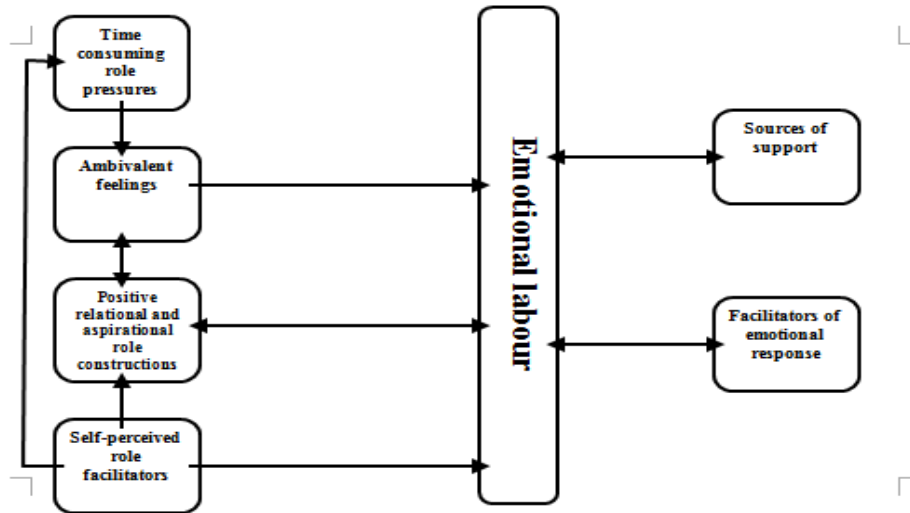


Figure 2a: Elaboration of causal relationships between two main themes.

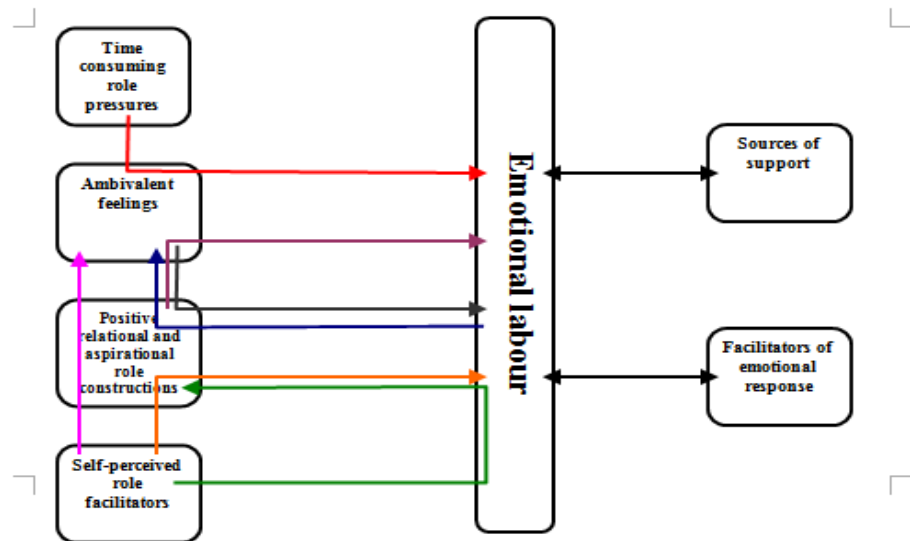


Figure 2b. Elaboration of causal relationships between three main themes

Key to figures 2a and 2b. The above figure has been separated into two parts for ease of reading. Black arrows in figure 2a denote potential causal relationships between two main themes. Coloured arrows in figure 2b indicate potential causal relationships between three main themes, thus pointing towards potential mediating themes. Arrows are indicated in different colours to assist with reading of the diagram. Double headed arrows indicate a bidirectional causal relationship. Figures 2a and 2b should be interpreted with caution as they relate to the researcher’s interpretation of potential causal relationships and a small sample size is evident in the study.

Figures 2a and 2b provide illustration of potential causal relationships between main themes in the current study (see thematic map, Appendix C). It could be proposed that self-perceived role facilitators, positive relational and aspirational role constructions and ambivalent feelings particularly influence engagement in EL, with several potential casual relationships involving these constructs indicated. Figure 2b illustrates that EL may act as an initiator, mediator and result of causal relationships. Moreover, it could be suggested that facilitators of emotional response and positive relational and aspirational role constructions have a bidirectional influence on EL. Participants may engage in EL in order to fulfil role constructions, due to a desire to promote positive consequences for CLA and to achieve detachment. Constructions relating to emotional consonance, surface acting and suppression were more prominent than those relating to deep acting. Thus, teachers may genuinely express felt emotions, as well as act or hide feelings during interactions with CLA, in order to fulfil role constructions and achieve detachment or positive outcomes for CLA. It may also be proposed that sources of support have a bidirectional influence on EL, with participants seeking peer support following engagement in EL, and also engaging in EL due to perceived availability of support.

3.5 Discussion

This study aimed to explore how, and to what extent, KS2 teachers experience EL during interactions with CLA, and the extent to which role constructions mediate engagement in EL.

Ambivalent feelings seem to be a prominent feature of KS2 teachers' interactions with CLA, with negative emotions reported explicitly. Negative feelings regarding own competency were discussed by the NQT in the sample, suggesting a negative impact on well-being. However, a sense of accomplishment was also prominently reported regarding interactions with CLA, implying a positive association between EL and personal accomplishment (Kinman et al., 2011) and a lack of emotional exhaustion (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001).

All participants cited examples of engaging in EL during interactions with CLA. Constructions relating to surface acting and suppression were prominent, with deep acting reported less frequently. In line with Naring et al. (2006), and in contrast to recent research (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Naring et al., 2012), emotional consonance was a prominently reported feature of participants' interactions with CLA; with examples of genuine expression of both positive and negative emotions. Previous research has suggested that individuals in caring professions may engage in deep acting more frequently than surface acting (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Mann & Cowburn, 2005); thus, the prominence of reports of emotional consonance, surface

acting and suppression in the current study may suggest that teachers experience EL differently than other occupational groups. Emotional consonance has been neglected from EL research (Naring et al., 2006), therefore, further research is needed to qualify whether teachers' experiences of EL differs to that of other occupational groups and whether emotional consonance involves the expression of genuine feelings or whether a degree of modification occurs in expression (Sutton, 2004).

Examples of failure to perform EL in distressing situations were cited by four participants suggesting that EL may sometimes be an onerous process. Although previous research has acknowledged potential negative consequences of engaging in EL, such as emotional exhaustion (Brackett et al., 2010; Hsieh, Jin, & Guy, 2012) and depersonalisation (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Kinman et al., 2011), no previous research has proposed a potential causal relationship between attempts to engage in EL and emotional consonance. Emotional consonance was constructed as a distinct construct from surface acting, deep acting and suppression, and failure to engage in EL does not seem to be necessary for emotional consonance to occur.

Participants constructed the class teacher and CLA roles similarly in terms of positive relational and aspirational role constructions. However, differences existed for the CLA role, including in terms of a heightened awareness, and a need to increase understanding of, and ensure a bond with the child. Thus, it seems that participants may engage in EL to fulfil positive aspirational and relational role constructions. The reported sense of accomplishment may also

be a result of perceptions of fulfilling such role constructions. Although burnout (Maslach et al., 2001) was not explored in the current study, participants seem to perceive engaging in EL positively and as helping to promote positive outcomes for CLA.

However, descriptions of detaching to manage interactions with CLA were evident, although some participants described detachment positively, and as necessary to ensure no negative impact on their teaching. This finding contrasts to previous research (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002) which suggested that individuals in caring professions, such as nursing, may avoid depersonalising their clients. However, Kinman et al. (2011) found a positive association between teachers' engagement in EL and depersonalisation of pupils, and asserted that it may be beneficial to support teachers to develop firm emotional boundaries between work and home. Correspondingly, past research has indicated that detachment may be viewed positively (Hayes & Frederickson, 2008; Henderson, 2001), as an emotionally intelligent way of coping with stress (Walsh, 2009).

Reports of development of an ability to manage emotions over time, and with different experiences were also discussed; highlighting the need for future research to utilise longitudinal designs. However, it could be proposed that suppression and detachment are related constructs, with suppression being necessary to ensure feelings of detachment. Moreover, participants seemed to perceive ensuring a bond with CLA and achieving detachment as beneficial, questioning whether participants perceive detachment as necessary to bond

with CLA. However, detachment may undermine attempts to develop a sense of well-being in a child who has experienced continued disruption and loss, and further research is warranted to understand how CLA perceive teachers that are engaging in EL.

Self-perceived role facilitators may have acted as implicit display rules for participants and teachers' experiences of engagement in EL during interactions with CLA may be mediated by personal identities and self-perceived professional aims (Naring et al., 2012). A desire to focus on positive behaviour was discussed in relation to behaviour management policies and examples of clear support routes were detailed, indicating that participants' emotional responses may also be mediated, to a degree, by explicit display rules.

Peer support was cited by all participants, supporting previous research that emotional consonance may be evident when individuals share perceptions of display rules with each other and feel supported in their role (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). Sources of support may have a bidirectional influence on EL, as it may be proposed that participants sought support following engagement in EL, and also engaged in EL due to perceived availability of peer support.

3.5.1 Limitations and Implications for Further Research

Results relate only to a small sample of KS2 teachers of CLA and should be interpreted cautiously. Further research may determine whether similar

results are evident in larger or similar samples. Moreover, results relate only to teachers' reports of their interactions with CLA, and the extent to which EL impacts on teachers' well-being in addition to that of CLA remains unclear. Future research may utilise a triangulation approach, exploring CLA's perceptions of teachers that engage in EL, and teachers' perceptions of the impact of EL on her/his well-being.

Negative constructions relating to own competency were evident for the NQT in the sample, and the notion that EL may differ over time and with different experiences was cited. Further research may explore how EL is perceived by NQTs, and the differing impact it may have throughout teachers' careers. Teachers' use of peer support when experiencing EL could also be further explored as it remains unclear what support may be most effective in helping teachers to manage EL during interactions with CLA.

3.5.2 Relevance to EP Practice.

This study highlights a potential role for EPs to understand better how EL impacts on teachers of CLA. Although several initiatives currently exist aimed at supporting pupils' emotional well-being (Burton, 2009; Department for Education and Skills, 2005), less attention has been given to teachers' emotional well-being (Briner & Dewberry, 2007; Craig, 2007).

EPs may offer initial and ongoing training to support the development of teachers' emotional skills, so they feel able to support pupils' emotions (Chou et al., 2012). Emotional consonance and feelings of shock were

reported during child disclosures, thus, EPs may offer training to equip teachers to manage their own and pupils' emotions during disclosures. This could be achieved by working with teachers to develop a response script or display rules for the management of disclosures. EPs may also help schools facilitate reflective spaces for teachers to better understand how pupil behaviour impacts on their own emotions (Children and Young People's Mental Health Coalition, 2012).

Peer support was cited positively by participants. However, it could be questioned how well placed peers are to offer emotional support, and whether EPs may play a role in empowering DTs to offer supervision to teachers of CLA. EPs may facilitate school support systems such as solution circles (Brown & Henderson, 2012), or could work at a systems level, bringing teachers of CLA together in group consultation (Bozic & Carter, 2002; Evans, 2005).

Maslach et al. (2001) highlight that the effects of burnout may be reduced when steps are taken to alter the work environment. In the current study, perceptions of role enjoyment acted as a self-perceived role facilitator, thus, EPs may support schools to define and effectively communicate their ethos, particularly in relation to supporting CLA. This may increase teachers' engagement in emotional consonance. However, it is also possible that over-communication of ethos may result in emotional dissonance, due to a lack of identification with it. A greater understanding of teachers' perceptions of professional duty may help clarify how best to support this.

The current study highlights that EL may be a prominent feature of KS2 teachers' interactions with CLA, and suggests that engagement in EL may be perceived positively by teachers in order to promote positive consequences for CLA. A role is subsequently identified for EPs to be involved in acknowledging and supporting EL in relation to teachers' interactions with CLA, in addition to better understanding the impact that teachers' engagement in EL may have on CLA themselves. This may help support the facilitation of positive relationships between teachers and CLA, in turn promoting positive outcomes for CLA.

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Appendix A1. Gatekeeper Letter for Children Looked After Officers

[date]

Dear [officer],

My name is Lisa Edwards and I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist currently undertaking a placement with X Educational Psychology Service. For my thesis research, I aim to carry out a study examining teachers' experiences of teaching Children Looked After in Key Stage Two. Particular interest will be paid to teachers' emotional experiences of teaching Children Looked After and their management of their own emotions and those of Children Looked After. This information is really valuable to Educational Psychology Services in helping schools to support Children Looked After.

As part of this research, I would like to interview Key Stage Two class teachers in [local authority] who have a Child Looked After in their class. Interviews will be conducted at a time and place convenient for teachers and will last approximately 45 minutes. Children Looked After will be discussed on a no name basis and individual pupil details will not be required. Teachers will be free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason.

Interviews will be recorded. Interview data will be held confidentially and will be anonymised two weeks following the interview so that it will be impossible to trace information back to teachers or schools. Raw data will be destroyed twelve months after the study; anonymised data may be retained indefinitely. Participating teachers will be able to access their data or request that the information they provide is destroyed at any time up until the point that the data are anonymised.

If you agree that Head / Designated Teachers of mainstream primary schools where there are Children Looked After in Key Stage Two may be approached regarding this study, please email [Trainee's email address] or telephone [telephone number]. I would be very grateful if you could please provide details of Head/Designated Teacher names, school names, school addresses and year groups of Children Looked After. I would be grateful to receive school details of Children Looked After educated within and outside of [local authority].

This study has been reviewed and approved by Dr. Simon Griffey, Programme Research Director at Cardiff University. If you would like to raise any queries, or are unhappy with any aspect of the study, you can contact 02920 870366 or email Griffeysj@cardiff.ac.uk.

Thank you in advance for your consideration of this project; I would be very grateful for your help. If you have any further questions, please email [trainee's email address] or telephone [telephone number].

Kind regards,

Lisa Edwards
Trainee Educational Psychologist
[Placement address]

Research Director (Study Supervisor)
Dr. Simon Griffey
Cardiff University
School of Psychology
Park Place
Cardiff
CF10 3AT
Griffeysj@cardiff.ac.uk
02920 870366

Appendix A2. Gatekeeper Letter for Designated Teachers

[date]

Dear [Designated Teacher],

My name is Lisa Edwards and I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist currently undertaking a placement with X Educational Psychology Service. For my thesis research, I aim to carry out a study examining class teachers' experiences of teaching Children Looked After in Key Stage Two. Particular interest will be paid to teachers' emotional experiences of teaching Children Looked After and their management of their own and others' emotions. This information is really valuable to Educational Psychology Services in helping schools to support Children Looked After.

[Name, Children Looked After officer] has given permission for me to approach schools who have Children Looked After in Key Stage Two. I have been informed by [Children Looked After officer] that there is a Child Looked After in your school in Key Stage Two. I would like to invite the permanent class teacher of this pupil to take part in a semi-structured interview with myself.

Interviews will be conducted at a time and place convenient for the class teacher and will last approximately 45 minutes. Interview data will be held confidentially and will be anonymised two weeks following the interview so that it will be impossible to trace information back to teachers or schools. Raw data will be destroyed twelve months after the study; anonymised data may be retained indefinitely. Participating teachers will be able to access their data or request that the information they provide is destroyed at any time up until the point that the data are anonymised.

Children Looked After will be discussed on a no name basis and individual pupil details will not be required. Teachers will be free to withdraw from the study at any point without giving a reason.

This study has been reviewed and approved by Dr. Simon Griffey, Programme Research Director at Cardiff University. If you would like to raise any queries, or are unhappy with any aspect of the study, you can contact 02920 870366 or email GriffeySJ@cardiff.ac.uk.

If you agree that the relevant class teacher may be approached regarding participation in this study, please forward the attached information sheet onto him/her. I will contact you shortly to establish the class teacher's interest in the study.

Many thanks in advance for your consideration of this project. If you have any questions, please email EdwardsLN2@cardiff.ac.uk or telephone [office number].

Kind regards,

Lisa Edwards
[Placement address]

Research Director (Study Supervisor)
Dr. Simon Griffey
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Appendix A3. Information Sheet for Class Teachers

My name is Lisa Edwards, I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist at Cardiff University, currently undertaking a placement with X Educational Psychology Service. For my thesis research I aim to carry out a study examining teachers' experiences of teaching Children Looked After in Key Stage Two. I understand that you are the class teacher of a Child Looked After in Key Stage Two. I would like to invite you to take part in a semi-structured interview with myself.

I am particularly interested in teachers' emotional experiences of teaching Children Looked After and their experiences of managing their own emotions and those of Children Looked After. This information is really valuable and may enable Educational Psychology Services to help schools to support Children Looked After in Key Stage Two.

Interviews will be conducted at a time, place and date convenient for you and will last approximately 45 minutes. Interviews will be recorded. Interview data will be held confidentially and will be anonymised two weeks following the interview so that it will be impossible to trace information back to teachers or schools. Raw data will be destroyed twelve months after the study; anonymised data may be retained indefinitely. You will be able to access your data or request that the information you provide is destroyed at any time up until the point that the data are anonymised.

Discussion relating to the Child Looked After will occur on a no name basis and personal details relating to the child will not be required. You will be able to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason.

Once data have been collected, I will produce a thesis, which will be presented to academic tutors at Cardiff University for examination. The thesis will help to inform future educational psychology practice.

This study has been reviewed and approved by Dr. Simon Griffey, Programme Research Director at Cardiff University. If you would like to raise any queries, or are unhappy with any aspect of the study, you can contact 02920 870366 or email Griffeysj@cardiff.ac.uk.

I will greatly appreciate your participation in this project and your giving up time to participate. **I am available to visit the school between now and the summer holidays at a time convenient for you. If you are interested in taking part, please contact [email address] or telephone [telephone number] to arrange an interview date.** Prior to the interview you will be required to complete a written consent form.

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Lisa Edwards
[Placement address]

Research Director (Study supervisor)
Dr. Simon Griffey
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Cardiff
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02920 870366

Appendix A4. Participant Consent Form



Teacher consent form – Confidential data

School of Psychology, Cardiff University

I understand that my participation in this project will involve participating in an interview about my experiences of teaching a Child Looked After in Key Stage Two. Participation will require approximately 45 minutes of my time.

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. I am free to discuss any concerns with Dr. Simon Griffey at Cardiff University by telephoning 02920 870366 or emailing Griffeysj@cardiff.ac.uk.

I understand that the information provided by me will be held confidentially, so that only Lisa Edwards can trace this information back to me individually. I understand that my data will be anonymised two weeks following the interview and that after this point it will be impossible to trace the information I provide back to me. I understand that I can access the data I provide or request that it is destroyed up until the point that data are anonymised.

I understand that the raw data I provide will be destroyed twelve months after the study, and that anonymised data may be retained indefinitely.

I also understand that, at the end of the interview, I will be provided with information about the purpose of the study.

I, _____(NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by Lisa Edwards with the supervision of Dr. Simon Griffey.

Signed _____

Date _____

Appendix A5. Pilot Interview Schedule

Thank you for volunteering to participate in this interview about your experiences of teaching a Child Looked After. Can I begin by assuring you that information collected during this interview will be stored confidentially and will be anonymised in two weeks time so it will be impossible to trace data back to you. You will be able to access your data or request that they are destroyed until the point that they are anonymised.

Discussion will take place on a no name basis so can I ask that you don't name the Child Looked After in question. If any details are discussed that lead me to believe that a child is at risk I will need to notify children's services of this.

You are not obliged to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with and you are free to pause the interview or stop taking part at any point without giving a reason. Raw data will be destroyed twelve months following today's interview and anonymised data may be retained indefinitely.

Before we start the interview, are there any questions you would like to ask?

1. What year group do you work with?

2. What role(s) do you have within the school?

Prompt: For example, designated teacher, SENCo, pastoral support role, head teacher, curriculum specific role.

3. How long has the Child Looked After been in your class?

Probe: Does the Child Looked After attend any other classes within the school (e.g. a resource class on a part-time basis).

4. How would you describe your role as a class teacher within this school?

Prompt: How would you describe your role as a class teacher in this school to someone who didn't know you?

What sort of school is this?

What sort of teacher are you?

Probes: What do you feel the class teacher role involves?

What are the important aspects of your role as a class teacher?

How does the school define your role as a class teacher?

What are the positive aspects of being a teacher in this school?

Are there any negative aspects?

5. How would you describe your role as a teacher of Children Looked After in your class?

Prompt: How would you describe your role as a teacher of Children Looked After to someone who didn't know you?

Probes: What do you feel supporting Children Looked After within your class involves?

What are the important aspects of your role as a teacher of Children Looked After?

How does the school define your role in supporting Children Looked After?

Do you feel there is any difference between your role as a class teacher and your role as a teacher of Children Looked After?

6. In your opinion, what are the benefits and limitations of teaching Children Looked After?

Prompt: What are the positive aspects of teaching Children Looked After?

Are there any negative aspects?

7. Without naming names, could you describe an interaction with the Child Looked After in your class that you found particularly difficult?

Prompt: Could you give an example of an interaction that may have seemed challenging to deal with or made you feel negative emotions.

Probes:

How did this interaction make you feel?

What did you do?

Approximately how long did this interaction last?

How often do interactions like this happen?

8. Without naming names, could you describe an interaction with the Child Looked After in your class that you found particularly rewarding?

Prompt: Give an example of an interaction that may have seemed pleasurable or made you feel positive emotions.

Probes:

How did this interaction make you feel?

What did you do?

Approximately how long did this interaction last?

How often do interactions like this happen?

9. To what extent do you often show strong emotions when interacting with the Child Looked After in your class?

Prompt: To what extent do you often show that you're really happy/ sad/ proud/ disappointed?

10. To what extent do you show the emotions you think are expected by your role, rather than what you actually feel when interacting with the Child Looked After in your class?

Prompts: Would you say that you often...

Pretend to have feelings you don't really have?

Fake the emotions you show and hide your true feelings?

Act differently to how you really feel?

11. Can you describe whether, when interacting with the Child Looked After in your class, you really try to feel the emotions you have to show as part of your role?

Prompts: To what extent...

Do you change your emotions to fit the situation?

Do you try and experience the emotions you think you must show for your job?

Do you try to match up your inner feeling with the emotional display you feel you have to show as expected by your role as a class teacher?

12. Are you able to tell me whether there have been times when you may have hidden your true feelings when interacting with the Child Looked After in your class?

Prompt: Please describe whether you sometimes resist expressing your true feelings when interacting with Children Looked After in your class?

13. What does your school offer to help you support Children Looked After in your class?

Prompts: Supervision

Colleague support

Clear expectations/ procedures

Opportunities to debrief

Training

Probe: Is there anything that has been particularly useful in helping you to support Children Looked After in your class?

14. Finally, can I ask you if you think there is any aspect of teaching Children Looked After that you feel has not been discussed in this interview?

Appendix A6. Final Interview Schedule

Thank you for volunteering to participate in this interview about your experiences of teaching a Child Looked After. Can I begin by assuring you that information collected during this interview will be stored confidentially and will be anonymised in two weeks time so it will be impossible to trace data back to you. You will be able to access your data or request that they are destroyed until the point that they are anonymised.

Discussion will take place on a no name basis so can I ask that you don't name the Child Looked After in question. If any details are discussed that lead me to believe that a child is at risk I will need to notify children's services of this.

You are not obliged to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with and you are free to pause the interview or stop taking part at any point without giving a reason. Raw data will be destroyed twelve months following today's interview and anonymised data may be retained indefinitely.

Before we start the interview, are there any questions you would like to ask?

15. What year group do you work with?

16. What role(s) do you have within the school?

Prompt: For example, designated teacher, SENCo, pastoral support role, headteacher, curriculum specific role.

17. How long has the Child Looked After been in your class?

Probe: Is your class a mainstream class?

Does the Child Looked After attend any other classes within the school (e.g. a resource class on a part-time basis).

18. How would you describe your role as a class teacher within this school?

Prompts: What sort of teacher are you?

What do you feel the class teacher role involves?

What are the important aspects of your role as a class teacher?

Probes: How does the school define your role as a class teacher?

How would you describe what it is like to be a teacher within this school?

What sort of school is this?

What are the positive aspects of being a teacher in this school?

Are there any negative aspects?

19. How would you describe your role as a teacher of Children Looked After in your class?

Prompts: What do you feel supporting Children Looked After within your class involves?

What are the important aspects of your role as a teacher of Children Looked After?

Probes: How does the school define your role in supporting Children Looked After?

Do you feel there is any difference between your role as a class teacher and your role as a teacher of Children Looked After?

20. In your opinion, what are the benefits and limitations of teaching Children Looked After?

Prompts: What are the positive aspects of teaching Children Looked After? Are there any negative aspects?

21. Without naming names, could you describe an interaction with the Child Looked After in your class that you found particularly difficult?

Prompt: Could you give an example of an interaction that may have seemed challenging to deal with or made you feel negative emotions.

Probes: How did this interaction make you feel?

Can you tell me a bit more about the thoughts and feelings you had during this interaction?

What did you do? How did you respond?

Approximately how long did this interaction last?

How often do interactions like this happen?

What effect do you think this interaction had on the relationship between yourself and the child? Positive? Negative?

22. Without naming names, could you describe an interaction with the Child Looked After in your class that you found particularly rewarding?

Prompt: Could you give an example of an interaction that may have seemed pleasurable or made you feel positive emotions?

Probes: How did this interaction make you feel?

Can you tell me a bit more about the thoughts and feelings you had during this interaction?

What did you do? How did you respond?

Approximately how long did this interaction last?

How often do interactions like this happen?

What effect do you think this interaction had on the relationship between yourself and the child? Positive? Negative?

23. To what extent do you often show strong emotions when interacting with the Child Looked After in your class?

Prompt: To what extent do you often show that you're really happy/ sad/ proud/ disappointed?

Probe: Do you ever show strong positive emotions when looking with the Child Looked After?

Do you ever show strong negative emotions when interacting with the Child Looked After?

24. To what extent do you show the emotions you think are expected by your role, rather than what you actually feel when interacting with the Child Looked After in your class?

Prompts: Would you say that you often...

Pretend to have feelings you don't really have?

Act differently to how you really feel?

Fake the emotions you show and hide your true feelings?

Probes: What effect do you feel this has on you?

What effect does this have on your relationship with the child? Positive? Negative?

Do you feel that doing this helps you in anyway?

25. Can you describe whether, when interacting with the Child Looked After in your class, you really try to feel the emotions you have to show as part of your role?

Prompts: To what extent....

Do you change your emotions to fit the situation?

Do you try and experience the emotions you think you must show for your job?

Do you try to match up your inner feeling with the emotional display you feel you have to show as expected by your role as a class teacher?

Probes: What effect do you feel this has on you?

What effect does this have on your relationship with the child? Positive? Negative?

Do you feel that doing this helps you in anyway?

26. Are you able to tell me whether there have been times when you may have hidden your true feelings when interacting with the Child Looked After in your class?

Prompt: Please describe whether you sometimes resist expressing your true feelings when interacting with Children Looked After in your class?

Probes: What effect do you feel this has on you?

What effect does this have on your relationship with the child? Positive? Negative?

Do you feel that doing this helps you in anyway?

27. What does your school offer to help you support Children Looked After in your class?

Prompts: Supervision

Colleague support

Clear expectations/ procedures

Opportunities to debrief

Training

Probe: Is there anything that has been particularly useful in helping you to support Children Looked After in your class?

28. Finally, can I ask you if you think there is any aspect of teaching Children Looked After that you feel has not been discussed in this interview?

Appendix A7. Participant Debrief Form

Title of Study: An exploration of the Emotional Labour experienced by teachers of Children Looked After in Key Stage Two

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study.

The aim of this study was to find out more about your experiences of teaching a Child Looked After in your class. A particular interest was taken in your emotional experiences of teaching a Child Looked After. This approach was adopted in order to explore whether class teachers experience Emotional Labour during interactions with Children Looked After. Emotional Labour involves the management of feelings in order to express those that are acceptable, as specified by the individual's organisation and role (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Leeson, 2010; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). The extent to which individuals engage in Emotional Labour may affect their ability to maintain an effective relationship with Children Looked After. The information you have provided today should help inform how Educational Psychology Services could better support teachers of Children Looked After.

Interview data will be held confidentially and will be anonymised in the next two weeks so that it will be impossible to trace information back to you. Raw data will be destroyed twelve months after the study; anonymised data may be retained indefinitely. You will be able to access your data or request that they are destroyed at any time up until the point that the data are anonymised.

This study has been reviewed and approved by Dr. Simon Griffey, Programme Research Director at Cardiff University. If you would like to raise any queries, or are unhappy with any aspect of the study, you can contact 02920 870366 or email Griffeysj@cardiff.ac.uk.

Please feel free to contact me with any further questions about the research.

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- Isenbarger, L. & Zembylas, M. (2006). The Emotional Labour of caring in teaching. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 22, 120-134.
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Appendix B. Annotated Transcript Detailing Identified Themes

School 12. 16.05.12

39 minutes duration

| Interview question/ interviewee response | Identified theme |
|--|------------------|
| Q1: Can I just start by asking what year group you work with? I work with year four and some year fives. So a mixed class then of those year groups? A mixed class, yes. | |
| Q2: And what role or roles do you have within the school? Erm, obviously classroom teacher and I'm responsible for history, geography PE, eco schools. I don't think I've left anything out <i>[laughs]</i> . | |
| Q3: No, that's great, and how long has the Looked After Child been in your class? Been in my class since September so we're knocking on about seven months aren't we, something like that. And does the child attend any other classes within the school? No. So he or she is with you? Yeah she is with me, erm, the full time really. | |
| Q4: Ok, great and how would you describe, erm, your role as a class teacher | |

within the school?

Erm, it's basically to enthuse the children about education, get them to take control of their own learning really. Erm, you get set your targets obviously, erm areas for improvement, and you make them aware of those targets and give them something to aim for. Erm, it doesn't matter in what aspects of education it is, it could be PE, it could be maths, science. Erm, it's just try to bring the best out of any particular child in whatever subject I'm teaching that particular day really. **Yeah, and for you then, what are those most important aspects of being a class teacher?** Erm, I think the most important aspect is that you've got to be approachable; you've got to be sympathetic to, erm, what might be troubling them. Erm, if those barriers are up where a child can't approach you then obviously you're not going to get the best of them in education either. They're not going to be crossing that bridge to take control of their own learning. So you've got to be approachable, you've got to be on their level a lot of the time really. Erm, and find out what interests they have, erm if you're out of touch you know you've set, you're setting yourself up for a fall really. Erm, and you've got to make things interesting for them. You've got to choose themes or topics that you know are going to get talked about, discussed, they're going to investigate into. Erm, try and make everything as interesting and hopefully as hands on as you possibly can as well. And not just sitting there listening to the teacher, you want them to be looking at a question that I've posed and for them to go and find the answer in whatever format they want to

Fostering responsibility in pupils

Building a bond with pupils

Fostering responsibility in pupils

Meeting curriculum demands

present the answer really. **So, there's quite a personal side to it for you then?** Erm, it's, it's a vocation isn't it, I suppose is the way to put it. You don't think of it like that when you're doing it. Obviously you do get some days that are more difficult than others. Erm, it could have absolutely nothing to do with the children, the difficulties that come up, you could have some admin work that needs doing last second that you've been let known about it or something like that. But obviously, the paperwork you feel you could drown in it sometimes rather than the contact with the children. But there we go, every job is piling up the, the paper work these days aren't they *[laughs]*.

Yeah, definitely so. And what sort of school would you describe this as then?

What's it like to be a class teacher here? I'd say it's unique. Most teachers would probably. But, we're unique in the format that we are teaching them through a language that is not, it's not their mother tongue. Erm, so we're bilingual to a great degree but, erm, also welsh language is what we teach most of the subjects through. But most of the children come from English speaking backgrounds. Erm, it's, I don't know because we're only one of a minority of schools that teach through welsh in the county anyway.

You do tend to have more of a family orientated kind of atmosphere here really. And we're not a massive school, erm, we're not tiny but we're not massive compared to some of the other schools either. Erm, so I think it's quite a close knit, a family orientated atmosphere really. I think that's quite unique in a lot of schools these days.

Great, and are there any negative aspects you feel to being a class teacher within

Professional duty

Managing workload and paperwork

Colleague support

this school? Erm, no *[laughs]*, No. I've been here a long time and I would have gone a long time ago if I wasn't happy here as well. So no, can't think of any negatives. **That's great.**

Enjoyment of role

Q5: And thinking about your role as a class teacher of a Looked After Child, how would you describe that role?

Personally, no different to what it would be to any other child. You put their concerns, you deal with them. It could be a concern about what we would feel as an adult as irrelevant, it's not to that particular child. So you, if the child's in care, I deal with it the same as I would with a child that's not in care. Their problems are just as important as anyone else's. So you deal with it day to day, problem to problem really. You know, obviously there might be some emotional issues; you deal with that child slightly different. Erm, you cater for their needs individually. Every child is different and you cater the best you can to their individual needs really. **Yeah, so would you say then that if there were any emotional difficulties you might deal with them slightly different then?** Erm it's, obviously you're going to be aware of the background, erm, and you know from prior knowledge that's been passed up to you from the previous teacher, erm, which avenues not to go down, that it will upset the child. That type of thing. You know erm, you make yourself approachable to them, if they want to talk about their problems, then you're there to listen. That's the same as any other child, but

Perceive CLA as the same as other pupils

Heightened awareness of CLA
Meeting individual child needs

Heightened awareness of CLA
Sharing with and gaining information from colleagues
Building a bond with pupils

then you also know then which tracks not to go down because you know that that might, might make the problem worse. Erm, and that's not to the benefit of the child at the end of the day then. Erm, there's it sounds quite generic but you, you just deal with it day to day, issue to issue really. **Yeah ok. So in that sense, do you think the school defines your role any differently, erm the class teacher role and the class teacher of a Looked After Child role?** No, because the expectations are for you to put the welfare of the child first. No matter if they're, erm, a child in care or not really. So it's, that is your primary function. More or less secondary is the education, the primary one is to make them comfortable, happy and want to be here. If you've got that, then the learning follows. **Yeah so the prominent on the social-emotional type things.** Yes, exactly. Erm, and you know we have classroom activities with circle time, that type of thing, that they can discuss fears or things that make them happy. Erm, if they wish to opt out of sharing, they do. Erm, there's no pressure on them to disclose anything that they don't want to; it's having them comfortable in the classroom really.

Heightened awareness of CLA

Perceive CLA as the same as other pupils

Meeting both academic and pastoral needs

Pastoral support for pupils

Q6: Yeah. So do you feel that there are any benefits or limitations then to teaching Looked After Children at all?

I think you're going to get limitations, erm, due to the nature of that particular child. Erm, you can't help but have limitations. You know that if certain things are mentioned, or covered in, in the class through a specific subject like RE. You know well, that may

Heightened awareness of CLA

be a no go area because you know that that particular part of that topic will upset that child and you don't want to put that child through any upset. So, you steer clear of certain aspects possibly that, maybe if they are doing work on the computer then you could cover that aspect with the rest of the children. But, yes there are limitations, you know yes I can do this and no I can't do that particular part of, of the erm, of the subject with them really. **And are there any particular benefits you feel?** Erm, I think it keeps you as a teacher grounded. You know you don't get carried away with thinking everything in life is perfect. Well, as adults we know that anyway but you know you've got to, it does make you realise or make you aware that every child is different and some of them have issues that they need to work through at what could be a very early age. So it makes you a better person to be more empathetic probably. Erm, but there's benefits of teaching other children. Erm, you know I can't say yes because they're a Looked After Child that the child, that I benefit more. I benefit from teaching all the children really. **Yeah of course, that's fine, that makes sense.**

Shock

Perceive CLA as the same as other pupils

Q7: Erm, so without naming names, erm, could you describe an interaction with the Looked After Child in your class that you found particularly difficult?

Yeah, there's erm, the family circumstances are quite, upside down I think is the best way that I could describe it. There are issues there concerning siblings that he or she could be getting upset about. Erm, you've got to deal with that quite sympathetically

and it's not something that you can obviously brush under the carpet. You've got to take that child then out of the classroom and let them have the time to, erm, share their feelings with you really. Erm, you know that does take me away from some of the teaching time, it's not something that you can say 'oh we'll deal with that later'. You've got to deal with it there and then. Erm, I'm lucky in a way because this particular child feels comfortable enough to be able to talk and to be able to share feelings. So it's erm, it's a relationship where we understand each other pretty well, so we can work through the issues quite quickly, it's not something that's going to be taking an hour to sit down and discuss. Erm, obviously because she knows I'm aware of the background. She knows that I know the family history. Erm, you know it's, you just, it could be different every day, that's, that's the issue. Erm, but, but, you know having known her for enough length of time and previous to her coming into the class as well. Erm, then you can usually deal with most things that come up really. **Yeah, yeah so do interactions like that happen quite often or?** It can do. They can happen, I'd say they happen possibly on a, on a weekly basis, err twice a week. Erm at its worse it could be on a daily basis for a period of about a week. Erm, it, it all depends on what's happened with siblings or family at that particular time. Erm, but generally speaking it's about once a week that some issue of some kind will crop up. **Yeah, yeah, and what sort of thoughts and feelings do you tend to sort of have during those interactions yourself?** Erm, you try to, you know you're sympathetic obviously but it's, it's very

Ensuring bond with CLA

Meeting both academic and pastoral needs

Ensuring bond with CLA

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| <p>difficult for you to put yourself in their position because you can't. Erm, you can sympathise all you like but you don't truly know what goes on in that child's head. The only thing you can do for them, or that I feel I can do for them, is to be there and to listen to them for them to share their feelings. Erm, that they've got somebody to offload onto if you like. Erm, other than, other than that and being there and being approachable there's not a great deal that I can do, apart from teach her really. Erm, you know it, again it depends what the problem is. If it's an issue within, with other pupils in the school then obviously I can deal a lot more with it and sort it out if you like. But issues outside the school I can't sort out for them, I can only listen and gather. Of course, yeah. So in what ways do you tend to act then? Erm, just listening really and saying, although it contradicts what I've said, saying that I know how they feel to a degree. Reassure them, erm saying, you know, I'm sure we can work something out, I'm sure things over time will get easier. Erm, although with that particular age, it's difficult for them to comprehend that type of thing, that it gets better with time. They're in the here and now aren't they children. Erm, you know, it, you do feel for them obviously that it's an issue that's gong to be with them for a long time. Erm, and it's a fleeting moment in their lives that they're with me really, so I can only be there, listen and do the best that I can for them really. Of course, and what effect do you think that has on you, those interactions? Personally, not a lot, erm, you can't, you can't. If you were to get onto a personal level with them, you wouldn't sleep at night. Erm,</p> | <p>Surface acting</p> <p>Commitment to pupils</p> <p>Detachment</p> <p>Helplessness</p> <p>Surface acting</p> <p>Professional duty</p> |
|--|--|

you've got to keep it professional, I've seen enough over the years to keep people awake. Erm, on a professional level yes I'm empathetic, you do everything that you should do professionally. You do it because you care but once I walk out of that front door I don't think about it, I don't allow myself to. **Mmm, so can you tell me a bit more about what you're saying about the professional level?** The professional level is to, the duty of care. During the day they're my responsibility, it's my job to make them happy. It's my job to make them comfortable. It's my job to make sure that they learn, that they improve, that they have a role model that they can look up to, that they know the boundaries of right and wrong. It's everything that's rolled into being a teacher really, that's my professional side of the job. To be there for that child for the duty of care, from nine o'clock to quarter past three. If needs be, a little bit later than that. Erm, that's the professional side. Personal side, you leave that at the front door. Erm, that's as simply as I can put it really. **Yeah, and is that something that you find easy or difficult to do, that differentiation?** I think at the beginning, erm you ask any newly qualified teacher possibly, they find it difficult at the beginning. It's erm, I suppose you can compare it to doctors that loose a patient for the first time. You know, they're going to loose more than one patient in their lifetime. So as you see more children in care coming through the doors, the more hardened you become to it really. You've got to otherwise it's, you can't carry that baggage with you everywhere you go. Erm, I suppose it does make you hard to a degree, erm, but as soon as I walk out of that

Detachment

Professional duty

Detachment

Development over time

Detachment

front door, I never discuss anything work wise anyway. I only ever discuss work with colleagues in work; I never take it out through the front door. Even with colleagues in different schools that I'm very good friends with, we'd never discuss work. I think that's the best way to be really. **Yeah, so you find it helpful for yourself?** Mmm. **And what effect do you feel those interactions have on your relationship with the child?** Erm, I mean you could, you could have a child that's not in care that's going through similar sort of things. So you do empathise and you do have a close relationship with them, like you're going to have with other pupils that are in your class, for the time that they're in your class. I wouldn't put any more significance or importance to them being a child in care, with the relationship I have with them. Possibly I deal with them more frequently because of the issues that they've got, erm but everybody's equal in my eyes and everybody's treated the same. If that child misbehaves, they get told off. If that child does something really well, they get praised. Erm, the only additional thing that you'd have for a child that's in care is the knowledge of what's going on in the background and to possibly allow some sort of, some sort of leeway, if needs be. Erm, because you know they might be going through a difficult period at that particular time and obviously you give them some leeway, you've got to. **Yeah, yeah and do you feel there's sort of, those interactions where you're showing that sympathy to the child and talking about things, or allowing them to talk about things, do you think that's been beneficial for your relationship with the child?** Oh definitely. I mean if, if they

Perceive CLA as the same as other pupils

Time consuming nature of supporting CLA

Meeting individual child needs

Heightened awareness of CLA

feel comfortable enough to be able to share things with me that's only good for any relationship that you have with anybody anyway. Erm and I think it makes them feel better because they're getting things off their chest. And the interactions I have with this particular child, erm, she offloads, give it ten minutes, she's back to being quite a jolly, happy child within the classroom environment and gets on with work. Erm, but you've got to give them that, you know, to listen to them and let them offload. Erm, most of the children don't need that because they're not going through the same sort of circumstances. But, you know, you're talking leeway to that degree. And I think it, it brings out better learning for them to be approachable and for them to be able to talk to you. To ease their troubles to a degree really. **Yeah definitely.**

Building a bond with pupils

Heightened awareness of CLA

Pastoral support for pupils

Q8: So again without naming names, erm could you describe an interaction with the Looked After Child that you found particularly rewarding?

I think, the first time that she opened up was possibly the most rewarding, because you know finally there's some sort of connection there, that she's able to confide in you. Erm, that breakthrough could be with any child really but more so I think with a child in care is when they start to open up for the first time, when they start to share their problems, you know then there's a little bit of a bond between you. Err, you're forging a relationship, erm and, and you're hoping from that initial break through that obviously the relationship's going to grow. Even if that child is not in my class, but for the rest of

Sense of accomplishment

Ensuring bond with CLA

the time that she's in this school, that she'll be able to come up to me, that I'm still approachable, even though I'm not the classroom teacher. So I think that initial telling me things that are worrying, erm just offloading some of the problems really. I think that's, that's probably the most rewarding bit, you know that you've got a connection. You know that you're getting through; you know that you're, that you're helping that child really. **And how do you think that impacts on your own feelings?** Erm, I suppose it sounds quite cold really, but my feelings don't really come into it *[laughs]*. I come in, I come to teach, I come to help the children. Err, everybody's got issues, problems at home from time to time. I'm quite fortunate that I can leave personal things at the front door as I come in, and I can leave professional things at the door as I walk out. So, to me feelings, yes I can come across as empathetic but I don't allow feelings to get in the way really. Because if you do, then you could get too wrapped up in that particular child and then you're not focussing as you should on the other children possibly. So it's quite a difficult question to ask that one *[laughs]*.

Sense of accomplishment

Maintain focus on emotional needs of child

Professional duty

Detachment

Surface acting

Balancing needs of CLA and other pupils

Q9: No that's fine, I mean would you say that you ever show strong emotions in that sense to the Looked After Child in your class or?

I don't know, I think you'd have to ask them really *[laughs]*. It is quite a difficult one, I don't know, I think I'm, the children may disagree with me but I think I'm quite stable in how I come across, feelings wise. And either show, yes I'll come in happy, erm a lot

Providing consistency

of the time that could be a front, but you never show you're unhappy. You never show, yes you might show that you're cross if somebody's done something wrong but you never show unhappiness towards the child. No matter how unhappy you are because that's the first thing that they'll pick up on and erm, you don't want that vibe to be transcending into the classroom. You want to make it as happy as you possibly can. So, no matter what goes on outside the front door, like I said you leave that at the front door and then. It's, it's a dual, it's more or less a split personality to a degree. You are a different person in work to what you are outside of work. I think that goes for most people in most jobs to be honest but when you're talking in the classroom with children at this age, you can't be showing any unhappiness. They, they need to come in and think that everything's fine, everything's happy. They need to be feeling safe in here, even if things are difficult at home, they need to come into school and be happy to be here. **Do you feel that applies in any way to the Looked After Child, not showing her that, that strong emotion, or?** Yes, I suppose you do because, especially the unhappiness part of it. You, you want to drag them into the happiness side of the school, you don't want them to be seeing me unhappy and then that obviously feeds her emotional, possibly being unhappy or thinking of things at home. You just make it as jolly as you can. Erm, if I'm going to show a strong emotion, it will be on the happy side. **The positive side, yeah.** You never go after the negative. I personally never go after the negative, unless it's a telling off or whatever. And then it's a telling off and it's

Surface acting

Need for a positive focus

Detachment

Surface acting

Surface acting

Need for a positive focus

Promotion of child well-being

Need for a positive focus

done and then you're back to the normal classroom environment really. **Yeah, so when, if there is that crossness showing, would you say that that's what you're genuinely feeling in those situations, or?** Yes, erm, a lot of the time. I say cross, you, you start off with the 'I'm disappointed' aspect, and I've got to say seven times out of ten that's enough. If that doesn't work, then you go to the cross aspect and then you make sure that the message reaches home. But like I say, from one of the previous questions, it's quite a family orientated school really, there's closeness here. So it's, behaviour school-wise is not an issue anyway. So it's not often that this cross teacher has to make an appearance if you know what I mean. Erm you've, you've got to keep a steady ship and you know, the rare occasions where you have to be disappointed or cross, then it's not for a prolonged amount of time. It's quick, sharp and over and done with and then back on task, back to the happy classroom environment really. **Yeah, and in that way with it being quick and sharp, is it to get an effect almost?** It, it is yes because they think 'oh wow ok' and then phew and back on task. But they've got the message, they've got the message. And it's erm, you know they don't learn as well if the teacher's cross with them, if the teacher carries something on for a prolonged amount of time. They learn best when they're happy. Erm, and you've got to get the telling off out of the way as quick as possible so they're back in the happy environment, to get their learning done. **Yeah, that makes sense definitely.**

Surface acting

Colleague support

Providing consistency

Surface acting

Promotion of child well-being

Q10: So, erm, to what extent would you say that you show the emotions you think are expected by your role, rather than what you actually feel when you're interacting with the Looked After Child?

Erm, it's a fine line that one really because, erm [pause], I don't feel I'm expected by the profession to show any sort of feelings in any degree. I feel I'm expected to fulfil a role. Erm, and you're never taught in college how to feel [laughs], you know. You, like I said, the more Looked After Children, the easier it is at the end of the day not to be emotionally attached to that child. Erm, so really the feelings that I show are to make the child more comfortable, happier. Might not be my genuine feelings all the time, but I'd say 90% of the time they would possibly, professional and the personal genuine feelings would be the same. Obviously if that child was upset, you'd obviously have to be a very hard person not to be affected by it at that point in time. Erm, but at the end of the day you've got to leave it at work really. **Yeah, so in that sort of 10% of the time when they're perhaps not genuine for you, what sort of things?** Err, you could have, you could have an inkling that possibly the Looked After Child knows that you're sympathetic and you give an ear, and you think, you get to know children pretty well by the time you're my age and you think, the first complaint or the first issue today isn't a genuine issue. You know, there could be something or so and so did this and you know there's not too much truth in the whole thing. So the feelings then, you obviously give the sympathetic view and say yes we'll deal with this and then that's the 10% where

Professional duty

Development over time

Promotion of child well-being

Emotional consonance

Detachment

Surface acting

you think the complaint isn't genuine so how I react with it possibly might not be genuine, but you deal with the situation. Erm, the other 90% you know it's a genuine complaint and they need to talk, so obviously my feelings then are genuine to try and help that child. Erm, I think that's, that's the difference really. **Yeah, that makes sense. So in the 10% of the times when you're perhaps modifying that a bit, why do you feel it's important to do that?** I think you've got to be consistent, erm, there's no point being one way with any child really, but particularly with children in care that rely on you to be listening to them. They need to know that you're calm, that you're on a level. Not that oh which reaction am I going to get this time, is he going to be the 90% nice reaction or will it be a 10% oh don't bother me kind of reaction. You've got to be 100% consistent all the time, or as close as you can to 100% of the time. So I think that's why you've got to be, that 10% where you feel that's it's not a genuine complaint or a genuine concern, you've still got to be relatively the same to how you would be the other 90% of the time really. **Yeah, yeah, and what effect do you think that, that consistency thing has on you then?** Erm, I think it's a role you play really. Erm, you know it's going to have an adverse effect if you react differently and you shouldn't be in teaching if you're going to take anything away from the child. You've got to do the best for them that you can. So that 10% that impacts on me, I don't really think about it, you think about the welfare and the concern of the child first. You may think this is a nonsense issue but you deal with it as it wasn't a nonsense issue because you don't

Emotional consonance

Promotion of child well-being

Providing consistency

Surface acting

Promotion of child well-being

want that child to suddenly be breaking the bond and thinking ‘oh I’m not going to be bothering telling him anything because he didn’t listen to me the last time I complained about something’. So if you take the view that ‘oh don’t bother me with nonsense, it’s not a problem’ will they come up to you when there is a genuine problem. So you’ve got to think of that as well. **Yeah, so you feel it has, that consistency thing has quite a positive effect on the relationship?** Definitely, once you’ve got that breakthrough with, well with any child really but especially with a child in care, you don’t want to break that bond. You don’t want them to be going back into their shell and not sharing things because you’ve dealt with it wrong, I suppose is the word I would use. Although it’s not a genuine complaint, you deal with it as it was because if you don’t, what damage could that do if the child doesn’t come up to you the next time there is a genuine complaint. So you’ve got to be the same 100% of the time. **Yeah, that makes sense.**

Promotion of open communication

Promotion of open communication

Providing consistency

Q11: So, do you feel there are times when you might change your emotions to fit the situation then, and try and feel something you don’t really feel, or?

There might be occasions where they might mention this and this has happened and you might say ‘oh I’ve been through the same thing myself when I was your age’ when I haven’t it just makes them feel better that ‘ooh I’m not the only one’. Though, yeah there are times where you’re not genuine and you’re telling white lies but it’s always

Promotion of child well-being

for the benefit of the child at the end of the day. You know it's, err there are times possibly where something's happened and possibly, I'm just making it off the top of my head now, 'my pet's dog was taken away from me', and I said 'well I've been through the same thing, 'I lost a pet dog, I know how you feel'. Well I've never had a pet dog in my life *[laughs]*. Erm so it's, it's those kind of things you could say aren't genuine feelings but you do it for the benefit of the child. You're not just doing it for no purpose; you're doing it for, for that child to be comfortable and happy and to connect with someone really. **Yeah, and do you feel there are times when you might, erm sort of, try and change what that feels like inside, so perhaps feeling, trying to feel calm when you don't really feel calm or trying to feel angry when you're amused or?** Yeah I mean you could have a bad day at home personally and it's not always possible, nine times out of ten it is you leave it at the door. Or something might be going on, stress professionally within the working environment and you know, I defy any teacher to say that they never get stressed in the job. Erm, and you get annoyed but you can't show that, you know you can't show that, that emotion. Because I might be annoyed about some request from county that's come in at the last minute and if I show that annoyance towards the child they'll think 'well what have I done wrong'. And again it goes back to breaking that bond really. So it's about keeping calm really when you're not feeling so much on the inside, you've got to come out like that, you've got to show that you're calm. Even sometimes something outside your control is playing on

Promotion of open communication
with child

Detachment

Surface acting

Promotion of open communication
Surface acting

your mind professionally really. **So you're talking about sort of showing that calmness, would you say that you then show it but perhaps feel annoyed?** Yes, I think I could be on the inside possibly about something's that not related to the child at all, erm, and they could come up to me and have a grievance or an issue that's not a genuine issue. Erm, so you take the two things, this is a nonsense complaint plus you've got some stress coming from other work quarters, it would be quite easy to tip into being a cross teacher or being an annoyed teacher, but you've got to suppress that and keep it level really.

Surface acting

Q12: Of course yeah, I think we've touched on this but do you feel there are times when you may have hidden your true feelings when interacting with the Looked After Child in your class?

Erm, if you're talking true feelings as in towards the child, erm, no because I'd be in the wrong job if I didn't like children to be honest. Erm, and each child they're unique, you want the best for them, so erm, no. Not in that respect, if you're talking about other issues playing on my mind professionally, erm that might not have something to do with the children, yeah I'd keep those feelings in check and they wouldn't be shared with the children really. Erm, but as genuine feelings towards the children go, no not really. **And genuine feelings, sort of, in an interaction so perhaps the child would tell you something, would you ever hide a feeling that may come as a result of**

Emotional consonance

Commitment to children

Suppression

that? Erm, depends what they disclose to me really, erm, if it was quite a severe situation then you would have to hide, err I don't know what the deep emotions; you know feeling for that child in that particular event. I don't think you could help that, but you'd have to, you'd still have to be that strong person for that child wouldn't you. You still, I mean what's been disclosed to me in the past is, erm quite awful really, but you've still got to keep those feelings in check. I think you get hardened to it in time as well, like I said as you get older and the more you come across, err children in care. But err, there are times when you think 'wow you know, how, how can they possibly cope with this type of thing at such a young age'. But you'd never come out and say that to them, you'd have to, and you talk and you let them talk and erm, you try and do the best that you can for them in the school environment. That's the best way I can put it really.

Yeah, and do you feel that has an effect on you, that hiding? Err no, no. You've just got to move on; you've got to move on. Erm, I know some colleagues in the past that have dwelt on it far too long and it's, it's not a nice place to be. you've got to, you've got to put it behind you because if you dwell on it you're not doing that child any favours either because it's, you've got to deal with them to, to a degree the same as everybody else, no matter what their issues are. Yes you're there for them to talk to, erm, but if they misbehave you've got to tell them off. You can't let the situation that the child is in to override everything else that goes on. Erm, you know it depends on the severity of the situation that they're in as well. Some situations in the past have stayed

Suppression

Surface acting

Suppression

Development over time

Surface acting

Detachment

Perceive CLA as the same as other pupils

with me far longer than situations that I'm dealing with now. Erm, whether that was because I was younger and it toiled with me a little bit more, I don't know. Or whether it was just the severity of the situation of the children. It's, it's a difficult call really. **Mmm yeah, but really part, you see it as part of the role? Yes. Yeah that's great.**

Development over time

Q13: So it's just the last question now really, it's what you feel the school offers to help you support Looked After Children in your class?

Here we've got an excellent, excellent back up system. Erm, everybody to a degree, or everybody that's erm directly concerned, would know about the situation. Erm, if I was off, for example on a course or off ill, and we had a supply teacher, then another member of staff that is aware of the situation of the Looked After Child would keep an eye. Erm, we've got the special needs teacher, fantastic, aware of everything. We've got the head teacher is erm, with regards to Looked After Children knows the ins and outs, knows the protocols, knows how we should be dealing with things. We do get feedback, updates. You couldn't complain here. **Yeah great, great. And you mentioned before how erm, you're quite a family in the school.** Yeah, I think that's, that's what it is, we haven't got, we're not a small school but we haven't got so much staff where you can't share every, everything with everybody. We're quite a nice size school. So if there are issues with Looked After Children, the people that need to know, know. There's nobody that could be forgotten about, to be told about any issue that's come up. So in

Sharing with/gaining information from colleagues

Colleague support

Clear support routes

Enjoyment of role

Sharing with/gaining information from colleagues

that respect, it's like you said, we're quite a, a close knit family orientated kind of school really. It's, it's nice. **Yeah and when you're discussing the interactions with the Looked After Child where she's talking to you and offloading on you, have you found it useful afterwards to discuss that with colleagues or?** Erm, you would always pass on the message to, in this case the head teacher. You keep, with every offloading from the child it's an update that goes into, into feedback to, to err my line manger. Because, if you don't pass on that message, how are the rest of the staff supposed to know. And if that child is upset about something then the rest of the staff need, need to know how to deal with that child appropriately. Erm, so with every offloading from the child, there is feedback that goes back to the rest of the staff as well. Erm, which is how it should be really. **Yeah of course, lots of open communication.**

Colleague support

Clear support routes

Sharing with/gaining information from colleagues

Erm, just the last point is if there's any aspect of teaching Looked After Children that you feel hasn't been discussed or if anything you'd like to add?

No, I think we've covered everything. **Yeah, that's great, thank you.**

Appendix C. Thematic Map

| Main theme | Subthemes | Number of transcripts | Number of themes | |
|---|---|---|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Positive relational and aspirational role constructions | Constructions of class teacher role | Pastoral support for pupils | 13 | 43 |
| | | Building a bond with pupils | 12 | 31 |
| | | Meeting both academic and pastoral needs | 11 | 20 |
| | | Mediating and managing behaviour | 10 | 35 |
| | | Meeting individual child needs | 10 | 20 |
| | | Fostering responsibility in pupils | 9 | 33 |
| | | Providing consistency | 7 | 16 |
| Constructions of CLA role | Constructions of CLA role | Perceive child as the same as other pupils | 12 | 76 |
| | | Heightened awareness | 12 | 54 |
| | | Ensuring bond with CLA | 12 | 53 |
| | | Increasing understanding of child situation | 7 | 17 |
| Time consuming role pressures | Time consuming nature of supporting CLA | Balancing the needs of CLA and other pupils | 11 | 35 |
| | | Meeting curriculum demands | 9 | 12 |
| | | Managing workload and paperwork | 5 | 7 |
| | | Time consuming nature of supporting CLA | 3 | 9 |
| Self-perceived role facilitators | Motivating role facilitators | Professional duty | 12 | 46 |
| | | Enjoyment of role | 11 | 19 |
| | | Commitment to pupils | 9 | 17 |
| Ambivalent feelings | Negative feelings | Mixed feelings | 3 | 5 |
| | | Sadness | 10 | 25 |
| | | Helplessness | 6 | 19 |
| | | Frustration | 5 | 14 |
| | | Shock | 4 | 4 |
| | | Anger | 3 | 6 |
| | | Anxiety | 3 | 6 |
| | | Emotional fatigue | 3 | 5 |
| | | Feelings related to own competency | 1 | 11 |
| | | Positive feelings | Positive feelings | Sense of accomplishment |
| Feelings related to a positive view of child | 9 | | | 24 |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|-------------------|----|
| Emotional Labour | Surface acting | | 14 | 92 |
| | Emotional consonance | | 14 | 46 |
| | Suppression | | 12 | 38 |
| | Deep acting | | 6 | 21 |
| | Failure to engage in emotional labour | | 4 | 10 |
| Facilitators of emotional response | Promotion of positive consequences for child | Promotion of child well-being | 10 | 26 |
| | | Need for a positive focus | 9 | 17 |
| | | Promotion of open communication | 7 | 23 |
| | | Maintain focus on emotional needs of child | 5 | 10 |
| | | Pupil awareness of teacher emotion | 5 | 7 |
| | Need to detach to protect self | | 10 | 33 |
| | Automatic response | | 7 | 15 |
| | Personal experiences | Influence of being a parent | 3 | 8 |
| | | Development of strategies over time | 2 | 8 |
| | Sources of support | Peer support | Colleague support | 14 |
| Clear support routes | | | 10 | 20 |
| Support from local authority officers | | | 6 | 11 |
| Information sharing | | Sharing with and gaining information from colleagues | 11 | 32 |
| | | Open communication with carers/ parents | 8 | 26 |
| | | Sharing with and gaining information from local authority professionals | 7 | 10 |
| Unhelpful support | | Difficult interactions with parents/ carers | 2 | 3 |
| Opportunity for post-event reflection | | | 7 | 12 |

Appendix D. Interview Transcripts

A disk containing interview data has been submitted
as part of the examination process.