

# 9 Teacher Emotions and the Emotional Labour of Second Language Teaching

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While it is true that in recent times applied linguistics researchers have begun to show an increased interest in the role that learners' emotions play in the second language acquisition (SLA) process (e.g. Imai, 2010; Mercer, 2006), research on second language (L2) teacher emotions still remains decidedly scant. This is surprising when we consider that both learning *and* teaching are inherently emotional endeavours, with classrooms playing host to a whole gamut of emotional experiences, which can impact upon the effectiveness of learning and the quality of teaching in both positive and negative ways. Taking the stance that emotional experiences are psychological, interactional and social processes (see Denzin, 1984), which emerge from a dynamic interplay between individuals and their immediate environment, this chapter first offers an integrated framework for conceptualising emotions in SLA based on an overview of major studies into teacher emotions. It then goes on to outline a recent study by the lead author (King, 2016), which illustrates how *emotional labour* (Hochschild, 1979, 1983) exemplifies the multidimensional and multilevel forces at play in the SLA teaching and learning process. The study explored how expatriate instructors teaching English within a Japanese university employed emotional labour, that is, managed their in-class emotional displays during interactions with students, in order to achieve educational goals and conform to tacit social norms associated with their professional roles. The forced performance of emotions can be inherently stressful when a dissonance exists between the individual's true feelings and his or her sanctioned emotional display. The chapter therefore considers the link between emotional labour and teacher stress, and concludes by offering some practical suggestions as to how teachers might best enhance their psychological

well-being through the use of emotion regulation techniques based on Gross' (2002, 2008) model of the emotion generative process.

### Conceptions of Teacher Emotion in Educational Research

Given the social and emotion-laden nature of teaching and learning (Nias, 1996; Schutz & Zembylas, 2009; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003), it was a tremendous surprise to us that research on emotion in education had remained dormant until two decades ago when Nias (1996) initiated a discussion on the emotional nature of teaching in a special edition of the *Cambridge Journal of Education*. With a long history of research in the cognitive and motivational aspects of teaching as the backdrop, educational researchers have only just begun to conceptualise how emotions could influence or enhance one's access to knowledge and skills repertoire. While taking shape fast, this subfield of education research, still in its infancy, has therefore been forced to draw from the literature of various related disciplines, such as social psychology, cultural psychology and organisational management. Based on the major approaches to emotion thus far in these fields, this chapter discusses a possible integration of their ideas in understanding teacher emotion in SLA, with a special focus on the sociocultural and social psychological conceptions of emotion (Schutz & DeCuir, 2002).

#### Emotion in social psychology

Emotions are a salient feature of the social world and are thus a core topic in social psychology. Geared towards understanding how emotion transacts with cognition, the primary theories of emotion in social psychology are cognitive orientated and are focused on the intra-organismic dimension, that is, the within-individual processing of emotion in relation to cognition, motivation and behaviour. Among them, the most influential are the appraisal theories of emotions (e.g. Lazarus, 1991), where emotion is viewed as the product of one's evaluation, conscious or subconscious, of the relevance and significance of a situation to one's well-being (for details, see Smith & Lazarus, 1993; for a quick review, see Parrott, 2001; for ongoing debate on the relationship between cognition and emotion, see Storbeck & Clore, 2007). In this view, emotions relate to an appraisal of a personally meaningful goal and to what extent it is achieved. While appraisal theories of emotion are focused on the cognitive relation between the person and environment, they are not so much concerned with the sociocultural or historical forces that are possibly at play in the appraisal or in other parts of emotional processing. Furthermore, the influences of other individuals present within interactions also tend not to be the focus of attention. These forces, referred to as the inter-organismic dimension in our proposed model, are at the heart of teacher education research thus far and of the study presented in this chapter.

## Emotion in education and teacher research

The reported study in this chapter is aligned to the key themes of the existing teacher emotion literature. Drawing mainly from social psychology, to date the bulk of teacher emotion studies have focused on two themes: investigating the types of emotions teachers have and the conditions under which they occur (e.g. Chen, 2016; Hagenauer & Volet, 2014; Hargreaves, 2005; van Veen *et al.*, 2005), with many of them conducted as an attempt to understand teachers' conceptual development (e.g. Galman, 2009), teacher burnout (e.g. Zhang & Zhu, 2008) and the impact of education reforms (e.g. Hargreaves, 2005). As will be seen in the proposed framework, teacher emotion in these areas is under pervasive, dynamic, multidirectional sociocultural influences at not only intra- and inter-individual levels, but also across individuals (both teachers and students), institutions and society.

Goals play a key role in directing teachers' emotion. Empirical investigations in teacher emotion research, although scattered, in general validate the applicability of appraisal theories in understanding the sources of teacher emotions, that teacher emotion is closely associated with teachers' perceived level of fulfilment of their goals. Among these goals, the three most frequently recurring appear to be moral, achievement and social goals. While these goals can be gauged easily, it is crucial to look beyond the surface to disentangle the elusive sociocultural forces that teachers and other stakeholders bring to the classroom and educational ecology.

In the SLA field, emotion is both an end and a means to investigating the sociocultural factors in which it is embedded. Although rooted in social psychology, teacher emotion research has developed its own conception of emotion over time, which is very much implicit in the methodological approaches. Unlike social psychologists who are interested in identifying the routes between emotion and cognition, teacher emotion researchers tend to conceptualise emotion as an 'index' (Pierce, 1998) which signifies the presence of cognitive dissonance in response to diverse educational and instructional issues, a precept which probably stems from the evolutionarily significant temporal immediacy of emotion (James, 1969). In other words, emotions serve as a methodologically innovative means to capture teachers' values and beliefs, ranging from their professional self-understanding (e.g. Darby, 2008) and identity development (e.g. Galman, 2009) to conceptual change (e.g. Kubanyiova, 2012) and instructional choices (e.g. Trigwell, 2012). While indexing may be a gateway to tapping into a teacher's cognition, we believe that more work is needed to build an empirically robust and comprehensive theoretical framework that allows for a structured understanding of the dynamic interplay of teacher emotion with other highly interrelated concepts, namely emotion, cognition, motivation and behaviour (intra-organism dimension), as well as the inter-individual and sociocultural factors at play

(inter-organismic dimension). Such a framework could be a point of departure where we examine how teacher emotion in other subjects may differ from that in SLA, which is different by nature from content subject learning in that it is highly culturally embedded, identity bound and communication orientated.

### Towards an integrated framework to researching teacher emotion

Within teacher emotion literature there are two prominent discourses about the relationship between feeling and thinking: (1) emotion as a product of the transaction between a person and the environment; and (2) emotion as an integral component of a three-part model consisting of emotion, cognition and behaviour, often with bi-directional, dynamic interaction among them. The former is exemplified in Hagenauer and Volet's (2014) investigation, which explored how the participating teachers' cognition of the environment impacted on their emotions. While useful in revealing teachers' cognition, such linear conceptualisation provides only an incomplete picture of the complex sources of emotions. We believe emotions are better captured in the latter three-part dynamic framework, in view of the increasing amount of evidence from cognitive psychology and social psychology which shows that emotion could reciprocally affect cognition in multiple ways (e.g. Storbeck & Clore, 2007). In fact, mood states 'may bias person perception by selectively influencing what people learn about others and by distorting the interpretations and associations they make' (Parrott, 2001: 205). Emotion research that examines the bi-directional flow between emotion and cognition, although slowly emerging (e.g. Golombek & Doran, 2014), could reveal how emotion might impact on teaching instruction and quality. It is also on this premise that we believe teachers' emotional labour deserves more attention than it has received to date.

Among the few proposed frameworks of teacher emotion thus far, we tend to agree with Schutz *et al.*'s (2006: 344) conception of emotion as 'socially constructed, personally enacted ways of being that emerge from conscious and/or unconscious judgements regarding perceived successes at attaining goals or maintaining standards or beliefs during transactions as part of social-historical contexts'. The most obvious merit of this model is that it underscores the complex interplay between emotions and social-historical contexts which, as we have already noted, are at the heart of people-centred professions such as teaching.

Teacher emotion research, in fact, has mostly been concerned with how affective states are shaped by social, cultural, political and historical forces (e.g. Chen, 2016; Hargreaves, 2005; King, 2014; King & Smith, 2017; Nias, 1996). Mounting evidence shows that those forces shape emotions at two different but inter-related transaction points at least. On the macro, community level, the relationships within an organisation or

society could affect teachers' emotional responses to teaching (Schutz *et al.*, 2006). On a micro, individual level, each teacher brings with them, from their own personal and educational backgrounds, their own goals and beliefs shaped over a sustained period by sociocultural, political and historical influences (Rosiek, 2003), which we believe interact with the prevailing macro-level mood. In sum, those global forces shape emotion by exerting influences on cognition (and perhaps emotion and motivation) and transacting at individual, institutional and societal levels. Therefore, in investigating how emotion affects teaching behaviours, it is important to examine not only transient phenomena such as classroom interactions or emotions per se, but also how they might have been moulded by teacher–student relationships (Schutz *et al.*, 2006) or emotional climate (Reyes *et al.*, 2012).

We believe Schutz's *et al.*'s (2006) notion serves well as a starting point for teacher emotion research in SLA, and it can be helpfully supplemented to capture further nuances. First, we need to take into account the reciprocity of teacher emotion, cognition and motivation, as argued above. Secondly, while we agree with Schutz *et al.*'s (2006: 345) idea that emotions are 'ways of being that include physiological, psychological and behavioural aspects', we contend that behaviour should be surfaced as the outcome and likely contributor of the interaction of cognition, emotion and motivation, for it is a distinctive, observable and measurable human characteristic. In short, current teacher emotion literature fits in with our view (Figure 9.1) that teachers' cognition, emotion, motivation and behaviour act on one another. We should note, however, that more studies have yet to be conducted to establish: (1) whether and how goals might be the unifying dimension of cognition, emotion and motivation (Schutz *et al.*, 2006); and (2) how behaviour may influence teacher cognition, emotion and motivation.

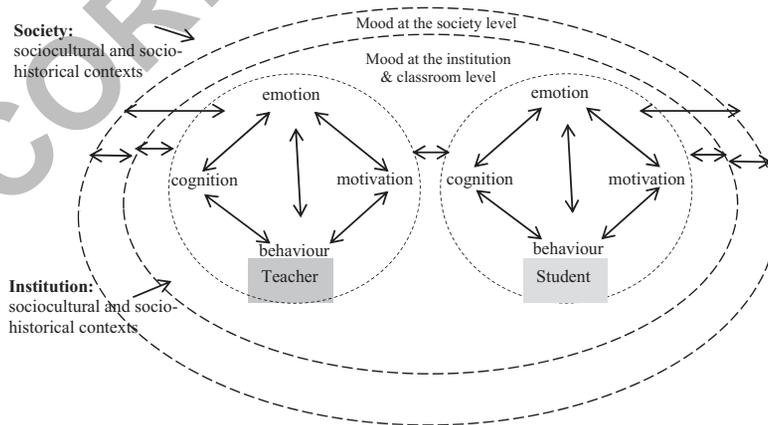


Figure 9.1 Multi-dynamic view proposed for researching teacher emotion

## The Interplay between the Intra-organismic and Inter-organismic Dimension of Emotion and its Implication on Teaching

In view of the close connection between the two central goals of teacher emotion research, which are to foster teachers' psychological well-being and to enhance teaching effectiveness (Day & Qing, 2009), we argue that it is crucial to have an integrated perspective encompassing interactions within and across intra-organismic and inter-organismic dimensions. The former dimension, as described in the previous section, concerns the origins of emotion, whereas the latter should offer insights into how emotion moves externally between individuals and across individuals and the broader institutional and sociocultural contexts. With regard to the inter-organismic dimension, we hypothesise a processing model in which teacher emotion is conceived as internal emotional processes being channelled into emotional understanding as it is perceived by the recipients (e.g. students). It concerns how emotions may move between human entities, which in this case are teachers, students, the institution and the culture and society at large.

### Inter-organismic dimension

The inter-organismic dimension of emotion in SLA deserves more attention than it has received, in part because teacher emotion has 'considerable implications for student learning, school climate and the overall quality of education' (Frenzel *et al.*, 2009: 129). While teachers might not themselves be highly aware of the potential impacts of their emotional expression on student learning (Brackett *et al.*, 2010), there is evidence that the classroom's emotional climate, which comprises teacher-dependent dimensions such as 'positive climate (degree of warmth and connection observed in the classroom)' and 'teacher sensitivity (teacher's awareness and responsiveness to students' academic and social needs)', is linked to better academic outcomes, probably mediated by student engagement (Reyes *et al.*, 2012: 704). Another reason why teacher emotion might influence students' academic success is offered by the attribution theory; for instance, it has been shown that a teacher's anger rather than sympathy could better prompt students to attribute success to effort, which in turn is conducive to their motivation (e.g. Graham, 1990).

The transmission of emotion in the inter-organismic dimension is conducted via behaviours, both verbal and non-verbal, often with the ultimate goal being inter-subjectivity, that is, an alignment of cognition and emotion across the individuals (Denzin, 1984). In teacher–student interaction, non-verbal communication is as essential as verbal communication not only because it aids verbal instructions but also because it exposes teachers' otherwise hidden feelings. While teachers might try to hide their real emotions, students appear to be capable of decrypting what teachers truly feel about them (Babad, 2009). In view of the potentially powerful

influence teacher emotion has on student learning, we believe this aspect of teacher psychology needs to be further investigated, particularly in relation to students' own contextualised emotions as they exist within the sociocultural matrix of the classroom.

Believing that emotional support is an integral part of effective teaching (Goldstein, 1999), teachers constantly strive to gauge students' emotional reactions to various instructional tasks and ideas (Rosiek, 2003). To do so, one has to have emotional understanding (Denzin, 1984). Further to detecting and empathising with students' emotions, experienced teachers frequently emotionally scaffold students, often in order to promote learning (Rosiek & Beghetto, 2009). This implicit emotional understanding, which is entangled with the cultural and historical backgrounds of the student, teacher and school, is where teachers may alter instructional details to reduce students' potential negative emotions, such as anger and intimidation (Rosiek, 2003), and possibly enhance their positive ones.

### Teacher Emotion in Second Language Acquisition

There is currently scant research on teacher emotion in SLA, and what is available is by no means consistent or systematic in its theory or methodology (for a brief review, see Cowie, 2011). One of the few attempts to provide a theoretical perspective on L2 teacher emotions is Golombek and Doran's (2014) work in which they propose a SCOBAs model (*a scheme of a complete orienting basis of the action*) which acknowledges and unifies bi-directional influences among language teacher emotion, cognition and activity. The most prominent feature of this model is that it considers how a teacher's personality, background and experiences transact with their teaching, and thus provides a more complete picture of the dynamic interactions inherent within teaching.

As Reyes *et al.* (2012) argues, research into classroom emotions need differentiation according to content areas because of the variable nature of learning across subjects. This holds particularly true with language learning. As well as teacher emotion factors that might be universal to all types of teaching, such as emotions associated with workload (Hagenauer & Volet, 2014), the unique role of language in one's identity (Labov, 1972) means that L2 teaching, compared to mainstream subject teaching, might by its pervasive and culture-laden nature engender a higher frequency and a greater range of emotions (intraorganismic dimension). In a similar vein, as L2 teaching requires more emotional understanding on the part of the teacher (interorganismic dimension) in assisting students' psychological adjustment, it necessarily demands even greater levels of emotion regulation. Indeed, an L2 teacher constantly needs to address student anxiety, which is driven not only by worries about competence but also about identity (Stroud & Wee, 2006), a construct that entails 'who you are', 'what you say' and 'how you say it' (Gee, 1996: viii). More than mere language

teaching, L2 teachers are likely to need to cater to students' identity, for example by encouraging them to identify with the target language culture to promote intrinsic motivation, and this inevitably involves an emotional dimension. It is therefore crucial that SLA research incorporates investigation into the emotional perspective.

### **A Case of Teacher Emotion in Second Language Acquisition: The Emotional Labour of Teaching**

The construct of emotional labour (also sometimes referred to as emotion labour, emotion work or emotion management) holds rich potential for illustrating how intra-organismic emotions interact with inter-organismic factors which, respectively, can be operationalised as teachers' classroom behaviours and staff–student interactions. The term *emotional labour* originated in the work of the sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1979, 1983), who used it to illustrate how employees, notably within the service sector, are required to manage and display particular emotions when interacting with customers in order to conform to tacit social norms associated with their role. Emotional labour may involve not only attempts to hide the outward display of particular emotions (a strategy known as 'surface acting'), but also the mental work involved in trying to summon up and actually feel emotions deemed 'appropriate' within an organisation or society (the strategy of 'deep acting'). The degree of emotion labour exerted depends on a multitude of factors that rest on the intra-organismic level, such as factors connected to the teacher's sociocultural background, and on the inter-organismic level, including teacher–student interactions and the broader institutional and social context. Emotional dissonance occurs when there is a mismatch between the emotions an employee is obliged to display and what he or she truly feels, and over time this dissonance and the mental effort required to control one's emotions can lead to self-estrangement, depersonalisation, stress and ultimately burnout (Acheson *et al.*, 2016; Hochschild, 1983; Näring *et al.*, 2006, 2011).

That said, Chang and Davis (2009) make the pertinent observation that teacher–student relationships are inherently different from those of service workers and their customers because the former tend to be more long term in orientation (e.g. over the course of an academic year) and are conducted in the very public crucible of the classroom. They therefore argue for a more adaptive view of emotional labour within the teaching profession, suggesting that we should not view the construct in a purely negative light. The management of teachers' emotional displays can, in some circumstances, help to maintain good interpersonal relationships with students, and may also act as a socialising model for younger learners, helping them to effectively regulate and display their own emotions (see Thompson, 1991). Hargreaves (2000) emphasises the potentially positive aspects of emotional labour when he points to its use by teachers

seeking to achieve their own agendas, arguing that they can find emotional labour rewarding and pleasurable when working conditions allow.

### **An Example of Research into the Emotional Labour of Second Language Teaching**

As emphasised earlier in the chapter, research investigating teacher emotions within L2 settings is still very much in its infancy. One of the first studies to explore emotional labour within such a context was conducted by the lead author (King, 2016), whose research sought to explore the perceptions and beliefs that a group of mid- to late-career expatriate English as a foreign language instructors working within a private university in Japan held about the emotional dimension of their work.

#### **Data collection and analysis**

This small-scale, exploratory study used a series of semi-structured interviews to uncover participants' experiences of actual classroom incidents which had had an emotional element to them and also sought details about how the teachers regulated their own emotions during interactions with students and how they responded to the stress-inducing emotional labour demands of their roles. Exploratory semi-structured interviews were chosen as the primary means of data collection because, when employed skilfully by researchers, this methodology provides participants with opportunities to talk freely and candidly about emotionally loaded topics (Cohen *et al.*, 2011).

A purposive sampling strategy (Patton, 2002) ensured that only experienced expatriate teachers who had been working in Japan for more than five years took part in the study. This approach was taken when selecting participants so that superficial accounts of sociocultural and institutional aspects of the study could be avoided. Five teachers (four males and one female), whose careers spanned between nine and 26 years, gave their consent to be interviewed and they spoke eloquently and at length about the emotional labour involved in teaching English to undergraduates enrolled within a large, private university specialising in foreign language education. Transcription of the interviews took place as soon as possible after each encounter had ended so that concurrent data collection and analysis could be undertaken, with data from one interview session feeding into and informing the next. Grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) guided the coding of data within transcripts, with initial low-inference codes being later complemented by higher order, emotional labour-relevant ones. A research journal (Altrichter & Holly, 2011) provided a further source of data and the ideas and post-interview reflections noted down within it contributed to what was an ongoing process of interpretation and analysis within the project.

## Findings

The study's findings emphasise the contextually mediated emotional demands that the profession of foreign language teaching entails. They centre around five key themes that emerged from the data: the emotional labour involved in caring for students; the suppression of negative emotions; bearing the motivational burden through emotional labour; the performance of emotions and emotional distancing; and the link between institutional change, working conditions and teachers' emotions. The findings indicate that while sociocultural factors do have influence, whether they have a positive or negative impact on teacher emotion appears to be, to an extent, a cognitive choice. Therefore, changing teachers' perceptions of contextual influences may be of equal importance to their psychological well-being as making changes to the context itself. We will now provide a brief outline of the findings associated with each of these themes in turn which operate at three key levels: the intra-individual level (teacher); the inter-individual level (teacher–students); and the individual–sociocultural level.

### *Sociocultural influences: teacher as a cultural mediator in caring for students*

The data show that the attributes teachers bring to the classroom shape the emotional climate in the classroom. In particular, a teacher, as an entity embodying certain culture-specific emotions, serves as a cultural and emotional mediator between society and students. A teacher's set of beliefs about caring for students plays a significant role not only in shaping professional identity, but also in guiding the pedagogical approach he or she adopts within the classroom (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; O'Connor, 2008). For some, caring about students forms a natural part of the job which can be highly rewarding and motivating. For others, dissonance between the care they are expected to display and their true feelings towards students may result in emotional labour as teachers attempt to suppress non-caring emotions and summon up caring ones. All of the teachers who took part in the study spoke to some extent about how important it was for them to build and maintain caring relationships with the students they taught, but Jonah, an American with 16 years' teaching experience who had been brought up in Japan, stood out in this regard. He considered himself to be a kind of 'surrogate, third parent' to his students and believed that supporting these young adults through their various non-academic problems was more of a priority in his teaching than actually developing their foreign language skills. Jonah's testimony reflects the notion that teachers' professional identities dynamically evolve in response to the socially situated aspects of their roles which come about through interaction with others (Flores & Day, 2006; O'Connor, 2008). With a great emphasis within Japanese education being placed on interdependency and

the transference nature of teacher–student relationships within that context (Hendry, 1986), Jonah’s somewhat ‘welfarist’ approach to teaching becomes much more understandable. Even so, the asymmetrical nature of care in staff–student relationships, coupled to an inability to engage in some form of emotional distancing, can in the long term leave teachers like Jonah vulnerable and prone to emotional exhaustion.

*Cognitive appraisals: negative emotions being a ‘choice’*

Data from the study revealed that the cognitive appraisals teacher participants made about the cultural and educational circumstances they were operating in posed a significant influence on their emotions. All of the teachers in the sample spoke about the efforts they made to manage their negative emotions during classes, particularly in relation to feelings of anger, frustration and irritation that occurred when they perceived students not to be cooperating during learning tasks. Data from the study revealed that participants were careful to manage their in-class, public emotional displays by suppressing and masking negative emotions so that their true feelings were not apparent to students. This emotional labour was performed in large part because of a desire to create and maintain a positive learning atmosphere. A recurring theme within the interviews was how some students’ silent unresponsiveness during lessons had the potential to trigger negative emotional responses among teachers. For example, Rufus, a highly experienced EFL instructor from the United States who had been teaching in Japan for nine years, recounted in a highly animated fashion the annoyance he felt when individual students just stared at him in ‘doe-eyed’ silence after he had tried to interact with them while monitoring small-group activities. The silences of language learners within Japanese universities are shaped by any number of complex, interrelated learner-internal and contextual factors (King, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2015). Rufus’ irritation stemmed from his interpretation of student silence as being a volitional act (rather than purely being down to deficiencies in L2 proficiency), which signified the rejection of him as an interlocutor. Other teachers in the study explained how their improved knowledge of Japanese sociocultural issues and a willingness to extend teacher wait time (see Smith & King, 2017) after posing in-class solicits meant they felt better able to cope both pedagogically and emotionally with their students’ silences compared to when they first began teaching at the research site. Silence in itself can be a useful tool for emotion management (Saunders, 1985) and it allows one space to engage in cognitive reappraisal of the events which may have triggered an emotional response in the first place.

*Emotional distancing through emotional labour*

In our proposed framework it is hypothesised that the emotional interactions between the teacher and students are bi-directional and guided by

principles of intersubjectivity. While such interactions can have either a positive or a negative influence on teacher emotion, in this study we identified only negative impacts. Related to this was an awareness of the participants to prevent emotional exhaustion by ensuring a comfortable psychological distance from students. This distance was maintained partly through emotional labour.

Marcus, an American with a background in the theatre who had been teaching English in Japan for ten years, provided an insightful account of how he prepared for classes in a similar fashion to how he had prepared to go on stage during his former career. It is notable that he framed the 90 minutes of each class as representing a performance and shared how his efforts to appear cheerful, enthusiastic and positive in front of students was somewhat at odds with what he deemed to be his more downbeat, true personality. Marcus' testimony reflects Hochschild's (1983) notion of surface acting which entails manipulating one's outward appearance (through facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, and so on) to display the surface effects of an emotion but with no attempt made to actually feel the emotion. This behaviour, if engaged in over a prolonged period of time, can eventually lead to mental strain and emotional exhaustion (Näring *et al.*, 2006, 2011; Philipp & Schüpbach, 2010). To protect themselves from such negative psychological consequences of emotional dissonance, a number of the study's teachers revealed that they made efforts to foster a sense of depersonalisation and detachment from their work. For example, Rufus linked his use of this coping strategy to having a situated, transportable identity that he could turn on when he entered the classroom and off when he left. Nora too spoke about maintaining a psychological disconnection from what occurred in her classes. This Australian instructor, who had been teaching at the research site for five years at the time of interview, described her reluctance to engage in truthful self-disclosure during interactions with students. By not allowing them to enter her inner life, Nora was able to create emotional distance from the students and she believed this made her more resilient to the day-to-day stresses of teaching at the university.

*The hidden sociocultural rules: teachers bearing the motivational burden*

An interesting theme to emerge in the data was that four of the five participants considered their motivational roles to be different from those of Japanese colleagues at the university, believing their efforts in class to appear bright, cheerful and enthusiastic led some students to view them more as 'entertainers' than as serious language teaching professionals. Although the study did not attempt to discover whether such assertions were true or not, the fact that teachers believed them to be true points towards the existence of tacit, psycho-cultural 'feeling rules' within the university which encouraged non-Japanese teaching staff to engage in sustained regulation of in-class positive emotional displays with the aim of fostering intrinsic motivation within learners.

Participants related how they believed it was primarily the teacher's responsibility to instil intrinsic motivation into learners and that this could be done by manufacturing and exaggerating public displays of positive emotions during interactions with students. Of course the day-to-day reality of teaching is that not all instructors are able to feel an innate, boundless interest in their subject or an infectious enthusiasm for the lesson they are conducting. As a result, when positive emotions are absent, they either have to be summoned up or performed. Interviewees related how they felt obliged to appear bright and cheerful during lessons in order to encourage students and keep them engaged in learning tasks. They also spoke about the emotional energy they expended on efforts to regulate these positive emotional displays in class (cf. Acheson *et al.*, 2016).

#### *The impact of institutional change on teacher emotions*

At the time of the interviews, the university which formed the research site was undergoing a period of significant reform brought about by a change in the institution's senior management. These reforms brought with them changes to the teachers' working conditions as curricula, course structures and the administrative duties of teaching staff across the university were altered with little or no prior consultation from the management. Coupled with teachers' concerns about job security and the university's failure to enrol them in the *shakaihoken* (social security) system, an atmosphere of mistrust, malcontent and vulnerability pervaded the institution. Marcus described how at faculty meetings which lacked any debate and were used merely to inform staff of new policies that were to be unquestioningly implemented, he had to hide the shock, anger, disgust and boredom that he felt. He believed the changes being implemented were primarily for financial reasons, that only lip service was paid to educational considerations, and that the views of the university's experienced foreign language teaching staff were completely ignored. Teacher emotions are dynamically shaped by interaction between an individual's sense of professional identity and the situational demands of the institutional/social environment. Reforms to working conditions and teaching practices play a central role in such a process (van Veen & Slegers, 2009), and this illustrates well the interplay between the intra- and inter-organismic dimensions of teacher emotion.

#### **Conclusion and Suggestions for Emotion Regulation Techniques**

The findings in the study outlined above reveal how a sample of mid- to late-career expatriate English language teachers working at a private Japanese university engaged in emotional labour and managed their public displays of emotion in order to accomplish educational goals and conform to their institution's socially derived, tacit rules of 'appropriate' teacher emotions. Although space constraints do not allow us to discuss

the various coping measures available to those who teach for effectively dealing with the negative psychological consequences of emotional labour in the form of work-related stress (see Kyriacou, 2000), we would like to conclude by drawing attention to three preventative strategy areas that teachers can draw from in order to successfully downregulate negative in-class emotions. From changing jobs to keeping a stiff upper lip, Gross (2008) makes the point that there is an overwhelming number of processes that can be used to regulate emotion. However, we suggest his process model of emotion regulation (Gross, 2002, 2008) is a good starting point from which educators can begin to consider what strategies may be most suitable for both themselves and their own teaching situation. Rather than response-focused strategies, which suppress emotions after they have occurred, we recommend teachers employ antecedent-focused regulation strategies in the form of (1) *modifying situations*, (2) *deploying attention* and (3) *cognitive change*.

Regarding *modifying situations*, learning tasks may be tailored to preclude student behaviours which are likely to trigger a negative emotional response in the teacher. The key here is to anticipate such behaviours before they occur and modify one's lesson plan accordingly. *Deploying attention* could simply just involve ignoring students' trigger behaviours (if they are minor enough) and focusing on positive behaviours instead. And finally, *cognitive change* might involve the reappraisal of a situation through the use of self-talk so that its emotional significance is altered, for example, thinking about a learner's silence in terms of the inhibiting social anxiety he or she may be feeling rather than seeing the failure to respond as a personal slight. Although the emotion regulation strategy examples described here are necessarily brief and far from a full taxonomy, the three types of antecedent-focused approaches outlined do represent a good starting point from which we can begin to develop practical, research-based ideas about how to tackle the negative psychological consequences of emotional labour in language teaching and thus promote the emotional well-being of second language teachers everywhere.

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