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Expressing Emotions in Teaching: Inducement, Suppression, and Disclosure as Caring Profession

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Is teaching emotional labor? Are teachers selling their own emotions in exchange for money? To examine these questions, this paper examines teachers' emotion expression in teaching. Most previous studies have assessed teachers' emotional experience using interviews, and have reported that because teachers manage their own emotions, teaching is emotional labor. However, these studies have not examined teachers' emotion expression mediated by their interaction with students. This paper uses multiple methods, combining observations of and interviews with three secondary school teachers, and introduces the concept of emotion management and self-disclosure.

Teachers induced enjoyment and spontaneously expressed it to help students concentrate on learning. Whereas, when students showed teachers their interest in learning, participated positively in the class and increased their understanding toward learning content, teachers expressed positive emotions such as joy and wonder. The teachers' negative emotions were drawn out by students' speech and behaviors that showed passivity and an impolite attitude. Teachers tended to express negative emotions to control students and help them concentrate on learning. However, before teachers expressed strong negative emotions such as anger, they tried to express irritation in a controlled way, and suppressed their anger as much as possible. Teachers indicated that frank expressions of emotions formed caring relationships with students based on reciprocal emotional understanding. Results indicated that teachers consciously and unconsciously expressed negative emotions based on their caring professional identity and personal beliefs and values. Therefore, teachers appear to disclose their genuine emotions according to the context or situation.

Overall, teachers did not manage their emotions or alter their values based on the school's request; they induced, suppressed, and disclosed their own emotions based on their professional autonomy and personal beliefs. Teachers' emotional practice can thus be considered an autonomous, discretionary, and professional activity of caring rather than emotional labor.

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1. Introduction

Following the classic research studies in this area (Lortie, 1975; Waller, 1932), many studies have examined the emotions that emerge in the course of teaching (e.g., Hargreaves, 1994; Nias, 1989, 1996). Several studies have interviewed teachers about their emotional experiences, and have reported that teaching represents "emotional labor" (Hochschild, 1983) insofar as it requires teachers to manage their emotions while working (e.g., Hargreaves, 1998, 2000; Intrator, 2006; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Winograd, 2003; Zembylas, 2005).

For example, Isenbarger & Zembylas (2006) conducted collaborative action research over two years; they concluded that the caring and teaching professional culture and goals that accompany teaching are transformed into emotional labor. Intrator (2006) interviewed student teachers and described how learning to play their roles in the "emotional drama" of the classroom entailed emotional labor. Winograd (2003) analyzed a diary that he recorded as an elementary school teacher over one year, and identified five rules that governed his emotion management as a teacher. (1) Teachers have affection and even love for their students. (2) Teachers have enthusiasm or even passion for their subject matter, and teachers show enthusiasm to students. (3) Teachers avoid overt displays of extreme emotions, especially anger and other dark emotions. They stay calm and tend to avoid displays of joy or sadness. (4) Teachers love their work. (5) Teachers have a sense of humor and laugh at their own mistakes as well as the peccadilloes of students." This author argued that these rules are conducted by demand based on school culture and the work of teachers represents emotional labor.

Although these studies clarified the emotional character of teaching, two issues must be resolved before teaching can be defined as emotional labor. The first concerns methodology. The use of interviews does not provide access to the emotional expression that teachers demonstrate to their students during actual teaching. Indeed, reports of emotional experiences in interviews with researchers qualitatively differ from *in vivo* expressions of emotion. The practical circumstances of the classroom may mitigate efforts to control emotions, thus privileging actual classroom observations as the methodology to obtain data about the expression of such emotions.

The second issue is conceptual. According to Hochschild (1983), "emotional labor" is defined by the following three phenomena: (1) there is public and confrontational contact between laborer with others, (2) a laborer arouses in others a particular emotional state, (3) there is external control of system or company toward laborer's "emotion work"[1]. It is apparent that the first and second phenomena are present in teaching. Teachers have contact with many students in school and classroom as public spaces, and rouse students' enjoyment, joy and wonder toward lessons, subject matter, and school life in order to facilitate their learning or growth. Thus, is the third phenomenon apparent in teaching? The aforementioned studies regarded teaching as emotional labor replacing "external control of system or company" with cultural norms or social expectations. However, even if teachers' emotion work was prescribed by cultural norms or social expectations, it cannot be confirmed that teachers manage their emotions based on school requirements. Moreover, is there definite program or manual of emotional control in teaching as flight attendants experience in company training (Hochschild, 1983)? Labor can be defined as "emotional labor" only if emotional control represents a condition of employment for an institution or company, signifying that it "is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value" (Hochschild, 1983, p.8). In this context, teaching cannot be identified as emotional labor without determining whether teachers autonomously manage their emotions, or if such emotion management represents official school policy.

Several studies have maintained that teachers manage their emotions in the service of establishing caring relationships with students (Hargreaves, 2000; Nias, 1989, 1999; O'Connor, 2008; Oplatka, 2008). Oplatka (2008) interviewed 50 secondary teachers in Israel in order to examine the aspect of teachers' emotion management. He showed that "teachers' emotion management is discretionary and voluntary rather than regulated and institutionalized" (p.1394) because they have a culture of caring yet "are not obliged to love their pupil" (p.1386). O'Connor (2008) interviewed three elementary school teachers, and claimed that they performed emotion management in order to encourage and motivate students. Moreover, she noted that "many of the emotions teachers show throughout their work lie somewhere on a continuum between professional behavior and 'genuine feeling'" (O'Connor, 2008, p. 122), and their emotion management differed from emotional labor.

Teachers probably disclose genuine emotions to students in fulfillment of their professional responsibilities of care. In relation to emotion expression, Clark & Taraban have argued that individuals who "feel a special obligation to be concerned about the welfare of others" (Clark & Taraban, 1991, p.325), and who want "communal relationships" express emotions more than those who do not share such feelings, and those who "give benefits with the expectation of receiving comparable benefits in return or in payment for benefits previously received" (p.325). Thus, the latter seek "exchange relationships." Teachers classified into the former group express emotions to students in their role as "the one caring," attending to the welfare of students and striving to establish the sorts of caring relationships with them that form the basis of teaching. By establishing a relationship between "the one-caring" and "the cared-for" (Noddings, 1984), teachers, as the former, also are trying to establish a trusting relationship with students (Nias, 1989). This interpersonal relationship is influenced by emotion expression, which serves as shared information about the internal state and personality of each participant (Keltner & Haidt, 1999).

Moreover, most Japanese teachers may also express or disclose their emotion in teaching, because Japanese teachers, in particular, tend to infuse their personal selves into their professional selves, and their work has been characterized as "boundary-less". This tendency derives from the cultural understanding of self in Japan. As Markus & Kitayama (1991) have argued, Japanese society adopts a cultural view of an "interdependent self" that defines the self in terms of social relationships; Western perspectives tend toward an "independent self," divided into private and official dimensions. Thus, Japanese cultural norms support the practice of teachers infusing their work with their private "selves." Therefore, teachers manage and express their emotions according to personal standards and a caring culture of discretion. In addition, they engage in complex emotion management that is based on caring professional norms and judgments.

From these perspectives, teachers not only shape and suppress their own emotions in the service of teaching but also disclose their emotions for the purpose of constructing authentic caring relationships with students. Therefore, this study attempts to clarify the practical functions served by teachers' management of overt expressions of emotion in the classroom using Hochschild's (1983) perspectives on emotion management and emotional labor, and used the concept of "self-disclosure" (Jourard, 1971) in the analytic framework for this study.

2. Methodology

This reserch combined observations of, and semi-structured interviews with, three secondary school teachers in Japan to analyze interpretively their emotion expression during classroom

discourse. First, the teachers were observed, and the emotions that they expressed to students were identified from their statements and facial expressions. Second, teachers were interviewed to capture their intention of emotion expression in teaching.

Participants: Experienced secondary school teachers working in different public schools in Tokyo were selected for participation in this study because the developmental stages of their students involved issues of identity formation. That is, during puberty, the existence of the self is established by perceiving others; students at this developmental stage regard the teacher not only in terms of an authority relationship, but also in terms of their common status as human beings (Matsudaira, 1994). Therefore, disclosure of the self by secondary school teachers plays a more important role in establishing caring relationships than is the case in elementary school. Experienced teachers were included due to their presumed greater experience with the management and expression of emotions (Noddings, 1996; Zembylas, 2005).

Kazu had been teaching social studies for 36 years. His school is located in a residential area and had many applicants because it was a pilot school in the district. His role in this school was head teacher of seventh-grade. The class included in this study consisted of 16 boys and 20 girls, most of whom appeared to be quieter than students in the other two classrooms examined. One student who had immigrated from China was assigned to this class, probably due to *Kazu*'s status as an expert teacher and head teacher of seventh-grade.

Yoko had been teaching English for 21 years. Her school is located in a commercial area and her role in this school was head teacher of seventh-grade. Her class consisted of 8 boys and 13 girls. *Kei* had been teaching English for 13 years. Her school is located in a residential area. Her class was comprised of 15 boys and 13 girls. *Yoko and Kei* experienced annoyance in response to disruptive boys, and frequently interrupted the class to warn them about these behaviors because most of their students had "problems that were particular to the district in the city" such as "parents' divorce" or "economical crunch". As a result, *Yoko and Kei* expressed more anger and irritation in class than *Kazu* did during observation. Thus, the participants' schools were located in different areas and their students were also different. However, the small number of participants and their lived experience as teaching professionals enabled this interpretive study to sustain an in-depth focus on their practical emotion expression and interactions with students. Their class was observed seven times (total of 21 times). All students were in the seventh-grade, and all names used in this report are pseudonyms.

Observation: Participation in and observation of the class occurred once or twice weekly over a period of three months. Participant observation requires the researcher to participate in everyday situations in the naturalistic setting under examination. Therefore, I formed a rapport with the teachers before entering their classrooms, such as participating in informal conferences on teaching. While observing, I stood at the back or side of the classroom, recorded teachers' and students' dialogues by IC recorder, and described mainly teachers' facial expressions by using field-notes.

Data analysis: The emotion expressions demonstrated by the teachers were initially identified on the basis of the effect that appeared to underlie such expressions, as evidenced by such factors as tone of voice, laughter, and facial expression (Ekman & Friesen, 1987). Although changes in facial expression are particularly important reflections of emotion expression (e.g., Darwin, 1872), during the interviews, teachers also provided their own evaluations of these observations, since facial expressions do not always accurately reflect emotional states (e.g., Fridlund, 1994).

These data were coded into seven categories, according to the emotions they reflected: joy,

wonder, enjoyment, anger, irritation, embarrassment, and sadness[2]. This data coding was then rated by other educational researchers. The agreement rate was 94.4%. Next, in order to examine how teachers express their emotion in any classroom conditions, the seven emotions were classified as positive (joy, wonder, and enjoyment) or negative (anger, irritate, embarrassment, and sadness) of valence, because "the valence of an emotion refers to its symbolic classification as a desirable or good state compared with an undesirable or bad one" (Kagan, 2007, p.95). This was done for each individual teacher and shows conditions of emotion emergence based on the individual cognitive appraisal (Lazarus, 1991). I thought that it enable me as a researcher to identify mutual conditions in which teachers express their emotions [3]. However, this study examined the seven emotions that are expressed by teachers in detail based on the cases sampled by data coding, because the classification of valence (positive or negative) is likely to exclude the feature of various emotions.

I identified three types of classroom conditions in which positive emotions emerged: teachers spontaneously expressing positive emotions, students showing interest in learning, and students making mistakes. Two conditions were associated with the expression of negative emotions by teachers: students acting passive toward the class and students adopting an impolite attitude toward the teacher. The cases were rated by other educational researchers and agreement rate was 92.8%. Classroom discourse in each of these cases was inductively examined based on the concepts of emotion management and self-disclosure. For enhancing validity and reliability of the interpretation of cases (namely inter-subjectivity), I described the following three information: (1) preceded condition in which teachers expressed their emotions in, (2) teacher-student conversations, (3) intention that included their expression of emotions gained by interview.

Interview: After observation, I interviewed each teacher for one and a half hours. During the first half of the interview, the teachers responded to the data recorded in the field-notes with their own recollections of their expressions of emotion. Data were rated and corrected on the basis of this information. For example, an expression originally coded as "anger" was changed to "displeasure" to match the description provided by the teacher. During the second half, semi-structured interviews were conducted to encourage elaboration by teachers on their perceptions and intention of emotions expressed to students. First, I asked teachers, "How do you think you expressed emotions (became emotional) during the class?" Subsequent questions were developed according to responses to previous ones. Data obtained through observations were defined on the basis of these responses.

Based on these analyses and the aforementioned conceptual framework, this paper examined how teachers expressed their emotions to students, and how teachers and students perceived such expressions of emotion. Data regarding positive emotions will be addressed first.

3. Expression of positive emotions

The field-notes showed that teachers expressed positive emotions, such as joy, enjoyment, and wonder, to students. The contexts in which teachers expressed positive emotions were analyzed, and three conditions were identified. The first condition involved the spontaneous expression of positive emotions by teachers. The second and third conditions involved teachers responding with positive emotions to behaviors by students that showed interest in learning such as jokes and mistakes that possibly advanced the class. Table 1 shows the frequency with which teachers expressed these positive emotions. Although these data did not show statistically significant differ-

Table 1 The frequency with which teachers expressed positive emotions in three conditions

	emotion	conditions: Spontaneous Expression	conditions: Students' Interest in Learning	conditions: Students' joke and mistake	frequency
Kazu	joy	3	10	4	17
	wonder	0	5	2	7
	enjoyment	20	2	30	52
	total	23	17	36	76
Yoko	joy	2	12	1	15
	wonder	0	2	1	3
	enjoyment	24	1	21	46
	total	26**	15	23	64
Kei	joy	2	15	3	20
	wonder	0	2	1	3
	enjoyment	9	3	15	27
	total	11**	20*	19	50

condition total: *p < .05 **p < .10 $\chi^2(4) = 8.383$
emotion expression frequency: $\chi^2(4) = 6.576$, ns

ences among teachers, they indicated that *Kazu* expressed positive emotions more frequently than did the two other teachers. This difference might have derived from interactions among the social or situational factors in schools or students, or from the personal characteristics of teachers, such as their teaching experiences or beliefs.

In the first condition, teachers seemed to engage in emotional labor, apparently without provocation. One might ask: Why do teachers spontaneously express positive emotions? Are these emotions faked? And, how do they function? These issues will be examined in what follows.

3.1. Inducement and spontaneous expression of enjoyment

Teachers spontaneously expressed positive emotions, especially enjoyment, to students. For example, they joked and smiled, laughed loudly, or smiled in response to amusing behavior by students, such as strange answers. In this way, many students laughed, became interested in the subject matter, and began to participate in the class. A typical example of this dynamic is illustrated by the following description of what transpired after students listened to 10 English words pronounced by *Yoko*, and then joined her in correctly pronouncing the words (Table 2).

In this example, *Yoko* used humor and expressed enjoyment to students (1–3, 1–20), thereby shaping the atmosphere in the classroom into one in which students felt relaxed and participated in the class. Indeed, humor has been shown to increase relaxation in the classroom (Martin & Baksh, 1995). In addition, she reacted to *Eita*'s strange answer by smiling, as if she enjoyed teaching (1–7). In the interview, she talked about her expression of positive emotions:

> I think if students and I feel enjoy together in the class, they would come to study. Student will want to study more, if he/she thinks "this subject is very interesting for us!" or "what's the subject in the next class?" Wouldn't you think so?

Yoko intentionally or strategically expressed enjoyment to establish an environment in which students could positively participate in the class and commit to learning. In addition, she actually enjoyed teaching. Moreover, when students did not concentrate, or started private chats (these student behaviors tended to evoke negative emotions among teachers), the three teachers did

Table 2 【CASE 1】Yoko: Class1 (April 26) “Listning English words”

turn	Talker	protocol
1 - 1	Yoko	: {Big Voice} Number one. Here you are!
1 - 2	Students	: {Big voice} Spaghetti!
1 - 3	Yoko	: {Smile sweetly} The person who answered ‘Pasta’ is not right, the person who answered ‘Meat sauce’ went too far.《enjoyment》
1 - 4	Students	: {Laugh loudly}
1 - 5	Yoko	: Next, number two, is there a person here who has confidence?
1 - 6	Eita	: Kanjiki!*
1 - 7	Yoko	: {Smile and Big voice} What an old word!《enjoyment》
1 - 8	Satsuki	: Sweater!
1 - 9	Midori	: Sweater?
1 - 10	Yoko	: {Smile sweetly} So, it’s hard for us to get the pronunciation of “sweater”.《enjoyment》
1 - 11	Midori	: {Smile and nod}
1 - 12	Yoko	: {Smile} So, number three. Do you know that? Is there a person knows that? Do you know now? That’s M! OK, here you are!《enjoyment》
1 - 13	Students	: {Big voice} MacDonald!!
1 - 14	Some Students	: {Wonder} Really!?
1 - 15	Students	: {Laugh}
1 - 16	Yoko	: {Smile} Yes, it’s MacDonald.《enjoyment》
1 - 17	Some Students	: {Smile and big voice} Really!?
1 - 18	Yoko	: Next, {Smile} if you understand it, you are expert. Number four is hocky.《enjoyment》
1 - 19	Students	: Wao!
1 - 20	Yoko	: {Smile} I’m sorry, do you write Hokke?**《enjoyment》
1 - 21	Students	: {Laugh loudly}

Note. *Old Japanese word, meaning “snowshoes“ in English. **Japanese word, meaning “Atka mackerel (a kind of scorpionfish)” in English.
Facial expression, voice tone and action include { },“...” shows interval between utterance, underlined teachers’ expression of emotion, and《 》shows coding emotions.

not get angry, but instead they laughed and joked to encourage class participation. This approach to emotion management seemed to be effective in regard to their students. *Kazu* talked about such conditions in the interview:

> Showing pleasure or joy to students is part of the job for me; otherwise, it’s not worthwhile for them to come to school. You know, teachers get the maximum pleasure or joy from the growth of children. It makes me very happy.

These excerpts clarified that teachers intentionally emphasized, induced, and/or expressed positive emotions to motivate students to learn. Although an element of emotional labor was suggested by *Kazu*’s remarks, he also said, “maximum pleasure or joy from the growth of children.” These words also showed how teachers manage positive emotions. Although teachers might have induced enjoyment on some occasions in order to motivate students, such induced positive emotions were replaced with more responsive positive emotions when the former achieved its purpose. That is, teachers did not express positive emotions in exchange for monetary rewards, but, rather, for the sake of “psychic rewards” (Lortie, 1975), such as pleasure or joy. The induced positive emotions expressed by teachers were transformed into genuine emotions through the interactions with students, and were not the products of pretense.

3.2. Disclosure of joy and wonder evoked by students' behaviors

Teachers do not only intentionally or strategically express positive emotions to students. The behaviors of students generated in the context of a dynamic classroom also evoke emotions in teachers. This study identified two types of student behavior that evoked the expression of positive emotions by teachers: evidence of interest, jokes and mistakes that advanced the class. When students, especially those who had annoyed the teacher by complaining or chatting during the class, demonstrated interest in learning and participated in the class in a positive manner, teachers expressed positive emotions, such as joy and wonder. This phenomenon is similar to the "spectacular case" (Lortie, 1975) that brings the teachers psychic reward. The case that follows, in which *Kei* asked the students the pronunciation of the alphabet from "T" to "V", and four boys (*Satoshi, Akira, Takayuki, and Itsuki*), students with a history of annoying *Kei*, responded, represents a typical example of this phenomenon (Table 3).

In this case, students who seldom participated in the class suddenly and spontaneously responded toward *Kei*'s questions (2–2, 2–8, 2–10). Kei said, "That's close!", "Exactly!" and "Very good!" and evaluated it affirmatively for these remarks while smiling (2–3, 2–9, 2–11). Moreover, when she is puzzled by the explanation of the pronunciation of "V" (2–16), *Itsuki* added the explanation to her word (2–17). *Kei* wondered this remark, said "you are amazing!"(2–18), and showed him joy (2–19). She talked about these four boys' participation in this case during the interview:

> It was very glad because they usually only make disturbance for the class. And, my joy might have been transmitted to them.

It was clear that the joy and wonder expressed by *Kei* are her genuine emotions. Moreover, she emphatically expressed such emotions to encourage boys' participation in class and their motivation for learning. Lortie (1975) has suggested that "evidence of student interest" in learning

Table 3 【CASE 2】Kei: Class 3 (May 17) "Student who makes teacher embarrassed participate in the class"

turn	Talker	protocol
After practicing the pronunciation of "S", Kei asked students the pronunciation of "T".		
2 - 1	Kei	: OK, {She points at the magnet written "T"} what is this?
2 - 2	Satoshi	: {Big voice} Tsu!
2 - 3	Kei	: {Smile gradly and big voice} Wao! That's close! 《wonder》
2 - 4	Masami	: Tu.
2 - 5	Kei	: {Smile and nod} Yes. Please pronounce like this. {To students} Tu! 《joy》
2 - 6	Students	: Tu!
2 - 7	Kei	: OK, next. {She points at the magnet written "U"} This, this is actually, there are two pronouncations.
2 - 8	Akira	: {Big voice} U!
2 - 9	Kei	: {Smile and big voice} Exactly! What is another? 《joy》
2 - 10	Takayuki	: {Big voice} A!
2 - 11	Kei	: {Smile and big voice} Yes! Very good, Takayuki! 《joy》
2 - 12	Kei	: This is not read easily. This is actually read "A". {She points at the magnet written "V"} What is this sound? Please expect it.
2 - 13	Students	: {They consult mutually}
2 - 14	Kei	: OK? Let's confirm it. What is this sound?
2 - 15	Students	: {Big voice} Bu!
2 - 16	Kei	: It's so. But, this pronunciation doesn't become impure too much. Near "F". Please point the mouth...it's not impure. What do I have to say...
2 - 17	Itsuki	This is not voiced consonant.
2 - 18	Kei	{Open her eyes widly and big voice} Wao! You are amazing! 《wonder》
2 - 19	Kei	{Smile gradly} This is not voiced consonant. {To Itsuki} Very good. thank you. 《joy》

evokes positive emotions, such as joy and satisfaction, in teachers. Further, in this study, teachers were expressing genuine positive emotions, emphatically at times, generated by such students' behaviors. This point will be elaborated upon later in this article.

Teachers expressed positive emotions when students made mistakes that advanced the lesson. It is particularly important to explore cases of this nature because previous studies have not investigated this phenomenon. What follows occurred in the geography class taught by *Kazu* following his presentation of a misleading map of the world (Table 4).

Kazu's question was a trick, making use of the illusion created by the map. According to this map, drawn following the Mercator projection, landforms were depicted as greatly skewed to the side, thus rendering the portrayal of all continental areas inaccurate. When the student representative of group six offered a wrong answer (3–3), *Kazu* expressed wonder and joy (3–4, 3–5). These positive emotions were expressed in response to the splendid learning opportunity provided by a mistake that might have derived from misunderstanding the accuracy of the map. This misunderstanding became the scaffolding for subsequent learning about maps drawn according to various other projections. In addition, although *Kazu*'s aim in this class was to help students learn about the illusion that characterized the map, what students learned from the wrong answer was not only that Antarctica is not the second largest continent on earth, and that landforms represented on a map drawn according to the the Mercator projection are inaccurate, but also that almost all of Antarctica is covered with ice (3–10).

Thus, student mistakes that advance the lesson lead to the expression of positive emotions by teachers. These phenomena carry possibilities for creative developments in the class, and are probably recognized by teachers as "teachable moments" (Schmidt & Datnow, 2005). Such teachable moments come up unpredictably for teachers. When teachers perceive them, they will experience enjoyment or excitement in teaching (Jackson, 1968). Therefore, in this case, *Kazu* expressed

Table 4 【CASE 3】Kazu: Class 1 (April 22) "Is Antarctica the second largest continent around the earth?"

turn	Talker	protocol
3 - 1	Kazu	: There are six continents on the Earth, OK? The largest continent in the world is Eurasia. So, which is the second largest continent among the remaining five?
3 - 2	Students	: {Divided into six groups to discuss this issue}
Representative students from groups one to five answered, "South America," but Yukio who is the representative of group six answered,		
3 - 3	Yukio	: Antarctica.
3 - 4	Kazu	: {Open his eyes widely} Wao! 《wonder》
3 - 5	Kazu	: {Smile and big voice} It came! Antarctica came! 《joy》
3 - 6	Students	: {Start discussing the question again}
3 - 7	Kazu	: Yes, is that your final answer? You may change it only once.
All of the groups, except group three, changed their answers to Antarctica.		
3 - 8	Kazu	: {Smile happily} Antarctica suddenly became popular! 《joy》
3 - 9	Students	: {All of the students were growing excited and were waiting for him to announce the correct answer}
3 - 10	Kazu	: {Smile} To tell the truth, most of the Antarctica is covered with ice. Thus, it's the fifth. 《enjoyment》
3 - 11	Students	: {Laugh loudly}
3 - 12	Kazu	: {Laugh loudly} the smallest continent is Australia. Next, fourth is South America. Third is North America. To tell the truth, second is Africa. 《enjoyment》
3 - 13	Students	: {Wonder} Why?
3 - 14	Kazu	: {Smile} This map is greatly mistaken. 《enojoyment》
3 - 15	Students	: {Wonder} Why? Why?
3 - 16	Kazu	: {Smile gladly} It presents the world on square paper. The round earth has been changed into a square. 《joy》
3 - 17	Students	: {Smile and big voice} Whoopee.

wonder and enjoyment because he caught the teachable moment from the student mistake. In addition, *Kazu* continued to express positive reactions to a mistake that advanced the lesson (3–10, 3–12, 3–14, 3–16). This continuous expression of positive emotions could be interpreted, as previously suggested, as evidence that *Kazu* was excited about the class because most students were interested in the subject matter, wondered at the discovery of new knowledge, and were participating with enjoyment in the class. Next, the process by which teachers express negative emotions will be examined.

4. Expression of negative emotions

Teachers expressed not only positive emotions to students but also negative ones, such as anger, irritation, embarrassment, and sadness. Table 5 shows the frequency with which teachers expressed these negative emotions. Analysis clarified that negative emotions were evoked by two sorts of behavior exhibited by students: acting passive and impolite attitudes. The first type of behavior that elicited negative emotions in teachers involved chatting about private matters in the class, and fooling around. The second type of behavior that elicited such negative emotions, impolite attitudes, involved intentionally asking meaningless questions to interrupt the class, and complaining to the teacher.

4.1. Suppression of negative emotions but Expression of irritation and embarrassment

Teachers cannot avoid the experience, and sometimes the expression, of negative emotions in response to behavior by students that interferes with the smooth progress of the class. Although it is apparent that teachers expressed negative emotions in response to violation of class rules and impolite attitudes by students, as seen in the former part of the previous case, teachers also attempted to control such emotions as much as possible. The management of negative emotions is illustrated below with an example from a typical case, in which *Kei* was starting the class (Table 6).

Table 5 The frequency with which teachers expressed negative emotions in two conditions

		conditions		
	emotion	Students Acting Passive	Impolite Attitude	frequency
Kazu	anger	2	1	3
	irritation	3	0	3
	embarrassment	0	3	3**
	sadness	0	0	0
	total	5	4	9
Yoko	anger	41	9	50
	irritation	32	7	39
	embarrassment	0	1	1*
	sadness	4	1	5
	total	77	18	95
Kei	anger	7	6	13
	irritation	6	5	11
	embarrassment	0	0	0
	sadness	0	0	0
	total	13	6	24

condition total: $\chi^2(2) = 4.033$, ns
emotion expression frequency: *$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ $\chi^2(6) = 30.964$

Table 6 【CASE 4】Kei: Class 5 (June 7) “Boys’ slack off at the beginning of the class”

turn	Talker	protocol
4 - 1	Kei	: Good Morning, everybody.
4 - 2	Students	: {Many students suffer from the heat and use the fan. A boy is walking around. Some students keep chating.}
4 - 3	Kei	: Yes, may I confirm it again?
4 - 4	Students	: {Keep chating}
4 - 5	Daisuke	: {Big voice} Teacher! Teacher! I received the attack of water!
4 - 6	Kei	: {Frown and little voice} Guess what? The child who is wandering around must sit. 《irritation》
4 - 7	Daisuke	: Do I color this print?
4 - 8	Kei	: {Sigh} You don’t say “do I color”, but You must do. Yes, today, we start from unit one. Please see ahead and listen well. 《irritation》
4 - 9	Akira	: Teacher, it’s cold.
4 - 10	Kei	: {Frown} You say that it’s hot.... it’s cold while ago. 《irritation》
4 - 11	Daisuke	: {Big voice} Teacher! I’ve a headache!
4 - 12	Takeshi	: {Big voice} I’ve a stomachache!
4 - 13	Daisuke	: {Big voice} Teacher! I’ve a headache! I’m hungry!
4 - 14	Kei	: {Frown and watches them (about 30 seconds)} 《irritation》
4 - 15	Students	: {Be silent}
4 - 16	Kei	: Let’s start! The interval becomes empty a little. Please recall the content.

In the first part of this example, when students appear unwilling to participate (4–2), *Kei* did not express negative emotions (4–3). However, the students continued to chat and *Daisuke* interrupted the start of class (4–5), *Kei* expressed irritation toward their acting passive and impolite attitude (4–6). However, boys kept acting passive and had impolite attitudes (4–8, 4–11,4–12, 4–13). She expressed irritation again (4–10, 4–14). As a result, they stopped their passive and impolite behaviors (4–15) and *Kei* could start the class (4–16). As this case shows, *Kei* did not express anger toward students who act passively or impolite. She talked about this scene in the interview:

> I think I use words without shouting at children as much as possible, and they understand what I’m saying. Although the teacher should occasionally scold children, our excessive anger only instills fear in them. They only fear the anger of the teacher. Up until now, I have seen other teachers doing such things on many occasions.

Thus, based on her own rules about feelings and teaching, *Kei* tried to control her expression of anger. Similarly, *Kazu* and *Yoko* did not express anger toward students who acted passively or impolite. Instead, they expressed irritation or embarrassment. For example, Kazu did not express anger toward one boy who complained about teacher (*Kazu*: Class 3 (20. May)). Instead, *Kazu* told one boy “I’m very embarrassed. It’s very much.” Thus, teachers tried to suppress strong negative emotions such as anger, but they did express irritation and semi-unconsciously disclose embarrassment in order to stop students’ acting passive and impolite attitudes.

4.2. Disclosure of anger

As previously mentioned, whereas it is understandable that teachers expressed negative emotions in response to violation of class rules and impolite attitudes by students, as seen in the former part of previous case, teachers attempted to control such emotions as much as possible. *Kei* talked about students’ impolite attitude in the interview, “It irritated me, because it broke the flow that I established in class.” Such complete resistance to the teacher’s agenda invariably elicits neg-

ative emotions in the latter. Thus, students' acting passive and their impolite attitudes not only cause minor disruptions in class progress, but also involve deeper problems that undermine the relationship between teacher and students. Therefore, teachers should disclose negative emotions, such as anger, for the purpose of controlling the class, enhancing the commitment of students to learning, and for maintaining appropriate boundaries with students. The disclosure of negative emotions is illustrated below with an example from *Yoko*'s class, in which she began to explain vowels (Table 7).

As described above, *Yoko* expressed irritation (5–2) in reaction to the conversation between *Takayuki* and *Kyoji* (5–1). In this instance, she did not initially express anger over their acting passive. Instead, she first tried to control her anger, expressing this emotion (5–4, 5–6, 5–10, 5–16) only after they continued to chat (5–3, 5–5, 5–15). During the interview, *Yoko* talked about resistant behavior and student disregard of the rules:

> They might think that the "teacher let me" if I ignored it and left it alone. For example, they might think "It's OK to do this" or "I can push it a little further." So, when I come to think, "I can't stand this," I react and I'm annoyed.

Moreover, she expressed sadness (5–19), and controlled her anger in response to *Rei*'s comment (5–18), before resuming the class. During the interview, she talked about this interaction with *Rei*:

> I strongly empathize with the emotional state of the child who works hard to learn in class. For example, *Rei* strongly expresses emotions in her face and in her words. If I didn't respond positively to their feelings of discomfort, they would have thought, "I hate this

Table 7 【CASE 5】Yoko: Class 6 (June 28) "With packing tape!"

turn	Talker	protocol
When Yoko explained the role of vowels in the alphabet		
5 - 1	Takuya/Kyoji	: {Chatting about a private matter}
5 - 2	Yoko	: {Frown and watch them} You chat a lot.《irritation》
5 - 3	Takuya/Kyoji	: {Keep chatting}
5 - 4	Yoko	: {Frown and big voice} You chat a lot!《anger》
5 - 5	Kyoji	: {Begin to chat again}
5 - 6	Yoko	: {Warn with a loud voice} Kyoji! Stop chatting!《anger》
5 - 7	Kyoji	: {Suprise} Yes?
5 - 8	Yoko	: {Look his way and using a severe tone of voice} What if I used cloth or paper to close your mouth?《anger》
5 - 9	Kyoji	: What?
5 - 10	Yoko	: {Big voice} With packing tape!《anger》
5 - 11	Kyoji	: Anything...
5 - 12	Yoko	: Anything? May I really close your mouth? Your mouth has been moving for a long time. Your words have been pouring out for a long time. So, do you understand?
5 - 13	Kyoji	: {Nod}
5 - 14	Yoko	: {To Goro} By when does it have Goro?
5 - 15	Takuya/Kyoji	: {Start chatting}
5 - 16	Yoko	: {Frown and loud voice} Oh, no! There he goes again. It's over.《anger》
5 - 17	Students	: {Silence (about 14 seconds)}
5 - 18	Rei	: {Point out a mistake in what Yoko had written on the blackboard} Yoko, there.
5 - 19	Yoko	: {Seems to be sad} I'm sorry. I make mistakes when I write while I'm talking.I'm sorry, well, let's return to that explanation.《sadness》

> class." So, I gave them a sign that I can respond to their feelings, like saying "All right, I know it, I'll do something about it."

As described in her explanation, *Yoko* read this emotional sign, controlled her anger, and empathically expressed sadness. Thus, *Yoko* showed how teachers attempted to control the negative emotions that arose when students broke rules or demonstrated resistance. However, from next *Yoko*'s narration, teachers should express anger to students when the latter do not understand, ignore, or persist in resisting the emotional cues in what teachers communicate. During the interview, *Yoko* talked about how teachers express emotion to students:

> I think, teachers have to express their own emotions, of course, both pleasant and unpleasant. I'm really happy when they [students] are happy in the class. I can say with them, "This class is very enjoyable!" But, I think, as I show them my angry, I also say, "I am just a person now," and I convey to them the reason that I feel anger.

That is, she frankly disclosed her genuine emotions, including negative ones, in the service of constructing a relationship with her students based on reciprocal "emotional understanding" (Denzin, 1983). The evidence in these data suggests that not only do teachers not fake negative emotions and do not even perfectly control their expressions of emotion. Rather, they frankly disclose their negative emotions to students. This sort of emotion management parallels that which occurs in private life; after all, it is only natural that the relationship between teachers and students differs from the commercial relationship between "the one-serving" and "the served-for." While the latter model may pertain to dynamics in the marketplace, teachers aim for natural, caring relationships with students.

5. Conclusion

Is teaching emotional labor? Are teachers managing their emotions heteronomously? Are teachers selling their own emotions in exchange for money? To examine these questions, this study examined the emotion management strategies utilized by three secondary school teachers by analyzing their expression of emotions during teaching. The following findings were obtained.

The teachers induced their enjoyment of classes, and expressed this to students, in order to create a friendly atmosphere and motivate students' learning. This finding is interpreted to mean that teachers intentionally manage their positive emotions and express such emotions semi-strategically. However, the important point in this regard is that the enjoyment expressed by teachers for teaching represented genuine feelings. In addition, teachers spontaneously expressed not only enjoyment but also joy and wonder upon observing unexpected and pleasant student behavior, including evidence of interest and mistakes that advanced the class. Since these student behaviors were sources of "psychic rewards" (Lortie, 1975) for teachers, the positive emotions expressed by the latter were ones that were evoked by students. Thus, teachers did not fake genuine emotions.

All of the negative emotions expressed by teachers were evoked by students acting passively and by their impolite attitudes. Teachers tried to control negative emotions, and expressed displeasure before becoming angry. In this sense, negative and positive emotions were subject to management by teachers. However, disruptions caused by such behaviors hindered the students'

learning. Therefore, teachers should and did express negative emotions such as anger and irritate to students in order to maintain the class order and to enhance student commitment to learning. Teachers believed that expressions of negative emotions should not be controlled completely. This belief was based on their responsibilities as members of a caring profession that promotes student motivation for learning and growth (Nias, 1999; Rogers & Webb, 1991). Teachers sought to achieve reciprocal emotional understanding with students, and disclosed their genuine emotions, especially in the case of negative emotions. Therefore, they expressed emotions not only for the immediate purpose of controlling the class and promoting commitment to learning, but also for the longer-term implicit purpose of bridging the psychological and emotional distance between teachers and students.

These findings indicate that, as members of a teaching and caring profession, teachers autonomously manage their emotions without much regard to school policies. Thus, the management of emotions performed by teachers differs from emotional labor and entails the wide discretion that characterizes private life (Oplatka, 2007). Moreover, emotion management by teachers serves several heuristic goals, including inducement, suppression, and disclosure. Emotion management may be complicated for teachers because their work represents a mixture of personal and professional considerations (Acker, 1995; Nias, 1986,1996). As Nias (1986) has argued, it is difficult to divide teaching into personal and professional dimensions because teachers invest themselves in their work. Transmuting teaching and caring into emotional labor, and relegating teachers' emotions to the status of objects to be exploited in exchange for monetary reward, is tantamount to undercutting the professionalism of teachers; namely: "deprofessionalization" (Jeffrey & Woods, 1996). The findings in this study would suggest that it is necessary to define teachers' emotion management and expression in teaching as one of "emotional practice" (Hargreaves, 1998, 2000), or a teaching and caring professional activity. Needless to say, school leaders, colleagues and parents need to value and support the emotional practice represented by teachers to prevent their emotional exhaustion. Furthermore, as Noddings (1984) has pointed out, caring professionals need to care for themselves. In this sense, the type and extent of emotion expression by teachers need to be regulated not only for the best interests of students but also for those of teachers. Thus, flexibility should characterize rules governing such emotions, enabling adjustments on the basis of consideration of both teachers and students.

Finally, the amount and method of emotion expression differed among the teachers in this study. This difference was the result of different conditions, including school culture, student profiles, subject matter, and so on. Furthermore, personal factors, including professional identity, personal beliefs, morals, life experience, etc., factored into the amount and means of emotion expression among teachers. Future research could address this complicated intersection by examining emotion expression in teaching in even greater detail. The life experience of teachers, in particular, seems to play important roles in emotion expression. Winograd's (2003) report that, "teachers avoid displays of dark emotions," suggests that many novice teachers tend to view emotion expression from a simplistic perspective (cf. Goldstein & Lake, 2000). Noddings (1996) has suggested that this perspective is based on classic notions about professionalism in teaching, and has criticized the tendency for not only novices but also for all teachers to distance themselves from their emotions and conceal them. The experienced teachers in this study, in fact, expressed emotions based on rules about feelings that they had constructed in the course of their teaching careers. Thus, it is necessary to investigate the initial development and the continuing evolution of the individual rules regarding feelings that are used by expert teachers. Moreover, comparisons between the rules used

by expert teachers and those used by novices should enable examination and discussion of the professional development of practices regarding emotions.

Notes

1. The person judges the appropriateness of emotion that occurs oneself based on the feeling rules under a certain condition of the place in private lives. When the emotions are unsuitable to the condition, the person excludes or conceals it, and causes appropriate emotion. Hochschild (1983) defined this act as "emotion work" and argued that the person who is in private can "conform to or deviate from feeling rules" (p.20). In fact, there is "discretion" in emotion work.
2. In Japanese a culturally-based word "amae" refers to wanting to be liked by, and depended on, by others. In this article, the emotional words are carefully defined as follow. "Joy" refers to feelings of great happiness; "enjoyment" signifies feelings of pleasure from activities; "wonder", unlike surprise, indicates feelings of admiration in response to unexpected or beautiful events; "anger" refers to strong feelings experienced in response to bad and unfair events; displeasure signifies feelings of annoyance; "embarrassment" indicates feelings arising in response to awkward problems; and "sadness" indicates feelings related to disadvantage, loss, and helplessness.
3. Kagan (2007) argued that "the main point is that progress is more likely if we begin with an analysis of the originating conditions for an emotion rather than begin with a word and bicker over its definition" (p.57).

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