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Dealing with Feelings:

Perspectives on the Emotional Labor of School Leadership

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by

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ABSTRACT

DEALING WITH FEELINGS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE EMOTIONAL LABOR OF SCHOOL LEADERSHIP

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People are central to the institution of schools. Where there are people, there are emotions. Managing these emotions for wage is the work of school leaders. Recognizing the emotional demand involved in monitoring, managing and understanding this demand is known as *emotional labor*. The purpose of this qualitative research was to gain an understanding of the essence of emotional labor as experienced by a public school leadership team. Over a period of several months, ten members of a Connecticut, USA, public school, district-wide administrative team, to which this researcher has been an affiliate for thirteen years, acted as co-researchers by participating in semi-structured interviews; team meeting discussions; and written reflections on key notions identified as emotions involved in their leadership roles. Data analysis indicated a significant effort by team members to manage their own feelings as they managed the feelings of others within their school communities, and in an effort to be better leaders. The data illuminated the labor involved in displaying appropriate positive emotions, which participants perceived to be aligned with their school district's *brand of* leadership and professionalism. These school leaders admitted to acting, intentionally, *at* feeling and displaying emotions to foster strong relationships with their constituents to promote a positive school climate. Additionally, the data revealed widespread masking of negative emotions, including: hurt, disappointment, fear, but most notably, anger and frustration. Negative emotions were reported to be directed toward adults, both parents and staff, and participants revealed a toll associated with the suppression of negative feelings. Among the findings, team members reported stress, fatigue and a loss of sense of self as they

buried authentic feelings and feigned others in playing the role of school leader. As *managers,* in almost every sense of the word, team members identified the existence of an *us and them* mentality pervading their work, leaving them feeling isolated from others in their schools. The strain of their emotional labor appeared to be ameliorated by strong relationships among administrative team members, family members, and other trusted personnel in their buildings who seemed to understand the affective nature of school leadership and were able to acknowledge the conscious effort entailed in *being all things to all people.* The findings support the position that a significant amount of the work we do, as school leaders, entails managing our emotions and the emotions of others. Intellectualizing emotional labor as the work administrators do with the *emotional-self* and the *emotional-other* may enhance relational skills with *others* and diminish the strain on *self.* A fundamental understanding of emotional labor in school leadership may have implications for further research and development of curriculum for educational leadership programs in pursuit of emotionally competent school leaders.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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PREFACE

My mission as an educator is to promote academic excellence within the context of a secure and nurturing environment while fostering a love of lifetime learning. Recognizing that the most influential factor in student achievement is quality, purposeful teaching, I believe it is my responsibility as the principal to facilitate this process by carefully balancing the roles of instructional leader, manager, motivator, problem-solver, decision-maker, communicator and child advocate. My goal is to collaborate with teachers to meet the growing challenge of motivating and engaging students with diverse needs to reach their potential. (Downes, 2000)

The words above were taken from the mission statement of my administrative resume. Having yet to complete my graduate training for public school leadership when I wrote it, I undertook the task of crafting a proclamation of what I believed to be the noble aspirations of a school leader. I reflected on the principals for whom I had worked during my fifteen years of teaching. I thought long and hard about the best and worst qualities of their leadership styles. I imagined the ideal, and the words seem to flow directly from my heart to the keyboard. There was little doubt in my mind that to embrace these words was to become them.

Even now, as I reread this statement, I find myself with mixed feelings. On one hand, I admire the idealistic, enthusiastic aspirant leader who, coming from the teaching ranks, thought being a principal was centered on the partnership between teacher and teacher-leader. Everything I had learned about being a principal pointed to instructional leadership as the route to student success. On the other, I am amazed at how truly naïve I was not to realize how difficult it would be to balance the management piece of school leadership with my goal of influencing instruction. Not lost to me was the absence of any awareness of the emotional dimension of school leadership. It is in this area that the most profound awareness has emerged.

Soon after I began my new position as a primary school principal, I found that being a principal was not about developing cutting edge programs or having heart-to-heart chats with misguided children. As my days were filled with people wanting to talk to me about their issues, both school and non-school related, it became painfully clear that the most

difficult and time consuming aspect of the principal's role was working with the "big" people of the school community: teachers, support staff, fellow administrators, and parents. I found myself in the role of supervisor, confidant, counselor, mediator and problem-solver. Tempers flared and egos bruised as I attempted to nudge teachers toward growth, change and professional development. At the end of each day, I would often feel emotionally exhausted and have little to show for what felt like a hard day's work.

Thinking I must be missing a critical skill in school leadership, I sought the counsel of veteran administrators for whom I had great respect. Each administrator responded with a sigh of acknowledgment of this familiar theme. I am not proud to admit that I was happy to know that other administrators struggled with similar feelings. No one would wish this on another, but it gave me great comfort to find that my feelings were not unique among school administrators; it was not just because I was a rookie that the "people" part of my work felt very demanding. Rather, my colleagues asserted that the emotional aspect of school leadership was just "part of doing the job". A common thread regarding *surviving* school leadership positions emerged and was often linked to *longevity* in a position. Their advice for endurance was centered on the concept of developing a "thicker skin". Many took the "us versus them" position as a way to detach themselves from emotional involvement. It didn't make me happy to think that I would need to become hardened in order to survive the principalship. That notion flew in the face of my vision of leadership and, more importantly, my vision of myself as a person.

It was then that the concept of *emotional labor* emerged as a focus of personal research. The term alone embodied the most challenging aspect of my position as principal. I believed that to know and understand it would be to overcome it. We shall see.

<div align="right">Patricia Hofmann Downes, 2007</div>

CHAPTER ONE

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Introduction

> My own life experiences are immediately accessible to me in a way that no one else's are. However, the phenomenologist does not want to trouble the reader with purely private, autobiographical facticities of one's life. The revealing of private sentiments or private happenings are matters to be shared among friends perhaps, or between lovers, or in the gossip columns of life. In drawing up personal descriptions of lived experiences, the phenomenologist knows that one's own experiences are also the possible experiences of others. (Van Manen, 1990, p. 54)

This study focuses on the phenomenon of emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983) as an aspect of school leadership. It seeks to elucidate how school administrators *deal with feelings* in the context of leading their schools. It acknowledges the emotional demand involved in monitoring, managing and understanding the emotional nature of their work. In the spirit of professional development, ten members of a Connecticut, USA, public school leadership team, of which I have been an affiliate for thirteen years, participated in research that may be termed broadly as qualitative, but which locates itself in phenomenology. This team of school administrators represented all five schools of the district and its two district-wide departments, curriculum and special education.

In the process of both oral and written reflection, team members gave voice to the emotions administrators are called upon to display as well as those they feel almost forbidden to display. It is anticipated that intellectualizing emotional labor as the work administrators do with the *emotional-self* and the *emotional-other* may enhance relational skills with *others* and diminish the burden on *self*.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to provide an overview of the study. In section one, within the context of the school setting and the research literature on the emotional aspects of our work, I will frame the problem of the school leader as emotion manager.

In section two, I will provide the purpose for, and research questions of, the study. In section three, I will provide a brief overview of the research approach employed in investigating our experiences with emotions in our workplace, and I will underscore the axiological position that *understanding* this phenomenon is a worthwhile end product of this research. In section four, I will acknowledge the assumptions and perspectives held by the participants, which support the rationale and significance of the work, as briefly outlined in section five.

1.1 Background and Context

As school administrators, individuals of the team characterize themselves as continuously interacting with members of our school community. Given the wide range of situations represented by a seemingly endless number of interactions reported by the participants, team members revealed finding themselves wrestling with how best to act with their clientele. Recognizing the relational aspect of school leadership, the research points to the existence of an emotional component associated with these interactions. Research tells us that most of us have jobs that require some degree of *emotion work* (Fineman, 2003). This work involves managing the emotions of others as well as our own. Effectively handling emotions as a requirement of our positions as school administrators forms the basis of our *emotional labor* and is the work involved in (Fineman, 2000) displaying and masking our emotions as an integral component of doing our job and collecting our wage (Hochschild, 1983). How this makes us feel and how best to manage it is the focus of this research.

While new definitions of the school leader include relational leading, it is only in recent years that the significant role emotionality plays in school leadership has begun to be explored (Beatty, 2004; Blackmore, 1996,1999; Harris, 2007). In an era of increased federal, state and local demands on school administrators, it is even more critical to the

development and retention of effective school leaders to expand our understanding of the affective nature of their work (Beatty, 2004; Blackmore, 1996, Boler, 1999; Fullan, 2003; Harris, 2007). School leadership is an emotional endeavor (Evans, 2000; Goleman, 2002. Leithwood, 2003 Sergiovanni, 2006). It impacts both the leader and the led (Briner, 1999; Palmer, 1999; Palmer, Walls, Burgess, Stough, 2001). With an evolving definition of best practice in school leadership that includes transformational that is predicated on developing strong relationships with constituents (Leithwood and Beatty, 2008, Blackmore, 1996a, Harris, 2007), acknowledging feelings in the context of the school community necessitates having leaders who are skilled in managing the emotions of others, as well as their own (Palmer, Walls, Burgess, Stough, 2001).

1.2 Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The research regarding educational leadership indicates the vast and varied responsibilities entailed in school administration. While research is shifting to focus on the emotional nature of schools, school leaders are left with the overwhelming responsibility of handling all aspects of the school: organizational; supervisory; regulatory; instructional; and financial (Barth, 1980,2003); in addition to this complex emotional component, with little instruction in how to do so, effectively (Leithwood and Beatty, 2008).

The purpose of this research was to examine a school leadership team's perceptions of the emotions they encounter, and how they manage them, within the context of their school communities. It was anticipated that the team's reflections would contribute to their understanding of the phenomenon of emotional labor and generate knowledge that could be applied to their practice. As a means of exploring the emotional labor of school leadership, the following questions were addressed:

1. What do school leaders perceive as contributing factors to the emotional nature of their work?

2. What emotions do school leaders perceive they need to display?

3. What emotions do school leaders perceive they need to mask?

4. What impact do school leaders perceive emotional labor has on them, personally and professionally?

5. What factors do school leaders perceive might help in lessening the impact of their emotional labor?

1.3 Research Approach

Selecting methodology for this research was underpinned by a number of factors including my position as both the *researcher* and the *researched.* Having discovered *emotional labor*, a name for the aspect of my work that I found most challenging, I could not imagine pursuing research in a manner that would not allow me to acknowledge my personal connection with this phenomenon. Believing that there would be value in both the *emic* (insider) and *etic* (outsider) account in my research, I found support in the literature for "how the two kinds of explanation complement each other in contributing to rich accounts of culture" (Morris, Leung, Ames, and Lickel, 1999, p. 790). Regardless of the resultant implications for further research and practice, *understanding* emotional labor, as experienced by my team, was a valued end unto itself (Husserl, 1982; Merleau-Ponty, 1962 as cited in Van Manen: 1990, p. 10).

Denzin and Lincoln (2008) assert that "knowledge is inherently collective... [and] people working together develop and share knowledge as a collective effort and collective product" (p.66). In the quest to reveal the *invisible and relational dimensions of leadership* (Ladkin, 2010 in Izatt-White, 2013), members of our ten-person administrative team participated, over the course of several months, in semi-structured interviews*;* written responses; team discussions; observational summaries; and anecdotal

storytelling, resulting in hundreds of pages of transcribed data, which focused on the recall of the emotions they encounter in others and experience, themselves. Interviews were recorded and, once transcribed, were approximately 250 pages. This data was analyzed and coded for hermeneutic units, and emerging themes were reported back to team members for further clarification and development, primarily in written form.

Sociologist Erving Goffman (1959) used the metaphor of theatrical performance as a framework for understanding human behavior in social interactions. Borrowing this metaphor, we framed our emotional labor within the *drama* that typically unfolds as we struggle with communication and human interaction within the school setting. Recounting this drama was the substance of the data. As valued participants, fellow teammates were encouraged to feel a sense of ownership in the emerging understandings.

1.4 Assumptions

As a member of a close-knit group of work colleagues, the team operates under a number of commonly held assumptions. These assumptions are grounded in the *Connecticut Code of Professional Responsibility for School Administrators*. Additional expectations of performance and behavior are outlined by our local governing board of education. These formal, written standards are reflected on the administrator evaluation protocol. Additionally, there are shared perceptions and interpretations of these standards that are less formal and even unspoken, and which underpin our assumptions.

Our history of working together as a team has provided a window into the common beliefs we hold. We see ourselves as middle managers who are charged with serving the people of our community. We believe that where there are people, there are emotions. We believe that school leaders are expected to manage their own emotions and to interact with their constituents in a polite and respectful manner. We make the assumption that

to do so may involve an effort known as emotional labor. And finally, we believe the exploration of this phenomenon, in pursuit of better understanding it, is a worthwhile endeavor.

1.5 Rationale and Significance

It is my hope that reflection and self-awareness will place the team in a better position to manage what I have identified as *the* most challenging aspect of the team's work. Understanding the essence of our experiences has the potential to improve our practice by both informing and transforming the manner in which we approach emotional interactions with our constituents. It may lead us to consider the importance of intellectualizing emotional labor in the preparation for, and the subsequent support of, school leaders.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Through the exploration of the literature on emotion in the workplace; the ever-expanding role of the school leader; and the growing body of literature that acknowledges leadership as an emotional endeavor, this chapter will review current thinking and present a need for further research on the topic of emotionality and school leadership.

In section one, I will establish the backdrop for my research through a historical perspective of the debate that exists in emotion theory by reviewing two classical models that broadly define emotion and, from these, a third model, a *social theory of emotion*, which illuminates how institutions control and commercialize our feelings (Hochschild, 1983, p.228). It is this third model, so clearly articulated in Arlie Hochschild's *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (1983, 2003, 2012), which resonates so deeply with my work as a school leader and prompted my research.

In section two, I will summarize the influence of these theories on Hochschild's work, in particular Goffman's social theory of emotion (1959), and outline her discourses on labor; display; and emotion in the formulation of what she coined, *emotional labor* (1983) and expand upon these in relation to the work of leading researchers on emotional labor and the place emotions hold in the work place such as Brotheridge, 2003; Beatty, 2004; Carr, 1988, in Fineman, 2000; Fineman 2003; and Grandey, 2013.)

In section three I will review literature that acknowledges the evolving definition of best practice in school leadership. Despite new definitions of the school leader, which include relational leading, the role emotionality plays in school leadership has not been fully

explored (Beatty 1999, 2003; Rafaeili, 2001). Focusing on the school leader, this review will acknowledge the ever-expanding definition of a school leader, within the highly emotional context of the institution of schools, to underscore the growing emotional demand on school leaders. I will use the research of gestalt psychotherapist, Belinda Harris (2007) as a lens through which to gain insight into the relationships school leaders have with *self* and *others*.

In section four, using current research in emotions in the school setting as a backdrop for my discussion (Beatty, 2003, 1999; Boler, 1999; Harris, 2007; and Leithwood and Beatty, 2008), I will address the human side of leadership and the importance of reflective, caring, organizational management (Fineman, 2000; Fullan, 2001; Hargreaves and Fink, 2006; Goens, 2005; Murphy, 1968; Senge, 1990; Sergiovanni, 1992, Tschannen-Moran, 2004). I will highlight the fundamental characteristics of emotion work and its relationship to educational leadership, specifically relational leading. I will stress the importance of having leaders who are skilled in managing the emotions of others, as well as their own (Palmer et al., 2001) and present theoretical perspectives based on Belinda Harris' work on the emotional work of school leaders (2007).

2.1   Emotion Theory

Despite, or perhaps even because of, input from experts in the fields of psychology; sociology; social psychology; anthropology; theology; and philosophy, researchers have yet to come to consensus on a singularly accepted definition of *emotion*. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to resolve that which the world's leading emotion scientists themselves cannot agree upon, it is important to establish that such a debate exists and to provide a brief summary of the presenting issues as a means of establishing both the context and lexicon of this research.

2.1.1   The Two Models of Emotions

Hochschild (1983) speaks to the ongoing debate that has impeded the development of a common definition of emotion and claims that the responsibility for this lies with theorists who have denied its very existence as a tenable concept (p.211) and to others who subsume it under the concept of affect (p.212). When theorists embrace the oversimplification of emotion as an aspect of perception or eschew it in favor of an act of cognition, they fail to see "that emotion is more central to life as they live it than to life as they study it" (p.212).

Hochschild asserts that our understanding of emotion is obfuscated by the personification of emotion with the notion that an emotion has an identity independent of the person experiencing it and is often typified as irrationally (p.212). We tend to speak as if emotion resides in a specific location, *possessing* an individual as opposed to *being possessed*. "Metaphors that suggest agency, residence, and continuity through time often convey with uncanny precision just what if *feels like* to experience an emotion; they enjoy a poetic accuracy. But they can get in the way of understanding how emotion works" (p.214).

In Hochschild's seminal work, *The Managed Heart* (1983), she presents two models of emotion theory that have emerged from a century and a quarter of writing on the subject. The classic writings on emotion reveal two major viewpoints, *organismic* and *interactional,* with significant differences existing between the two regarding the link between social factors and emotion (p.217). "The organismic view reduces us to an elicitation-expression model. The interactional model (Dewey, 1922; Gerth and Mills 1964; and Goffman, 1959, in Hochschild, 1983) presupposes biology but adds more points to social entry: social factors enter not simply before and after but interactively *during* the experience of emotion" (p. 221).

2.1.2   The Organismic Model

The organismic model of emotion theory views emotion in terms of a biological process and has its roots in the works of Darwin (1872), who equated emotion with instinct and manifested in gesture; James (1922), who defined it as the perception of a psychological process; and early Freud (1923), who considered emotion as affect and its resulting libidinal discharge (in Hochschild, 1983, p.215). The organismic model is characterized by common beliefs that include the prior existence, management, and expression of emotion as being extrinsic to the biological processes that activate them (p.215). Feelings are seen as instinctual, existing even when one is unaware of their presence, raising assertions of the universality of emotion and a basic fixity of emotion with similarity of emotion across categories of people (p. 215). Disagreement exists among these theorists regarding whether differences actually exist in the biological processes that underpin types of emotions. As Hochschild notes, "Whether the biological processes involved in fear, for example, actually differ from those involved in anger (James thought they do; Cannon proved they do not) is a matter of little theoretical interest to the interactionist, whose main concern is the *meaning* that psychological processes take on" (p.215).

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2.1.3 The Interactional Model

> When feelings, dwelling antecedently in the soul, were supposed to be the causes of acts, it was natural to suppose that each psychic element had its own inherent quality which might be directly read off by introspection. But when we surrender this notion, it becomes evident that the only way of telling what an organic act is like is by the sensed or perceptible changes which it occasions. Some of these will be intra-organic, and others will be external to the organism, and these consequences are more important than the intra-organic ones for determining the quality of the act. For they are consequences in which others are concerned and which evoke reactions of favor and disfavor as well as cooperative and resisting activities of a more indirect sort. (Dewey, 1922, p. 152)

Emerging from the works of Dewey, Gerth and Mills (in Hochschild, 1983, p.222), the interactional model presupposes biology in emotion but within a social framework. Interactionalists, rejecting the notion that emotion is fixed, acknowledge a reflexivity of expression that makes the *attending to* feeling inseparable from the *shaping of* feeling. Therefore, "the act of *management* is inseparable from the experience that is managed; it is in part the *creation* of that emerging experience. Just as knowing affects what is known, so managing affects what is 'there' to be managed" (p.216).

According to Gerth and Mills (1964), "We must go beyond the organism and the physical environment to account for human emotions" (Gerth and Mills, in Hochschild, 1983, p. 221). "Our gestures do not necessarily express our prior feelings. They make available to others a sign. But what it is a sign of may be influenced by their reactions to it" (p. 223). Furthermore, Gerth and Mills assert that those feelings, ambiguous as they may be, may be better defined by the reaction others have to our gestures (p. 223).

Hochschild distinguishes a major difference between the two models as the manner in which social factors are linked to emotions. "In the organismic model, social factors merely 'trigger' biological reactions and help steer the expression of these reactions into customary channels. In the interactional model, social factors enter *into the very*

formulation of emotions, through codification, management, and expression"
(Hochschild, p. 217).

2.1.4   The Influence of Goffman

Perhaps of greatest influence on Hochschild's work on emotional labor was Erving Goffman. Although Hochschild acknowledges that Goffman was not the first to make a connection between social structure and character/personality (p.223), she credits Goffman with illuminating the "vantage point of the affective deviant…the person with the wrong feeling for the situation and for whom the right feeling would be a conscious burden" (p.224). Goffman's theory (1959) reveals how one may display feelings within social situations in order to guide an impression. Hochschild built upon this notion by extending it to include, not only the outward behavior or display of feeling to others, but asserts, "…the private 'I' is simply not there in theory. Feelings are contributions to interactions via the passive medium of a bodily self. We act behaviorally, not affectively. The system affects our behavior, not our feelings" (p.228). This recognizes the influence institutions have on our behavior, but goes further by acknowledging that institutions and corporations control us by surveillance of our feelings (p.228).

"Goffman greatly expanded our understanding of the place of emotion in social control, viewing feeling as a force motivating the individual to conform to normative and situational pressures" (Robinson; Smith-Lovin, Wisecup, 2006, p.107, in Grandey, Diefendorff & Rupp, p. 208). As Freud is to anxiety, such is Goffman to embarrassment and shame (in Hochschild, p.226). "Goffman applies the overarching metaphor of acting. His rules are generally rules that apply when we are 'on stage'. We *play* characters and interact with other *played* characters" (p.226).

2.1.5   A New Social Theory of Emotion

An examination of Hochschild's work (1983) in relation to these two classical models of emotion reveals her as a social constructivist who aligns herself with what she calls a "new social theory of emotion" (p. 228) that joins three traditions of thought: organismic; interactional; and Freud's view of affects as signals. Influenced by Darwin's (1955) notion of emotion as gesture, "namely, a biologically given sense related to an orientation to action" (p.232); Dewey (1922), Gerth and Mills' (1964) assertions that feelings take shape within a social context; Goffman's (1959) belief that emotion is tied to the presentation of self in relation to others; and "finally, through Freud, I circle back from the organismic to the interactional tradition, tracing through an analysis of the signal function of feeling and how social factors influence what we expect and thus what feelings "signal" (p.232).

Hochschild applied these theories to the functioning of organizations and institutions and revealed the impact of these social interactions on the experiences of the individual.

> From the interactional theorists, then, we learn what gets done *to* emotion and feeling and also how feelings are a preamble to what gets done to them. From Darwin, as from other organismic theorists, we gain a sense of what, beneath the acts of emotion management, is there to be managed, with institutional guidance or in spite of it. Yet this is not the whole story. It is not simply true that the malleable aspect of emotion is "social" (the focus of the interactional theorists) and that the unmalleable aspect of emotion is its biological link to action (the focus of the organismic theorists). Rather, the unmalleable aspect of emotion (which is what we try to manage) is *also social.* (Hochschild, 2012, p.230)

2.2   Emotional Labor

2.2.1   Hochschild: The Commercialization of Feeling

> …individuals turn to feelings in order to locate themselves or at least to see what their own reactions are to a given event. That in the absence of unquestioned external guidelines, the signal function of emotion becomes more important, and the commercial distortion of the managed heart becomes all the more important as a human cost. (Hochschild, 2003, p.22)

In her book, *The Managed Heart: the commercialization of the human heart* (Hochschild, 1983)), sociologist Arlie Hochschild, coined the term "emotional labor" to describe the commercialization of human feeling as defined by the management of feelings for wage. Her ethnographic study of flight attendants and bill collectors looked closely at the private and commercial aspects of workplace emotions in relation to the preservation of self. Recognizing this emotional demand requires acknowledgement of the work involved in monitoring, regulating and understanding it, otherwise known as *emotional labor* (Hochschild, 1883).

Webster's New World Dictionary (2002) defines *emotion* as any strong feeling, and *feeling* as emotion. Some would debate the philosophical distinction between *emotion* and *feeling*, but for the purpose of this discussion, and the examination of Hochschild's work, the two shall be used interchangeably. Hochschild, herself, defines feeling as emotion and compares it to a sense like sight or hearing.

> Feelings, I suggest, are not stored "inside" us, and they are not independent of acts of management. Both the act of "getting in touch with" feeling and the act of "trying to" feel may become part of the process that makes the thing we get in touch with, or the thing we manage, into a feeling or emotion. In managing feeling, we contribute to the creation of it. (Hochschild, 1983, p.17)

Though not the first to identify jobs that require standards for employee behavior, Hochschild's research established the definition of the term *emotional labor* and its three main criteria: face to face contact with the public; a goal of producing an emotional state in another person; and the employer having control over the emotional activities of its employees (Hochschild, 1983).

> This labor requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others—in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place. This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality. (p. 7)

While the terms *emotional labor* and *emotion work* are often used interchangeably, Hochschild distinguishes emotional labor as that which is a work product with an *exchange value*, and emotion work or emotion management as "these same acts done in a private context where they have *use value*" (p.7).

Early writing focused on emotional labor as a component of jobs in the service sector, particularly those in which a specific relationship with a customer is mandated by an employer. These included, but were not limited to, flight attendants, bill collectors, waitresses, secretaries, healthcare workers. More recently it has been acknowledged that teachers experience emotion labor (Beatty 2000a; Hargreaves, 2000; Gronn, 2003). Hochschild, a social constructivist, disclosed the psycho-social dimensions of people-work through the lens of jobs that oblige employees to be *nice*r or *nastier than natural* (Steinberg, 1999). But the relevance of her findings reach well beyond the jobs described, for most jobs entail "…some handling of other people's feelings and our own, and in this sense we are all partly flight attendants…" (Hochschild, 1983. 11).

> Emotions are not all our own, although we like to think they are. They are borrowed from our national and organizational culture, and we return them in sometimes modified form. This is how the norms of appropriate feelings and emotions change over time. The culture of the organization helps create and reinforce the dominant emotions of control in the workplace, such as guilt, fear, shame, anxiety or 'looking happy'. We have to learn what emotional 'face' is appropriate, and when. (Fineman, 2003.23)

2.2.2 Goffman: Establishing the Metaphor

Emotional labor is the work involved in managing feelings as part of the expectation of employment. Hochschild acknowledges the strong influence of the work of Erving Goffman on her thinking. Goffman (1959) was the first to speak of behaviors in jobs that are guided by *the invisible hand* of norms for appropriate behavior or expectations that

are established by organizations. Using theater as a metaphor for human behavior, Goffman referred to individuals as *performers* who attempt to create an impression of reality that they may or may not believe themselves. A performer may be completely taken in and convinced of the reality of his performance. This person is seen as *sincere* (p.17). On the other hand, an individual may clearly recognize his "act" (p.17) and may be motivated to foster feelings in others as a means to an end. This person is seen as cynical and may engage in this performance for self-gain and with no concern for others, or with a belief that it is in the best interest of his audience (p.18).

Whether or not one is taken in by one's own routine, Goffman asserts there is a continuum that ranges from the cynical to the altruistic (p.19). Each extreme, has its own associated securities and defenses (Goffman, 1959). He then cautions that those who venture too close to the poles will "complete the voyage" (Goffman, 1959, p.19) and may play the role as described by Park (1950):

> In a sense, and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves—the role we are striving to live up to—this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons.(Park, 1950, p. 250)

There are psychosocial consequences of emotional labor. Blake Ashforth and Ronald Humphrey (1993) state that even the authentic expression of emotion is work, including emotion that is genuine and needs little prompting. Wharton (1993) defines emotional labor as "the effort involved in displaying organizationally sanctioned emotions by those whose jobs require interaction with clients or customers and for whom these interactions are an important component of their work" (p.160). This *commodification of emotion* (Fineman, 2006, p. 102) is a theme that speaks to controlling the affective conditions directed to and connected with organizational success and in alignment with existing social pressures (p.103).

Hochschild (1983) revealed the inauthenticity, alienation of self and stress that comes from curbing felt emotional response in the workplace, resulting in burnout from over-identification with one's work role and self-blame due to feelings of insincerity.

> When rules about how to feel and how to express feeling are set by management, when workers have weaker rights to courtesy that customers do, when deep and surface acting are forms of labor to be sold, and when private capacities for empathy and warmth are put to corporate uses, what happens to the way a person relates to her feelings or to her face? When worked-up warmth becomes an instrument of service work, what can a person learn about herself from her feelings? And when a worker abandons her work smile, what kind of tie remains between her smile and her self? (Hochschild, 2003 89-90.)

2.2.3 Acting *at* Feeling

Hochschild (1983) explains that *display* is the outward manifestation of one's feeling. The connection between feeling and display is an unconscious one until that feeling does not align with the situation. It is then that the question arises as to whether or not one should act in accordance to social and cultural expectations, or *feeling and display rules* (p.56). Hochschild defines *feeling rules* as the social scripts that govern social exchanges (p.56) that individuals are socialized to incorporate into a private emotion system (p.56). Hochschild refers to feeling rules as culturally relative traffic rules that we do not presume "to be universal or objectively valid according to any moral criteria" (p.260), but rather are the guideposts that inform individuals as to how one *ought* to feel (p.61) and reflective of where one stands on the "social landscape" (p.57). The incongruence of *feeling* and *display* becomes the basis of emotion work. Hochschild identifies this as "emotive dissonance" (p.90), an internal rift caused by acting in opposition to genuine feeling. *Surface acting*, putting on an act, implies that one does not feel comparable feelings to those displayed. It becomes a matter of the appearance of feeling. The continual demand for such inauthentic displays of emotion to others may be harmful and result in burnout (Baker & Heuven, 2006; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). Hochschild asserts that emotive dissonance is most harmful as it relates to a loss of sense of self

(p.131). While stress and burnout are highly correlated to the agitated feelings of emotional labor, Erikson and Ritter (2001) found that the effects do not differ by gender. Fineman (2006) states:

> …tensions could be expected in other occupational settings where someone of the 'wrong' sex occupies the job: the male nurse, male midwife, male secretary, female engineer, female firefighter, or female building construction worker. Such people are having to work with (or against) gender emotion-stereotypes in meeting the expectations of their peers, superiors and subordinates, as well as of their customers or clients." (p.103)

Hochschild (1983) compares surface acting to *deep acting* by explaining that the first is that which we do to fool others, the second to fool ourselves (p. 36). It is the attempt to consciously connect with a feeling in order to make it a part of oneself (p.36). We engage in deep acting in our daily live, in our personal and professional lives (p.42), in our effort to try to feel what we believe we *should* feel (p.43). When we perceive that it is problematic to experience a feeling that is unaligned with a given situation, we may choose to engage in an acting exercise to stir emotions we feel more appropriate to convincingly meet others expectations for our display (p. 43).

Researchers on emotional labor since Hochschild's initial study have fallen into two major veins of thought (Steinberg, 1999). Those who follow Hochschild's approach focus on the work involved in performing the emotional labor. Yet other researchers emphasize its effect on others (England, 1986). While significant attention has been focused on the negative effect of emotional labor on workers, emotion work can be perceived as positive (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1991) and may not be unsatisfying to workers, and may indeed benefit workers (Leidner, 1993; Paules, 1991) as in the case of a waitress who manipulates feelings for self-benefit (Paules, 1991). Playing the role of caretaker long enough and with the illusion of great concern may indeed foster the belief in oneself that the concern is sincere. Brotheridge and Grandey's (2002) research on the perspectives of people work indicates that displaying positive emotions, using deep-level regulation of emotions, resulted in a deeper sense of satisfaction and personal

accomplishment. The challenge for school leaders lies in recognizing those positive emotions when they are present.

> At some point the fusion of "real" and "acted" self will be tested by a crucial event. A continual series of situations batter an unprotected ego as it gives to and receives from an assembly line of strangers Often the test comes when a company speed-up makes personal service impossible to deliver because the individual's personal self is too thinly parceled out to meet the demands made on it. At this point, it becomes harder and harder to keep the public and private selves fused. (Hochschild, 1983, p.133)

Hochschild clarifies the importance of having a "wide repertoire of deep acting techniques that enable workers to personalize or depersonalize an encounter at will" (p.132-33). Without it, she asserts, there will be great difficulty maintaining the lines between personal and professional identities, resulting in hurt, anger and distress (p.133).

2.3   School Leadership: Being All Things to All People

2.3.1   The Growing Responsibilities of Leadership

> Our perspectives on leadership have matured a great deal over the last century. We have progressed all the way from the belief that leaders are born, not made, to embracing the notion that leaders must connect with all others in an organization in such a way that the organization becomes a reflection of common core values that serve to raise the organization to a higher moral and ethical level. That's quite a journey by any stretch of the imagination! (Pellicer, 2003, p. xvi)

Leading a school is rarely, if ever, portrayed as an easy job. The National Association of Elementary School Principals (Doud) released the *Elementary and Middle School Proficiencies for Principals* (Doud, 1997) outlining eight categories of these skills. Included in the eight competencies are: curriculum and instruction; assessment; organizational management; fiscal management; and political management (p.25). To believe this an exhaustive list would be shortsighted and fail to acknowledge a growing body of research expanding, exponentially, the requisite skills and responsibilities inherent in school leadership. Today's leaders are called upon to inspire teachers with a sense of vision and purpose under mounting expectations for accountability and higher student academic performance with less money (Leithwood, 2007). As noted writer and founder of the Harvard Principals' Center, Roland Barth aptly summarizes, "The principal is ultimately responsible for almost everything that happens in school and out" (Barth, 1980b). His description, written thirty-three years ago, could be describing the principal of today.

> We are responsible for personnel—making sure that employees are physically present and working to the best of their ability. We are in charge of program—making sure that teachers are teaching what they are supposed to and that children are learning it. We are accountable to parents—making sure that each is given an opportunity to express problems and that those problems are addressed and resolved. We are expected to protect the physical safety of children—making sure that the several hundred lively organisms who leave each morning return equally lively, in the afternoon.
>
> Over the years principals have assumed one small additional responsibility after another—responsibility for the safe passage of children from school to home, responsibility for the safe passage from home to school, responsibility for making sure the sidewalks are plowed of snow in winter, responsibility for health education, sex education, moral education, responsibility for teaching children to evacuate school buses and to ride their bikes safely. We have taken on lunch programs, then breakfast programs; responsibility for the physical condition of the furnace, the wiring, the

playground equipment. We are now accountable for children's achievement of minimum standards at each grade level, for the growth of children with special needs, of the gifted, and of those who are neither. The principal has become a provider of social services, food services, health care, recreation programs and transportation—with a solid skills education worked in somehow. (Barth, 1980b)

The National Association of Elementary School Principals' (NAESP) ten-year study on the K-8 principalship identified the significantly increased responsibilities of the principal (Doud and Keller, 1998). The National Association of Secondary School Principals' (NASSP, 2002) study of a principal's work-hours per week indicated a mean of 62.21 hours. Also reported was an indicator of the areas principals spend the most time. "Despite dramatic increases in responsibility in dealing with marketing, choice, school-based management, curriculum, and teaching, it is the daily and continuous interaction with teachers, other staff, and students that consumes the lion's share of a principal's time" (Sergionvanni, 2006).

Even though many teachers hold administrative credentials, the National Association of Elementary School Principals' *Fact Sheet on the Principal Shortage* (1998) reports that qualified professionals do not aspire to be principals. The concern outlined in this report, now fifteen years old, continues to be the subject of discussion. Much of what is outlined in current research substantiates the difficulties in recruitment and retention of school principals (Fenwick, 2000; Zellner D., Gideon, Doughty, 2001). As a growing number of currently installed leaders reach retirement age, the issue of their replacement rises to new heights (Gates, Ringel, Santibanez, Chung, Ross, 2003). Therefore, the retention of those who successfully transition from teacher to administrator is critical.

2.3.2   Key Themes in Educational Leadership

The key themes that have emerged in this century go beyond the mere extension of those of the twentieth century. Common to the literature is the belief that educational leadership has significant effects on student learning (Leithwood and Riehl, 2003). Three areas of practice have emerged in the research that contribute significantly to successful leadership across most organizational contexts: *setting directions, developing people*, and *developing the organization*. Leithwood and Riehl's (2003) review of the literature on educational leadership indicates that effective leaders provide strong human resources in their schools, including: offering intellectual stimulation; providing individualized support; and providing an appropriate model (p.6). All three areas rely heavily on a leader's ability to foster a culture of respect and responsibility, to others and to oneself (p.6).

In the wake of the Unites States No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, the concept of school leadership broadened to include instructional leadership (Sergionvanni, 2006) in response to the mandate to educate 100 percent of our school population to academic proficiency, when past practice included only 50-60 percent (p. *xviii*). There is abundant, research regarding key themes in educational leadership in relationship to leading a school (Barth, 1991; Fullan, 2007; Hargreaves and Fink, 2004; Sergiovanni, 2006). The literature on school leadership sets forth an extensive list of descriptors to inform the practice of school leaders, including: instructional leadership, moral leadership, relational leadership, reflective leadership, transformational leadership, authentic leadership, sustainable leadership and emotionally intelligent leadership (Ashbaugh, 1994; Blase & Blase, 2004; Donaldson, 2006; Fullan, 2007; Goleman, 2002; Hargreaves, 2004; Leithwood, 2007; Sergiovanni, 2006). These models of leadership are rooted in a

desire to transform schools in positive ways through leadership connections, but rarely are they rooted in emotional language or emotional epistemology (Beatty, 2002).

2.3.3 Working on Relationships

> To support that approach to leadership development, various scholars, especially management theorists, have tried to identify, through scientific studies, those traits and characteristics that potential followers find most appealing and those behaviors that leaders can engage in that are consistent with those expectations. (Denhardt, 2006)

Author Max DePree, chairman emeritus of Herman Miller, Inc. was elected by *Fortune Magazine* to the National Business Hall of Fame. In his book, *Leadership is an Art* (2004), DePree states, "Leaders owe the organization a new reference point for what caring, purposeful, committed people can be in an institutional setting" (DePree, cited in Pellicer, 2003, p.17), and "make a meaningful difference in the lives of those who permit leaders to lead" (Blase & Blase, 2004)

Changes in leadership practice that call for relational leadership speak to the need to develop relationships and build communities of learners, but the concepts behind the language rarely relate to emotions, but rather to commitment to the work, focusing on rational, technical and behavioral forms of communication (Denhardt, 2006). Vaill (1984) states that leaders "have very strong *feelings* (original emphasis) about the attachment of the system's purposes" (p.17). "Furthermore, unlike cold, calculated, objective, and uninvolved managers, they bring to their enterprises a certain passion that affects others deeply" (Sergiovanni, 2006, p.18). But even his metaphor of the *heart of leadership* (p. 2) seems to speak to the organizational level of school rather than to interpersonal and intrapersonal matters of the heart.

> The *heart* of leadership has to do with what a person believes, values, dreams about, and is committed to—that person's *personal* vision…of what is a good school. The *head* of leadership has to do with the theories of practice each of us has developed over time and our ability to reflect on the situation we face in light of these theories…Finally, the *hand* of leadership has to do with the actions we take, the decisions we make, the leadership and management behaviors we use as our strategies become institutionalized in the form of school programs, policies, and procedures. As with the heart and head, how we choose to manage and lead are personal reflections not only of our vision and practical theories

but also of our personalities and our responses to the unique situation we face."
(Sergiovanni, 2006, p.2)

Roland Barth (2003) writes of *relational leadership*, "the quality of adult relationships within a school has more to do with the quality and character of the school and with the accomplishments of students than any other factor" (p.163). Beatty (2004), in speaking of transforming school culture, acknowledges the limitations of building effective collaborative relationships due to the prohibition of professional discourse that relates to emotions. Michael Fullan (2001) writes, "For better or worse, change arouses emotions, and when emotions intensify, leadership is key" (Fullan, 2001, p.1).

Denhardt and Denhardt (2006) compare leadership to the art of dance pointing to the rhythm, tempo and timing of communication and making connections in ways that "touch the human emotions… connect[ing] with us emotionally, in a way that energizes us and moves us to act" (p.164).

Although emotion has been shown to be linked to learning and leading, "the effective integration of emotional meaning making as professional practice remains outside the norm in most schools." In researching the emotion work of school leaders, Harris (2007) found:

> The emotional work of leadership therefore involves facilitating and supporting each person's active engagement in meaningful dialogue, deep learning and collaborative agency. The unfolding 'co-created field' of the classroom, school, educational community or wider social environment is more likely to be experienced as a vibrant, life-enhancing space in which people may thrive and develop their own capacity for leadership. To be effective in this work the leader has a duty of care to attend to their emotional needs and recognise how these might otherwise undermine their most concerted efforts to support, care for and mobilise others. (Harris, 2007, p.6)

Harris presents the challenge to leaders in another way:

> The organization is a cauldron of repressed thoughts, fantasies and hopes. People behave according to concealed personal agendas, urges that are often at odds with the formal aims of the organization, but which contribute to the political buzz, plots and passions of work life. They also underpin the motives of key players in the organization, especially organizational leaders. Unconscious fears are seen to distort reality and undermine organizational 'rationality', efficiency and health. (Harris, 2007, p.13)

The ever-expanding definition of a school leader positioned within the highly emotional context of the institution of schools would seem to underscore the growing emotional demand on school leaders. And yet, this *emotional demand* often goes relatively unacknowledged and the work involved in performing the relational aspect of a school leader's duties is subsumed in other leadership proficiencies (Fletcher, 2001). Critical to the development and retention of effective school leaders is an understanding of the affective nature of their work (Blackmore, 1996; Fullan, 2003). Leadership is an emotional endeavor (Goleman, 2002). It impacts both the leader and the led (Palmer et al., 2001; Briner, 1999). This calls for a closer examination of leading schools with emotions in mind.

2.4　Emotions in Schools:　Relationships with Self and Others

2.4.1　Relationships with *Others*

> When a relationship moves from disconnection to mutual connection, each person feels a greater sense of personal authenticity as well as a sense of "knowing" or "seeing" the other. This experience of mutual empathy requires that each person have the capacity for empathic connecting. Empathy is a complex, highly developed ability to join with another at a cognitive and affective level without losing connection with one's own experience. Openness to growth through empathic joining within the relational process is fundamental to mutual relationships. Mutual empowerment describes a process of relational interaction where each person grows in psychological strength or power. This has been described as "power-with-others," as distinguished from "power-over" others, which has been the traditional structure of relationships, where one person (or group of persons) has been dominant and the other subordinate, or one person (or group of persons) has been assigned the task of fostering the psychological development of others. Historically, women have been assigned the task of fostering the psychological development of others, including men and children. (Covington and Surrey, 1997, p. 337-338)

The research into emotions in the school setting (Beatty, 2003, 1999; Boler, 1999; Harris, 2007; and Leithwood and Beatty, 2008) reveals the very human side of schools and acknowledges it as being critically important to successful school leadership. Grounding the current thinking on educational leadership is the importance placed on building and sustaining strong relationships with the constituents, or *others*, of the school community (Fineman, 2006) through inclusive educational processes, which foster mutual trust (Tschannen-Moran, 2004).　Leithwood and Beatty (2008) assert that "teachers' feelings and knowledge (internal states) are the immediate 'causes' of what teachers do in their classrooms and schools" (p.9). With these feelings and emotions so closely tied to the cognitive states involved in acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary for school reform (p.9), it is a wonder that emotion management is not given more attention in leadership training.

Tschannen-Moran (2004) discusses the need for being a trustworthy school leader. The principal sets the tone and significantly impacts the culture of the school (p.101). Tschannen-Moran speaks of the trustworthy leader as one who carries out the five *functions of leadership* (visioning, modeling, coaching, managing, and mediating, while

modeling the five *facets of trust*: (benevolence, honesty, openness, reliability, and competence) with the five *constituents of the schools* (administrators, teachers, students, parents and the public (Tschannen-Moran, p.101).

Evans (1996) states, "Trust is the essential link between leader and led, vital to people's job satisfaction and loyalty, vital to followership" (p.135). Trust is inspired in others when a leader is "honest, fair, competent and forward-thinking" (p.136). Trust is deeply rooted in a leader's integrity of character in action (p.137). And trust is key, in that a leader is competent and grounded in values that serve her constituents, and decisions are made accordingly (Sergiovanni, 1992, p.80).

Educational Leadership is about relationships with all members of the school community: teachers, students, parents; and peers (Kouzes and Posner, 2002; Sergiovanni, 2006). At the heart of these relationships are the emotions, the feelings we have for and about others, and they about us.

> In a nutshell, then, emotions guide our thinking in ways that allow us to act "sensibly" under conditions of uncertainty. On these grounds, it is hard to imagine a profession more dependent on emotions to guide action than the teaching profession. So understanding teacher emotions would seem to be at the heart of understanding why teachers act as they do. Understanding how to assist teachers in maintaining positive emotional states would seem to be a central understanding for successful school leadership. (Leithwood and Beatty, 2008, p. 7).

Despite new definitions of the school leader as a relationship builder and the call for emotional competency (Ciarrochi & Scott, 2006; Collins, 2001; Goleman, 1995; Andrews et al., 1999; Kouzes and Posner, 2000), the role emotionality plays in school leadership has not been fully explored (Raefeli, 2001; Beatty, 1999).

2.4.2   Relational Practice: A Model for School Leaders

> Success in leadership, success in business, and success in life has been, is now, and will continue to be a function of how well people work and play together. We're even more convinced of this today than we were twenty years ago. Success in leading will be wholly dependent upon the capacity to build and sustain those human relationships that enable people to get extraordinary things done on a regular basis. (Kouzes and Posner, 2002, p. 71.)

Within the abundant literature on leadership practice, much is said about the importance of establishing and maintaining healthy *relationships* in the workplace, but far less is written on being a *relational leader*. Fletcher (2001) explains that "relational practice is a way of working that reflects a relational logic of effectiveness and requires a number of relational skills such as empathy, mutuality, reciprocity, and a sensitivity to emotional contexts" (p. 84). It is preserving; mutual empowering; self-achieving and creating team experience (p. 85). In *preserving*, it is focused on the task and places project needs before self; job definition; and boundaries in pursuit of doing what needs to be done (p.85). It is *mutually empowering* by being focused on the *other*. There is sharing of information, and an awareness of existing competencies and learner's challenges (p.85). It is *self-achieving* in its focus on self and the use of relational skills to achieve goals. It calls for "reflecting on one's own behavior and uses feelings as a source of data to understand and anticipate reactions and consequences (p.85). And its focus is on *team experience* as opposed to team identity (p. 73), "facilitating connections among individuals by absorbing stress, reducing conflict, and creating structural practices that encourage interdependence" (p. 85). Relational leading emphasizes connection; growth as the outcome of interactions; and mutuality of power (p.33).

> …the relational model views development as growth with and toward connection, positing healthy connection with other persons as the means and goal of psychological development. (Covington and Surrey, 1997, p.336)

Although Fletcher's research was based on workers in an engineering firm, it focused on traits that are very much a part of school culture: mutuality; empathy; connection; learning; human growth and development (p.9). This research was also inspired by a

quest to discover why relational skills are so often seen, not as strengths, but "as feminine traits associated with women's greater emotional needs" (p.9). Fletcher's insight regarding the "disappearing" of relational practices as personal traits; limited by language; and influenced by the social construction of gender (p. 103), quietly resonates in comparison to Hochschild's theory of emotional labor. Just as certain relational activities, like giving help to a co-worker, "gets disappeared" (p. 103) as a misattribution of motive or personality trait (p. 103), so can the surface acting and masking inherent in emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983) go unnoticed or even undervalued by the employer. Beatty (2005) speaks about an ensuing *deadening effect* (p.129). Beatty posits (p. 129) that this 'deadening' effect is reminiscent of Hochschild's (1983) finding that perpetual emotional labor causes emotional numbness (p. 188). Such numbness threatens well-being and compromises the ability to connect emotionally with self and others" (p.196).

Understanding what makes people tick, emotionally, contributes to managing others, as well as oneself. Self-awareness; self-regulation; motivation; empathy and social skill and management of emotions are components of what Goleman (1995) calls *emotional intelligence*. Leithwood and Beatty (2008) found that "[e]motional intelligence correlated with several components of transformational leadership suggesting that it may be an important component of effective leadership. In particular emotional intelligence may account for how effective leaders monitor and respond to subordinates and make them feel at work" (Leithwood, Beatty, 2008, p.9).

> The emotional work of leadership therefore involves facilitating and supporting each person's active engagement in meaningful dialogue, deep learning and collaborative agency. The unfolding 'co-created field of the classroom, school, educational community or wider social environment is more likely to be experienced as a vibrant, life-enhancing space in which people may thrive and develop their own capacity for leadership. To be effective in this work the leader has a duty of care to attend to their emotional needs and recognise how these might otherwise undermine their most concert efforts to support, care for and mobilise others. (Harris, 2007, p. 6)

Skillfully identifying the feelings of others calls for a solid understanding of self. Harris (2007) tells us that "…creative relationships are needed, founded on deep inner

awareness, knowledge and understanding of self in all constructive and destructive configurations" (p.5). It is this *self* who engages and is truly *present* in her interactions with the citizens of the school community (p.5).

2.4.3   Relationship with Self: In Pursuit of Self-Awareness

Many factors influence the way in which a person leads, but Kouzes and Posner (2002) assert that exemplary leadership involves five practices: *model the way*; *inspire a shared vision*; *challenge the process*; *enable others to act*; and *encourage the heart* (p. 65). Zaccaro, Kemp and Bader (2004, cited in Leithwood and Beatty, 2008) present *The Big Five: emotional stability*; *extraversion*; *agreeableness*; *conscientiousness*; and *openness to experience*. Additionally, Zaccarro et al (2004, in Leithwood and Beatty, 2008, p. 129) and Day and Leithwood (2007) provide for the additional personality traits of: "optimism; proactivity; internal locus of control; and nurturance" (cited in Leithwood and Beatty, 2008, p.129).

> [E]veryone has agency and therefore the potential for different levels and forms of leadership, whether in relation to learning, administration, individual and collective well being or community relations. However, in the course of human development through childhood and into adulthood everyone experiences challenges to their core sense of self, self worth and self efficacy. Indeed it is the formative process of working through such experiences that supports maturation and enhances the capacity for effective relating with others, particularly those in authority." (Harris, 2007, p. 4)

These models and incorporated characteristics of exemplary leadership necessitate an awareness of self that comes through personal reflection. Given the pace and complexity of a school leader's day, it is easy to move from one situation to another; one interaction to another; and one crisis to another without deeply processing these experiences. Skillfully handling the myriad situations, which life at school presents, is not only admirable, but a performance expectation for the school leader. Replication, generalization and application of these skills to new situations comes from thoughtful reflection and an awareness of the tools in one's leadership toolbox. With experience, the toolbox grows and, hopefully, decision-making more automatic, and social appraisal

skills (Marlowe, 1986, in Leithwood and Beatty, 2008) become attune within the context of school.

Marlowe (1986) defined social appraisal skills as, "the ability to understand the feelings, thoughts, and behaviors of persons, including oneself, in interpersonal situations and act appropriately upon that understanding" (in Leithwood and Beatty, 2008, p 130). Zaccaro et al. (in Leithwood and Beatty, 2008) found a correlation between social appraisal skills and leadership success.

2.4.4 *Connecting* with Others: The Team

Senge (1990) asserts that today's leaders must "*institutionalize* their leadership" (p. 26). Given the complexity of and specificity of the issues leaders face, no one, regardless of gifts and natural talents, can personally solve all problems (p.26). Even when a leader has the capacity to do so, the failure to build capacity in others through institutionalizing the process exposes the organization to great risk should the leader leave (p.16). Senge identifies the *leadership team* as a group of people who are chosen for excellence in performance (p.26). Murphy (1968) explains that high performing administrators may be reluctant to ask for help for fear of appearing weak. "Paradoxically, when power within an organization is shared and leadership is shifted among various staff members, the administrator's position is often strengthened, reflecting what sociologists call the norm of reciprocity: if you share your power, I'll share my power in turn." (p. 59).

Leaders are pulled forward by their dreams and aspirations (Kouzes and Posner, 2002, p. 65). They are willing to take the risk of being out ahead, and they enthusiastically enlist the help of others to share their vision (pp. 66-67). When that shared vision results in a great team experience, people will often speak of the *meaningfulness* of the experience (Senge, 1990, p. 12). They will describe "being part of something larger than themselves,

of being connected, of being generative (p. 13). The word for this is *metanoia,* meaning shift of mind (p.12). Senge asserts that to better understand this phenomenon one must grasp the meaning of a *learning organization* as —an organization that is continually expanding its capacity to create its future" (p.13). As team members give voice to a shared vision, they co-create their future and the future of the organization.

> Real learning gets to the heart of what it means to be human. Through learning we re-create ourselves. Through learning we become able to do something we never were able to do. Through learning we reperceive the world and our relationship to it. Through learning we extend our capacity to create, to be part of the generative process of life. There is within each of us a deep hunger for this type of learning." (Senge, 1990, p. 13).

Beatty's (2003, 2005. Cited in Leithwood & Beatty, 2008) research illuminates the value of self-discovery, self-knowledge the networking among team members (p. 134). A healthy, high-functioning leadership team gives voice to common values and goals. It provides direction and support for dealing with the complex issues of today's schools. Hargreaves (2006) tells us that "sustainable leadership is healthy leadership" (p. 470), and a healthy leadership team is foundational to sustaining a healthy school district.

Conclusions

Schools are a "people" business, and where there are people, there are emotions. A growing body of literature has exposed the emotional nature of leadership. Despite new definitions of the school leader that include relational leading, the role emotionality plays in school leadership has not been fully explored (Leithwood and Beatty, 2008). Finding a foothold within the literature promotes a better understanding of the complex role emotions play in the workplace.

A debate exists in emotion theory between two classical models that broadly define emotion: the organismic model and the interactional model. The organismic theory of emotion supports a view of emotion as a biological process and is rooted in the works of Darwin, James, and early Freud (cited in Hochschild, 1983). This model proposes the prior existence, management, and expression of emotion as being extrinsic to the biological processes that activate them (in Hochschild, 1983, p.215). Feelings are seen as instinctual, existing even when one is unaware of their presence (p.215). The interactional model is grounded in the works of Dewey, Gerth and Mills (in Hochschild, 1983, p.222) and adds a social framework for meaning-making to the presupposition of biology in emotion. Interactionalists reject the concept that emotion is fixed and acknowledge a reflexivity of expression that makes the *attending to* feeling inseparable from the *shaping of* feeling (p.216).

Hochschild's groundbreaking research applied these theories to the functioning of organizations and institutions and revealed the impact of these social interactions on the experiences of the individual. From these, a third model was developed regarding the commercialization of feeling. This social theory of emotion speaks to the public or institutional control of feelings for hire (Hochschild, 1983, p.228). Influenced by Goffman (1959), Hochschild's seminal work, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization*

of Human Feeling (1983), presents her research on labor, display and emotion in relation to private feeling versus public display, as regulated by the employer. Her work establishes a framework for understanding emotional labor as an aspect of the work of school leaders as they display and mask feelings perceived to be aligned with expectations of their positions.

As research on best practice in school leadership progresses, the importance of leaders establishing strong relationships with their constituents emerges as a common theme. Despite emotional competency underpinning these new definitions, emotionality in school leadership has not been fully explored (Rafaeli, 2001; Beatty, 1999). School leadership is an ever-expanding job. With the current movement sweeping the United States to a national, standards-based education agenda and increasing accountability for student achievement, as measured by high-stakes state performance assessments, teachers may question salary differential in relation to increased responsibilities. With an aging population of school administrators, the vacancy rate created by retirements is unmatched by teachers entering administrative positions (Gates, Ringel, Santibanez, Ross and Chung, 2003). It appears more important than ever to hold on to effective school leaders. Given the strong emphasis on building strong relationships for transformational leadership and school improvement (Leithwood, Mascall, Strauss, Sacks, Memon, & Yashkina, 2009), understanding the emotional nature of their work seems of value.

Emotions play a major role in the workplace, including the human side of leadership and the importance of reflective, caring, organizational management.

> Healthy organizations promote development and growth that respect the finite aspects of the earth's and our own ability to sustain life; unhealthy organizations are greedy organizations that exploit natural and human resources for the self-interest of a few. Dead leaders don't improve much. But when leaders feel energized and alive, there is almost no limit to what they can achieve. (Hargreaves, 2004, p. 470.)

School leaders have a responsibility to reflect on practice and to develop an awareness of self.

<center>**CHAPTER THREE**</center>

3.0   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Introduction

> Phenomenological themes may be understood as the *structures of experience.* So when we analyze a phenomenon, we are trying to determine what the themes are, the experiential structures that make up that experience. It would be simplistic, however, to think of themes as conceptual formulations or categorical statements, After all, it is lived experience we are attempting to describe, and lived experience cannot be captured in conceptual abstractions.   Let us illustrate the determination of phenomenological meaning at the hand of an everyday life concern (Van Manen, 1990, p.79).

In this chapter, I will address the appropriateness of selecting a qualitative human science approach and, more specifically, phenomenology, for researching emotional labor as it was experienced by the participants of this inquiry.

In section one, I will make the case that, in addition to the epistemological, ontological and practical underpinnings inherent in the selection of methodology, there were even greater axiological considerations for this research, which were addressed through a qualitative approach to my research. In section two, with the groundwork established for engaging in qualitative inquiry, I will discuss how I came to select a phenomenological approach as the appropriate vehicle to explore the experience of emotional labor in relation to the reality of our experience as practicing school administrators. In section three, I will discuss the context of the study; role of the researcher; and limitations of the study. In section four, I will layout the processes and procedures for data collection, including: phases of data collection and analysis/interpretation; ethical considerations; and a discussion of *reflexivity* (Koch, 1995) and *crystallization* (Ellingson, 2009; Richardson, 2000. In Ellingson, 2009) as means to establish plausibility of the research.

3.1   A Question of Paradigm

3.1.1   The Paradigm as Conceptual Framework

> Paradigms represent a distillation of what we *think* about the world (but cannot prove).
> Our actions in the world, including actions that we take as inquirers, cannot occur
> without reference to those paradigms: 'As we think, so do we act' (Lincoln & Guba,
> 1985, p.15).

Thomas Kuhn is credited with defining p*aradigm* in research as "universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of researchers" (1996, p.10). In the field of human inquiry, a paradigm is more than a set of constructs, it is a conceptual framework that informs method and forms the basis for interpretation of social reality.

Whether or not it is appropriate to apply quantitative methods of research used in natural sciences to human and socially complex problems is the question that defines the research divide. This question has been the subject of controversy for decades and strongly suggests that it strikes both an intellectual and highly emotional chord within the research community.

> The global community of qualitative researchers is midway between two extremes,
> searching for a new middle, moving in several different directions at the same time.
> Mixed methodologies and calls for scientifically based research, on the one side,
> renewed calls for social justice inquiry from the critical social science tradition on the
> other. In the methodological struggles of the 1970s and 1980s, the very existence of
> qualitative rese33arch was at issue. In the new paradigm war, "every overly social
> justice-oriented approach to research…is threatened with de-legitimization by the
> government-sanctioned, exclusivist assertion of positivism…as the 'gold standard' of
> educational research" (Wright , 2006. In Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p.1).

Although well outside the scope of this dissertation, the works of history's great philosophers shed light into the heart of the debate. From the metaphysics of Aristotle and his attempt to understand the nature of reality at its most fundamental level; to Kuhn's description of normal and revolutionary science and his belief in deeply rooted, foundational paradigms as the context for scientific method (Kuhn, 1970); to Feyerabend's (Feyerabend, 1975. Cited in Chalmers, 1999) attack on method and his

asserttion of individual freedom from scientific constraints, philosophers have devoted themselves to establishing criteria for assessing scientific knowledge and supporting its authority.

3.1.2   Choosing *My* Side of "The Debate"

The first step in selecting a method for this research was to understand the continuum of competing research paradigms in social science (Guba, 1990). Knowing that these paradigms are identified in terms of their axiomatic elements, I gave careful consideration to positions of ontology, epistemology and methodology and engaged in a self-reflective exercise in which I, as the researcher, considered what constitutes truth and knowledge and how these beliefs affect inquiry. Guba (1990) speaks frankly of the context in which to consider these competing paradigms:

> …outlined on the preceding pages are my constructions about the nature of four paradigms—conventional positivism and three contenders for its "crown": post-positivism, critical theory (ideology), and constructivism. We are, nationally and internationally, engaged in a major debate about which of these is to be preferred. It is my own position that a struggle for primacy is irrelevant. As a constructivist I can confidently assert that none of these four is the paradigm of choice. Each is an alternative that deserves, on its merits (and I have no doubt that all are meritorious), to be considered. The dialogue is not to determine which paradigm is, finally, to win out. Rather, it is to take us to another level at which all of these paradigms will be replaced by yet another paradigm whose outlines we can see now but dimly, if at all. The new paradigm will not be a closer approximation to truth; it will simply be more informed and sophisticated than those we are not entertaining (Guba, 1990, p.27).

In essence, as a prerequisite to meaningful and cohesive research, I made it a priority to place myself, philosophically, along this continuum. Guba's stance gave me permission to be constructive and to see my research endeavor as a passage, one that I could anticipate being punctuated by descriptive stops along a path of experience; and foresee understanding, of myself and others, as my destination. One of the most significant personal discoveries I have made in the course of my research is that I am not uncomfortable with the concept of relative truth. I see context and its influence on research as something not only to be acknowledged but embraced. I depend on multiple contexts to provide varying perspectives as a way to bring to the foreground unique

realities and experiences of an otherwise universally, similar phenomenon. In exploring a human condition I must be free to acknowledge the layers of perception and reality that exist each individual.

In addition to the epistemological, ontological and practical considerations that underpin a chosen methodology were additional issues to examine, ones of *inquiry posture*, *inquirer aim*, *voice* and *reflexivity* (Heron & Reason, 1997; Guba & Lincoln, 2005. Cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, pp. 101; 106; 110; 115). While not an exhaustive list, these issues illustrate the many belief systems that consciously or subconsciously become a researcher's frame of reference, and in the interest of transparency of research, they are worthy of acknowledgment. Therefore, my impetus for inquiry; my membership in the community being researched; and my goal of improving my own practice through a better understanding of the phenomenon of emotional labor in school administrators, each played a role in my guiding my research.

3.1.3   Valuing *Understanding*

It is important to note that in addition to the ontological, epistemological and methodological axioms that characterize research paradigms, there are critical axiological underpinnings that differentiate one from another. In that axiological assumptions are concerned with what is valued within a given paradigm, it was essential to my research that *understanding* emotional labor, as it is experienced within my team, be valued as an end unto itself.

> The question of value is not included as part of the definition of an inquiry paradigm: it is considered to be only one of a range of selected practical issues on which each of their four inquiry paradigms will have a position…We take the view that there is a fourth fundamental question which is also necessary to fully define an inquiry paradigm: the axiological question about what is intrinsically worthwhile, what it is about the human condition that is valuable as an end in itself…The fourth and axiological question is about values of being, about what human states are to be valued simply by virtue of what they are. This is a necessary complement to balance and make whole the concern with truth exhibited by the first three questions. And the first question to be raised is about the valuing of knowledge itself. (Heron & Reason, 1997, p. 274)

Lincoln & Guba, expanding on traditional research paradigms and perspectives, have revisited their own thinking regarding the position that the concept of values holds within each inquiry paradigm.

> Earlier, we placed values on the table as an "issue" on which positivist or phenomenologist might have a "posture" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Fortunately, we reserved for ourselves the right to either get smarter or just change our minds, We did both. Now, we suspect that axiology should be grouped with basic beliefs. A second reading of the burgeoning literature and subsequent rethinking of our own rationale have led us to conclude that the issue is much larger than we first conceived. If we had it to do all over again, we would make values or, more correctly, axiology (the branch of philosophy dealing with ethics, aesthetics, and religion) a part of the basic foundational philosophical dimensions of paradigm proposal. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p.264-265)

Metaphorically speaking, I see the axiological considerations of each social inquiry paradigm as the glue that holds the pieces together for me. In placing myself along the research continuum, I found myself questioning the values that underscore each paradigm and how they affect methodological stance. The implications for my research were profound. If I am to assert the value of *understanding*, then I must not apologize for it being my goal, and the manner in which I conduct my research must be aligned with this goal in mind. I must select a methodology that will not, by virtue of its defining features, either impede my ability to establish relationships or silence the voices of those *with* whom I study.

In *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Lincoln & Guba (1985) explored the role that values play in research, including but not limited to the choices a researcher makes in relation to the problem under study; the mode of gathering and analyzing data; and the manner in which findings are presented. In the revision of this summary (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 109, Table 6.1. Cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2011 p. 98), they have now expanded their understanding of qualitative research paradigms to include the axiom of axiology (Lynham & Webb-Johnson, 2008. Cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) and have extended their representation of the research continuum to include the underpinnings of a new paradigm called the *participatory paradigm* (Heron and Reason, 1997).   The

participatory paradigm has an extended epistemology that embraces living knowledge that is gathered in communities of practice; requires awareness through self-reflection; seeks practical knowledge that informs and transforms action; and is validated through "congruence of experiential, presentational, propositional, and practical knowing" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011, p.101).

3.2   Phenomenology…Explication of Phenomena

3.2.1   Finding a Vehicle for *Understanding* the Essence of an Experience

> Phenomenology is a project of sober reflection on the lived experience of human existence–sober, in the sense that reflecting on experience must be thoughtful, and as much as possible, free from theoretical, prejudicial and suppositional intoxications. But, phenomenology is also a project that is driven by fascination: being swept up in a spell of wonder, a fascination with meaning. The reward phenomenology offers are the moments of seeing-meaning or "in-seeing" into "the heart of things" (Van Manen, 2007, p.12).

Having attached a label to this phenomenon called *emotional labor,* I found myself driven to understand it. The challenge this presented was to align research paradigm positions with methodological stance; find a fitting means for the exploration of the human experience of emotional labor; and to link it to the nature of my own reality. As an administrator, I had accepted that emotional labor was a component of my position as a school leader and saw, what I perceived to be, evidence of my colleagues experiencing it, as well. I came to believe that to fully understand the essence of our experience would somehow empower us.

According to Van Manen (1990), studying the essence of an experience is a process of discovering why something is what it is (Husserl, 1982; Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Finding roots in the philosophical works of Edmund Husserl; Martin Heidegger; Maurice Merleau-Ponty; Jean-Paul Sartre; and Alfred Schutz, Max Van Manen presents an approach to qualitative research based on hermeneutic phenomenology in *Researching Lived Experience* (1990). Using the term *human science* interchangeably with *phenomenology* and *hermeneutics*, he states that all research involves questioning the way in which we, as human beings, experience the world (p.5). The goal of phenomenological research is the understanding of our everyday experiences, our life world. Foundational to this approach is the concept of *intentionality*, which can be described as an inseparable connection between knowing and being in the world as a way

to be fully a part of it, or in other words, to become the world (Husserl, 1970. Cited in Van Manen, p.5).

3.2.2 Finding Meaning in *My* Experience

In relation to my research into emotional labor, the question was not one of how often it is experienced; or in response to what stimuli; but rather what is the nature of emotional labor as experienced by the individual. I believed that construction of meaning would come through deep reflection. I also recognized the pedagogical implications for practice in sharing the essence of my colleagues' experience with emotional labor. Not only could lessons be learned, but also inform our practice.

"The essence or nature of an experience has been adequately described in language if the description reawakens or shows us the live quality and significance of the experience in a fuller or deeper manner" (Van Manen, p.10). The challenge was to acknowledge the layers of perceptions and realities that exist for each individual on my team using the most sensitive and appropriate means to explore these. My task was to find a method that would allow also for an accurate and robust accounting of the essence of our experiences. "The phenomenological method consists of the ability, or rather the art of being sensitive—sensitive to the subtle undertones of language" (p. 111). This art is developed in both the ability to listen to the way the things of the world speak to us and through the exploration of how "the phenomenological meaning of phenomena may be claimed and articulated" (p. 106).

3.2.3 The Phenomenology of Practice

In *Researching Lived Experience* (1990)*,* Van Manen outlines the methodological structure of human science research to include:

1. turning to a phenomenon which seriously interests us and commits us to the world;
2. investigating experience as we live it rather than as we conceptualize it;
3. reflecting on the essential themes which characterize the phenomenon;
4. describing the phenomenon through the art of writing and rewriting;
5. maintaining a strong and oriented pedagogical relation to the phenomenon;
6. balancing the research context by considering parts and whole. (pp. 30-31)

Writing with the pedagogic demands inherent in education research in mind, Van Manen advocates for "a textual reflection on the lived experiences and practical actions of everyday life with the intent to increase one's thoughtfulness and practical resourcefulness or tact" (p.4). Van Manen furthers his position by comparing behavioral social science with phenomenological human science by asserting that the former leads to "instrumental knowledge principles: useful techniques, managerial policies, and rules-for-acting" (p.156). He contrasts this by indicating that phenomenological research "gives us tactful thoughtfulness: situational perceptiveness, discernment, and depthful understanding" (p.156). Pedagogic thoughtfulness is then, according to Van Manen, a prerequisite to pedagogic competence (p.156). "As teacher, parent, principal, counselor, or psychologist, we act pedagogically by mobilizing in unique and complex ways all aspects of pedagogic competence" (p.156). Human science, according to Van Manen, produces theory of the unique and is less involved in rational decision making than in "the serious thinking on the meaning of living and acting in concrete pedagogic situations and relations" (p.157). This thoughtfulness is accomplished through textual reflection on both lived experiences and practical actions (p.4). Textual reflection is made possible through a phenomenological approach. "Phenomenology describes how one orients to lived experience, hermeneutics describes how one interprets the 'texts' of life, and semiotics is used here to develop a practical writing or linguistic approach to the method of phenomenology and hermeneutics" (p.4).

Phenomenological research is rooted in the experience of the lifeworld, the world of the natural attitude which, according to Husserl (Cited in Van Manen, 2007, p.7) is the pre-reflective, pre-theoretical attitude. It is through a reflective awareness of the essence of experiences in the natural attitude that self-transformation is possible.

> Hermeneutic phenomenological research edifies the personal insight (Rorty, 1979), contributing to one's thoughtfulness and one's ability to act toward others, children or adults, with tact or tactfulness…In this sense, human science research is a kind of *Bildung* (education) or *paideia*; it is the curriculum of being and becoming. We might say that hermeneutic phenomenology is a philosophy of the personal, the individual, which we pursue against the background of an understanding of the evasive character of the *logos* of *other*, the *whole*, the *communal*, or the *social* (Van Manen, p. 7).

I will layout the processes and procedures for data collection, including: context of the study; role of the researcher; limitations of the study; phases of data collection and analysis/interpretation; ethical considerations; and a discussion of *reflexivity* (Koch, 1995) and *crystallization* (Richardson, 2000; Ellingson, 2009) as fitting means to establish plausibility of the research.

3.3   Process and Procedure

3.3.1   Context of Study

Research was conducted within the context a team of school leaders in a Connecticut public school system of 1490 students, preschool through Grade 12. The research participants were school administrators who represented the five district schools and the central office. Of this team, five were school principals; two were assistant principals; one was a director of curriculum and professional development; and one was the director of special education. Four of the team members were female and five were male. Administrative tenure ranged from twenty years of experience to six months. The team was led and supervised by a superintendent of schools, who did not participate in this research. All members of the team had responsibilities that included working directly with staff, although the directors worked in a central office as opposed to being based within a school building. School principals and assistant principals therefore brought the added context of working with students and parents, on a daily basis, in addition to staff and fellow administrative team members.

The two communities served by the school district are ranked, socio-economically in the top 10% in the State of Connecticut as rated by an "ability to pay" for public services based on per capita income. Historically, expectations by the public for an exemplary education system are high and typified by ongoing comparisons made between and among comparable towns on state testing; winning team sports; success in the visual and performing arts; and acceptance of graduates to prestigious colleges and universities.

This study was a stand-alone project that was informed by, but unconnected to, prior research on emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983) and emotions in the workplace (Fineman, 2000). While a review of the literature suggests that emotional labor plays a role in teaching and school leadership (Beatty, 2002; Hargreaves, 1998, 2000; Harris,

2007), I found little that I could relate to my own working experience. It was the phenomenon of emotional labor as experienced by the school district's leadership team, of which I am a member, which became the focus of this study.

3.3.2   The Researcher's Role

> One major difference, however, between qualitative and quantitative approaches is that in in-depth interviewing we recognize and affirm the role of the instrument, the human interviewer. Rather than decrying the fact that the instrument used to gather data affects this process, we say the human interviewer can be a marvelously smart, adaptable, flexible instrument who can respond to situations with skill, tact, and understanding (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 107 cited in Seidman, 2006, p.23).

The impetus for this research began with the connection I made between a personal phenomenon I experienced in my role as a school principal and the concept of *emotional labor* (Hochschild, 1983) referenced in a textbook as an example of a qualitative research study. It was in that moment that I knew I had found a label and an explanation for something I was experiencing yet did not fully understand and most certainly could not name.

Van Manen reminds those who engage in phenomenological research to be mindful of and open to one's original question, "open in such a way that in this abiding concern of our questioning we find ourselves deeply interested (inter-esse, to be or stand in the midst of something) in that which makes the question possible in the first place" (p.43). He takes a passionate stance when he illuminates this further, saying,

> To truly question something is to interrogate something from the heart of our existence, from the center of our being. Even minor phenomenological research projects require that we not simply raise a question and possibly soon drop it again, but rather that we "live" this question, that we "become" this question. Is this not the meaning of research: to question something by going back again and again to the things themselves until that which is put to question begins to reveal something of its essential nature? (Van Manen, p. 43)

In my experience as a school leader, I "lived and breathed" emotional labor, and as a member of the ten-person administrative team, I brought a unique perspective to this study; my own. Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.195) suggest that the human researcher

experiences tacit knowledge that allows her to glean information, and the boundaries between investigator and investigated become almost imperceptible, even to the researcher (p.197). This tacit knowledge contributes to our interpretation and understanding of a researched phenomenon, while gaining insight into ourselves as the human research instrument. "This knowledge is most adequate as an empirical base when it involves the fullest sort of presentations construing: that is, when researcher and subject are fully present to each other in a relationship of reciprocal and open inquiry (Heron, 1981, p 31. Cited in Lincoln and Guba, p.198).

Heron asserts that inquiry also involves experiential knowledge, which is:

> …knowing an entity—person, place, thing, process—in face-to-face encounter and interaction. It is knowing a person or thing through sustained acquaintance. Empirical research, precisely because it is empirical, necessarily requires some degree of experiential knowledge of the persons or objects which the research is about. The researcher's conclusions are propositions about persons or things of which he or she has had experiential knowledge through direct encounter (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.197).

Van Manen calls "being experienced" a wisdom that comes from the practice of living fully "in the midst of the world of living relations and shared situations" (p. 32). As an eleven-year member of the Administrative Team, I was not only the researcher, I was the researched. Guba and Lincoln (2005, p.115) refer to the researcher as the *inquirer* and the researched as the *participants*. By agreeing to participate in my inquiry, my administrative colleagues committed themselves to understanding how they experience emotional labor, as individuals, and also as a group. Developing this understanding was a function of the interaction between and among the nine-member group. By sharing the role of researcher with participants, each interview had the potential to be more like a professional conversation than a "question and answer" session.

As a researcher, engaging in phenomenological research necessitated a degree of comfort with re-conceptualizing the normal scientific standards of objectivity and subjectivity.

> In the human sciences, objectivity and subjectivity are not mutually exclusive categories. Both find their meaning and significance in the oriented (i.e.

personal) relation that the researcher establishes with the "object" of his or her inquiry (Bollnow, 1974)…Objectivity means the researcher remains *true to the object*. The researcher becomes in a sense a guardian and a defender of the true nature of the object…"Subjectivity" means that one needs to be as perceptive, insightful and discerning as one can be in order to show or disclose the object in its full richness and its greatest depth. Subjectivity means that we are *strong in our orientation to the object of study in a unique and personal way*—while avoiding the danger of becoming arbitrary, self-indulgent, or of getting captivated and carried away by our unreflected preconceptions (Van Manen, p. 20).

My role as the researcher developed over the course of this inquiry. What had started as a personal journey in pursuit of my own interests and educational goals became an opportunity for professional development for the Lyme-Old Lyme Administrators (LOLA) Team to learn from, and lend support to, one another. That change brought on new responsibilities for coordinating meeting times; providing transcripts for reflection; and even providing snacks for the meeting! Engaging in group discussions regarding our experiences with emotional labor necessitated not only strict adherence to a code of ethics of social research (as outlined in *section 3.3.7*), but also necessitated an informal agreement among trusted professionals in the form of a pledge of confidentiality and nonjudgmental stance. In this way, each member's voice could be heard. My role as researcher took the form of both interviewer and group facilitator.

3.3.3   Limitations of the Research Endeavor

That the phenomenon of emotional labor is experienced by teachers and school administrators was not at question (Beatty 2000a; Gronn, 2003; Hargreaves, 2000) and therefore not the focus of this phenomenological study. Rather, gaining an understanding of the essence of emotional labor as experienced by the LOLA Team was the question under review. Being one of the nine members of this team as well as the initiator of this study, had the potential of raising fair questions as to lens through which I interpreted information shared during interviews, and how that lens might be affected by the bias of my reality. Frankly, it was never my intention to have this research scrubbed of my

perspective, but that did not preclude the need to establish a balance between my roles as "facilitator" and "participant". As a way to promote accuracy of understanding, I invited participants to review and revise transcripts of our discussions. I also gave them access to my interpretation and articulation of themes woven throughout their stories. I found this particularly important in those instances in which I characterized or assigned feelings to their words. An example of this was my characterization of one colleague as "frustrated". When reviewing this he said, "Frustrated? I'm damn fed up!"

Of special note regarding this particular group of participants was the role that team dynamics played in my ability to gain access to the essence of my colleagues' experiences with emotional labor. With the exception of a new member, the team has worked together for more than three years; for most it was closer to seven years. While the one member had only been with the team for six months as an administrator, she had worked closely with all members of the team in her previous role as a teacher-leader. The team can be characterized as having a high level of trust among its members. I believe this fostered a high degree of comfort and confidence in candidly sharing experiences, even those that could potentially reflect poorly on the individual. Had this not been the case, there would have been issues of vulnerability in exposing personal experiences with emotional labor.

Those who embrace the scientific method or who are on the positivist end of the continuum of qualitative research paradigms may be uncomfortable with the epistemological, ontological and axiological assumptions that underpin hermeneutic phenomenology. In sharp contrast to the notion that an observer can be essentially neutral, collecting data from the "outside", phenomenological research is both subjective and constructive, and rather than theoretical generalizations, phenomenology aims for understanding through reflection on the meanings embedded in experience. The

researcher, by the sole action of researching, plays a vital role in assigning some special significance to the phenomenon being researched.

Padgett (2004) speaks of the qualitative researcher as the instrument of data collection and cautions of the possibility of getting "lost in the collection and analysis of the data as well as in the feelings evoked by the data (Shelby, 2001; Padgett, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1998. Cited in Padgett, 2004, p.213). Van Manen (1990) cautions that phenomenological human science is "extraordinarily demanding of its practitioners" (p.33), and that the researcher must keep returning to the fundamental question at the heart of the inquiry. Unlike Padgett, whose aim may be to keep the researcher more closely aligned with a certain degree of objectivity, Van Manen warns against "settling for preconceived opinions and conceptions, to become enchanted with narcissistic reflections or self-indulgent preoccupations, or to fall back onto taxonomic concepts or abstracting theories" (p.33). Regardless of where one falls on the continuum of qualitative research paradigms, the call for maintaining perspective is the same.

3.4 Data Collection

3.4.1 Pre-Data Collection: Contact with Participants; Literature Review; Development of Prompts

Initial discussion regarding this research was held at the conclusion of an Administrative Team meeting. At that time, I briefly explained my research and asked if the group would be comfortable receiving more in-depth information in consideration of being interviewed. There was an enthusiastic and positive response from all. Each team member received a packet of information, which included: the *Informed Consent* (Appendix B) and a *welcome letter* (Appendix C) outlining the anticipated time-commitment entailed to participate; an *interview stimulu*s (Appendix D) to stimulate thoughts regarding experiences with emotional labor; a *brief summary of emotional labor* (Appendix E) and the *Interview's Guide* (Appendix F) to both explain the concept of emotional labor and to stimulate further self-reflection.

As I examined the literature on emotional labor, I began to see it in all aspects of my work-life and pondered whether or not I stood alone in these feelings. Research of this phenomenon posed a potential for a sort of recalibration of my professional demeanor. The question that needed to be answered was that of methodology. This was pivotal yet complex decision to make, especially as a novice researcher. Recognizing that we construct meaning based on our interactions with our surroundings (Guba & Lincoln, 1985), I focused attention on the stories, or narratives, of my colleagues with the purpose of interpreting and relating their experiences to my own. I felt compelled to give voice to these in an effort to illuminate what I perceived as a pervasive aspect of a school leader's work.

3.4.2 Data-Collection Phase I: Semi-structured Interviews

> Understanding is always more than merely re-creating someone else's meaning. Questioning opens up possibilities of meaning, and thus what is meaningful passes into one's own thinking on the subject...To reach an understanding in a dialogue is not merely a matter of putting oneself forward and successfully asserting one's own point of view, but being transformed into a communion in which we do not remain what we were (Gadamer 2004, p.375).

For the first phase of data collection, the data were collected over several months through a series of semi-structured interviews and resulted in over 250 pages of transcribed conversations. The decision to engage in semi-structured interviews was based on the desire to have the flexibility to follow the thread of participants' thoughts and to respond and engage in professional conversations. The semi-structured interview format allowed ample opportunity for clarification and follow-up of responses for a clearer, deeper understanding of meaning. The benefit I realized in studying emotional labor within my own community of practice was in the strong rapport that already existed with my co-researchers and in our mutual understanding of the context of the research. While each of us experienced emotional labor in our own way, the backdrop against which it occurred resonated with the team, as a whole. We were a team that had worked for years to establish a common mission. Although we represented different schools, we shared many of the same parents, families and even staff members. We also shared the same district-wide expectation that, although knowledgeable professionals, we served the public.

> I hate to even say this out loud, but you know what I'm really sick of? Customer service! I'm really tired of our jobs being more about taking care of everyone's gripes instead of education. You know what I mean. You go through the same thing. –BU

Not only was I able to acknowledge that I do, indeed, "go through the same thing", I could relate to the feeling that showing frustration is considered unprofessional and reflects poorly on us as administrators. I contend that participants' openness with me was largely based on their belief that I could identify with their feelings and that, as

colleagues, we were "in the same foxhole." I did not take for granted that I had this advantage in furthering my research, and I was cognizant of the time this saved me in setting up "getting to know you" meetings with unfamiliar participants.

> I am so pleased that my teammates are so candid with me. I have to believe that it has to do with the fact that we know and trust each other. I have to admit…I was worried that people would be cautious about telling me things that they might see as unflattering, But, I've been surprised with how forthcoming they are. –Self-reflection, 4/13/11

After years of working together, we knew one another; we valued and respected the work we were doing as a team; and we trusted that what we wouldn't hold anything we shared against each other.

I made contact with each participant to clarify the expected time commitment of the approximately one hour-long interview. All members of the LOLA team were willing to join this study. Each participant was given a packet of information prior to the interview that outlined the interview protocol. This protocol was an adaptation of work done by Beatty (1999, p. 13) and Lane (2005, p. 129). I found that this provided important scaffolding for me, as an interviewer and relieved some of the anxiety people were feeling over not knowing what to expect during our meetings. What follows is the summary information given to each participant.

> Your expected time commitment for this study is:
>
> - Brief initial phone contact or email correspondence to arrange interview appointment.
> - 60 minute interview session
>
> *The interview will most likely resemble a professional conversation between the two of us. I will ask you to reflect on emotions you have felt based on interactions with constituents of the school. I will prompt you to describe specific situations in your work with teachers, families or children that brought about an emotional response within you as a way for us to identify meaningful associations between emotion and leadership.*
>
> Prompts for this may include: (Lane, 2005, p. 129)
>
> 1. How did you feel in this situation? What emotions did you experience/
> 2. How did you handle this emotion?
> 3. What about the situation made you feel or respond this way?
> 4. What are some of the circumstances of your work that contribute to the emotions that you experience as part of your job?

5. What are the aspects of your work that increase or diminish the effects of the emotions you experience?

I traveled to the offices of those being interviewed. Interviews took place after school hours and most were completed somewhere between sixty to ninety minutes.

> Today I interviewed Jeff and we ended right on time, I think this is because Jeff didn't seem really interested in it being a conversation. It was really an "interview". That's fine. I guess this is what a lot of research interviews are like. I think I'm only surprised because Jeff and I usually have such good conversations. This was much more formal. I think it was the recorder. –PD, Self-Reflection, 02/02/11)

Interviews were recorded on a small digital recorder. A sound check was done prior to the official start of each session so that participants were fully aware when they were being recorded. At the conclusion of the session, participants were informed when the recording was stopped.

3.4.3 Data-Collection Phase II: The *Playbill* as Developed by "The Cast"

When I embarked on this investigative journey, I certainly did not understand the reciprocal nature of meaning-making. I likened my purpose as a researcher to a conduit, channeling information from one place to another. In this instance, my interviews provided an opportunity to gain insight from my team members with the intention of including them within the findings chapter of my dissertation. But as Gadamer so eloquently stated:

> Understanding is always more than merely re-creating someone else's meaning. Questioning opens up possibilities of meaning, and thus what is meaningful passes into one's own thinking on the subject...To reach an understanding in a dialogue is not merely a matter of putting oneself forward and successfully asserting one's own point of view, but being transformed into a communion in which we do not remain what we were (Gadamer, 2004, p.368).

As the team investigated the place emotions hold in our schools, it became clear that my relationship with the data would be the instrument of this transformation. These interviews, as data collection points, became opportunities for me to grow and change as I processed and reflected on the meaning of my colleagues' words.

By deeply immersing ourselves in professional *conversations*, I soon realized these discussions were laden with references to *acting*. So often, we would speak of ourselves as actors playing particular *roles* in an effort to hide our real feelings or to portray feelings we did not feel. These roles were ones we felt a duty to play as school leaders.

> …a young man died in a tragic accident in the woods during my tenure as principal. While people could see I was visibly distraught over the loss of our own, there came the time when I had to say, 'and now, we must go back to our classes and do what we do.' I know this was seen by some as heartless and cold, but I felt it was my role to let the staff know we had jobs to do and it was ok and, in fact, necessary to resume some normalcy not only for the other students but also for ourselves. Even though the words were coming out of my mouth ok, I know I was playing a part and hoping people would not see through the façade. –AF

The references to acting and wearing masks occurred so frequently that employing the metaphor of theatrical performance seemed a perfect vehicle for delineating the roles we play and their legitimacy in effectively executing the responsibilities of our office.

> I mean, I might shut my office door, which would be unusual for me, but if I've gotten to the point that frustration is at that level, I don't want anyone near me right now. I want to just handle it myself because I will gain composure and, you know, go out and put the face on that I need to. –RM

Data were coded in light of this metaphor, and the roles were developed based on both the feelings we attempt to engender in our clientele *and* the feelings we, ourselves, experience in the management process. Expanding on Goffman's theory regarding the social uses of emotion by actors, or characters interacting with other *played* characters (Hochschild, 1983, p.226), Hochschild exposes the need for such actors to possess an "inner voice" and an "active capacity for emotion management" that positions the *self* in relation to emotive experience, allowing the self to feel and creating its capacity to *act* (p.227). Hochschild asserts that "the act of *management* is inseparable from the experience that is managed; it is in part the *creation* of that emerging experience. Just as knowing affects what is known, so managing affects what is 'there' to be managed" (p.216).

> If we didn't manage our emotions? You couldn't get to where you want to go, you couldn't. People would hate you. [Laughter] They would – I mean if you said what was on your mind all the time and just came right out without…and didn't have any finesse

or understanding of where different people are coming from…Yeah, no one would take you seriously. –KD

Building upon the themes of our data, I devised a list of characters that incorporated the many roles we play as school leaders and entitled it the *Playbill* (Appendix E). Teammates were then asked consider each in relation to their positions as school leaders and to share the situation and feelings each role engendered.

3.3.4 Written Reflection

> To write means to create signifying relations—and the pattern of meaningful relations condense into a discursive whole which we may call "theory." To write/theorize is to bring signifying relations to language, into text. Language is a central concern in phenomenological research because responsive-reflective writing is the very activity of doing phenomenology. Writing and rewriting is the thing. Phenomenologists have commented on the reflexive character or writing. Writing is a reflexive activity that involves the totality of our physical and mental being. To write means to write myself, not in a narcissistic sense but in a deep collective sense. To write phenomenologically is that which makes it possible for us to be and speak as parents, teachers, etc., in the first place. (Van Manen, p 132)

Van Manen (1990) makes the point that "for the human sciences, and specifically for hermeneutic phenomenological work, writing is closely fused into the research activity and reflection itself. We might argue that even for traditional social science research the cognitive stance required to do research is closely related to the cognitive style of writing" (p. 125). Van Manen asserts that "for scholars such as Husserl, Heidegger, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty the activities of researching and reflecting on the one hand, and reading and writing on the other hand, are indeed quite indistinguishable" (p.126). Writing is thinking and reflecting and for Barthes (1986. Cited in Van Manen, p. 316), "research does not merely *involve* writing: research is the work of writing—writing is its very essence" (p.126). Van Manen contends that writing is a means of measuring our thoughtfulness and teaches what we know and how we know it (p.127). It is an act of metacognition that exercises our ability to see and:

> "…involves a textual reflection in the sense of separating and confronting ourselves with what we now, distancing ourselves from the life world, decontextualizing our thoughtful preoccupations from immediate action, abstracting and objectifying our lived understandings from our concrete involvements (cf. Ong, 1982, in Van Manen, p. 129), and all this for the sake of now reuniting us with what we know, drawing us more closely

> to living relations and situations of the lifeworld turning thought to a more tactful praxis, and concretizing and subjectifying our deepened understanding in practical action." (p. 129)

The process of writing becomes a vehicle for reflexivity. Finlay (2002, p.532. Cited in Ellingson, 2009) characterizes reflexivity in research as involving "thoughtful, conscious self-awareness" (p.12).

> Reflexivity in research is not a single or universal entity but a process—an active ongoing process that saturates every stage of the research. Harding (1986, 1987, 1991) reminded us that as researchers our social and political locations affect our research. Our research interests and the research questions we pose, as well as the questions we discard, reveal something about who we are, Our choice of research design, the research methodology, and the theoretical framework that informs our research are governed by our values and reciprocally, help to shape these values. Moreover, our interpretations and analyses, and how we choose to present our findings, together with whom we make our findings available to, are all constitutive of reflexive research. Reflexivity in research is thus a process of critical reflection both on the kind of knowledge produced from research and how that knowledge is generated (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004, p.274).

If, as Guba (1990) asserts, "realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them" (p.27), then it is incumbent on the researcher to make the process of interpretation authentic and transparent. For me, that meant written reflection that often focused on *why* I interpreted data in a particular manner and *where* there was a line between my feelings and those of my colleagues. The desire to have others, for whom I have great respect, identify with feelings I had identified for myself, was very powerful motivator for self-reflection.

> I'm more than a bit intimidated knowing that the Admin Team will be reading my interpretation of their words. If I didn't know them so well, I would worry that I'm projecting my own feelings onto them and reading more into what their saying than I should. That's when I intentionally listen to the conversation as a third party. I almost have to step outside myself…if only as a way to keep myself in check. I'm not really sure if it's possible, but I believe it's helping me keep a certain amount of perspective. – PD, 09/20/11)

Creswell (1998) speaks to the "holistic cultural portrait of the social group that incorporates both the views of the actors in group (emic) and the researcher's interpretation of views about human social life in a social science perspective (etic)" p.60). Van Manen (1990) cautions practitioners of phenomenological human science to maintain a strong and oriented relationship with the research question for "there will be

many temptations to get side-tracked or to wander aimlessly and indulge in wishy-washy speculations, to settle for preconceived opinions and conceptions, to become enchanted with narcissistic reflections or self-indulgent preconceptions, or to fall back onto taxonomic concepts or abstracting theories" (p. 33). Reflective writing helped with this, although I found it important to revisit my writing on a regular basis in order to center myself and stay on track. When I engaged in this exercise, I recognized when I was off course because I would often see a pattern of unchecked indignation based on the stress of maintaining a public face. A professional mentor of mine likened the need to center oneself in this business to serving the ball in the game of tennis. She warned of the foolishness of responding from a position out of bounds. Instead, she coached me to center myself at the baseline. Rereading my own writing helped me to recognize patterns in my writing that signaled I was off course, blaming the constituency I served. I had to ask myself if I was doing the very thing I accused staff off, having an expectation that my "work" would be challenge-free?

3.3.5 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Recordings were downloaded as mp3 files and emailed to a transcription service to be transcribed, *verbatim*. Turnaround was approximately three days. Files were returned to me as *Microsoft Word* files and saved in several locations as files on my password protected computers at home and at school; on my school email; and on *Dropbox,* an internet back-up server. I read each transcript, in its entirety, not only to clean up obvious errors, but to get an overall sense for the conversation. (What was painfully clear to me was that I say "um" to an alarming degree in these sessions!) I emailed my colleagues a copy of the transcript and encouraged them to get back to me if they felt that something was unclear or contrary to their intention. I felt this was a powerful way to ensure that they felt heard and properly represented. Unlike my colleagues, who gave oral responses,

I had the benefit of reflecting on the questions in writing. I believe there is a degree of wordsmithing that happens when one has the opportunity to go back a reread the written word. This was my way of giving my co-researchers a similar chance to restate, if necessary, something they had shared on the recording. While this effort did not result in substantive revisions, for the most part, it did allow for a range of changes from subtle to ones of elaboration; clarification; and/or major refinement. The excerpt below was taken from an initial interview. The participant had just stated that he thought emotion was important in leadership. As a follow-up question, I asked, "Why do you think emotion is important?" Below is his first response, and following is the clarification of the statement when reviewed by the participant as transcribed:

> I think that emotion is important in leadership because it shows that people have a pulse, umber one. Number two, it-it drives you…good, bad or indifferent. And number three, I think emotion is really what separates us from an android. You know, I'm not Spock; I'm not (Mr.) Data. I think, I hope I make good decisions for my thought processes; but what drives me is my feelings and emotions. –NK, Original Interview

> You can be quiet and passionate. You could be focused and you could lead people by hardly saying a word, but because they know you're in it, they know you're committed. So—so the whole idea of emotion—maybe it's more about commitment than it is about emotion; and that people need to see that emotion—that you care. –NK, Elaboration upon review of transcript

Transcribed Microsoft Word documents were downloaded into *Atlas.ti*, a software program for qualitative data analysis, including coding into hermeneutic units. Codes were established by inductive reasoning to identify common themes and constructs within and among responses.

Once again, it is important to point out my posture as inquirer. That I would, or could, abandon presuppositions while reading and analyzing these transcripts was not a goal of my research. Although, having said this, I endeavored to be faithful to represent respondents' original intentions. I acknowledged that this was my first and only experience using coding software and that as a neophyte researcher I brought a certain naiveté to the process. The result was a discovery-oriented process based on content analysis. I read through each transcript multiple times to discover over-arching themes.

I then returned to look for words and phrases that supported those themes. The example below is an excerpt from a transcribed interview, which was coded in *Atlas.ti,* by using the respondent's word, "trust". Additionally, I coded the passage as *connections,* based on *my interpretation* of this interaction as an attempt to emotionally connect with the staff member.

> P 3: BKlyp.docx - 3:28 [Because we're dealing with a l..] (89:89) (Super)
>
> Codes: [building trust] [connections]
>
> Because we're dealing with a lot of crap sometimes and we can't think that we're the only ones dealing with it. We can't feel like, poor old me you know. You take an older staff member that's working to put their father in a nursing home so you know, you have the gambit of things and I think that mutual respect to keep the support emotionally is- is the—that's the key piece that we can try to orchestrate I think.

Multiple documents were linked for the purpose of establishing threads of conversation and exported to Microsoft Word. While *Atlas.ti* has a function that allowed for the congregation of data by codes, the Microsoft Word format enhanced the ability to insert pieces of analyzed text into this document.

3.3.6   Data Sharing; Expanding; and Ensuring Faithfulness

> To return to the central question embedded in validity: How do we know when we have specific social inquiries that are faithful enough to some human constructions that we may feel safe in acting on them, or, more important that members of the community in which the research is conducted may act on them? To that question, there is no final answer. There are, however several discussions of what we might use to make both professional and lay judgments regarding any piece of work (Guba & Lincoln, 2008, p. 276).

Guba and Lincoln describe validity in phenomenological inquiry in terms of five authenticity criteria: fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity, and tactical authenticity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, pp. 245-251). Their discussion of fairness was of particular interest to me, as it addresses the notion of "quality of balance" (2008, p. 274) in representation of the views, perspectives, and concerns that distinguish the voices of all stakeholders. They believe the omission of participants' voices is a form of bias, not as defined in the positivist tradition, but rather as *fairness*, one that is "defined by deliberate attempts to prevent marginalization, to act

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affirmatively with respect to inclusion and to act with energy to ensure that all voices in the inquiry effort had a chance to be represented in any texts and to have their stories treated fairly and with balance" (p.274).

Guba and Lincoln describe ontological and educative authenticity as those that determine awareness, "in the first instance, by individual research participants and, in the second, by individuals about those who surround them or with whom they come into contact for some social or organizational purpose" (pp. 275-175). Catalytic and tactical authenticities are designated as those that prompt both action in both the researcher and her participants "creating the capacity in research participants for positive social change and forms of emancipatory community action" (p.275). It is this very form of inquirer/participant involvement, they say, that positivists take issue with and label as bias and subjectivity, but "it is enough to say that we are persuaded that objectivity is a chimera: a mythological creature that never existed, save in the imaginations of those who believe that knowing can be separated from the knower" (p. 275).

Lincoln & Guba (2005) speak to extended constructions of validity (p.198) and explain validity in terms of the development of consensus that is based on participants and inquirer. If truth is, as Heidegger proposed, not limited to knowledge, but also includes the way in which we as human beings relate to things in and of the world, then surely the relationship one has with a phenomena becomes at least one perspective of truth.

> Truth is therefore not abstract and other-worldly, but concrete, particular and sensuous— while at the same time being open, in an ongoing state of new creation by the actors, transcending the boundaries between the ordinary and the fabulous. —Alvesson and Sköldberg (2000, p. 175, original emphasis) Qualitative methods illuminate both the ordinary within the worlds of fabulous people and events and also the fabulous elements of ordinary, mundane lives (Ellingson, 2009, p.1).

How do we, then, respond to questions of rigor and goodness in qualitative research, and thus satisfy skeptics and critics who call for triangulation of method? Regarding

trustworthiness in research, Richardson (2000) asserts that *triangulation* assumes that

there is a *fixed point* or *object* that can be triangulated.

> The scholar draws freely on his or her productions from literary, artistic, and scientific genres, often breaking the boundaries of each of those as well. In these productions, the scholar might have different "takes" on the same topic, what I think of as a postmodernist deconstruction of triangulation. . . In postmodernistic mixed-genre texts, we do not triangulate; we *crystallize*. I propose the central image for "validity" for postmodern texts is not the triangle—a rigid, fixed, two-dimensional object. Rather, the central imaginary is the crystal, which combines symmetry and substance with an infinite variety of shapes, substances, transmutations, multidimensionalities, and angles of approach…Crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know. Ingeniously, we know there is always more to know (Richardson, 200b, p. 934, original emphasis. Cited in Ellingson, p.3).

Ellingson (2009) elaborates on Richardson's concept of crystallization and describes it

as combining:

> "multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them" (p. 4).

Although crystallization is best known and used in the fields of ethnography and

autoethnography, there is a growing understanding of its appropriateness among

qualitative researchers, "especially in their embracing of narrative representations and

resistance to social scientific writing conventions, in communication (e.g., Defenbaugh,

in press; Drew, 2001; Jago, 2006), sociology (Ronai, 1995), anthropology (Behar, 1996),

nursing (Sandelowski, Trimble, Woodard, & Barroso, 2006), clinical social work (Carr,

2003), and aging studies/gerontology (Baker & Wang, 2006)" (Cited in Ellingson, 2009,

p. 3).

Ellingson (2009) proposes that crystallization manifests itself in research projects that

are thickly described; analyze data through differing ways of knowing; include more than

one genre; involve reflexive thought that provides a window into the researcher's process

and role in research design; and eschews positivists' claims that knowledge is a singular

notion (pp.11-13).

"Crystallization provides a framework in which to balance claims of truth with recognition of the intersubjective nature of all knowledge claims. At the same time, surrendering objectivity does not mean that we cannot make claims to know, recommendations for action, pragmatic suggestions for improving the world, an theoretical insights" (p.14).

Crystallization allowed me to juxtapose multiple genres with the aim of understanding the phenomenon of emotional labor. The multi-genre research writings of Goffman (1959); Hochschild (1983); Brotheridge & Grandey (2002), Rafaeli & Sutton (1991); Beatty (2003); and Boler were like branches on a tree upon which I was able to delicately and tentatively hang the narratives of my colleagues. Reflexivity in my research prompted "thoughtful, conscious self- awareness" (Finlay, 2002, p. 532, in Ellingson, 2009, p. 12) and made it possible for me to position myself alongside my colleagues or forced the growth of a new branch.

3.3.7   Ethical Considerations

Phenomenology and hermeneutics require the acceptance of the other as a building block for the constitution of reality and the creation of meaning. Interacting with the other is intrinsically ethical and presupposes taking the other serious, accepting him or her as a dignified human being with rights and obligations comparable to ours (Stahl, 2004, p.9).

This research was designed and carried out in strict adherence to a code of social research defined by the University of Hull, IfL (Appendix A). This document outlined the details of this research project and was reviewed and approved by the University's Board of Research Ethics. The proforma included assurances of confidentiality; privacy; accuracy; and full disclosure of all aspects of the research. Research participants received and signed an informed consent that outlined their rights and responsibilities. In addition to meeting the University's requirements for conducting ethical research, the following areas were emphasized with research participants:

- Confidentiality and privacy were underscored as many of the participants' stories included names of people known to me.
- A circle of trust was fostered as participants revealed their vulnerabilities to me, and I revealed mine to them.

- Anonymity was assured to participants and the manner of keeping responses anonymous was developed by assigning fictitious names to the final product.

Additionally, I began this project with a pledge not to let the stories of other influence my behavior toward participants or the people they were discussing. That could be difficult, at times, as I found myself either disagreeing with my colleagues opinions or otherwise identifying with their feelings. I used my reflective journal to work this out, as best as I could and tried to learn from the feelings I was expressing.

3.3.8 Collaboration Shared understandings

The research project grew out of a personal need to understand the phenomenon of emotional labor. Through a commitment to shared benefit, this effort not only provided professional development for our team, which in turn fostered new growth for us as individually and collectively, but it also nourished the roots that form foundation of our team's commitment to one another. As such, I made it a point to acknowledge my colleagues time; effort; respectful collaboration; thoughtfulness; and candor in making this project trustworthy and worthwhile.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0   PLAYING OUR ROLES: THE DRAMA OF DISPLAYING THE PUBLIC FACE OF OUR LEADERSHIP

Introduction

> …An important skill of principals is the ability to take care of the many problems and demands of their jobs, at the same time leading their schools, nurturing teacher leadership, and moving the instructional program forward…Problems are often complex, ambiguous, unsequenced, hard to analyze, and highly emotional, with few routine solutions (Kelley and Peterson, 2007, p. 363).

School leaders come to school leadership in their own way and in their own time. Such was the case for our administrative school leadership team. While many of our team members acknowledged wanting to be teachers from a very young age, most did not remember consciously aspiring to be school leaders from the beginning of their teaching tenure. The commonality I found in our leadership narratives was not in how we answered the call to leadership but in the common aspects of our experience once we entered the doors of our schools.

As new administrators, each of us came to our positions shaped by our own experiences, prior knowledge, and often idealistic preconceptions of what our work would entail. The job of leading a school is extremely challenging, and given that it is further complicated by the mandate to skillfully juggle the tasks of middle management with the lofty professional ideals of school improvement and student achievement, it is not surprising that even the most seasoned leaders can lose their balance at those times when the reality of daily practice flies in the face of that which they believe to be best practice in current educational leadership theory. For our leadership team, the threat to our individual and collective equilibrium is the ongoing and formidable task of managing emotions within our school communities.

It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss how our school district's leadership team experiences and manages emotion in their positions. In section one, I will contrast the

realities of our experiences in managing human interaction and emotions in the workplace with the idealism and theoretical context of our administrator preparation programs. I will present data to support a reported lack of coursework or focus specific to human nature, leaving us to fall back on our individual quotients of emotional intelligence to help us *act* as skilled managers within the complex and emotional landscape of our schools.

In section two, using the metaphor of school leaders as actors, I will discuss the roles included in *The Playbill* and reveal how our team's common experiences with emotion in our schools assisted me in identifying how we use these roles to respond to certain patterns of behavior.

In section three, I will employ Hochschild's (1983) theory of emotional labor as the schema for gaining a deeper understanding of what the research demonstrated as being the most difficult aspect of our work as school leaders. Furthermore, I will present an unwritten yet commonly held belief among us that skillfully managing the feelings of our constituents, as well as our own, is key to being considered a highly successful administrator in our district.

4.1 The Backstory: Preparing for the Drama of School Leadership

> Cultures are often characterized as theater that is, the stage on which important events are acted out. If "all the world's a stage," the aspects of the life of a school are fascinating whether they are comedy, tragedy, drama, or action, Technically, they have been called "social dramas"; the various stages of activity in school cross all forms of theater (Deal and Peterson, 2007, p.206).

4.1.1 Idealism in Theory

Team conversations on the issue of individual member's reasons for leaving the teaching ranks to move into administration identified a common theme around idealism based on preconceived notions of what it means to be a school leader. While it was acknowledged that increased compensation was a consideration for making the move, the prevailing sentiments we held fell within theoretical and affective domains, which pointed to personal values and their accompanying feelings regarding: a love of learning; a commitment to student achievement; a passion for teaching; fulfillment of personal goals in making a difference in our schools; possessing natural qualities in, and aptitude for, leadership.

While the data support, at least in part, that our foray into educational leadership was shaped by leaders who had positive effects on us, there is stronger evidence that the leadership under which we served provided us with a model of what *not* to do. Depending on the topic we were discussing, team members would often link their answers regarding leadership practice back to an example of poor practice by a former principal for whom they had taught. One administrator speaks of her early days in teaching and her rather low opinion of her school's principal.

> Nobody took him seriously. He was always giving people high-fives in the hallways, including the kids; no one took him really seriously. I'm amazed that he – he lasted for years and years and years, I'm amazed. It's a very high pressured community down in New Jersey, but he was – I never took him seriously. He'd come and he'd look at – observe me in a lesson, but I just wouldn't get anything out it. –KD

It became apparent that many of us had worked under school leaders who appeared more interested in being perceived as *good guys* and popular with the public-at-large, despite our belief that what we truly needed, at that time, was a leader of professional substance and personal integrity. My own frustration with this can be seen in a personal reflection

I wrote soon after leaving the classroom and stepping into the role of principal of my school.

> Relief stemmed from being out from under leadership that I perceived, from a teacher's point of view, as self-centered and self-serving. Student issues that reached the principal's desk were thought to be a reflection of mismanagement on the part of the teacher. I believed the definition of an effective principal included being centered on the partnership between teacher and teacher-leader. Everything I had learned in my study of the principalship pointed to instructional leadership as the route to student success. I had great hope that having once been a teacher I would eschew mistakes that seemed lost on my building administrator but were so obvious to those of us working directly with children. –PD

Much of what we learned in administrative preparation focused on the nature of leadership and its application to the institution of school. We answered the call to educational leadership feeling well-prepared to contribute our knowledge, vision and management skills to promote change and school improvement. We held an image in our heads of the principal as an organizational manager and instructional leader. Although Sergiovanni is not proposing that this is *his* view of what a leader should be, the following excerpt captures many of the basic philosophical underpinnings of our school leadership preparatory programs and the rhetoric we heard.

> "The official values of management lead us to believe that leaders are characters who single-handedly pull and push organizational members forward by the force of personality, bureaucratic clout, and political know-how. Leaders must be decisive. Leaders must be forceful. Leaders must have vision. Leaders must successfully manipulate events and people, so that vision becomes reality. Leaders, in other words, must lead" (Sergiovanni, 1990, p.75).

All members of our Administrative Team were required to successfully complete coursework in accordance with the *State of Connecticut Intermediate Administrator Certificate (092)*, including requirements for study in the areas of curriculum and instruction; psychological and pedagogical foundations of learning; school law, finances and policy; evaluation and supervision of staff; and contemporary issues in educational issues. Without exception, our team members acknowledged enrollment in graduate programs following this State model.

In fairness to the administrative preparatory programs we attended, team members acknowledged engaging in discussions within certain courses that specifically focused

on supervision and evaluation of staff, which also underscored the need for school leaders to build and maintain trusting relationships within the school community. This discourse closely aligned with the mandate for school leaders to create a safe school climate rooted in a culture of respect. It did not, however, examine the complexities of human nature or provide strategies for handling interactions underpinned by emotion. As an administrator of twenty-five years exclaimed, "They said it was all about building relationships, but they never said it would be like this!" –NK

4.1.2 Reality in Practice

> There's another crucial truth about leadership—more apparent to us this time around than it was before. It's something that we've known for a long time, but we've come to prize its value even more today. In talking to leaders and reading their cases, there was a very clear message that wove itself throughout every situation and every action: leadership is a relationship. Leadership is a relationship between those who aspire to lead and those who choose to follow. (Kouzes and Posner, 2002, p.70).

Over time, and in our own way, each one of us has come to accept that leadership is an emotional endeavor with human interaction and the management of emotions as the basis of the work we do within our school communities. Each one of us also admitted to having little or no training or coursework specific to understanding human nature in relation to leadership practice. When we compared the realities of our daily practice to what we had learned in "principal school", the team recognized that our professors in school leader prep never spoke of the expectation for managing *our* feelings while managing the feelings of *others,* the part this principal feels comprises the majority of the work he does.

> Absolutely nothing prepared me for it. Probably for a good 65% of the job, you know because you are dealing with interactions and that was not big in principal school, you know. They give you textbook stuff but walking that walk with kids that are struggling or being abused or that whole piece, you know, there wasn't much training, that's for sure. –BK

The difficulty this may pose for school leaders is that they are left to "continuously assess to determine if their leadership is attuned to the emotional resonance of their constituents." (McDowell & Buckner, 2002, p. 110), a skill that is neither taught in leadership preparation nor measured for proficiency in application for licensure.

> I think there's different types of relationships with different people on your staff; and I think it's about different personalities. And I think there's some people that want you to give them that hug or they want you to ask about their family, or they want that personal touch. And then again there are other people that don't want that but they won't tell you that so if you start those conversations or you give them that hug or whatever, you know they won't say they hate it but then you know, they might say it to someone else or something like that. –RM

One colleague disclosed that her preparation for handling human interaction in her role as a school leader came, not from her administrator coursework but rather, from earlier training as a school health professional and aligned with the skills and values she holds as an individual. "Nothing I learned in admin prep prepared me for this. I had to present this way as a school psychologist. It's who I am." –IO

The passage below is a personal reflection of mine, written to better understand why I was struggling in my role as principal of the school to which I had devoted my entire career as a primary teacher, and one I had felt *called* to lead.

> Soon after I began my new position as a primary school principal, I found that being a principal was not primarily about developing cutting edge programs; fostering teacher-leadership; or having heart-to-heart chats with misguided children. Instead, my days were filled with people wanting to talk to me about their issues, public and private, both school and non-school related. It became painfully clear that the most difficult and time consuming aspect of the principal's role was working with the "big" people of the school community: teachers, support staff, fellow administrators, and parents. I found myself in the role of supervisor, confidant, counselor, mediator and problem-solver. Teachers' tempers flared and egos bruised, I attempted to nudge them toward growth, change and professional development. At the end of each day, I would often feel emotionally exhausted and have little to show for what felt like a hard day's work. –PD

The reality of our experience as school administrators is that we spend our days interacting with people with little instruction in how to do so, effectively. The demands of our positions in relation to expectations rooted in theoretical ideal have left some of us questioning our skills as administrators and striving to find some sense of balance in the work we do.

> I guess someone put it best to me it's like when you go into administration you cross over the line and I didn't understand that at first. What do you mean? But it is. It's them and us. And so I think that creates a level of what emotions are acceptable or not acceptable to share or show. I think there's certain things they don't want to see from you and then there are things that they do want to see from you. –RM

4.1.3 Accepting Reality

As school leaders, we have all felt frustration when theory and practice aren't aligned. When the ideals we espouse rub against the realities of running a school, team members admitted to an ongoing quest for balance in their roles as school leaders. One principal shared her sincere desire to serve as an instructional leader for her teachers but, having too little time to engage in this role, reveals her feelings of frustration in not being able to do so.

> This is my primary role and the focus of my education- an instructional leader. It would be SO WONDERFUL if I actually had time to devote to this passion. I try to gather research to present and give the teachers thoughtful feedback after each observation along with resources that will help them, etc. I just did this with my observation conferences this week…gave one teacher research on the attribution theory of motivation and another some suggestions for using peer tutors. The emotional work in this area is the frustration that I can only do a cursory job of this given all of the other interferences of the job. How sad! –SF

One administrator wrote of her feelings of inadequacy in getting to the "deeper things", those things that she sees as integral to moving her school forward. In resignation, she surmised that it may be possible only in retirement.

> These are the things that I'm continuing try to balance: getting tasks done: being visible; getting to the "deeper" things. I could definitely spend all day, every day just trying to get tasks done: responding to e-mails, returning phone calls, completing teacher evaluations, doing walkthroughs, managing the budget, completing PPT paperwork for out-of-district students (including those at magnet and vocational-agricultural schools); attending PPTs, team meetings, admin meetings; correcting IEPs, completing state and federal mandated tasks (such as CDRC survey, SPED compliance review), hiring staff – "plugging IA holes" (posting, interviewing), ESY planning, etc. BUT – I know it is very important to be visible (and that it means a lot to people when I am). So hard to find the time to do this, though – to be visible without a true purpose… This is an on-going goal for myself.
>
> And, then there are the "deeper" things that are SO hard to fit in: planning for new programs, research, professional readings, etc.   Having time for these things would likely result in more occasions to be pro-active, rather than re-active.   Perhaps this is what comes with retirement?? –IO

Striving for balance can relate to interactions within our own administrative team. There are times, although we are bound to a common district mission, when we represent separate factions of the organization, as a whole. This is articulated by a member who holds a district-level, central office position.

> I am in a unique middle manager role being neither the Superintendent nor Principal, yet I work very closely with both. While most of the time I am comfortable in my role and see my position as one where I can facilitate communication and understanding within the team, there are other times where I feel neither fish nor fowl and an outsider in both worlds. I also realize I am once again in a bit of "us and them" situation although that was not at first initially apparent to me. It feels particularly like a tightrope because of my strong personal and professional bonds with my team members that have developed over the years. This position can sometimes put those relationships in precarious situations.
>
> In discussing budget, redistricting and hiring, sometimes I see the logic in a decision but realize it is very counter to the best interests of one of my colleagues. This is beyond a tightrope; this is heart-wrenching and has caused me much soul searching over the past few years. Reaching out, taking time to talk, and sometimes even apologizing for bad behavior have all contributed to keeping my relationships working in this delicate balance of working together as a team. –AF

Our data indicate that the need to maintain balance applies to all constituents of our schools, but it appears to be most frustrating when it involves those we think should know better: the adults. Here, a novice building principal admits to the toll it takes on her to police the *big people* in her building.

> It is a balancing act...As for staff and parents—gosh—should the adults need as much enforcing as they seem to need? Should I have to remind parents to get their children to school on time? Should I need to ask for emergency sub plans ten times??? Should parents need to be told to avoid blocking the driveway to allow the busses through or to drive very slowly so that they don't plow the crossing guard down?? This is the part of the job that raises my very low blood pressure! –ET

There appears to be a qualitative difference between the frustration members of the team feel when faced with juggling routine and non-emotional interactions, no matter how much is on their "to do" lists, and the heavy burden they feel when these interactions include emotional exchanges with the adults in their school communities, both parents and staff.

> Unhappy parents are a stressor. A recent incident involved parents who were unhappy that their daughter was receiving intervention from a non-certified staff member. They also did not receive some paper work. In my efforts to shield the teacher and tutor from the wrath of these parents, the issue went to the superintendent. Luckily, everyone agrees that the parents are unreasonable, but how much time and energy by high level administrators should be given to unreasonable people. Another business would have shut the door on them long ago. –SF

An administrator of more than thirty years, who has moved to a district level position, distinguishes between the juggling of routine and more mundane issues and those that require her to make value judgments and interact with constituents on a personal level.

> I know this is part of the job and since these are generally "to do" lists, I am generally ok in this role. It is also one of those things that after you have been in the role a few years, you get better, quicker and you know what to be sure to do from year to year so you have few slip ups. So the emotional toll may be timeline and detail kind of stress, but not one that involves safety, values or relationships. So for me it is just a stressor that makes my brain keep churning at night with "what did I forget and what do I still need to do"? rather than "is this the right thing to do"? –AF

While the lack of time to attend to what we perceive as an endless list of responsibilities associated with our administrative positions, these feelings seem intensified by those that have an emotional impact on our constituents. One school principal speaks of the mandate to deliver *the party line* for a controversial school redistricting plan she does not personally endorse.

> I feel the tightrope swaying in the midst of the reenrollment, teacher evaluation, and facilities management of safety needs. The things I want to see done are not under my control but the teachers come to me for reassurance. Very draining to reassure others that everything is being handled with a great deal of care and thoughtful planning when I do not believe it. I tend to say very little and let them know that I will share information when I get it. I have a big problem taking responsibility for a horrible action plan that I had nothing to do with. –SF

There were many examples of feelings of disequilibrium and the desire to find a balance between personal and professional values. A certain *grounded-ness* was reported to be attained when roles, personal values and school district policy were aligned.

> I thought I would shy away from the tough job of confronting parents on things that have the potential to be reportable DCF issues. Not the obvious cases of suspected child abuse, but the ones that are the gray area. You know, ones like, um, a teacher tells me they smell alcohol on a parent's breath when that parent has just driven her child to school, but then the teacher back-paddles and says she isn't really sure. I don't like confrontation, but I discovered that I am more motivated by doing what's right than being liked. That was really important for me to understand as a principal. I feel truly empowered when I know in my heart that I am doing what's best for the child…and the hell with making a parent mad. That's not to say that I don't like to hear my colleagues and superintendent say they would have done the exact same thing if they were in my position. –PD

Regardless of how comfortable we are assuming a particular role associated with our positions as school leaders, we all acknowledge that doing so, skillfully and convincingly, is what we signed up to do when we agreed to lead a school.

4.2   The Cast of Characters: The Parts We Play and the Masks We Wear

4.2.1   School Leaders as Actors

> …it's part of our job expectation to maintain a certain persona, a certain face, and to not
> do so would be to, in essence, not be doing our job well. –KD

In our interview sessions, team members referenced the drama that typically unfolds as

administrators struggle with communication and human interaction within the school

setting. In response to the many responsibilities reported as being included in our

positions, team members acknowledged adopting various roles or personae to effectively

carrying out the many duties of a school leader. Over and over again, participants referred

to finding it necessary to *act* in a prescribed manner when engaging with students, staff

and parents. Furthermore, a common response was the need to convincingly act in a

manner that engenders specific feelings in others. This aligns with Goffman's (1959) use

of the metaphor of theatrical performance as the framework for understanding human

behavior in social interactions. Extending this metaphor to our school settings, I began

to view team members as a cast of characters, listed on a playbill, performing numerous

roles on a daily basis. Further investigation revealed that we view these roles as being

imposed upon us despite personal feelings of discomfort in playing them. In her written

reflection on finding herself acting as a therapist to the constituents of her school, one

administrator admits to being surprised to see herself in this role.

> I would continually be amazed at what people would come in and share with me.
> Teachers, aides, parents, students, you name it and I would hear it. And this was new
> territory for me because I am not normally the person people would run to with their
> problems or inner most secrets. This new role posed lots of challenges for me although
> I also recognized it was critical to be seen as a person that could be trusted and could
> support them, guide them and be understanding of their lives beyond the school day. –
> AF

There is data to support that some of the roles we take on are simply the product of being

seen as "the boss". Regardless of our efforts to establish ourselves otherwise, staff sees

us in the role of the *enforcer* of rules; work product; professional expectations; and

personal behavior. One district level administrator reflects on how the "us and them"

mentality of management versus labor impacts her attempts to engender trusting relationships between those she supervises and herself.

> If/When a staff member exhibits a pattern of errors/lack of understanding, we have a face-to-face in my office to review and correct these errors/misunderstandings… What I find interesting, is the reaction I consistently get from staff when such a meeting is scheduled with me, "The Enforcer": fear, worry, anxiety. Despite assurances from me that there's "nothing to fear – we're just going to review and/or correct the procedure/paperwork together, staff still seem to feel that they've been summoned to "the principal's office". (And, I guess, in a way – they have been!) –IO

Deal and Peterson (2007) refer to the drama that manifests itself in the daily running of a school. It is within this context that administrators have a "significant opportunity to act in a social drama that can reaffirm or redirect cultural values and beliefs" (p. 206-207). Our team alluded to an unwritten *script* we feel compelled to follow when playing these roles, although our performance might be described more accurately as improvisational theater, with administrators feeling rather uncertain as to how the other *players* will respond and if, in the end, our efforts will make any difference.

> We are definitely seen by everyone as being the problem solver and that means quickly learning to read and interpret the script…but, sometimes we just have to improvise and pretend we know what is needed to support people. –RM

> Just when I think I am on the same wavelength with this parent, and I say what I think will disarm her and bring the situation under control, she starts up all over again, and we spend another forty minutes rehashing the same subject! I just can't win, so I just stop talking, 'cause I obviously *don't* know the right thing to say. –PD

> I also feel the need to intercede in the relationship between staff and struggling parents and to help both sides find a middle ground while maintaining a level of mutual respect. In our latest struggle, the parent has truly struggled with a decision to not medicate her daughter. The staff is heart-broken for the student and very upset that they spent so much time documenting behavior—10 weeks of detailed data. I met with the staff, spoke with both parents, met with the whole team, met with the mother alone, met with the staff again and tried to find a balance that keeps the child's interests at the forefront. I hope that our plan brings peace to all and success to the child. –SF

Whether or not it is even feasible to provide a script for the many unique situations in which we find ourselves as school leaders, there are skills that can be practiced and refined to improve our ability to interact, skillfully, with our constituents. Jerome Murphy, Harvard Graduate School of Education Dean from 1992-2001, refers to "the unheroic side of leadership" (2007, p.57) and advocates for developing the ability to *listen* in order to be a successful leader. He underscores the need for "an active effort to

understand the world from another's perspective. It requires both an instant analysis of what has been said (and of the accompanying tone and body posture) and a sense of what has been left unsaid." (p.57) He continues by saying, "It is not enough to know just the facts; a leader also needs to understand the feelings, the meanings, and the perceptions that are tied to those facts. Such understanding requires careful listening to what is said and careful reading between the lines" (p. 58).

4.2.2   The Roles in the *Playbill*

Being able to *read between the lines* contributes to our understanding of human nature, and understanding human nature contributes to our ability to predict behaviors in response to certain situations. We feel, as school leaders, that we extend this understanding to the selection of appropriate roles to play to promote successful interaction with our constituents. There are many situations in which we assume roles ranging from: *friend* to *boss; coach* to *cheerleader; manager* to *mentor;* and *parent* to *policeman*. Knowing when, how, and with which particular role to respond comprises the work and skill involved in managing emotions as school leaders. There are multiple ways to achieve a goal and knowing which role will be most effective is a critical *choice* each actor must make. The selection of role can be seen in subtle differences in character development and interpretation of the script. In this particular situation, while conducting a district-wide staff development day, an administrator recalls the emotional fallout that resulted from making a recommendation to staff regarding their lunch break in order to stay on schedule.

> The parent aspect of setting limits is an interesting one. I think of first few times I had to say we need to be back from lunch at a certain time or it is not a good idea to go off campus to a local restaurant for lunch on a professional development day. After explaining that restaurant service can be easily delayed on a busy day and community members might not be particularly pleased to see teachers out having a sit-down lunch laughing and lingering when they have had to make arrangements for daycare so they could go to work while their children are home, I look out at the group, and I see they resent me imposing these restrictions on their lunch time. While the more reasoned may see the reality in my argument, there are many who remark with indignation and disdain that they should be allowed to eat lunch out just like anyone else and that they are professionals who know how to behave in public and that it is insulting to think I would

assume they would misbehave and come back late. I definitely felt like a parent of 14 year olds who were letting me know they did not need or appreciate my setting limits. – AF

When the role we select appears to miss its mark, we are faced with making another choice that necessitates a certain skill in thinking on one's feet to respond effectively. We find ourselves needing to read the situation and know how it affects the nuances of the role (Goffman, 1959, p.30).

> For if the individual's activity is to become significant to others, he must mobilize his activity so that it will express *during the interaction* what he wishes to convey. In fact, the performer may be required not only to express his claimed capacities during the interaction but if the baseball umpire is to give the impression that he is sure of his judgment, he must forgo the moment of thought which might make him sure of his judgment; he must give an instantaneous decision so that the audience will be sure that he is sure of his judgment (Goffman, 1959, p.30).

The team acknowledged that the ability to respond *appropriately* is complicated by the defensiveness that almost always accompanies an attack on staff or on us, personally.

> Sometimes I feel absolutely blindsided by people's emotions! I get so mad at myself because I just stand there, speechless! The person raging at me has had time to perseverate on her anger, but I am so caught off guard. In my head I'm trying to analyze just where this is coming from and how I can manage it. I'm so busying doing that that I don't even try to defend myself. Maybe that's a good thing, but it doesn't feel that way to me at the time. –PD

These are the times when team members find themselves falling back on what they consider the traditional role of the principal as a means to hold their ground.

> Well I've gone from laughing to where I had to reprimand a kid to showing that I'm a little angry or disappointed, and I wasn't. I was disappointed in the child but I wasn't, you know really angry. He did something stupid, and I had to react to that you know. – BK

> The mediator role is one that I happen to kind of enjoy—for a little while. I try to think of the adults as my former special education students. If they have horrible social skills, I try coaching them in expected behavior and give them some metacognitive work to do. If my suggestions are not appreciated, I quickly move to the "just suck it up and find a way to work together" mode. I need to develop patience. –SF

The data illuminated the team's belief that, regardless of the role in which one finds oneself, there is a professional expectation for administrators to know their audience and manage their own emotions, accordingly.

> I think that you need to be articulate when you're mad; but you need to be level-headed because I think that's more professional. I mean, it's kind of like when *how* you say and *what* you say is important. So, I can say something a certain way and be very professional and matter of fact versus saying it in a really nasty, demeaning, really hurtful way. And

> I think some people do say hurtful things and have no clue that it's hurtful. You have to know your audience. So how I say it to one person might be a lot different to how I say it to another person. Because people read between the lines and I think that can cause emotions and stress. And what you do as a leader depends on who you're working with and what the situation is. –RM

Without exception, those with whom I spoke acknowledged the need to "mask" or hide personal feelings in fulfillment of their professional roles and in their pursuit of playing these roles, convincingly.

4.2.3 Putting on the Mask

> If the mask is allowed to slip, the trust between professional and client is jeopardized. It is the fate that befalls the manager who openly curses his staff, the nurse who is scathing to a patient, the physician who weeps during a consultation, the social worker who mocks a clients, the lawyer who is over-casual at the reading of a will, the police officer who screams in frustration at, or ridicules, a motorist. The relationship is irreparably fractured if the professional reveals certain 'inappropriate' emotions, such as personal attraction or lust for a client or customer. When emotional labour fails, so does the professional (Fineman: 2003, p. 37).

Whether acting as a counselor, mediator, disciplinarian, teacher, or even security guard, we intentionally and consciously *get into character* as a means of delivering lines in the script that shapes our professional lives. In some cases, we admit to using the mask as a vehicle for bolstering our courage to engage in difficult interactions with constituents of our school. Just as often, we admit to using the mask to hide personal feelings of frustration, sadness, and anger in an effort to be seen as the consummate professional.

> I think I have experienced this most when we have had loss in the school community. We had a young 6th grader pass away from Cystic Fibrosis, another young man die of a tragic accident in the woods, and numerous other tragedies befall our school community during my tenure as principal. While people would see I was visibly distraught over the loss of our own, there came the time when I had to say and now we must go back to our classes and do what we do. I know this was seen by some as heartless and cold, but I felt it was my role to let the staff know we had jobs to do and it was ok and, in fact, necessary to resume some normalcy not only for the other students but also for ourselves. Even though the words were coming out of my mouth ok, I know I was playing a part and hoping people would not see through the façade. –AF

The team shared example after example of masking their own feelings to protect, reassure and motivate students, staff and parents, and enhance their ability to lead. Teammates conveyed disappointment in themselves when the mask slipped revealing the person behind it.

I struggled to remain composed in my discussions of the Newtown tragedy and our safety procedures with my staff. Other than that- I feel that I am rarely upset at work. I do go out of my way to act enthusiastic and energetic when I am not feeling quite so thrilled with things. I am not a stoic person- people can usually tell how I feel- so I am thinking that I do not play this role well! –SF

Yeah, I think I do wear my—emotions like a badge on my sleeve or whatever that saying is. There are times when they can tell by my facial expression, and it's usually when it's a situation that's happened repeatedly. Like something that's frustrating me but not for the first time. It's something that, you know, over time has frustrated me or upset me. Then you can probably tell on my face, and it's usually my eyes. No matter what I'm saying or doing my eyes kind of give it away. So I've tried really hard not to-to try to control that. I-I'm not really good at controlling that because it is who I am and it just kind of happens. –RM

We consider the ability to control our feelings a professional expectation of our positions. Whether as a way to foster an emotionally safe environment or to control the escalation of a volatile situation, we see *professionalism* as the yardstick by which levels of emotional display are measured as appropriate or inappropriate. This can be particularly difficult to accept, because there are numerous occasions that point to it being a benchmark only we, as administrators, are responsible to attain.

I try to act and behave the same way every day because I know what it's like to have a boss or to work with folks that question whether it's safe to walk in the room today or not. You know? Emotionally they were-they were unpredictable and-and so when you showed up at work and you had to check with the secretary and say, what mood is the principal in today? –BK

This principal reveals his belief that an *appropriate* level of emotion from an administrator is relative to the situation from which it is evoked. In his experience, emotions related to professional situations are feelings to be controlled or possibly even masked, but emotions that are related to circumstances outside the school walls are allowable and even expected.

I think that's another time you've gotta put another game face-gotta do a little acting. Um, whether it's an anger or disappointment, I think that's where you have to be as even-keeled as you possibly can with that irate parent that's coming in bad-mouthing a staff member for what they did to their child, supposedly. How you react to that, they're going to feed off of that. Or if a staff member comes in and there's-there's an upset there with what I did with one of their kids, I think of just trying to be even, you know with things. I think that's far different than a staff member or a parent coming in sharing a personal disappointment or devastating news that's unrelated to the job, then you can-you can show that more humanistic side. –BK

The regulation of emotional display is an expectation of our employment as school leaders and forms the basis for our emotional labor. This *commercialization* (Hochschild,

1983) of our feelings comes with a cost. "It affects the degree to which we listen to feeling and sometimes our very capacity to feel". (p. 21) Hochschild asserts that when our feelings are subject to institutional regulation, we may indeed "pay a cost in how we hear our feelings and in a cost in what, for better or worse, they tell us about ourselves" (p. 21).

4.3 Acting *at* Feeling: *The Managed Heart*

4.3.1 Rules of Display

> Feelings, I suggest, are not stored "inside" us, and they are not independent of acts of management. Both the act of "getting in touch with" feeling and act of "trying to" feel may become part of the process that makes the thing we get in touch with, or the thing we manage, *into* a feeling or emotion. In managing feeling, we contribute to the creation of it (Hochschild, 1983, p18).

Hochschild speaks of *feeling rules* as "culturally relative traffic rules" (p.260) that guide human interaction. These feeling rules, as they relate to school culture and the expected emotional display of school leaders, form the basis of our emotional labor.

> I think the extremes of emotion that we may display has to be in check. I think if I'm sobbing uncontrollably with kids and staff around um, that's not going to be too accepted. So I think not going too far out from that-that pendulum swing. I think showing emotion is okay; but it has to be appropriately done, I think. You know, verses if you go home and you just sob uncontrollably over that same issue that you couldn't do at work, you know, your spouse would be accepting of that or your children would be accepting of that. Here, I don't think it would be. –BK

Hochschild, in her exploration of the commercialization of feeling management, accepts C. Wright Mill's (1956) notion regarding the "sale of personality" (in Hochschild, 1983, p. 229) and adds to it her belief that workers actively manage feeling in their efforts "to make their personalities fit for public-contact work" (p.229). In our work as school leaders, we recognize that not all who have signed up for this work are willing to adjust their personalities to align with the cultural expectations that govern the institution of school. We also witness those who try but struggle to reconcile feelings with display. It is this conscious struggle we see as a significant contributor to the emotional labor we experience.

> So, what makes me good is my passion for what I do. What gets me in trouble is my passion for what I do. And my sense is I should be able to be my passion and people help me manage that. I'm not asking for your help because I need to be a better person, it's just that maybe I just misread something, honest mistake; maybe I present something in not the best fashion because I chose the wrong words, honest mistake; and as long as I'm not nasty for nasty sake, disrespectful, um, um you know retribution as part of my repertoire, then I think it should be open--I should be able to work with people who respect an emotional, excitable person. –NK

> In a school you have to pace yourself. You can't be a hundred miles an hour a hundred percent of the time. So, your emotions have to be checked almost on a regular basis. So, if something goes on in the office that's really dumb and could've been prevented I have to go somewhere else to do a time-out to check my emotions to make sure that I

don't say anything that would offend anybody which is an honest feeling, maybe not because I'm being nasty, I'm just being honest. –NK

I think in education it's different. I think that it's okay and I'll say this in a different way. I've worked with some other administrators that know it all. They don't show any emotion, they don't listen, they don't -- so those aren't emotions. But what happens is it causes emotions for other people. "So, I'm going to put my wall up and I'm not going to listen to you because you don't listen to me". So, there's an angry emotion that goes on. So, I think education is a little different. I think that they do want to see that people side of you and I think the meter of how much they want to see depends on that other person's personality. –RM

Even as school executives, we acknowledge that our constituents see us as public servants and we recognize that we are subject to an emotional system that varies greatly from our corporate counterparts. One school leader recalls a principal she describes as have a "business kind of mentality" and tries to pinpoint why this principal was ineffective.

She really had a business kind of mentality that was like – "this is what you do and you'll do it because this is what I say" – I don't know, I don't think she really necessarily had an understanding of – let's see – the why behind things. I think she just saw things in terms of immediate short term goals and the superintendent would tell her some things so then she would need to accomplish it, but I don't think she – I don't know if she had the ability to kind of take a step back and kind of look more globally at the situation and what she needed to have happen in order to achieve her goals, long term goals. –KD

While this principal may not have been any more effective in the corporate world due to poor management skills, this scenario hints at the cultural expectation that exists within our schools that school leaders will be respectful and collaborative. While it is outside the scope of this research to explicate the emotional facets of the institution of school, the data acknowledges the existence of an invisible emotional system (Hochschild, 1983) that is woven into the fabric of our schools and underpins every aspect of the work we do.

A sure-fire way to see an initiative die on the vine is to be top-down in your presentation about it to the teachers. If we don't give teachers a voice and make them feel they have been a part of the decision, they will just pay lip-service to it and then close their doors and teach the way they want to. –BU

It is the management of this invisible yet clearly extant emotional system that necessitates us to manage emotions, ours *and* others, by astutely reading our audience and adeptly acting the part of the trusted school leader.

4.3.2 Surface acting

In our positions as school leaders, within the institution of school, our choices as actors and the emotions involved are governed by the institution we serve (Hochschild, 1983, p.49). It was not a surprise that team members agreed that as public employees, we are considered by all, and treated by some, as public servants. As such, we believe the public expects us to be all things to all people.

> I try, once again I try to be, you know, all things to all people here…Gotta be even. –BK

> The emotions I have to display as part of my leadership are: patience; respect; sympathy; caring; firmness; understanding. Emotions I have to hide are: frustration; anger; unchecked sadness; dislike; disapproval. Anger is never really appropriate. When I'm feeling really disgusted by the way an adult is behaving, I just get "flat". A parent asked what was wrong with me, and I chose to say my mind was somewhere else instead of telling her she was acting like an ass. –IO

> Parents need to feel that I care; teachers and students need to feel that I care. –IO

We see ourselves as marketing our school district's *brand* of leadership: caring; child-centered; knowledgeable; and responsive to the community. In many ways, we see ourselves as customer service representatives of our schools. What we have discovered, in our effort to live up to this image, is that we not only mask our true feelings but, we assess the situation before selecting the character that will best address the given needs so as to put on the right face for the right situation. Hochschild defines this as *surface acting,* that which we do to deceive others, but not ourselves (pp.33). The skill involved in this is to select wisely and perform convincingly,

> Basically, I think I've seen them all, it just a matter of – there's this type of person, there's that type of person– that way when I see somebody new, I can kind of categorizing them and then I know how to deal with them. –KD

> I think people that I am most impressed with are the ones that deal with a very difficult situation or a very difficult person and are able to maintain the calm and the smile and-and work with them through. I work with at least three people who I think are excellent at doing that. And, I'm not saying that I am envious of that because it would be so not me, but I would hope that I would be a little better and I've learned to be a little better at trying to make people feel like the hammer is not there, whether it's going to be there or not. –NK

Dramatizing one's work involves "making invisible costs visible" (Goffman, 1959, p. 32). "While in the presence of others, the individual typically infuses his activity with

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signs which dramatically highlight and portray confirmatory facts that might otherwise remain unapparent or obscure" (p.30). In drawing attention to our performance, there is the potential for creating a special effect only to risk spoiling the illusion of its effect (p.31). For us, the illusion may be that we care, and to *say* we care while acting in a manner counter to this, we risk being seen as inauthentic and manipulative.

In this case, the administrator, not only protects the teacher's feelings, but also wants to use the interaction as a means to get into the class another time to help the teacher improve. Her analysis of this scenario demonstrates her willingness to act in a manner that engenders positive feelings to save the teacher's feelings and gain her trust.

> If I see something, maybe see a lesson that somebody else is doing and I don't know where that lesson's going, or I don't understand the reasons behind it, but, of course, I would never say that, so then maybe I would be a little bit disingenuous and say "oh, very nice" and try to – I don't think I would portray the excitement, the natural excitement, but I think I would try to be as positive and pleasant about it as I possibly could and then think of a way that I could get in there and kind of help a little bit. –KD

A common thread I identified throughout the data was the difference in how we feel when acting with students as opposed to adults. It seems that the need to wear our *principal faces* with children is almost a given, an expectation of our jobs. As in parenting, there are some occasions when, regardless of the actual seriousness of an incident, we find ourselves making a big show of it to make a point. But when dealing with adults, there is a clear frustration, almost a resentment, in having to have to play a game that includes pretending.

> When am I forced to be nicer than I feel or to be nastier? I'll give you a good example. With kids I have no problem and no um, no compunction to-to go to a kid and be mad at him and I'm disappointed in you and all when I'm really, I know he's only ten and you know, and so I play-I act the role to get a response that I think is an appropriate one from a child. I have no problem doing that. I struggle when I work with adults because I feel in my heart that I shouldn't have to play any games. I should be able to tell you exactly the way I feel, and if you're a professional and I'm a professional then they should be able to say to me what do you mean by that? –NK

Pretending is harder for some of us than for others, and as is the case for this school principal, one we may wrestle with, not only in our lack of desire to pretend, but with

emotional dissonance and feelings of frustration that accompany not having the choice to do otherwise.

> But I've watched some people and I know they're playing, I know what they're doing…they're swallowing real hard, and they don't want to do this but, they're excellent at making this happen. And in the long run for them that works. For me, I still struggle with…is it worth it to be nice to somebody when they don't deserve to be-when they should be dealt with more directly? Um, it's that whole time [asking myself] when do I let someone know what I really feel other than trying to make them you know, feel good all the time? And in our business in particular it's difficult, because we don't have the kind of business that can move people around readily. So in education I think it's-it's a greater challenge for a lot less money. –NK

One administrator shares how she manages to overcome the disconnection between feelings and display by reconsidering those feelings in a way that bridges the gap for her emotionally and cognitively while allowing her to *save face* professionally.

> I do agree with that, that maybe you can adopt some feelings. I mean I would have to say I worked a lot of different places and there's always the people that are a little bit more of a nudge and can be a blocker; but I've always found that I've never disliked those people. I kind of use them and would be very honest with them and say you are going to be my devil's advocate. –KD

The idea that leaders engage in surface acting as a means to an end is well researched (Ashkanasy and Humphrey, 2001; Humphrey, 2005, 2006, 1008; Humphrey, Pollack and Hawver, 2008. Cited in Iszatt-White, 2013). This research illuminates how the emotional display of leaders influences workers, and that "'leading with emotional labour' consists of a specific set of emotion regulation tactics that can help leaders establish better leadership-member relationships, be more authentic in their interactions with others, and exhibit transformational leadership" (Iszatt-White, 2013, p.82). The idea that we were *using* emotions as a means to an end, having the potential to feel almost manipulative, was like a dirty little secret we weren't very proud to admit, openly.

4.3.3 Deep acting

> In a sense, and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves—the role we are striving to live up to—this mask is our truer self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conception of our role becomes second nature and an integral part of our personality. We come into the world as individuals, achieve character, and become persons. (Park, 1950, p.250, in Goffman, 1959, pp.19-20).

As leaders we are called to deliver lines *in character* with the many roles we play in response to the day-to-day happenings of our schools. Most often these lines are aligned with our own emotions and values and support the personae of us as the knowledgeable and benevolent school leaders the public has come to expect us to be. This does not mean that we haven't found ourselves acting *at* being the principal, for certainly we all noted times when we just didn't want to "be the heavy" or "do the dog and pony show" despite knowing we were being paid to do so. Day et al. (2006) speak to the link between emotions and the social structures in our work as the parts we play as *social actors* (p. 613). "Emotion is directly implicated in the actor's transformation of their circumstances, as well as the circumstances' transformation of the actors' disposition to act" (Barbalet, 2002, p. 4, cited in Day et al. 2006, p. 613).

Being "ambassadors of our school district" and heavily invested in maintaining positive public relations is axiomatic to our jobs, and as we often say in a joking manner, "That's why we get paid the big bucks!" But when it comes to difficult emotional interactions, team members never speak of being comforted by thoughts of salary.

When asked how to deal with these situations, team members reported strategies that emphasize refocusing on "what's best for the child". Not only does this help us tap into a sense of self-conviction based on best practice, even if we have to "fake it", but if we are good enough actors, we can find ourselves even fooling ourselves.

> I absolutely feel that practicing projecting a positive attitude makes one feel more positive and constant negativity makes us feel hopeless, less productive. I try to tie every aspect of my job, even those I don't like, to the kids. It helps me more quickly put my frustrations aside and find a silver lining in the most mundane aspects of the job. So-yes- I have been taken in by my own act and I believe that I love being a principal!! –SF

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Here a principal reflects on being more authoritarian regarding student behavior and demonstrates the complex interplay between display and her own feelings.

> I've gotta look at that child and be like, well you need to sit down because, you know, that would be inappropriate. So the same tone or facial expression I would use for anyone, I would continue to use that. So would I adopt it? I guess you would adopt it because you would keep doing it. So does it become internal? It has for me. I don't think that happens for everybody. Again I think it's who you are. I'm a little bit warm and fuzzy, more than some other people. And I want to show that side to everyone so I'm kind of hoping that comes out maybe; or I'm more open to letting something slide. That might be considered as faking that becomes my own feeling. I don't think I'm faking a feeling to make myself feel that way. If I'm faking an expression or an emotion it's because I want that child to be successful or that teacher to be successful, or we have a working relationship. So it doesn't affect kids or affect other people. I don't know if those are good enough examples. –RM

Iszatt-White (2013) contends that the deep acting involved in the emotional labor of leaders is should be considered as a reversal of Hochschild's original thought:

> The evidence from the data suggests a more complex relationship between the emotions actually experienced and the role of deep acting, in some cases even amounting to a reversal of its original purpose: the performance of 'deep acting' here – previously understood as an attempt to create congruence by bringing underpinning beliefs in line with displayed emotions (Hampson and Junor, 2005) – is intended to deceive the recipient as to the strength of the emotion displayed rather that to deceive the actor as to the extent to which the emotion is grounded in belief. The beliefs thus prompt or cause the acting, rather than deriving from them, whilst still requiring a degree of amplification or acting to give them the impact for a third party (Iszatt-White, 2013, p. 30).

Our data would indicate that the relationship between emotions and deep acting is further complicated by being *school* leaders. Given the multifaceted nature of our roles and the many constituencies we represent, determining how to act as 'skilled emotional managers' (Bolton and Boyd, 2003, cited in Iszatt-White, p. 33) is highly dependent on our *audience*, those with whom we interact throughout our schools, our district, and the community at large. In just one meeting regarding the special needs of a student, this special education director identifies at least six special interests she represents: the district; the school; the service providers; the parents; herself, as a professional educator and as an individual; and most importantly, the student.

> In my role as gatekeeper of special education funds, I have times when I have to hold the line on spending and present a strong front, even if I feel sympathetic to a cause. If I am in a PPT with a parent, and she's being abusive, I try to understand what her life is like and that helps me be more tolerant, but staff looks to me to get appropriately angry at abusive parents. I've told a parent, "Can't you just appreciate all that this staff is doing for your child?" I guess that's anger, but said in very matter of fact way. I think that there are standards of behavior that govern our job and losing control of emotions would put my job at risk. If I lost control I would lose my credibility. –IO

The remarkable aspect of the scenario described, above, was the ability of this administrator to do all of this while also doing it *invisibly*. Had any one of her constituents perceived the enormous effort involved in staging the meeting as a form of inauthenticity, the illusion could have been shattered and the outcome quite unsatisfactory.

We understand that this view of school leaders as actors engaged in performances that are often contrary to their genuine feelings is not a new concept, but seeing ourselves in that manner certainly was. Although a predictable response to the complex nature of the emotion work we do, the more profound self-realization that emerged was in understanding that the more we pretend *at* feeling the less we have to pretend *to* feel.

> What's sad for me is I have to-I have worked so hard to control my emotions that I sometimes feel that I'm losing my passionate emotional edge. –NK

As school leaders, we see ourselves frequently immersed in circumstances that call for us to *act* in accordance with competing interests. These situations can leave us feeling ill-equipped to respond to the emotional demands of the moment. Like an actor on stage who forgets a line, we hope no one realizes the gaffe, and we *call for a line*. Just what this call represents seems to depend upon the setting; the plot; the characters playing opposite us; and how skilled we are at our craft. Some of us run right over other's lines with brazen disregard; after all, *we* are the star of this production. Others of us are so enmeshed in the story unfolding in front of us that we are left with little choice but to draw from experiences and improvise. Many of us fall back on familiar lines of the script of educational practice in the hope of gaining a running start, and *recovering* from there. Although we resist talking about it, we have all experienced stage-fright, to some degree, leaving us to inch our way offstage before the hecklers get started.

> In difficult situations, I used to say to myself, 'What's the worst that can happen?'
> Then, I had to tell a teacher who had moved to town and bought a house that it wasn't going to work. He said I was ruining his life. –IO

It is not hard to imagine the devastating toll it took on this administrator to hear someone accuse her of ruining his life with an action she had no other choice than to make. While

this is an extreme situation, we have all experienced interactions with students, staff and parents who have claimed that our administrative decisions were impacting their lives.

The management of emotions involved in our positions is the most challenging and time-consuming aspect of our jobs. It is a part of everything we do, and yet we find ourselves struggling to maintain our equilibrium. When we turn to each other for much-needed collegial support, we catch glimpses of ourselves in one another and recognize the all too weary spirit of a leader and the guarded heart of a passionate educator.

Conclusions

> Limited understanding of human nature leads to an inability to exercise effective interpersonal skills in motivation, communication, persuasion, team building, and conflict resolution…All these skills require sensitivity or knowledge about the emotions…Principals fail not because they cannot understand school policy, but because they cannot understand and make reasonable predictions about human behavior (McDowelle and Buckner, 2002, p.3).

In auditioning for the part of a school administrator, each individual brings with her certain preconceived ideas of what it means to win the *lead role*. These views are uniquely personal and based on experiential, philosophical, and theoretical constructs of educational leadership. The participants in this study recognized that these initial notions do not always align with the reality of daily experience, and this can leave one feeling blindsided and ill-prepared for the enormous demands placed upon the school leader.

Whether out of some sense of duty or attempt at self-preservation, we report that our positions necessitate the adoption of certain roles, informed by the situations we encounter. Upon reflection, these roles often leave us feeling like actors reading from an almost stereotypical script of leadership theory. These scripts rarely include stage directions for the most difficult situations of managing the emotions of stakeholders, and school leaders are often left in the spotlight attempting to improvise.

Hochschild's theory of emotional labor provides an appropriate framework for understanding the emotion work we do as school leaders. We have come to accept that it is an expectation of our employment to display, both confidently and convincingly, the public face of an outstanding school district. Meeting this standard of *performance* challenges us, not only in how to align skillfully our actions with professional standards, but to do so beyond reproach within the emotionally charged setting of the institution of school. Hochschild's social theory is "a theory that allows us to see how institutions – such as corporations – control us not simply through their surveillance of our behavior but through surveillance of our feelings" (1983, p. 228).

Taking into account the complexity of the relationship between emotions felt and emotions displayed by leaders (Iszatt-White p. 30), the data revealed how often we *pretend at feeling,* especially as leaders of *schools.* Inherent in this is our belief in an existing mandate for school leaders to be all things to all people. It is this unspoken and complex expectation that has shaped our district's brand of leadership, including its hallmark responsiveness to all constituents of the school community.

As we come to terms with this dimension of our school leadership, we are left to ponder how best to manage, both personally and professionally, the emotions we, ourselves, experience as school leaders.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0   LOOKING BEHIND THE MASK: A REVEALING LOOK INTO THE EMOTIONAL LABOR OF ADMINISTRATORS

> What we term rationality in organizations is a remarkable facility to present – to ourselves and to others – emotionalized processes in forms that meet 'acceptable', 'rational' images of objectives and purpose. We want to believe, and we want others to believe, that we think and act rationally, so we construe the intentions and consequences of our actions as rational. We do this in social contexts that limit and shape our endeavors, and through social discourses that define norms of feeling and emotional display. For most of us, this is good enough. The public smile, the pretense of concern and the 'professional' demeanour, lubricate and reinforce social relationships. Emotional hypocrisy helps to fix a social order as well as to strain it; this is the heart of emotion work (Fineman, 2000; 2006. p.12).

Introduction

Taking into account the complexity of the relationship between the emotions we feel versus the emotions we display, the data points to how often we *pretend at feeling,* especially as leaders of schools (Iszatt-White, 2013). Inherent in this is our belief in an existing mandate for us to be all things to all people. There are times when we feel less like educational leaders and more like customer service representatives who are charged with keeping the customer satisfied, at all times. It is this unspoken and complex expectation that has shaped our district's *brand* of leadership, including its hallmark responsiveness to all constituents of the school community.

Acknowledging the feelings we are *expected* to display provided an opportunity for our team to give voice to other emotions, ones we are almost *forbidden* to display, should we hope to remain employed. These are the emotions we find ourselves addressing with great restraint and going to great lengths to hide from our constituents. The effort it takes to display and mask our own emotions as a means of effectively managing the emotions of others does not come without a cost. It is the purpose of this chapter to explore the effect emotional labor has on our experiences as school leaders.

In section one, I will present data to show the team's belief in a conscious approach to managing the emotions of our workplace. We believe that our students, staff and parents expect our emotional display to convey kindness; empathy; respect; intelligence; self-assurance; optimism; and selflessness. The data will illuminate our perceptions regarding the *work* involved in this display; the importance of *emotional intelligence,* (Salovey & Mayer: 1990; Goleman; 1995) *emotional competence,* (Fletcher, 2001) and the impact of gender on our *performance.*

In section two, I will describe the emotions we feel compelled to mask and expound on the feelings we find ourselves masking, most often. I will use the data to illustrate common experiences among team members in restraining and suppressing our feelings of anger, frustration and hurt feelings in an effort to maintain the illusion of professionalism.

In section three, I will use the data to illuminate the toll it takes on us "when our two emotion 'faces', the private and the public, are not at ease with one another" (Fineman, 2000, p. 12). Acknowledging both emotional stress and physical fatigue, team members share issues regarding inauthenticity; isolation; emotive dissonance; discouragement; and the perception of *a disappearing self* (Fletcher, 2001). Although we strive to maintain our emotional equilibrium, our reflections reveal mixed outcomes in effectively balancing head and heart (Smulyan, 2000), and we often take our emotionally drained selves home with us, much to the detriment of our families.

5.1 Anatomy of the Performance

> ...leadership skills, such as communication, motivation, conflict resolution, team building, and persuasion are based in the emotions. Emotion plays a pivotal role in using these abilities. Therefore, we must understand the role of the emotions and the importance of emotional intelligence to effectively exercise these skills. New research on the role the emotions in cognitive processing forces us to reassess our assumptions about human nature. This research asserts that emotions are a fundamental part of the cognitive process…Consequently, emotional intelligence, the ability to process information about the emotions and use this information to manage your own emotions and the emotions of others, is rapidly coming to be viewed as an important concept in the leadership literature. (McDowelle and Buckner: 2002, p. vi.)

5.1.1 A Matter of Natural Talent and Skilled Performance

In their book, *Leading with Emotion: Reaching Balance in Educational Decision Making* (2002), McDowelle and Buckner present the essence of leadership as *people* (p.13) and assert that it must be underpinned by emotional intelligence (pp. 9-10) and supported by effective communication skill through active listening. (p. 8) McDowelle and Buckner view emotional intelligence as the core of leadership (p. 16), and their research supports our team's experience of there being little or no direct instruction in aspirant school leadership programs that acknowledges the strong correlation between emotional intelligence and effectively leading a school, leaving us to refine any natural talent for leadership through the "University of Experience". (p. 16)

> Well, I think I learned that you have to let people have their say and interrupting people gets you nowhere. They really need to get out what's on their minds, and I think just taking what they have to say piece by piece. Yeah, I think sometimes people vent and they don't want anyone to solve their problems. They just need to vent, and they need you to accept that they have a very difficult plight at that particular time, and they just need you to be there to listen to them. So if that's the case, I think maybe coming at it as more of a "fine, you vented, I listened to you, whatever" and then maybe in the future targeting one piece of that, but coming at it as more of a, I don't know, being crafty, I guess, without being disingenuous, but being a little bit crafty and resourceful with how you go about it. –KD

Using the experience we gain through our interactions, we *employ* this emotional intelligence to build relationships with our constituents. We are in the "people business", and we see our capacity to develop strong connections with students, staff and parents as the hallmark of being a capable leader in our school district. Jerome Murphy, a school leader at Harvard Graduate School of Education in the roles of both associate dean and dean, wrote of the critical relationship between being a good listener and being a good

educational leader, a lesson that served him well for over twenty years as a full-time administrator.

> At a more emotional level (and administrative work is highly emotional), listening is frequently the best thing that an administrator can do. Colleagues often want only an opportunity to express their concerns. Many professionals are passionate about their work; not surprisingly, they get upset when things go wrong. Sometimes they get upset when nothing is wrong, simply because no one is listening to them. The very process of verbalizing frustrations and having them acknowledged often enables these individuals to move forward. (Murphy,2007, p. 58)

Our data reveals the value team members place on listening to constituents and something that occupies a great majority of our time.

> So I-I think that people -- I mean I've only been here for a short time so I don't know what they would say about me but I think they would say that I would listen, that I would take the time out to talk. You know, I'm still building relationships. –RM

> This is a role I have found myself in as far back as high school. I think I am "soft around the edges". Don't get me wrong; that doesn't mean I'm a pushover. But, I listen to others, and I find it easy to understand different perspectives. I really believe this is one of my strengths as a leader. I have always felt that I could read people and ask questions that encourage and support them to come to their own conclusions about their issues. – PD

Developing the fine art of listening as a leader is not without its challenges. Team members shared occasions when their natural inclination to emotionally connect with parents and staff included a conscious effort to monitor their own feelings and accurately predict how these feelings might be perceived.

> The need to listen and be sympathetic, share my similar experiences, commiserate, etc. is important. It becomes stressful in that I do find that I need to draw clear lines. Topics that were OK as a fellow teacher are off limits now. I have to work hard to keep from joining in on conversations. This is especially true when a teacher/friend wants to share an interpersonal difficulty they are experiencing with a colleague- giving me information that I should not know until I personally witness a decline in work performance. –SF

> I remember feeling personally wounded by talk that I might not be strong enough to lead the school because I was so "nice". Really? Not only do I need to worry about being building good relationships with staff and parents, but now I have to worry if they are seen as being *too* good!! Why do people so often mistake kindness for weakness? – PD

McDowelle and Bruckner (2002) propose consideration of their three prong model for school leadership as a means for enhancing experiential learning (p.23). "Leadership effectiveness is determined by the interplay of the three key components all leaders face: constituents, situations, and leader self-knowledge." (p. 29) This necessitates that we not

only work well with people, but that we are willing to use this knowledge of self and others, cognizant of the given circumstances and informed by our emotional intelligence (p. 31). Our team's experiences reflect that we are under great scrutiny by our constituents and support the need to strategically present our ideas and judiciously reveal our true selves to our school community. This is easier to some than to others. Sometimes it appears that our ability to effectively manage our schools comes through strong relationships that are the result of who we are as individuals; other times we have had to call upon some skill, or "craft knowledge" (Evans, 2007, p. 142) to keep our finger on the emotional pulse of our schools. Our data speaks to the benefit of a leader possessing a natural talent to relate well to others, or at least having the skill to make it look as if she does, for to fail in that is to fail in our leadership charge.

> Honestly, I think our staff can't quite make up their minds about whether they want a say in decision-making, or they just want us to tell them what to do. I think the tipping point is somewhere in the middle. They want to feel they are in control of change until they don't! Change is hard and often messy but necessary, so it's tricky. It takes finesse. I know there are lots of changes I have initiated through my tenure that staff have never recognized as starting with me. A principal can't be in it for fame and glory, or she'll be cut off at the knees by her staff! –PD

> Perhaps communication is embedded in all of these roles, but I find it is a very challenging task that I have never really mastered and is often the undoing of many a great idea or initiative. I also think it is an area for which administrators receive the greatest criticism regardless of how hard they have tried or how well they think they have done in getting the word out clearly and in a timely manner to all those involved. –AF

> …The greatest gift of a leader is having people who understand that you're emotional and pleased that you're honest and maybe a little convoluted or a little disjointed or maybe a little off-target. But because I can't do that, I'm always weighing myself, because I always know I have a group of people who are looking for a stumble. –NK

Whether or not a leader has the raw talent, emotional intelligence, or the skill to perform as if she does, it is only part of the equation in being an effective leader in our district. Our jobs call for us to hone our craft in pursuit of being *emotionally competent* (Fletcher, 2001).

5.1.2 Competence and Strategy

> Emotional competence: Ability to understand and interpret emotional data and use it to assess situations and strategize appropriate actions or verbal responses (Fletcher 2002, p.86).

As a team, we have varying combinations of strengths and weaknesses in interpreting and using emotional data, and we recognize the overarching mandate to develop and refine both natural talent and learned skills. We find ourselves frequently reflecting on given situations that call for us to adopt specific roles and associated display, and we question how our emotional responses are being perceived and responded to by our constituents.

> Although it's not always the case, I can think of times when I have masked my true motivation in dealing with a teacher by playing the role of coach. If I identify a problem area that needs to be addressed, I have the ability to deliberately step into this role to encourage growth and change. When I play this role, it's my desire to help the teacher improve without being intimidating. I find that teachers can close down when their teaching practices are called into question, so by playing the role of coach, I hope the teacher will take my input in the spirit of collaboration. It's a way in which I can convey that we're on the same team…that we want the same thing. And, if I play this part well, it keeps the teacher from feeling that I am being judgmental. Of course, the reality of the situation is that I *am* being judgmental…in that I felt the need to intervene in the first place! –PD from the *Playbill*

> I think that you need to be articulate when you're mad; but you need to be level-headed because I think that's more professional. I mean, you can -- it's kind of like when *how* you say and *what* you say is important. So, I can say something a certain way and be very professional and matter of fact verses saying it in a really nasty, demeaning, really hurtful way. And I think some people do say things hurtful and have no clue that it's hurtful. You have to know your audience. So how I say it to one person might be a lot different to how I say it to another person. Because people read between the lines, and I think that can cause emotions and stress. And what you do as a leader depends on who you're working with and what the situation is. –RM

Fletcher (2001) asserts that "spending time and effort reflecting on the emotional complexity of situations indicates a belief that emotions are an important source of information, both about oneself and about situations" (p.73). Emotional competence includes understanding how the context of our experiences becomes the backdrop for emotional interaction (Fletcher 2001). Our data reveals a pattern of both sensitivity to others and awareness of self.

> You couldn't get to where you want to go, you couldn't. People would hate you. *[Laughter]* They would – I mean if you said what was on your mind all the time and just came right out with it and didn't have any finesse or any understanding of where different people are coming from. Yeah, no one would take you seriously. Yeah, you

have to be very aware, but I think of it as like empathy – It's empathy as well. But just like a good friend, it's all give and take, and I think the same holds true in the work place as well, just being able to empathize and still keep your mind on it, keep your eye on the target. –KD

There's like this massaging of people's feelings. –PD

By nature I'm very honest. So for me I don't have a problem being *nasty* because of my background and my upbringing and what I've overcome. But because I've worked so hard to not be nasty as a human being that I've really worked hard on being positive that I really have come a long way in my own life, first of all, and I enjoy the fact that I'm positive and that the glass is always half full, and that I believe in the "fish" philosophy and all the things that I've shared with you before. What I have to do is be *nicer*, because I am an easy read. When I am displeased, not only my face but my whole being shows displeasure, or disappointment or frustration, or happiness. So, I have to constantly check. –NK

In Jennifer Pierce coined the phrase *strategic friendliness* (1996, p. 71) in her study of paralegals, finding that workers use two forms of emotional labor: intimidation and strategic friendliness. "Although strategic friendliness may appear to be a softer approach than intimidation, it carries with it a strongly manipulative element" (p.73). Both are forms of gamesmanship.

Gamesmanship – my term for the emotional labor associated with this job – entails the utilization of legal strategy through emotional presentation designed to influence the feeling and judgment of a particular legal audience: the judge, the jury, the witness or opposing counsel (p. 23).

This can be related this to the work we do as school leaders, knowing that there is a manipulative element to managing the feelings of others, as well as our own.

OMG! Sometimes I just want to scream when I have to play this role! How revealing is it for me to admit this?! I think the operative word is "play". When I have to play *at* listening or being sympathetic, I just want to jump out the window! Of course, whether or not I feel like being someone's true confidante is based on so many different factors…who; what; where; etc. But it's funny that I would jump right into the negative feelings I associate with this role. I think it's because I'm thinking of a particular teacher with whom I have to put on an Oscar-worthy performance in order to help her maintain an even keel. She is so needy and self-involved that if I don't act like I am hanging on her every word, she becomes so negative and toxic that the whole staff is affected. –PD from the *Playbill*

Reasons for manipulating the emotional interactions with our constituents can be for the benefit of others or ourselves. There are occasions when this gamesmanship takes the form of masking personal feelings and other times when it is to accomplish an organizational goal. The team acknowledged using positive suppositions and reinforcement as a way to guide students, staff, parents and even teammates toward a

desired outcome. Interestingly, some team members see themselves as "frauds" when they engage in these interactions; while others do not.

> I show lots of different emotions…happiness, approval, pride as ways to lead people in the right direction. –IO

> Somehow, I feel it's my job to psyche them up and manage their feelings about [the situation]. It's exhausting!!!! Sometimes I feel like a fraud, because, if truth be told, I'm not excited about this change, myself. –PD

> Sometimes, I'm in my own emotional place, like with my mother being ill last year. They didn't know what extent that was. That was when you put the game face on and you come in and do your job. Even two days after she died, I came back and did the fifth grade ceremony. –BK

Approaching emotional display as a game or an act appears to be a common strategy employed by team members to regulate the emotions of our workplace with the goal of establishing or reinforcing a wide-range of relationships we have with our constituents. While this game can cause us to feel disingenuous, we find redemption in doing what we believe is best for our schools.

> I do believe in many cases when you have to play a certain part often enough, you can believe you are that person, even if you initially thought you were just assuming the role. I think this happens to me in the role of mediator. I have had to facilitate and mediate so many situations, committees, initiatives and decisions, I have begun to think of myself as a mediator and yet I am not sure I really am that person at all. It is really just a skill set I have developed as part of my role as one who helps people come to consensus. I am not sure if this is a good thing or a bad thing and perhaps it is neither; it is just a result of the work that we do. –AF

Evans (2007) uses the word "savvy" (p.141) to explain the "an array of qualities, ranging from knowledge of one's field to having a good 'nose' for institutional problems. It includes intangibles like knowing what constitutes a good solution to a dilemma, knowing 'what to do and when to do it' (Sergiovanni, 1992, p.15. Cited in Evans, 2007, p.141-142). For this research, I questioned the influence gender had on *leadership savvy,* and its connection to the relational aspects of school leadership.

5.1.3 Gender and the Relational Nature of Our Work

> At the time, this idea seemed revolutionary to me but as I began to read more widely in the field I discovered a number of articles and books on something called the "female advantage". These books seemed to suggest that the relational traits, characteristics, and attributes socially ascribed to women—things such as caring, being involved, helping, building webs of connection rather than hierarchies, seeking consensus— might actually be good for business and that women had a lot to offer organizations (Fletcher, 2001, p. 12).

Given that our brand of leadership has its roots in the establishment of strong relationships with our constituents and, as Fletcher (2001) proposes, relational traits are most often attributed to females, it is important to examine our team's perceptions of gender; the role it plays in the emotion work we do; and whether or not it increases or diminishes our emotional labor.

> Emotional labor does not observe conventional distinction between types of jobs. By my estimate, roughly one-third of American workers today have jobs that subject them to substantial demands for emotional labor. Moreover, of all *women* working, roughly one-half have jobs that call for emotional labor. Thus this inquiry has special relevance for women, and it probably also describes more of their experience. As traditionally more accomplished managers of feeling in private life, women more than men have put emotional labor on the market, and they know more about its personal costs (Hochschild, 1983; 2003; 2012, p.11).

The research drew attention to a phenomenon we experienced but had yet to name. Not only did the data reveal that we did not fully understand the concept of managing emotions for our wage, but made it apparent that we did not consider it a gender issue. What we did know was that we were a team of school administrators responding to expectations from our superintendent and governing board of education to be all things to all people.

> As women learn to be administrators they may unconsciously silence a part of themselves. They may also find ways to redefine the authority and power inherent in the administrator role so that their own voices can emerge. These conflicts and negotiations are not necessarily negative or disabling; they do, however, complicate the process of an individual's growth and development as a person and an administrator (Smulyan, 2000, p.3).

Our reflections seemed to indicate that we are a leadership team who, regardless of gender, feel the responsibility to develop and maintain relationships with the constituents

our schools. While gender was not the focus of this research, it certainly warrants attention as an influence on how the team experiences emotional labor.

Considering that our team of male and female administrators sees the relational aspect of our work as integral to the work of a school leader, and acknowledging that leading in this manner is more typical of women than men (Brunner, 2000; Fletcher, 2001; Grogan and Shakeshaft, 2011), there is potential for an added dimension, and possible burden, to the emotion work we do, especially for the male team members.

Investigating this issue was not as straightforward as examining male versus female responses. Hochschild (1983) claims, "Sensitivity to nonverbal communication and to the micro-political significance of feeling gives women something like an ethnic language, which men can speak too, but on the whole less well" (p.167) Using both the data and my personal knowledge of team members, it is evident that we have men and women teammates who lead in traditional male and female styles (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990. Cited in Fletcher, 2001). There are also men who have leadership traits that are more traditionally associated with women. Conversely, there are women who lead in a manner considered traditionally masculine (Epstein, 1988, 1991; Fineman, M., 1990. Cited in Fletcher, 2001).

> At the outset, it should be recognized that there are dangers of overgeneralization inherent in this topic. Women bring diversity to leadership, but there is also great diversity among women. Schein (1989) states that, although research shows differences between males and females, the variations between them are fewer than is commonly believed, and the differences within each sex are greater than the differences between the sexes. Most experts agree, however, that women share many views and experiences, and some generalizations are warranted (Shavlik & Touchton, 1988). Nonetheless, the reader should always keep in mind that there are many exceptions to the notion of typical male and female leadership behavior (Moran, 1992, p. 477).

Team members focused on professionalism and generally eschewed any references to gender when speaking of their relationships with their constituents. When gender did enter into the discussion, team members, both male and female, did so, apologetically.

> Yeah, I think from my um, and I hate to even start talking gender, but our society is that way. Standing in front of a group of staff members talking about a loss of a child in

your school or you know, illness or something um, I don't know if it's as accepting to display that emotion as it would be if I was a female leader. I think, you know because I look back, do you remember your father crying and that whole society piece. –BK, Male Principal

I look back at my teaching life and the principal standing there being cold about an accident that happened on prom night and like no emotion. And my question is what the hell is wrong with you? It's okay, but he couldn't behave that way because twenty years ago you know, that's-that generation of males, they had to be that way and I think you look at someone like Craig, even John is a pretty emotional guy, um, but definitely Craig dealing with the issues he's dealing with. It does percolate up and I think it's more accepting today. –NK, Male Principal

Yeah, I am a fixer. So, as is often the case with women and probably even more so with moms, I need to fix the problem (with my solution, of course). Inevitably, when someone comes looking for a listening ear and a shoulder to cry on or perhaps a brainstorming session, I leap into problem solving mode and even find myself repeating the right solution over and over until they must just want to slap me! –AF, Female Administrator

When asked how comfortable he thought his staff felt with expressing their emotions, one *male* principal made a strong connection between emotion and relationships, but then qualified it as being applicable only to staff to whom he feels emotionally close. It was not until he was prompted as to what he does with those to whom he is not close that he acknowledged the conscious effort he makes, and he detailed the accompanying emotion work it entailed.

Male Principal: I'd like to think that they feel pretty comfortable. That's why I have this box of tissues on my table. No, I think once again depending upon what emotion you're talking about um, I-I-it's happened. They've come to me, you know when there's, you know, an upset or when there's a celebration. I think emotionally, I think there's a trusting relationship there with most staff, not all because I don't connect as well to all of our staff as, you know, I mean that's just the way it is, I think. You know, you've got 40 people working for you and you're going to be closer to some and not so close to others so.

Interviewer: Are there things you to do make someone whom you might not be as close to feel like you're close to them?

Male Principal: Yeah, well once again. If I'm building a personal relationship then I would say-I would ask more questions or show more concern for what may be happening in their life. If it's professional, and I need to build a better bridge professionally about their observations and they're anxious with it or they don't feel good about it, or we've really not had a good professional level of relationship, I will try to get in that class more, I will try to talk more about what they're doing in a very low keyed, small way. I know back in my other district there were a couple of other teachers if they knew I was coming in to do an evaluation they wouldn't sleep for a week. So I would try to make them emotionally feel better by having more of a presence in their room so when I did show up, hopefully that would not push them over the edge. –BK, Male Principal

A female principal expressed similar thoughts and refers to the benefit of good relationships in having difficult professional conversations.

> And I don't go in thinking I'm going to figure out so in so today. It just I kind of just let it happen. And then if I had an issue -- like, say I was here for a year and I really didn't feel like I knew someone I would really then make more of an effort to see how well the relationship I could build. And I think that goes to like what you're looking at as emotions and how do my emotions play to how do I deal with that person? It's much easier to talk to someone if you've built a relationship. Even if it's-it's not the strongest relation -- maybe you're really like, don't see eye to eye with that person but you've had conversations. It's still easier to talk to that person verses someone that like, you haven't talked to or you haven't spent time. –RM, Female Principal

Whether or not the matter of gender appeared specific to relational *leading*, it was noted relative to an administrator's *display* of emotion. Many members referred to perceived differences in "allowable" emotional display between men and women administrators. Whether referenced explicitly or not, the data conveys the feeling that gender matters. Interestingly, male members of the group focused on displaying emotional strength, masking sadness and tears, while female members referred more often to needing to be upbeat, competent and collaborative.

> I think you still work hard to keep [emotion] in check whether you're a young lady or a man because we feel as though we have to be strong for everybody else; and that gets in the way of your emotions because you want to be crying like everybody else but we can't, you know. –NK, Male Principal

> So that gender piece gets blown out of the water. I think that's-that's my upbringing, too, and my age and stuff. I think today it's a lot different for the most part. It's more engagement from the male perspective to the family and then from the family to work. You know, I think that-that has changed a lot. –JC, Male Principal

In their research on women and educational leadership, Grogan and Shakeshaft (2011) assert that women view leadership as both relational and horizontal in nature as opposed to being hierarchical (p.19).

> Women's conceptions of power are closely tied to the importance the place on relationship. Power is used to help others and strengthens relationships, while power used to control damages relationships (Brunner, 2000). Thus, power through relationships is more likely to be how women confront change (Grogan & Shakeshaft, 2011, p. 20).

When asked if there are some emotions that people expect leaders to display, this female principal's responses typify feelings held by others female leaders on our team regarding appearing as a positive, capable, collaborative and caring leader.

> I think 99% of the time people think that I'm a happy person. Like, it's not a big deal. You've gotta do something? Let's get it done. I think I'm very good at getting-if I-if I'm getting overwhelmed how can I get these tasks done but ask for help? So I think that I'm lucky enough that I've built relationships, even just still being new, that people will be willing to help me, because I know that I'm going to be able to help them in situations. –RM, Female Principal

> So, if someone is upset can they come in? Are you a person? Can they come in and talk to you or are you an administrator they can't talk to? So they talk to a team facilitator or -or someone else. So when I-I try to balance my box so that you know, they see me as a person, they see me that I'm knowledgeable in whatever it is I'm supposed to be doing whether it's curriculum so that they can come to me on different levels and I really try to be very personable and take that extra minute -- how are you, how are you kids, how's your family? –RM, Female Principal

Sergiovanni (2007) cites Shakeshaft's (1987) research to support his assertion that the female perspective on school leadership is important, stating, "Female principals need to feel free to be themselves, rather than have to follow the principles and practices of traditional management theory" (pp. 89-90). He continues by saying, "Giving legitimacy to the female perspective would also give license to men who are inclined toward similar practice" (p. 90). Regardless of being more typical of female than male leadership style, this research reveals that when relational leadership is espoused by either gender, we find ourselves dealing with similar feelings of personal emotional vulnerability.

> The other thing is - and I can tell you this, and then I don't care what you put with it - because of my position and who I am, I'm a single old man, that it's very different when somebody's in charge and has a family. There's a whole different perception of things. People think I am something perhaps I'm not. And so I don't spend a whole lotta time trying to convince them otherwise. I just do what I do. But with the kids, they get 100-percent honesty from me, 100 percent. When I'm mad, I'm mad. When I'm happy, I'm happy. When I'm disappointed, I'm disappointed. –NK

5.2   Behind the Mask

5.2.1   Anger

> The goal that fuels anger (Lazarus, 1991a, 1999a) is the preservation and enhancement of our personal or social identity. Pride and shame have a similar underlying goal, though these emotions have opposing significance for well-being. Pride involves support for our identity and, therefore, it is usually a positive experience whereas shame undermines such support; therefore, it is usually a negative experience. Whether collectively or individually, the presence of anger suggest that an action by another person or agency is construed as a demeaning offense (Payne & Cooper, 2001, p.2).

Acknowledging how often we display feelings we don't actually feel allowed us to uncover emotions *we feel but cannot display*. Other than recognizing the unspoken mandate to display emotions that foster positive relationships with the constituents of our schools, there was no more salient point made by team members than their struggle to suppress feelings of anger associated with their work. While these feelings may not be readily apparent to others, because we work hard to manage our display, we experience them, deeply. Perhaps the greatest evidence of our emotional labor are the overwhelming number of examples provided regarding feelings of frustration, anger, and a longing to articulate those feelings, knowing, full-well, our roles prohibit us from doing so.

> I so vividly remember coming back from spending twelve days at Yale New Haven sleeping in my daughter's hospital bed checking her forehead for a fever and frantically calling for nurses more often than I would ever like to admit …and then arriving back at school just so I could attend this highly charged PPT meeting. The mother was going on and on and on about something I found incredibly trivial, and it was all I could do not to leap out of my chair and grab her by the shoulders and bring her back to my reality! Luckily, somehow I found some inner strength and kept up the emotional front until I got home and collapsed in front of the TV at the end of the night with a glass of wine. –AF

Fineman (2000) discusses the suppression of anger as "a tactic frequently used to minimize damage to the relationship with a supervisor" (p. 74), but the data reveals this *policy* as one that governs *our* actions with those we manage or serve, not the other way around. In an institution that is highly regulated by union contracts and grievance procedures for its employees, as well as the expectation for us to provide service to our community, there is little room for us to overtly express anger and still be seen as acting in a professional manner.

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> Sometimes I just want to punch that teacher in the face! It's okay for her to be snotty and have an attitude with me, but *I* have to sit there and be "professional" and take it for fear that she will say I'm threatening her?! Honestly, Patty, you want to know what emotion is the hardest for me to control? It's my *outrage* at how totally unfair it is that we have different rules about what we can say to staff and unreasonable and rude parents! Seriously, this would never fly in the business world! –BU

Maintaining the illusion of professionalism by suppressing our own negative feelings was a common theme among team members. The principal, below, refers to the work of fellow administrators in dealing with difficult staff members. He candidly shares the struggle he faces with these same kinds of conversations, ones that are constrained by an expectation to display affect in alignment with professional standards for behavior.

> But I've watched some people and I know they're playing, I know what they're doing. They're swallowing real hard, and they don't want to do this, but they're excellent at making this happen. And in the long run for them that works. For me, I still struggle. Is it worth it to be nice to somebody when they don't deserve to be-when they should be dealt with more directly? It's that 'when do I let someone know what I really feel other than trying to make them, you know, feel good all the time?' And in our business in particular it's difficult, because we aren't in a business that can move people around readily. So in education I think it's-it's a greater challenge for a lot less money. –NK

The preservation of our professionalism involves suppressing our own negative feelings as we skillfully manage the negative feelings of others. Hochschild's research helps us to understand that while "supervisors monitor the supply of emotional labor, [t]hey must also cope with the frustrations that workers suppress while on the job….Managing someone else's formerly managed frustration and anger is itself a job that takes emotional labor" (Hochschild, 1983, p.118).

> I always approach a meeting with a parent with the intention to maintain total control of the situation and myself. Totally professional. There are so many times when I want to say something…actually feel entitled to say something…that has the potential to escalate the situation. That's when I have to bring myself to another place in my mind and emotions, which is outside the immediate conversation, to keep the meeting on a course of civility and respect. I will admit to you that this is really, really hard sometimes. Sometimes these parents are dead-wrong in what they are saying, or they are acting totally inappropriately. The act of calming them down or even going so far as to stop the meeting to end their verbal abuse is seen as *me* being the rude one! –PD

Fineman (2006) asserts, "In fact, what may be most important about angry events in the workplace is not what is said, but what is withheld" (Fineman, p.74). Although Fineman is referring to what *employees* withhold from their *supervisors*, we do not perceive our teachers holding back their emotions with us. To the contrary, our reflections reveal that

we are the ones withholding anger from those we supervise, as well as those we serve.

Below is a list compiled from our conversations of things we'd like to say to our

constituents, but can't.

> Leave your emotions at HOME! –AF
>
> I REALLY don't like you! –KD
>
> They call it "work" for a reason! –VK
>
> I feel like Gumby…pushed from above and pulled from below! –NK
>
> You can't possibly believe what you are saying is true! –AF
>
> Really? You're going to complain to me about that?!! –AF

We work hard to hide our anger from staff and parents believing that negative emotions

tend to block further fruitful discussion. In the interest of winning the war, sometimes

we need to choose are battles, wisely.

> I think it would be more harmful because their backs are going to be up, and then, you
> know, the whole conversation between both of you might be stressful. I'm not afraid
> to point things out, but it's how *much* do you point out? Because what I'm thinking is
> probably a lot more than what I'm saying. –RM

The suppression of anger, while more commonly spoken in relation to adult interactions,

can be a factor in interactions with students. There is a fine line between appropriate

display of stern disappointment and abusive anger. (Blase and Blase, 2003). Ackerman

and Maslin-Ostrowski's research (Cited in Harris, 2007) speaks to the existence of this

fine line between *wounding* and *wounded* leaders (p.40). In situations during which

school leader loses control of her anger, she sees this as a grave error in judgment and

feels both remorse and shame for losing control.

> …the negative anger is emotion. The example I can give you is that we had a PTO
> sponsored thing and um, it was at the end of the night, and I walked down to the
> cafeteria, because I heard some noise, and there were seven or eight boys running across
> the top of the tables, so I got very angry and I yelled at them to get out. I raised my
> voice like they've never heard before and that anger made it—made me make a bad
> decision. What I should've done was quietly say you guys come over here and quietly
> take them to my office, bring their parents in. And it was such a blur. I only remember
> two kids. So that emotion got in the way of making a good decision. Yeah, because I
> was just so pissed that they would be doing that, because they all know right from wrong
> and um, so you know, hindsight, I would've loved to be able to just say, "Come over
> here." Because they would've listened, they would've come over, but I was just
> so…when I yelled at them they just, they were gone. I would've run, too. –BK

As the example above illustrates, the effort to suppress anger is not always successful and can lead to uncontrolled rage. Even when the anger is suppressed, it can surface in a manner that is misinterpreted by others.

> I would say the most frustrating emotion I have is like if I'm *so* angry I look like I'm sad…upset, and I'm not. I'm almost furious, but again I wouldn't come out and use those words in front of other people; but it's really frustration. I'm at my maximum holding point with my frustration or-or -- it's not really anger it's frustration. So I-I think that's a difficult emotion for me to handle. Like, I get very angry if I'm showing that side of myself because I don't want people to see that side. So if I've gotten to that point and I-that emotion comes out or that facial expression has come out and I look teary eyed because I'm frustrated I don't want to, you know, I don't want people to console me because I'm not upset; I'm angry. So I really try to remove myself from that situation and kind of gain my composure and then I'm really fine. –RM

> Nothing is more frustrating to me than crying when I'm really mad! I wish I understood why that happens. But, it does, and it's so unprofessional. It kind of makes me afraid to get angry. Either I seem like a bitch or like a weak cry baby! --PD

Not all team members believe it is harmful to show anger. Although he begrudgingly acquiesces to imposed display rules with staff, this principal proudly wears his emotions on his sleeve in his interactions with parents and staff, and he attributes his positive feedback to this authenticity.

> You know that-that's the irony of all that. With kids I always …never--I mean my emotions are always normal. If I cry with a kid because I'm disappointed that's honest and real and it works. With a parent when I'm disappointed that we can't get a relationship to help the kid they-they've watched that emotion. That's why it's almost every conversation we have if it's intense I invite people in there because I say you need to see my face. You need to sit next to me because you're not happy with me. You need to see how I feel about us working together. So I have found even though parents get mad at me because I don't care what they want from me they always walk away saying that I at least gave them the time, or we agreed to disagree. I have wonderful stories of parents who fought with me for hours and then came back and told me thank you for doing that. I've had kids who've come back and thanked me after I've suspended them for three days because I showed them emotions, and caring, and feeling and all that. So with kids and with-with their parents I almost never have a problem. I have a problem with my colleagues and with adults in general because my emotion is almost too hot. And so what I have worked my whole life in is to try and temper it, to try to make it warm. And so the warmth is easy if it's positive. The warmth is-is harder for me when I'm feeling that it's not going as well. –NK

Reflecting on the data, it became apparent that we spend time and energy dealing with our own feelings about having jobs that require us to manage our feelings. Monitoring and masking our feelings can leave us feeling frustrated and angry. We help staff members who are upset by personal issues in their lives. Just as often, we manage staff who are upset with *us,* or some perceived affront to their professionalism, should we need

to redirect their practice. Regardless of the issue, we find ourselves weighing and measuring our own emotional response, and its corresponding display, in an effort to maintain a professional demeanor while also being responsive to the emotional feedback we receive from our constituents.

> There are teachers who need to see my face because they need to feel supported because something happened the day before, or the day before that, or something personal. For example, if a teacher was out ill for a couple days, I'll make sure I check in a couple times a day. "Hey, are you feeling Okay? You a little better? Anything thing I can do for you?" But that's as long as the conversation is. It's not, "What are you taking? What are you doing?" That's not me. Whereas, I know some of my colleagues, one in particular is terrific at having a whole - and the whole world opens up to them, and teachers feel really good about that. Now that's a blessing and a curse, okay, because for me, it's maybe they think I don't care enough or 'cause I'm not engaging in personal conversations or that I'm cursory.
> My job is an act anyway. I have to do a lot of acting. And I'm a pretty good actor. But I am much more effective when an honest, and people know exactly where I am most of time. The question I get is they can't believe what they see is what we get. They say, "You can't possibly be that way." Yeah, this is what it is. So some people question my sincerity when I do certain things 'cause they don't believe that I - they think it's an act that I cared so much about the kids and the families, 'cause that's my first priority. And so my impatience with adults gets in my way sometimes, but also helps me in the long run. –NK

While managed anger was referenced most often in relation to individuals outside our team, as opposed to within the administrative team, it is not clear whether this is attributable to good working relationships among team members or a reluctance to disrupt or damage close working relationships.

5.2.2 Hurt and Disappointment

Kouzes and Posner (2007), in their study of best practices in leadership, note that "leaders encourage the heart of their constituents to carry on" (p. 69). This is done is a variety of ways, but the data speaks to team members focusing their time and energy on establishing themselves not only as *competent* but *caring* individuals. Believing that the caring relationships we have forged with the adults in our schools are reciprocal, it can be very hurtful to feel that compassion only goes in one direction. We cited numerous examples that point to a prevailing "us and them" culture that exists within our schools between administration and staff that appears to surface despite the existence of strong

relationships. As I considered the team's responses, it was remarkable to discover how often our personal feelings of hurt and disappointment were managed as a way to avoid mounting feelings of frustration and anger.

> We're people, too, with our own personal feelings! Does anyone *ever* think about how these changes are affecting *us*? No way! How can it be that we are expected to be so damn sensitive to everyone's feelings and yet not be seen as people who have feelings of our own? This is when I have to picture myself as the parent of a staff full of self-centered children. I'm not proud of that image, but sometimes it's the only way I get through a staff meeting without losing it! –PD

Believing news of her health issues will upset her staff, one principal suppresses her own fear in an effort to reassure her staff that everything will be alright. She is stung by the lack of sensitivity and concern shown by her staff

> And then there are those times when you have to make an unpopular decision or confront a staff member on a significant issue. At those times, I would get an abrupt reminder that no matter how friendly and cordial everything seemed, there was always an *us and them* right below the surface. Hardest still is when that confrontation happens with someone you consider a friend and you can see in their eyes the sense of deep betrayal he or she is feeling. Yeah, the friendship role definitely takes its toll but it is rather unavoidable if we are to acknowledge our social selves as a part of life. –AF

> Sometimes it just breaks my heart to think back on that meeting when I stood before the staff and shared the reason for being out the Friday before, explaining that I had had a surgical procedure to biopsy my thigh muscle to investigate what I believe may be a degenerative neuromuscular condition. I closed my remarks trying to reassure the group that, although I didn't have the results, I believed it was going to be alright. No sooner had a finished my sentence, one teacher said, "Good, because we just can't have the office left unattended that way." It was like a slap in the face! Did he not hear what I had just said? How can people be so heartless and self-centered? How can we manage the emotional aspect of our school when *our* emotions are not acknowledged as being a part of that? –SF

When one is the only school leader in a building, the lack of emotional support from staff can leave a principal feeling isolated and unsupported. It is at those times, especially, that we admit feeling tempted to straddle the delicate line between supervisor and supervisee through convivial conversation, social engagements and genuine respect and admiration for those with whom we work. Each member of the team has stories of going down that road with mixed outcomes.

> The need to listen and be sympathetic, share my similar experiences, commiserate, etc. is important. It becomes stressful in that I do find that I need to draw clear lines. Topics that were OK as a fellow teacher are off limits now. I have to work hard to keep from joining in on conversations. This is especially true when a teacher/friend wants to share an interpersonal difficulty they are experiencing with a colleague- giving me

information that I should not know until I personally witness a decline in work performance. –SF

Friendships in the workplace have a lot of interesting layers that I have always found challenging to understand and manage. As a teacher, it was fairly easy, you had a large group of colleagues and you were all on equal footing and there were no raises or levels that complicated the relationships. I had a great social network, a super support system and a built in sense of team and camaraderie. Then I went to the dark side and things changed overnight. It was probably much easier that it was in a new district so I did not have the challenge of getting used to new roles with old friends which has its own tangled issues. In my case, it was pretty straightforward; I was an administrator and they were the teachers. –AF

Harris (2007) states, "Even the best intentioned and effective leader will find themselves making their share of mistakes and misjudgments and be responsible for causing distress to staff, parents, governors and pupils. They will equally find themselves being misjudged and misrepresented by staff, pupils and community and feel under attack from some quarter" (p. 73). The data indicates that we respond to these feelings by redoubling our attempts to establish strong relationships with our constituents. These efforts speak to a line that is drawn between supervisor and supervisee; management and labor; administrator and teacher; principal and parent. Crossing over this line, or *boundary spanning* (Tushman, 1977), is something we are expected to do as an aspect of our leadership positions.

While we recognize the existence of this *line,* team members seem to exhibit differing levels of comfort and skill in managing the feelings that result in crossing the borders.

I think there is a boundary, and I think each person has a different boundary; but we're all within a little bit of each other. I think, for example if we talk about friendships. Staff has a happy hour. Is it good to go? Yes or no. I tend to go for like a short hello and then I'd leave because I think that if you stay and you become a peer, you know you're like them. That's not good for you because then there is no boundary and there is no box. So how do you establish a box? I think it's just everyday things that you do. It's…you build that trust, that's part of the box you've built, relationships that's part of your box. –RM

As important as this role was in establishing my relationships with staff, I struggled with how to proceed. Should I just listen, commiserate or offer advice? In situations with close friends, I would typically reciprocate by trusting them with my confidences as well – but that did not work in this professional setting so where is the line? How would the person feel later knowing that I now knew these things were going on in their lives? –AF

Ernst and Chrobot-Mason (2010) assert that leadership skill must rise to meet the challenge of today's ever-shifting lines of the complex problems of organizational life (p.19). Their research reveals five different types of universal boundaries: vertical, horizontal, stakeholder, demographic and geographic, which transcend cultures, contexts and time (p.19). Skilled leaders acknowledge that these boundaries are underpinned in human relationships (p.19).

> The boundaries that keep leaders up at night are not those which can be solved by simply restructuring the organizational chart or reconfiguring distribution channels. The boundaries that are the most challenging to leaders today are more psychological in nature. They involve relationships and thus are associated with strong emotions such as loyalty, pride, respect, and trust (p.19)

> The research reinforces many of the images that dominate the relational literature – the boundary spanner as network manager; the importance of building effective personal relationship with a wide range of other actors; the ability to manage in non-hierarchical decision environments through negotiation and brokering; and performing the role of 'policy entrepreneur' to connect problems to solutions, and mobilize resources and effort in the search for successful outcomes (Williams, 2002, p.121).

I think it is fair to characterize the members of our team as knowledgeable, well-respected, affable and generally well-liked by our school community, but our responses indicate concern about the authenticity of the relationships we develop and the wisdom of letting down our guard with our constituents.

> Luckily I had friends outside of school because I soon learned administrators are too busy with their jobs, focused on getting ahead or just plain don't have time to get to know one another to have much of a sense of quality friendships. As time went on, my connections with teachers deepened and the chasm seemed less obvious. But then, are people polite and friendly because they have to be? Are they genuinely interested in me as a person or are they just being nice because I am the "boss"? Ewww... I don't like thinking like that! –AF

> I do think the two there are times the two go hand in hand. For instance I talked about that one teacher we both have young kids. So we make a connection on one level and that develops a relationship so that we have other types of conversations, whether it's professional or anything. It makes it almost easier. It could make it harder if you don't keep kind of a boundary or a line, or you lose someone's respect or trust. I think trust and respect go along with people's emotions. So, if I'm thinking about how much does that trust affect relationships. –LS
> So it's-it's about relating to people on different levels or separating professional from…yeah, I think from a professional level. I think we can. I personally try to not display too much upside or downside you know? I-I try to stay close to the middle. – BK

How well we are able to stay *close to the middle* often depends, not only upon the nature and depth of the feeling we are attempting to mask, but on how skilled we are at feigning self-control.

5.2.3   Fear

We have a district level school safety committee comprised of representatives from our unions, schools, transportation provider and key curricular areas (e.g. chemistry, biology, technical education; unified arts). This committee not only meets the standards of the United States Department of Labor Occupational Health & Safety Administration but attempts to standardize safety and security measures across the five schools in our regional district. An advisory committee, this group reviews school accident reports and makes recommendations ranging from bus safety to the handling and storage of potentially hazardous materials. While this committee informs the safety protocols for district schools, it falls on the shoulders of each school leader to implement and maintain the integrity of these safety procedures at the school level. This entails the delegation of responsibility to staff to diligently supervise students to ensure their well-being. Team members report feelings of anxiety and fear when they honestly reflect on the significant responsibility they have to keep students safe, especially when entrusting others is accompanied by a loss of control.

> I have to depend on staff to be what I call "lifeguards on land". I'm sure they don't appreciate my constant reminders to keep their eyes and minds on the kids. I don't want to see two or three teachers standing together, chatting. We have five major play areas to monitor, and it can't done effectively if staff is engaged with one another in deep conversation of their own. I'm not sure they really get the concept of duty of care or consequence of being found negligent [in performance of their duties]. –PD

> This is a role I take very seriously, but the emotional toll it takes is very different than some of the other emotions. I have often said if a principal really thinks about all that they are responsible for in the ensuring the safety of teachers and students, they would never be able to sleep, ever. (And I had these thoughts long before the days of Columbine, when school violence was unthinkable in "nice communities"). I would get glimpses of the enormity of my responsibilities when I would get word of a bus accident, be called upon to check on a stranger on the grounds or be informed of a non-custodial parent who may be seeking to take their child from school and I would have face the cold reality that the ultimate safety of the students was dependent on me. In fact as my days in the role of the principal drew closer to the end, I vividly recall thinking, (perhaps in some small ways like something a policeman might experience) that I just hope I make it to the end of the year without anything "bad" happening on my watch. That is when I realized just how much pressure is always sitting right there on the shoulders of an administrator. –AF

The image of the school principal as the captain of a ship is one we share when it comes to our duty of care for our students and staff. Strong, decisive and fearless, the "captain goes down with the ship". Although no one has ever articulated this to us, the leaders of our schools feel they are expected to sacrifice personal needs to serve the public good.

> We are a school system that has four of its schools within ten miles of a nuclear power plant. Almost ten years ago, our administrative team developed and practiced an evacuation and relocation drill of all its schools for FEMA [Federal Emergency Management Agency] in preparation for a nuclear event at a local power plant. The plan called for the complete evacuation and transport of students and staff from four of our schools to a fifth school just outside the ten mile radius.
>
> Prior to the exercise, the superintendent developed a form that he asked his principals to distribute among staff asking if they could be counted on, in the event of a nuclear "incident", to assist in the transport and supervision of students to the other school. If they did not feel they could do this, they were given the opportunity to opt out. I was absolutely shocked to see how many staff members said they would relinquish their charge. We were asked to take those staff members out of supervisory roles, even when we practiced the mock event! It was if they were given permission to walk away from their duty of care. One thing's for sure, no one ever asked the principals if they wanted to opt out. Just the opposite; we were expected to bravely lead the charge out of the affect area while overseeing the safety of the entire student body, possibly without any help! –PD

While the safety of students and staff is our highest priority and at the heart of many of our schools' regulations, nothing could have prepared us for what happened on December 14, 2012 with the horrific school shooting that took place in Newtown, Connecticut. In a town much like our own, twenty young children and six educators were gunned down. Although Sandy Hook Elementary School was sixty miles away, it might as well have been one of our own. Suddenly, students, staff and family felt a level of vulnerability they had never experienced before, and everyone seemed to turn to us, as school leaders, to reassure them that they were safe.

> This role has taken on new meaning in the wake of the Newtown tragedy. It is a role that I am not comfortable that I have sufficient training, nor do I feel that I have enough control to handle this in the best manner. I feel that we need trained police and emergency personnel to handle these issues- write plans, train students and staff, assess hazards, etc. Once again, school administrators are expected to be experts at and to have the time to handle all things for all people. This role is a life and death responsibility, and I am absolutely not comfortable with my level of preparation. High anxiety! –SF

One of the educators who lost her life was the school principal, responding to the mayhem taking place in the hallway. In a manner aligned with the expectations with which our team could identify, she answered the call to serve and protect those in her

charge. Without regard for their *own* safety, Principal Dawn Hochsprung; Lead Teacher

Natalie Hammond; and School Psychologist Mary Sherlach left the protection of a

conference room and rushed to intervene when they heard the shots that broke through

the locked glass entry doors of their school. Two of the three educators died as a result

of their wounds. I share these details in an effort to underscore the unspoken expectation

for us to put ourselves between danger and those in our charge.

> I would have been *that* principal. *I* would have left that room in an effort to manage the situation. I know this isn't nearly the same thing, but I can't tell you the number of times I am called by staff members to confront a stranger approaching our school grounds, or I face an angry parent after calling [Department of Children and Families]. I have learned to never that parent sit between me and the door. I learned that after having a truly disturbed father, seemingly in control but seething with rage, stare me down from across my table. For a few moment, I really thought he was going to reach across and grab me by the throat, and I realized I couldn't get out of my office without walking by him. I feigned calm and told him I wanted to get his son's file out of my cabinet, which was on the door-side of the room, and I stayed standing for the rest of the time before putting my hand on the handle of my door to indicate that the meeting was over. –PD

In the aftermath of the horror in Newtown, our team has had many discussions regarding

school safety measures. We have researched school safety recommendations in relation

to school rampages (Fox & Levin, 2011; Nance, 2013; Vossekuil, Fein, Reddy, Borum,

& Modzeleski, 2004); attended school safety seminars; updated school safety protocols;

provided school safety workshops to educate staff; and installed locking security doors

on our school buildings. While these types of measures were in place at Sandy Hook

Elementary School, someone still got past them to do harm. Facing the reality that we

lack *true* versus *perceived* control of the safety of our schools is a source of ongoing fear

and anxiety, but like captains of a ship, we must mask personal fears, regardless of the

perceived toll it will take on us, in favor of a reassuring public display of knowledge and

wisdom; strength and valor.

While the image of principal as captain of the ship may seem particularly relevant to

safety situations, it is also apropos in discussing the connection between student

achievement and school leader evaluation. A new kind of fear has arisen, due to recent

federal and state mandates. Beginning in September 2013, a school leader's proficiency

rating will now be linked directly to both her school's performance on state testing of

state standards and the assessment of her teachers' proficiency in teaching. Poor results

could indeed result in a principal being deemed "ineffective" and the captain of a sinking

ship.

5.3   The Toll Emotional Labor Takes on Us

5.3.1   Stress and Fatigue, and Emotional Dissonance

> Organization members often exert effort to publicly display certain emotions and hide others during interpersonal interactions…One critical question researchers have explored is whether emotion regulation impacts workers' strain and, if so, how? Strain represents a set of adverse psychological, physiological, and behavioral reactions to work stressors, including anxiety, low commitment, elevated heart rate, and absenteeism (Jex & Beehr, 1991; Karasek, 1979 in Cote, 2005, p. 509).

Whether managing our own emotions or the emotions of others, the data reflects that we are a team of individuals who feel stressed and strained by the expectation to maintain the high standards for exemplary leadership set forth by our governing board and our school communities. We are expected to display passion for our work, using it to inspire and lead others in the name of academic excellence and best practice in caring for students. When this enthusiasm and passion is authentic and personally *felt,* we acknowledge the potential for it to manifest itself as anger and disgust in response to difficult and emotion-laden interactions.

> I think more, most often, any negativity I would feel would be if somebody is going against – if I recognize that somebody is arguing or involved in something, or doing anything that's going to keep us from reaching our goal, it really makes me angry. It's a very emotional reaction that I have to *really* work at keeping under control and being reasonable about it. I don't know that I take it personally. I can't say that I actually do take it personally, I think I'm pretty good about that, and I say that I think I'm pretty good about that because I think I am very married to this school, it's like part of my identity, so it's hard to divorce that. I really don't think I take it personally, but I do feel emotion, a lot of emotion with it. –KD

Lopes & Salovey, Côté, Beers assert that "[t]he ability to regulate emotions entails modulating emotional experience to attain desired affective states and adaptive outcomes" (p. 113).

> This ability is crucial for emotional intelligence (EI) (Gross & John, 2002; Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Salovey, Mayer, & Caruso, 2002). According to Mayer and Salovey (1997), emotional intelligence encompasses four interrelated abilities involved in the processing of emotional information: perceiving emotions; using emotions to facilitate thinking; understanding emotions; and regulating one's own emotions and the emotions of others. These abilities are thought to be important for social interaction because emotions serve communicative and social functions, conveying information about people's thoughts and intentions, and coordinating social encounters (Keltner & Haidt, 2001).
>
> Out of these four abilities, emotion regulation is probably the most important for social interaction because it influences emotional expression and behavior directly. One inappropriate outburst of anger can destroy a relationship forever. In contrast, the ability to perceive and understand emotions influences social interaction more

indirectly, by helping people interpret internal and social cues and thereby guiding emotional self-regulation and social behavior (Lopes & Salovey, Côté, Beers, 2005, p.113).

As managers of emotion in the workplace, our stress and fatigue is not only physical and mental, but emotional weariness. This can be the result of emotion directed *at* the administrator, as is the context for this leader's comment. Here she is sharing her weariness with handling feelings that come from staff as she attempts to lead them toward change in practice.

> When you encounter that much resistance – when you just believe in this school so much – and you encounter that much resistance all the time – it wears on you. –KD

Personally, I experience stress and fatigue in my ongoing effort to manage teachers' frustration with their students. I find it exhausting, not only to deal with the emotions swirling around the building, but also to determine the most effective way to do so without exposing my true feelings of frustration and jeopardizing my professionalism. Although I am not alone in this effort to help teachers manage *their* display, I use an excerpt from my own reflections to provide an example of this.

> Believing in the importance of professional and respectful interactions with students, I find myself actually needing to enforce a "no yelling" policy with staff members. Just yesterday, I was standing in the hallway, and I heard a kindergarten teacher yelling at a student to hurry out of the bathroom. Her volume and tone scared *me*, and I'm the principal! I can only imagine how it sounded to a five-year-old! I hurried down the hall and stepped into her line of sight and asked her if everything was okay. I could see that she was embarrassed that she had been caught yelling. I had to decide, in a single moment, how to deal with her uncontrolled anger. I was angry enough to respond in kind, and I wanted to shout at her and tell her to get in my office, but instead, I put my hand to my heart and in a very concerned and caring voice said, "Oh my goodness, I was so frightened when I heard the commotion. Is everything all right?" I felt that it would embarrass and anger her, further, to be called out on her inappropriate behavior. I thought it was better to let her save face and find another time to have a heart-to-heart with her about managing her frustration and anger. She knew I had caught her, and she knew I'd be watching. –PD

Fineman (2006) supports the need for reflection when "our two emotion 'faces', the private and the public, are not at ease with one another; when they generate the cynicism, loss, pain, detachment, suspicion or fear that we would prefer to be without" (p. 12). The idea that there are acceptable and unacceptable emotions, or levels of emotions, considered professional expectations of our positions is something we see in our data. It

appears that the burden we experience is affected by whether or not our *display* of emotions is aligned with our *felt* emotions.

> …when you saw me the other day in that room with [our superintendent], and being, I think, pretty positive in moving forward, that was the real me. That wasn't me trying to calculate all this stuff and saying the right thing and doing the right stuff. Because if I do that I would-I would be exhausted afterwards because my brain runs a million miles an hour. What I check is my enthusiasm sometimes, and that's not right. –NK

> It takes the biggest toll on me when I have to force myself not to be emotional. When I do, my heart…and I trust my heart even if I'm wrong…I'm okay. Because then I can [say], "Oh, man, I'm so sorry." And that's honest. But if I'm doing something, and I can think of three things in the real, recent past that I compromised my real gut and did what an administrator should do, at least on paper, and felt miserable afterwards. So then I have to manage the miserableness of that. –NK

The "miserableness" to which this principal refers is the discrepancy between display of emotion and internal feeling and can characterized as *emotional dissonance* (ED) (Hochschild, 1983; Morris and Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987).

> If, however, it is a mandate like the new teacher evaluation requirements that I do not believe have been well thought through or properly piloted, I have a harder time. I need to move an initiative forward, but I am not committed to it myself. I find myself more inclined to "eye-roll" and to commiserate with other administrators and teachers than I probably should. Yet, to do otherwise would not be true to me, and yes, there is a definite emotional toll when I have to champion a cause that I do not feel in my heart is the right direction. –AF

> The question comes, the dissonance comes when I get to that crossroad which is why I sometimes call friends for help and say maybe you may need to sit with me …I go in and talk to someone because I know me well enough; but I don't want to get to a point where I'm sabotaging the goodness of it all by my strong emotions. See, that's the problem. Because I love-I'm in love with my emotions and I love the feeling of, you know, not love-anger but the-the visceral response, and joy, and um passion and all the things that happen with people who are emotional. I love all those feelings. If I was to completely shut that down I'd be shallow in my being, and I don't-I think I would not be able to exist. So the dissonance is when I get to that crossroad. Okay, you can go this way or you can go that way. Now I never did this before I just went whatever way my emotions told me. But now I go, if you do this what are the consequences of your behavior and what's the emotional toll that you will take? Are you willing to do that? If I go this way I'm going to feel so good because I'm going to get it all out and it's all going to be done. –NK

Hochschild's research (1983) exposed the commercialization of feeling, and while companies do not refer specifically to their customer service as a product, they establish expectations for workers' display that "set up the sale of emotional labor" (p. 91).

> Display is what is sold, but over the long run display comes to assume a certain relation to feeling. As enlightened management realizes, a separation of display and feeling is hard to keep up over long periods. A principle of *emotive dissonance,* analogous to the principle of cognitive dissonance, is at work. Maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning over the long run leads to strain. We try to reduce this strain by pulling the two closer together either by changing what we feel or by changing what we feign. When display is required by the job, it is usually feeling that has to change; and when

conditions estrange us from our face, the sometime strange us from feeling as well. (Hochschild, 1983, p. 90)

While emotional labor does not always lead to emotional dissonance (Zerbe, 2000, in Ashkanasy, Zerbe and Hartel, 2002), and not all emotional labor leads to emotional exhaustion (Wharton, 1993), research does indicate that strain experienced as emotional dissonance is predictive of the influence emotional labor has on the worker's job satisfaction, performance and well-being (Abraham 1998, 1991; Ashkanasy, Zerbe, and Hartel, 2002; Morris and Feldman 1997; Saxton, Phillips, and Blakeney 1991. Cited in Ashkanasy, Zerbe, and Hartel, 2002). "[P]roviders who display 'fake' emotions while believing such acting should not be part of the job (faking in bad faith), have not internalized feeling rules and are more likely to experience ED than those who have internalized the need for presenting false emotion (faking in good faith) (Hartel, Hsu and Boyle, in Ashkanasy, Zerbe, and Hartel, 2002, p. 261). Faking can be as much about the emotions we suppress in an effort to *not* feel as the emotions we *invoke* to support our display.

> …the initial response [for me as] an emotional person having an emotional response and working emotionally and not getting reinforced for that is to retreat to a flat, automaton-like approach to leadership. So what I do is I go through that for a couple days and then I [say], "No!", because I don't believe in it. –NK

> Hardest still is the decision made in district that I need to champion, but personally might be struggling with. This would be the case with changing to Outlook midyear. In this case it is the right decision, but for me, it seems it is happening at the wrong time. However, it is not my decision; but still, it is my role to champion the effort when it rolls out. This is by far the hardest… –AF

> I worry about the young [administrators] who are fiery and passionate, they get beaten because every time they do something emotional they get chastised, or they get [reassigned]. So now what they become is this very staid, you know, calculating, leader that's giving all the right answers; is asking all the right questions. But I don't know where it's come from. Does it come from the heart or the head? –NK

Hochschild (1983) speaks to the cost of emotional labor. "[T]he worker can become estranged or alienated from an aspect of self – either the body or the margins of the soul – that is *used* to do the work (p. 7). For our team, the price we pay is in our *disappearance* (Fletcher 2001).

5.3.2 Our Disappearing Self

> In different ways, we are all emotion managers, and the tension between private feeling and emotional display is an enduring feature of social organization and the civilization process. Indeed, without it and its ever-simmering dilemmas, organizing would be a markedly less manageable process, despite the humanistic allure to express all that we feel, Emotion work is also organizational work, usually, of the invisible kind. (Fineman, in Payne & Cooper; 2004, p234)

In the preface of her book *Disappearing Acts; Gender, Power and Relational Practice at Work* (1999), Joyce Fletcher refers to the "relational work and the disappearing acts that render it invisible in today's workplace" (p. ix). She continues by saying, "It is written for the many people who find that the off-line, backstage, or collaborative work they do, and the relational skills this kind of work requires, are not recognized or rewarded at work" (p. ix). While written to address gender, power and relational practice in relation to the "dynamic process involved in which relational practice 'gets disappeared' as work and gets constructed as something other than work" (p. 103), the image of *disappearing* can be applied to both men and women administrators who not only find common ground in the relational nature of their work, but also lose a sense of self as they get deeper and deeper into character. As we unwrapped the feelings we experience but must keep hidden, we acknowledged that this is the basis for our emotional labor.

> I think we're an island when it comes to [showing our feelings], for the most part. Once again it's about relationships. There's maybe one or two staff members that get it. They understand where you're at. They allow for that to happen. But I think for the most part, because of the nature of our job, no. We can't-we can't--I don't think we can show those behaviors like their colleagues can show to one another. –BK

> I think I'm to a point to where I don't let my temper get in my way. I don't think people would perceive me as somebody who is angry or can lose my temper, or has a temper, but I – yeah, I haven't reached the point, so I just kind of shut off, that I just kind of – shut down. Shut down, and I just – well, not even shut down, I just know that I need to be quiet, just quiet until I can take a deep breath and kind of reflect in a reasonable way. –KD

Fletcher (1999) exposed the invisibility of relational work through the social construction of gender; the limits of language; and the misinterpretation of intention. "Relational practice is intentional action motivated by the belief that working this way is better for the project or more effective in getting the job done" (p.104). Fletcher (1999) posits that

act of leading in a relational manner is devalued, for women, in that they are expected to do so as a natural characteristic of being feminine. One female school leader expresses how she has had occasions to hide her true self and reveals the frustration she experiences when gender plays a role in the interpretation of her display.

> I think being a female that frustration or that facial expression gets misinterpreted and not that I think: oh, I'm weak because I've shown that. It's [that] I don't want people to see that side of me. So when it happens, because I just got to that point, I don't know if it's worse because I feel like: oh, wait a minute I don't want people to see this; now it's happening; now I've gotta gain composure. Like-like I don't like that process. I don't like being in that situation. It's stressful; it's frustrating; it gets you maybe more angry or something like that. So, do I control my emotion? For the most part, yes. I think another time this emotion might happen is if you kind of weren't expecting something, so if someone said something which was like negative towards you, or they misinterpreted something [you said], those are the types of times that the frustration might come out. So, if I was miscommunicating that would frustrate me. If it was totally out of my character [because I] kind of felt blindsided, that would frustrate me. –RM

References to gender were made by team members in relation to acceptable display, but we do not fail to recognize overarching expectations held for us, regardless of gender, as leaders of *learning* institutions. Leading in a relational way seems to be a natural consequence of acting *in loco parentis*. The data reflects an expectation for educators, male or female, to genuinely care about children and families. While Fletcher (1999) might argue that the sub summation of relational attributes as feminine traits contributes to the disappearance of our work, the data indicates that both male and female team members believe there is a benefit to being seen as genuinely relational beings who care deeply about their work. Interestingly, this disappearance relates to our own feelings. In the data below, a male principal invokes emotion to show his commitment to his constituents, while the female administrator restrains her emotion and accesses her expertise in subject matter to win resistant staff over to a new initiative.

> You can be quiet and passionate. You could be focused and you could lead people by hardly saying a word but because they know you're in it, they know you're committed. So-so the whole idea of emotion maybe it's more about commitment than it is about emotion; and that people need to see that emotion, that you care.
>
> I mean, who's to say whose right and who's wrong, and why should *they* do what you want them to do. We have to turn to [our knowledge of] something, so…to switch off the emotion and kind of get more. –Female Central Office Administrator

One principal conceptualizes the ability to build strong relationships with our constituents as a gift.

> And I think -- and I'm not just saying this because we're talking. I think you have that gift. I think Jim has that gift. I think Tony has that gift. I think Pam has that gift. I mean, I think that's why you're successful. I think I'm successful because I'm so god damned stubborn and people do believe that I care about kids and their families that they almost ignore the bombast. And it comes through in spite of me, not because of me.--NK

Even if we have to *pretend* to relate, we attempt to do so, convincingly. We fear, should constituents see the effort involved in our display, we risk destroying the "relational magic" created by the illusion.

> Sometimes I actually worry if people can see through my act. I'm afraid of being seen as an imposter. I remember feeling like this when I was a teacher, when I had to act like there was no greater joy in my life than getting up each morning and coming into my classroom. People seemed to associate this feeling I projected to some inherent *gift* I had for working with children. Now, I not only have to maintain *that* image but need to add to it the illusion that I am a natural-born leader. I feel denigrated by admitting that I do this job for money. I know this is over the top, but it's as if I should love my work so much that I would do it for free! What would people think if they also discovered that I manipulate feelings, theirs and mine, to play the part so convincingly? –PD

> I *want* people to see me as knowledgeable, caring and fully invested in my work with kids. I'm the type of principal who is in the office three hours after school ends just so I can personally communicate with parents and teachers. I want people to notice this, but I want them to think of it…almost like a virtue I possess, not something I do with a hidden agenda. I do have an agenda, to smooth ruffled feathers, but if they perceived this, I think my effort will fall flat, because I think they'll feel I'm just *handling* them. –PD

Maintaining the illusion is hard work and often leads us to feeling disingenuous, abused and alone.

> When a parent complains about a teacher, I feel like I am working in customer service…listening…explaining…and most of the time, just taking it…the abuse…but I can't tell anyone about it. –PD

> But the teachers can talk to each other, they can talk – I mean, they've all got friends and they've got buds that they feel like they can talk to, or not, go into the teachers' room and just blah, blah, blah. So that's, I think, the difference too, that makes it very difficult. It's almost like it's not even an equal playing field then, if they have the ability to do that, and we don't. –KD

While feeling isolated can be discomforting for some, others see it as critical space and opportunity to take a step back to reflect and regroup.

> Sometimes, honestly, I think I just have to take a break and just be silent until I can take a break and then I can have a chance to get into a different context and then I'm better able to reflect in a more reasonable way and talk about and think about what my next move might be. When it really gets bad, I think that's my best because I'm not the type of person who can necessarily speak through my anger, I really need to just kind of take a step back. KD

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Regardless of how well each of us manages feelings of isolation and a sense of loss of

self, the team's responses point to a need to connect with trusted *others* who can fortify

us when we feel like an invisible army of one.

> I'll give you a for instance on that. I had a staff member a few years ago who comes to
> me and says I have cancer, I want nobody to know and this is what I'm doing for
> treatment. And, so I-I tried my best to support this individual and it never got out. You
> know, I obviously wouldn't break that code of confidence there, and nobody knew, you
> know. And there was no one to turn to. You can talk to that individual, but sometimes
> you need to talk to someone else. –BK on support system

5.3.3 Needing Someone to Trust

> Being a member of a team and its concomitant interaction processes implies a human
> concern that—if affected—gives rise to emotions. The fundamental human drive and
> pervasive motivation to form and maintain lasting, positive, and significant
> relationships helps us to understand the functioning of teams at work, and in particular
> the emotions manifested in work groups. Satisfying the need to belong requires our
> relationships to be characterized by frequent interaction, temporal stability and likely
> continuity, mutual affective concern, and freedom from conflict (Baumeister & Leary,
> 1995, in De Dreu, West, Fischer and MacCurtain, in Payne & Cooper, 2004, p. 203).

Fineman (2003) speaks to ways in which the costs of emotional labor are reduced. One

such strategy involves moving workers out of a highly visible and emotionally-

demanding zone to areas shielded from public view, in which workers can "let down

their hair", so to speak, with the goal of exerting some degree of control over their destiny

(p. 37). My research supports the importance of administrative *workers* having trusted

others with whom they can exercise these strategies in pursuit of "some degree of

control" over their *emotions*. These others are our teammates*,* and the figurative *area*

hidden from view is created through our interpersonal and team connections.

> When put in this position, I find I need to have a few trusted confidants nearby that can
> know my true feelings. If I do not find an outlet among trusted colleagues, I find my
> true emotions slip out in inappropriate settings. Having people I know I can say things
> to that I would never want repeated is very important to me both personally and
> professionally. –AF

As indicated above, talking can serve as a pressure release valve to vent hidden feelings

or to provide a much needed sounding board to a colleague in need. In the case of this

principal, having a colleague with whom to speak is akin to throwing a lifeline.

> I cannot imagine doing this job without my friend, Annie. I need a friend at work and
> one who is going through the exact same issues! Friends make work a joy but my old
> teaching friends cannot be my work friends any more. My experience would have been
> so negatively altered without Annie serving as my mentor and my friend. –SF

In our district of five schools, only two schools share their leadership between a principal and an assistant principal. All other schools are led by a single administrator. While district level administrators share offices in the same building, their responsibilities are in separate and specific areas, leaving them as heads of their own departments. This configuration has the potential for our team members to be ten isolated entities. Fortunately for us, there is a feeling of camaraderie that grounds our relationships. As noted previously, it is not clear from interview responses whether the lack of reported negative emotions relative to fellow team members is attributable to good working relationships among team members or a reluctance to disrupt or damage close working relationships. Knowing the team as I do, I believe it is bit of both. The culture of graciousness and respect that underpins the work we do with our staff, students and families is foundational to the relationship within our administrative team, as well. That having been said, I recognize a tacit divide between members who seem to have differing expectations for what it means to have *close* working relationships.

Team members working in school buildings with a fellow administrator have repeatedly acknowledged the benefit of having another person to share the vast and varied responsibilities of the school. This can leave those of us leading our schools or departments, solo, feeling envious of the *proximity* to administrative support that these building administrators experience. While collegial support is only a phone call away, its value has the potential to be limited by time and distance from the school. It's clearly not the same as have someone standing beside you at a difficult time.

It is not hard to imagine the benefit to working as an administrative unit when relationships are solid between co-leaders of a school. But when these relationships are strained through distrust, envy, and incongruence of mission and values, sharing leadership proves to be a burden, often confounding the issues at hand and adding

additional layers to the emotion work entailed in the leadership of such a school. One team member shared the toll just such a case took on him, motivating him to make a significant change in his employment.

> In 1997 and 98, it took an enormous toll on me because in spite of [my efforts], I do take things personally. Um, in 1999 and 2000 it got better, and as I ended my tenure as a high school principal I was able to feel my feelings and flush my feelings much more quickly. When I came here I was buoyed by the professionalism that I was surrounded with as far as the administration team, the person that was the leader and most of the staff that I worked with. –NK

For those team members who do not have an assistant administrator working in the building, it may be a staff member who reaches out us.

> I think we all find some people here and there in our buildings that are pretty good or you know, definitely are supportive. There are times when you're all alone because that's what was painted. BU

> And it's um, it's funny because I have a couple staff members that quickly jump on me with are you okay today? Absolutely I'm fine, what's the matter? Well you just look like you're down. So either I'm way up or this is a little blip because I don't see it. I try, once again, I try to be, you know all things to all people here, gotta be even. But they see it, they recognize it. I have two staff members that'll say something. It's just, they're concerned. I think they understand the job, they understand some of my personal life. They're people that are trusting and they're just concerned. But if I looked in the mirror I wouldn't see anything different on my face I don't think than the day to day stuff. But they see something and you know, probably they're right because it's just probably something that's going on in my brain that I need to do with the walk through training or something at home or that my daughter's going through a test, you know. So, I-I think we probably do wear it pretty-pretty openly on our face when we show a little emotion, but I'm not trying to do that, that's for sure. –BK

While it can feel good to have relationships with teachers that allow us to be acknowledged as human beings with feelings, these, too, must be managed skillfully for fear of crossing the management/labor line or being misinterpreted as a relationship that is more than professional.

> Yeah, they think it's sort of fake sometimes. So that's why I don't have relationships. I don't mean best friends kinda things, but where some people are much more comfortable having social conversations, I don't have 'em. Because I've gotten in trouble for not - not trouble, but I've gotten questioned. And every time somebody finds something it gets - in this building in particular, it gets twisted. So I'm very on the surface. –Male Principal

Most of the time, we find emotional connection through strong, respectful professional relationships that have developed into warm friendships with one another. Not only do we have our individual relationships with one another, we share a common mission.

> The most important requirement of well-functioning teams seems the provision of a sense of closeness and intimacy among its members, mutuality in relationships (give and take), and the absence of threats of exclusion or isolation. This not only results in positive feelings in each of the group members, but may also create a positive collective feeling, and more generally a climate of solidarity, confidence, security, or hope. (De Dreu, West, Fischer, and MacCurtain, in Payne & Cooper, 2004, p. 209)

The prevailing feeling is that we can be ourselves when we are with one another. This doesn't mean that we always agree on how to handle a given situation, or even on how to handle ourselves.

> I think it's pretty obvious, and one of our colleagues pointed it out to me, how different my interactions are with some people than others, and they called me on it one day. And my response to them was, "That's an honest reaction, and I'm not interested in being dishonest," when I know that probably the better thing was to be more gracious and wonderful and warm and cuddly when I didn't feel that way. –NK

> [The team can] disagree intensely. And I feel good about it at the end of the day 'cause I respect that. And I[feel good] most of the time when I talk to you guys, or Beth and I fight because she has the nerve to tell me exactly what she feels and not try to patronize me. –BU

The data revealed that we also rely on our families to support us, but we have concerns regarding taking our emotional burdens home with us. We trust our family members to listen to us and help us manage our emotions.

> And the other difficulty I think that we have in our position is that, for me, I need to talk about it, that's how I get over it. Ultimately, I need to talk to somebody, but you can't talk to anybody. I mean, I can talk to you, but that's it, you can't talk to anybody else, if something really gets you angry. So that's hard, keeping it in until the end of the day and then going home and letting your husband hear everything. –KD

> I think, ultimately, talking about it helps, but I'm not always able to talk about it right away, so it's nice I have a family and just being with them totally in a different context helps me forget. If I didn't have them, certainly maybe TV, or just getting my mind in a different place would be helpful and then after a while, after the kids go to bed, I'd talk to my husband, or I'll talk to a friend, or whatever the case may be and then they kind of, like talking it out, it helps me reflect a little bit and then certainly hearing their insights that I can apply to the situation definitely helps and then really getting a good night's sleep and then coming in fresh the next day, I get my best ideas in the shower in the morning. –KD

We are concerned about the toll this takes on our families and question our ability to compartmentalize work life from family life.

> I made a mistake, when I was with my ex and certainly now working with my close colleagues. They see it because I'm an easy read. I think even my colleagues now, um particularly the person who worked with me last year can come in and say okay, what's going on? Because I am an easy read, okay? So that-if they care about you it takes a toll on them because they're worried about you. If they worry about you because they're afraid of retribution because you're angry, that's not good. –NK

> I guess a big emotional work piece for me is the need to keep the administrative role from interfering with my life role of wife, mother, daughter, sister, friend, etc. We do not get paid enough to make this a 24/7 job but there is the perception from others that it should be- that they have the right to interfere with our nights and weekends. –SF

Some of us appear to be better than others at keeping work at work and home at home.

> I'm very even-keeled. I compartmentalize really well. I look forward to being at home and visualize myself with my cup of tea. I keep control of those things I can control, my house, my homework. We can't control the other things. I want people to know this isn't all there is to me…I have life at home. –IO

> The emotional toll here is that I then take those burdens and my response home with me and not only worry about the person's problems, but also the solution I offered. Was it the right answer? Was I too pushy? Did I do enough listening? Was the person put off by my single minded focus? Lucky for the world, I never made a decision to go into counseling; I guess sometimes I do know my limits… AF

Regardless of our skill in shielding others from our true feelings, Harris (2007) states, "If leaders are to ensure that they avoid wounding others and survive being wounded by others, then they need to become aware of their own emotional needs and of the ways in which their personal and professional story may affect their capacity to facilitate and co-create effective change processes" (p. 40). Day et al. (2005) speak of the *fragmented selves* (p. 608) and the notion of the substantial 'self' (MacLure, 1993, in Day et al.) based on "a post-structuralist understanding of identity which is formed and informed through the 'discursive' practices and interactions in which individuals engage" (p. 608).

The data underscores the need for us to make and maintain healthy, trusting relationships, both at work and at home, that validate our feelings and reduce our sense of isolation. The data also illuminates the importance of knowing and respecting ourselves, as people and school leaders. Acknowledging and making peace with the emotions we truly experience, even if hidden from public view, seems to quell some of the "miserableness" we feel when we don't like what we see in the mirror. We believe it is through these relationships that we have the best chance to find just the right balance between *personal feelings* and *professional display.*

Conclusions

People are central to the institution of school. Where there are people, there are emotions. Managing these emotions for wage is the work of school leaders (Beatty, 2005; Blackmore, 1996; Fineman; 2006; Hochschild, 1983; Hargreaves, 2004; Harris, 2007). If we believe that a leader's effectiveness hinges on the skillful management of her constituents; the situations she encounters; and her knowledge of herself as a leader (Murphy in Fullan, 2007, p. 29), then there is wisdom in the examination of the complex relationship between the emotions we feel versus those we display and in understanding it as the emotional labor of our positions (Hochschild, 1983).

In an effort to better manage our emotions and the emotions of others, this chapter examines the emotional aspects of our leadership and the varied roles we play. Turning our attention to those skills and talents we brought to our positions, we admitted that our leadership programs did very little to prepare us for the highly emotional landscape of our schools. Rather, our skills have been developed along the way as we have faced both routine and decidedly irregular situations with our constituents. If we are wise enough to internalize lessons learned, we build upon our emotional intelligence and develop greater emotional competency, which we access to skillfully deliver our district's brand of service to our constituents. Our perception that we are called to be all things to all people is answered through heavy emphasis on relational leading. We understand the critical need to be perceived as caring individuals who put the best interest of students at the center of our decisions. This is an expectation for professional behavior that crosses gender lines, and in this way, male and female leaders are more alike than different. We have, however, identified occasions during which male leaders consciously worked to display warmth, and female leaders suppressed emotion to present themselves as a voice of authority to move staff forward.

It is clear from the data that much of the energy expended in our emotional labor is attributable to widespread masking of negative emotions, including: hurt, disappointment, fear, but most notably anger and frustration. We share an understanding of the grave responsibility we have to the safety and well-being of our students and staff, even at the risk of our own personal safety. The negative emotions involved in anger and disappointment were reported to be directed, primarily, toward adults, both parents and staff. Fineman (2006) identifies the suppression of anger as a tactic used by workers to minimize damage to working relationships and is as much about what is said than what is not. The data illuminates this unspoken *policy* not only governs the manner in which we engage with our constituents, but leaves us straddling boundaries between groups as a means of handling difficult situations.

Engaging in the emotional labor of our positions is not without a toll. Team members reported stress, strain, fatigue and a loss of sense of self as they buried authentic feelings and feigned others in playing the role of school leader. As *managers,* in almost every sense of the word, team members identified the existence of an *"us and them"* mentality pervading their work, leaving them feeling isolated from others in their schools. The strain of their emotional labor appeared to be ameliorated by strong relationships among administrative team members, family members, and other trusted personnel in their buildings who seemed to understand the affective nature of school leadership.

The findings support the position that a significant amount of the work we do, as school leaders, entails managing our emotions and the emotions of others. Intellectualizing emotional labor as the work administrators do with the *emotional-self* and the *emotional-other* may enhance relational skills with *others* and diminish the strain on *self*. Without exception, team members felt ill-equipped to handle the emotional nature of their schools when they first stepped into their administrative roles. A fundamental understanding of

emotional labor in school leadership may have implications for further research and development of curriculum for educational leadership programs in pursuit of emotionally competent school leaders.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0   Conclusion

Introduction

In this chapter, I will revisit the research questions, which formed the basis of my inquiry, by synthesizing my research findings on emotional labor as experienced by my team of ten school administrators.

1. What do school leaders perceive as contributing factors to the emotional nature of their work?
2. What emotions do school leaders perceive they need to display?
3. What emotions do school leaders perceive they need to mask?
4. What impact do school leaders perceive emotional labor has on them, personally and professionally?
5. What factors do school leaders perceive might help in lessening the impact of their emotional labor?

In section one, grounded in the literature on *emotional labor* (Hochschild, 1983) and underpinned by a methodological and philosophical stance that supports experiences as valid forms of knowledge (Van Manen, 1990), I will summarize the study of my team of school leaders as actors engaged in highly emotional and relational work. In section two, carrying forward the image of school leader as actor (Goffman, 1959), I will conclude that there are expectations that guide our practice and leave us to display feelings we do not actually feel in the effort to establish positive relationships as an expectation of our work (Hochschild). Conversely, there are emotions we feel obligated to suppress, most notably anger, which leave us feeling fatigued and disconnected, even from ourselves (Hochschild, 1983; Morris and Feldman, 1997; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). In section three, I will reflect on the significance of my research and propose that there is value in

understanding both the emotional-self and the emotional-other as it relates to our practice as school leaders (Day et al., 2006; Leithwood and Beatty, 2008; Marlowe, 1986; Zaccaro et al., 2004). In section four, I will note the limitations of this study, and I will suggest that there are important areas for future research that may have the potential to refine practice and enhance emotional knowing (Beatty, 2002; Beatty & Brew, 2004; Blackmore, 1996; Boler, 1999; Denzin, 1984; Hargreaves & Fink, 2004; Murphy, 1968). In conclusion to this chapter, I will present my thoughts in relation to the research questions in an effort to reflect on my research.

6.1   Summary

6.1.1   The Backdrop

In the interest of becoming more competent in *dealing with feelings*, I enlisted my team of school leaders to develop a better understanding of the phenomenon of emotional labor within our own schools through an extensive examination of the emotions we experience and their effect on us. Investigating the emotional aspects of our work was an exercise of self-reflection and was, at the same time, both uplifting and heart-wrenching.

The data revealed our team's common belief in the decidedly emotional nature of the work we do in this highly people-dependent business call *school.* It exposed the frayed threads in the emotional fabric of our work and revealed the ways in which we manage emotions, our own and those of our constituents. As members of a leadership team who are acutely and personally aware of the potentially profound impact these feeling have on the functioning of our school (Sergiovanni, 2007), we gave voice to feelings of anger, fear and discouragement. We also acknowledged a conscious effort to bury or mask these feelings in an effort to appear as competent professionals (Hochschild, 1983).

6.1.2   Literature

Emotional labor is a complex and significant matter for those providing services and interfacing with the public (Hochschild, 1983, Goffman, 1959). This qualitative research was grounded in the literature on emotional labor (Brotheridge, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991, Steinberg & Figart, 1999; Wharton, 1993), emotions in leadership (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2006; DePree, 2004; Fineman, 2006); and school leadership (Barth, 1980; Fullan, 2003; Gronn, 2003; Hargreaves, 1998; Leithwood, 2003; Sergiovanni, 2006), supporting the assertion that school leaders are engaged in emotional labor (Beatty, 2005; Blackmore, 1996) in their effort to manage their own feelings and

the feelings of their constituents (Harris, 2007). Emotional labor is a complex and significant matter for those providing services and interfacing with the public (Hochschild, 1983), and our research speaks to school leadership as a public performance.

6.1.3 Methodology and Design

There were many factors that guided my research methodology, including membership in the professional community being researched and the goal of improving my *own* practice. A critical concern in pursuing this research was that an understanding emotional labor, as experienced by my team, be valued as an end unto itself (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Influenced by Max Van Manen (1990) and his validation of phenomenological research as the noble pursuit of understanding everyday experiences, I found myself driven to understand the emotional nature of my work in pursuit of being a better school leader. Van Manen (1990) asserts that all research involves questioning the way in which we, as human beings, experience the world (p.5) and in the process of studying the essence of our experience, discovering why something is what it is (Husserl, 1982; Merleau-Ponty, 1962). "Investigating leadership and followership through lived experiences is a valid way of knowing and has the potential to reveal the invisible and relational dimensions of leadership" (Ladkin, 2010. Cited in Izatt-White, 2013, p.225). The goal of phenomenological research is the understanding of our everyday experiences, our life world (Van Manen, 1990); the goal of my research was to gain a deep understanding of our *work* world and in doing so, make the invisible visible. Engaging in the research of a team of which I am a member provided meaning into the everyday life of my fellow school leaders, as well as myself (Van Manen, 1990, p 54).

6.1.4   The Actors and Their Roles: The Emotions School Leaders Display

In an effort to gain a deep understanding of the team's experiences of emotional labor, members of a ten-person administrative team participated in semi-structured interviews*;* written reflections; team discussions; observational summaries; and anecdotal storytelling, over the course of several months, which focused on the recall of the emotions they encounter in others and experience, themselves. It was important to me, as a member of the team being researched, for fellow teammates to feel a sense of ownership in the understandings being developed. My desire to have their "voices" come through in the data I was gathering necessitated a willingness to relinquish a certain amount of control over *my* research and to invite them to join me as collaborators, whose input steered our professional conversations. Through these conversations, a unified theme emerged of the *school leaders as a performer*.

Applying the metaphor of theatrical performance to the work we do, I was able to delineate many roles we play in our leadership positions, and I referred them back to team members in the format of a theater *Playbill*. Considering these emerging themes as a cast of characters was a vehicle for organizing and sharing our interview responses with one another. Teammates submitted written reflections to provide additional perceptions of occasions during which they had found themselves in particular roles in response to certain patterns of behavior from their constituents, and these insights became the substance of my findings.

6.2   Conclusions: The Drama of School Leadership

6.2.1   The Social Face of Leadership: Contributing Factors to the Emotional Nature of Schools

The analysis of the data illuminated the *social face* (Hochschild, 1983) we wear in our daily self-portrayal as competent and caring individuals. Whether a component of duty or a strategy employed by team members for self-preservation, we revealed ourselves as actors in the daily social drama (Goffman, 1959; Hochschild, 1983) of our schools. Our self-disclosure was grounded in a shared belief in the existence of an inherent, and often silent, mandate to align our performances with the professional standards of our district's brand of leadership, coupled with an expectation to do so in a convincing manner and at our own personal cost.

The data further revealed how team members entered their positions as novice administrators armed with pedagogical insight and organizational management skills but, without exception, reported feeling ill-prepared to face the emotional landscape of their schools. Not only do we perceive there to be a mandate to be all things to all people as a requirement of our district's brand of leadership, we also feel the pressure to do so, convincingly and seemingly, without effort.

Hochschild's (1983) concept of commercialization of feeling management provided an appropriate means of interpreting the acting we do in attempting to adjust our personalities to the cultural expectations that govern the institution of school, including school employees as public servants, ever respectful of those they serve. Specifically, we revealed the masks we are called to wear to maintain appropriate display for each and every interaction with constituents. We acknowledged *surface acting*, or pretending (Hochschild, 1983), in our effort to convince and influence others (Humphrey et al, 2008). When the character we assume does not inspire authentic feelings, we disclosed

our engagement in *deep acting* (Hochschild, 1983) as a way of "creating the inner shape of a feeling" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 36) with the goal of convincing, not only others, but ourselves, that we are worthy ambassadors of our profession.

6.2.2   A Revealing Look behind the Mask: The Emotions School Leaders Mask

Peeking behind the mask provided the opportunity to consider the importance of emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1995; Salovey & Mayer, 1990,); emotional competence (Fletcher, 2001); and gender (Brunner, 2000; Fletcher, 2001; Grogan & Shakeshaft, 2011) in the highly relational nature of the work of school leaders. In our effort to meet the expectations of the school community to be kind, capable, selfless individuals, we discovered that male and female administrators go to great lengths to display emotion that is aligned with professional standards for leadership behavior. Believing we know what is best for our schools, we were strategic in our use of friendliness (Pierce, 1996) and expertise in an effort to influence others as well as ourselves.

6.2.3   The Toll of Emotional Labor: Personal and Professional Impact on School Leaders

The effort involved in portraying the appropriate role for a given situation is not without its toll on us. Team members admitted to expending great effort to maintain the social face of leadership. Given the opportunity to safely expose the person behind the mask, we came face-to-face with feelings we are forced to shield from our constituents, including: anger, frustration, hurt, disappointment, fear and isolation. The cost of doing business in this manner can be stress, fatigue, emotional dissonance and the loss of a sense of self in a form of "disappearing" (Fletcher, 2001). These resultant feelings can leave us feeling desperate for validation and support, which we seek from those we

believe understand the affective nature of school leadership. While we worry about the burden this places on others, we find support in strong relationships among administrative team members, family members, and other trusted personnel in our school communities (Fineman, 2003; Payne and Cooper, 2004). As we share the emotional nature of our work with these trusted few, we find comfort and strength in their sympathy and understanding, but more importantly, in the process, we gain perspective and insight, if only by hearing ourselves talk.

6.3   Significance of the Study

6.3.1   Knowledge as an End

> …We take the view that there is a fourth fundamental question which is also necessary to fully define an inquiry paradigm: the axiological question about what is intrinsically worthwhile, what it is about the human condition that is valuable as an end in itself…The fourth and axiological question is about values of being, about what human states are to be valued simply by virtue of what they are. This is a necessary complement to balance and make whole the concern with truth exhibited by the first three questions. And the first question to be raised is about the valuing of knowledge itself. (Heron and Reason, 1997, p. 274)

Believing the knowledge we have gained through the self-reflection of our experiences is a valuable end unto itself (Heron and Reason, 1997), I submit that this research is significant in its potential to inform and transform the work we do as a team of school leaders. This research, so personal in nature, establishes its importance not only in its reported findings but in the private revelations of those who participated in the process of: *understanding* the emotional fabric of our school leadership; *illuminating* the feelings we are expected to display; *exposing* the feelings we are forced to mask; *recognizing* the toll this takes on us; and *identifying* our critical needs in dealing with these feelings.

6.3.2   A Call for Action: Lessening the Impact of Emotional Labor on School Leaders

> The current challenge for qualitative researchers is to work toward legal and policy changes that reflect the reconfigure relationships of qualitative research. These new relationships are cooperative, mutual, democratic, open-ended, communitarian. They are highly incompatible with the asymmetrical power, informed consent, risk-beneficence model of research ethics currently in force. Participatory, social justice-oriented social science demands a research ethics attuned to the postmodern, post-foundational, postcolonial, and globalized inquiry environment of alternative paradigms. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 138)

Denzin & Lincoln (2008) speak of research paradigms that are aligned with the "corporatized world order" (p. 239) and the danger in a resulting mismatch between policy makers and the communities of practitioners whom they regulate (p. 239).

> The system that exists now in the United States, which is highly appropriate for the decade in which it was forged, was outgrown and inadequate once

phenomenological researchers realized they were dealing with far more than a shift to a separate set of methods (Lincoln & Guba, 1989). Reformulated relations between researcher and researched, the potential for trading and sharing roles between them, and the mandate to exercise moral discretion regarding the purposes and representations of social inquiry (Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000) re-created research in the image of democracy, care/caring, and social justice. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 239)

The axiological implications of this stance have the potential to inform and influence legislation and policy (p. 239). Denzin & Lincoln do not underestimate the challenge inherent in the position they take.

That will be no easy task. It will require activism of a different sort; not in the field, but rather in the halls of power. In the current neoliberal pinched and conservative environment, it seems nearly impossible to begin such a conversation. Nevertheless, qualitative researchers must undertake it, because, as always—whether in technology, science, or social science—practice has far outstripped policy and civic dialogue. Concerned scholars are likely to find that thoughtful analysis of the issues, careful strategizing, and thinking globally while acting locally are the best strategies for countering these narrow, illiberal discourses." (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 239)

Inspired by this sort of activism, I propose that the most significant result of the power of our self-awareness lies in making visible that which was invisible, even to ourselves, and we acknowledge this by adding our voices to a call for change (Fletcher, 2001).

Other professionals heavily involved in people enterprises realize that emotion drives attention, which in turn links to prior emotional experience, which in turn moves us to emotionally connected action. This is the way the mind works. Those who are attempting to persuade and lead people cannot ignore this neurological pattern (McDowelle and Buckner; 2002, p. 11).

A call for strong and trusted support networks for school leaders: The hallmark of our team's leadership is the perception that we are competent and caring individuals who value strong, positive relationships with students, staff and parents. In pursuit of this image, the school leader is a performer, displaying appropriate emotions and masking those deemed inappropriate. The data illuminated the emotional labor, and the ensuing burden, involved in displaying appropriate positive emotions that participants perceived to be aligned with our school district's brand of leadership and professionalism. The negative feelings team members associate with emotional labor appeared to be ameliorated by strong relationships among administrative team members, family

members, and other trusted personnel in their buildings who seemed to understand the affective nature of school leadership and were able to acknowledge the conscious effort entailed in *being all things to all people.*

A call for expanded school leadership training: We are managers of people, and as such, our work is inherently relational. *Listening* is a key aspect of our relational leading (Murphy, 1968), the content and context of which helps us determine which part to play. We act *at* feeling, strategically displaying emotion, in an effort to influence the constituents of our schools (Hochschild, 1983). This is critical to our school culture and climate; the perceptions of the public; the well-being of our staff and students; and to being seen as highly skilled and successful professionals leading high-performing schools. We perceive ourselves as untrained and ill-prepared to deal with the emotional nature of school leadership, and seeing as emotions underpin much of the work we do, we would advocate for aspirant school leaders to develop a deep understanding of, and strategies for effectively dealing with, the emotional labor inherent in their positions.

A call for reflective school leaders committed to understanding themselves and those whom they serve: Knowing ourselves and those we serve is foundational to "flesh[ing] out the details to [one's] personal leadership landscape" (Evans, 2007, p.147). We do this by knowing our philosophical stance of schooling and school leadership (p.145); what we value; and what we stand for (p. 145). The answers to these questions are deeply personal and form the basis of our conception of role (Fullan, 1991, p. 167, cited in Evans). The findings of this study reveal that while team members may hold different philosophies, beliefs and values, they agree on the emotional nature of schools. We recognize the significant *effort* we expend to manage our own feelings as we attempt to manage the feelings of others within their school communities. Even though we were

never formally instructed to take people's emotions into account, most of us intuitively understand that much rests on our ability to manage the emotional aspects of our schools.

We experience feelings of our own in response to this kind of work. When called on to display feelings contrary to authentic feelings, we can experience emotional dissonance (Hochschild, 1983; Morris and Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987). The most significant effort involved in our emotional labor is the masking of negative feelings. We engage in widespread *masking* of negative emotions, primarily with adults, including feelings of anger; disappointment; fear; and isolation, resulting in a "disappearance" of self (Fletcher, 1999). Negative feelings take a toll on us, and we look for support in dealing with this.

The findings support the position that a significant amount of the work we do, as school leaders, entails managing our emotions and the emotions of others. Intellectualizing emotional labor as the work administrators do with the *emotional-self* and the *emotional-other* may enhance relational skills with *others* and diminish the burden on *self*.

6.4 Limitations and Implications for Further Study

6.4.1 Limitations

If there is potential for our research to have significance for those in analogous leadership positions, then it is important to acknowledge that there will be individuals for whom our findings do not resonate. Although it was not my intention to conduct a generalizable study applicable to all school principals in every school, there may be unique contexts and individual differences that diminish one's identification with our experiences, which impact the perceived value of our findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

Additionally, as indicated in chapter five, the low reporting of negative intra-team emotions raised the possibility of team members being reluctant to reveal negative feelings for fear of damaging working relationships. Although we acknowledge a trusting relationship among the members of our small administrative team, I must assume the existence of some degree of variability in candor among participants who were concerned about revealing information that might place them in an unflattering light. Although I would contend that the our data is consistent with of our perceptions of the ongoing emotional labor we experience, this study was done over a limited period of time and, as such, must be considered a snapshot of the work of a school leader.

6.4.2 Implications for Practice

> For us, the primary focus for school leadership is people and the overriding function of school leadership is working with and through people in a productive capacity…If the fundamental heart and purpose of school leadership is people and productive interactions with them, it follows that possessing knowledge about the basic nature or men and women is essential to success as a school administrator. (McDowell and Buckner, 2002. p. 1).

A fundamental understanding of emotional labor in school leadership may have implications in a number of ways, both personally and professionally. The data

demonstrates the challenges of displaying and maintaining the social face of leadership. As a team, we identified a serious void in our own leadership training in the management of emotions in the workplace. We would assert that this suggests a need for further development of curriculum for aspirant leadership programs. It may also promote advocacy for support, mentoring and professional development in pursuit developing and retaining emotionally competent educational leaders. While data gathered is specific to our team of leaders, we are each a part of a greater network of professional educators in our state, and beyond. Our professional affiliations provide a window into the commonality of experience among school leaders and would indicate that our experiences may have value and generalizability to the experiences of others in similar contexts.

6.4.3   Areas for Further Research

While there is much to be studied regarding the affective aspects of leadership, I would propose the need for further research regarding affective variables that impact emotional labor. While members of the team were more alike than different regarding their perceptions of their emotional labor, it may be worthwhile and informative to investigate the influence that age, leadership experience and personality have on emotional labor.

Additionally, given our experiences regarding the powerful effect of supportive team relationships in lessening the negative impact of emotional labor, I would propose the need for further research on the relationship between team dynamics and an individual's experience with emotional labor, and, as middle managers, the role of the superintendent, as team leader, in that relationship.

Finally, given my personal belief in the power of personal understanding in informing the choices we make for ourselves, I would propose the need for further curriculum research and development to identify better ways to equip leaders for the highly emotional landscape of their schools, including instruction of metacognitive strategies for *dealing with feelings*.

Final Reflections

This study provided a unique opportunity to consider the highly emotional landscape of our schools and the complexity of the relationships we maintain with the constituents of our schools. Our reflections illuminated a commonly held belief by team members that we were relatively untrained to handle the emotional nature of our positions, and that even as experienced school leaders, managing emotions is the most challenging aspect of our work.

Hochschild's (1983) theory of emotional labor provided a framework for understanding how *pretending to feel* is an unspoken and complex expectation of our school district and community for their school leaders to graciously be all things to all people. Meeting this expectation necessitates the adoption of roles specifically aligned with the emotions we strive to engender in others. Acknowledging themselves as *performers*, team members revealed widespread masking of negative feelings, including hurt, anger and disappointment.

Playing a part is not without consequence. Being torn between genuine and adopted feelings has left some experiencing a loss of sense of self and some degree of emotional dissonance. Burying authentic feelings, and feigning others often leaves us feeling like world class actors and first class frauds. As we came to terms with this dimension of our school leadership, we were left to ponder how best to manage, both personally and professionally, the emotions we, ourselves, experience as school leaders.

As a team of school leaders, we are in a "people" business, and as such, we spend our days managing the emotions of others, as well as our own. Through self-reflection and peer support, we recognized the benefit of intellectualizing emotional labor as another, albeit huge, aspect of the work we do, one which takes tremendous skill. If the talent for

this skill is not inherent, then we acknowledge the need to seek guidance and practice, practice, practice! I believe it is in the pursuit of becoming emotionally competent school leaders that we develop the *emotional-self* and are better equipped to deal with the *emotional-other.*

Appendix A: Proforma

A PROFORMA FOR

STAFF AND STUDENTS BEGINNING A RESEARCH PROJECT

I n s t i t u t e   f o r   L e a r n i n g

Research Proposer(s): **Patricia H. Downes**

Programme of Study: **PhD**

Research (Working Dissertation/Thesis) Title: **Emotional Labor and School Leadership**

Description of research (please include (a) aims of the research; (b) principal research question(s)

(c) methodology or methodologies to be used (d) who are the participants in this research.

Object of Research: **Understanding the experiences of Connecticut school leaders as they relate to emotionality in the workplace.**

Participants: **Public School Leaders**

Research Question: **What role does emotionality play in the work of a CT school leader, and how prepared is she to experience, express, and understand it?**

Methodology:

Sub Questions:

1. What are leaders' inner experiences of emotions associated with their work: the inner emotional life of a school leader?
2. How do leaders experience the emotionality of others and if acknowledged, how so?
3. How prepared are school leaders to deal with the emotionality of educational leadership?
4. What are the perceived moderators of the emotional experience of school leaders?

Participants asked to:

1. Recall and reflect on experiences based on interaction with constituents of the school.
2. Recall a specific occasion of a meaningful association between emotion and leadership: i.e., "What associations have you experienced between emotions and leadership?"
3. Additional probes to develop and elaborate on the ideas offered in response to #2 to identify the emotions themselves, the provocations, the inner emotionality and the emotional inter-subjectivity of any occasion or incident being discussed.
4. Depending on whether the selection in 2 & 3 was an example of an inner emotional nature or an inter-subjective nature, the second type would be solicited here.
5. What do you feel has helped you deal with the emotional experiences of your school leadership position?
6. What preparation did you have to deal with the emotionality of school leadership?
7. Using the Beatty's *Emotional Epistemological Theoretical Framework*, place their experience along the continuum and reflect on.

Procedure:

- Initial contact prior to first interview in order to assure participants of certain rights and protections, including:
  - Confidentiality—names and the institutions they represent will be kept confidential.
  - Participants may withdraw at any time.
  - Purpose and nature of research will be fully disclosed
  - Responses will be clarified with respondents for the purpose of total understanding and clarity
  - Participants will be invited to be co-researchers in acknowledgement of the unique relationship that may form between interviewer and respondent
- Format: personal interviews using specific questions.
- Researcher's observation notes
- Participants may also participate in online, written reflections about interviews
- Review and positioning of participant's emotional experience in relation to the continuum of Beatty's (2002) *Emotional Epistemologies Framework* (Fig. 1)
- Analysis of data through recording; transcription; analyzing and coding for the purpose of understanding the emotional nature of school leadership

Proforma Completion Date: **April 17, 2009**

This proforma should be read in conjunction with the IfL research principles, and the IfL flow chart of ethical considerations. It should be completed by the, researchers. If it raises problems, it should be sent on completion, together with a brief (maximum one page) summary of the problems in the research, or in the module preparation, for approval to the Chair of the IfL Ethics Committee prior to the beginning of any research.

Part A

1.   Does your research/teaching involve animal experimentation?   **NO**

If the answer is 'YES' then the research/teaching proposal should be sent

direct to the University Ethics Committee to be assessed.

2.   Does your research involve human participants?   **YES**

If the answer is 'NO', there is no need to proceed further with this proforma,

and research may proceed now. If the answer is 'YES' please answer all

further relevant questions in part B.

Part B

3.   Is the research population under 18 years of age?   **NO**

If yes, are you taking the following or similar measures to deal with this issue?

     (i) Informed the participants of the research?   Y/N

     (ii) Ensured their understanding?   Y/N

     (iii) Gained the non-coerced consent of their parents/guardians?   Y/N

4.   Will you obtain written informed consent from the participants?   **YES**

If yes, please include a copy of the information letter requesting consent

If no, what measures will you take to deal with obtaining consent?

5.   Has there been any withholding of disclosure of information

regarding the research to the participants?   **NO**

If yes, please describe the measures you have taken to deal with this.

6.   Issues for participants. P*lease answer the following and state how you will manage perceived risks:*

a)   Do any aspects of the study pose a possible risk to participants' physical well-being (e.g. use of substances such as alcohol or extreme situations such as sleep deprivation)?   YES   **NO**

b)   Are there any aspects of the study that participants might find humiliating, embarrassing, ego-threatening, in conflict with their values, or be otherwise emotionally upsetting?*   YES   **NO**

c)   Are there any aspects of the study that might threaten participants' privacy (e.g. questions of a very personal nature; observation of individuals in situations which are not obviously 'public')?*   YES   **NO**

d)   Does the study require access to confidential sources of information (e.g. medical records)?   YES   **NO**

e   Could the intended participants for the study be expected to be more than usually emotionally vulnerable (e.g. medical patients, bereaved individuals)?   YES   **NO**

f   Will the study take place in a setting other than the University campus or residential buildings?   **YES**   NO

g   Will the intended participants of the study be individuals who are not members of the University community?   **YES**   NO

*Note: if the intended participants are of a different social, racial, cultural, age or sex group to the researcher(s) and there is **any** doubt about the possible impact of the planned procedures, then opinion should be sought from members of the relevant group.

7.   Might conducting the study expose the researcher to any risks   **NO**

(e.g. collecting data in potentially dangerous environments)?

8.   Is the research being conducted on a group culturally different from the

researcher/student/supervisors?   **NO**

If yes, are sensitivities and problems likely to arise?

If yes, please *describe how you have addressed/will address them.*

9.   Does the research/teaching conflict with any of the IfL's research principles?

(please see attached list).   **NO**

If yes, describe what action you have taken to address this?

10.   Are you conducting research in the organisation within which you work?   **YES**

11.   If yes, are there any issues arising from this .e.g. ones of confidentiality,

anonymity or power, because of your role in the organisation   **NO**

If there are, what actions have you taken to address these?

Fellow school administrators within my school district will not be excluded from this research, but should they volunteer to participate, this researcher has no authoritative or supervisory role, stated or implied, that would call into question power over any participant. Additionally, statements of confidentiality and anonymity will be signed by this researcher as a contract to this effect.

12.   If the research/teaching requires the consent of any organisation,   **Not Applicable**

If no, describe what action you have taken to *overcome this problem.*

All research will be conducted with volunteers who represent themselves, as individuals, not the organizations for whom they work.

13.   Have you needed to discuss the likelihood of ethical problems with this

research, with an informed colleague?   **No**

If yes, please name the colleague, and provide the date and results of the

discussion.

If you've now completed the proforma, before sending it in, just check:

a.   Have I included a letter to participants for gaining informed consent?   **X**

b.   If I needed any organisational consent for this research, have I   **NA**

included evidence of this with the proforma?

c.   If I needed consent from the participants, have I included evidence   **NA**
for the different kinds that were required?

Lack of proof of consent attached to proformas has been the major reason why proformas have been returned to their authors.

This form must be signed by your supervisor and the IfL Ethics Committee representative for your area. Once signed, copies of this form, and your proposal must be sent to Mrs Jackie Lison, Centre for Educational Studies (see flow chart), including where possible examples of letters describing the purposes and implications of the research, and any Consent Forms (see appendices).

Name of Student/Researcher …**Patricia H. Downes**

Signature ………………………………………….…… Date … **April 17, 2009**………..................

Name of Supervisor/Colleague …**Prof. Derek Coquhoun**…………………………………………

Signature …………………………………………… Date ………………………….................

Name of Ethics Committee member
………………………………………………………………….

Signature ………………………………………… Date ………………………………………...

Fig. 1 **Emotional Epistemologies Theoretical Framework (Beatty, 2000a, 2000b, 2004)**

Emotional Silence	Emotional Absolutism	Transitional Emotional Relativism	Resilient Emotional Relativism
• Emotions not valued as meaningful and are ignored, suppressed, and controlled • Leader seen as rational being	• Emotions are cast as 'right' or 'wrong'' • Typical most bureaucratic hierarchies • Leads to cultural conformity to organizational 'feeling rules' (Hochschild, 1983) • Characterized by external emotional authority leading to denial of authentic inner emotional self • Inhibits growth of inner professional self • Promotes emotional separateness of workers of differing levels within organizational hierarchies	• Emotional silence is broken, inadvertently or by design • Often followed by shame and a quick return to the feeling rules of organizational culture and emotional silence • If emotionally safe spaces can be created, it can lead to emotional knowledge through exploration of deeper levels of significance. • Fostering value of inner emotional realities, and sharing of relative emotional perspectives	• Deeper level of emotional 'knowing' • Going beyond cognitive capacity to rationalize emotions • Reflective re-experiencing of emotions alone and with others • Emotional openness to feel beneath surface emotions • Growing openness to embrace emotions that lead to dysfunction in individuals and organizations (Scheff & Retzinger 2000) • Conservation of energy associated with denial and suppression of emotion • Opportunity for growth, confidence and creative collaboration • Multiple emotional realities become salient • Respect and appreciation for diversity integrated into professional practice

Appendix B: Informed Consent, University of Hull, Institute for Learning/Center for Educational Studies

INFORMED CONSENT

Understanding the workplace emotions of Connecticut school leaders

Title of Study: Understanding the workplace emotions of Connecticut school leaders

Principal Investigator:
Patricia H. Downes
University of Hull, Institute for Learning/Center for Educational Studies
Address: 106 College Street, Old Saybrook, CT 06475, USA
Phone: (860) 388-5410
E-mail: pdownes@region18.org

Background:

Schools are a "people" business, and where there are people, there are emotions. A growing body of literature has exposed the emotional nature of leadership. Despite new definitions of the school leader that include relational leading, the role emotionality plays in school leadership has not been fully explored. School leaders continue to feel the pressure of high-stakes performance assessments based on national and state mandates. As increasing demands are placed on principals to be all things to all people, the position of school leader loses its appeal to teachers who may have once aspired to move beyond the classroom. Critical to the development and retention of effective school leaders is an understanding of the affective nature of their work.

Emotions play a major role in the workplace, including the human side of leadership and the importance of reflective, caring, organizational management.

The purpose of this study is:

- To better understand the characteristics of emotional work and its relationship to school leadership.
- To address the concept of emotional labor and school leadership in an effort to position it within the abundance of literature on emotion in the workplace.

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear of if you need more information.

Study Procedure:

Your expected time commitment for this study is:

- Brief initial phone contact or email correspondence to arrange interview appointment.
- 60 minute interview session

Interview Procedure:

8. During the course of an interview, you will be asked to respond to the following questions:
   a. Recall and reflect on experiences based on interaction with constituents of the school.

b. Recall a specific occasion of a meaningful association between emotion and leadership: i.e., "What associations have you experienced between emotions and leadership?"
c. What preparation did you have to deal with the emotionality of school leadership?
d. What do you feel has helped you deal with the emotional experiences of your school leadership position?

Risks:

The risks of this study are minimal. These risks are similar to those you experience when disclosing work-related information to others. The topics in the survey may upset some respondents. You may decline to answer any or all questions and you may terminate your involvement at any time if you choose.

Benefits:

There will be no direct benefit to you for your participation in this study. However, we hope that the information obtained from this study may serve in the development and retention of effective school leaders through an understanding of the affective nature of their work.

Confidentiality:

For the purposes of this research project your comments will be anonymous. Every effort will be made by the researcher to preserve your confidentiality including the following:

- Assigning code names/numbers for participants that will be used on all researcher notes and documents.

- Notes, interview transcriptions, and transcribed notes and any other identifying participant information will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the personal possession of the researcher. When no longer necessary for research, all materials will be destroyed,

- The researcher and the members of the researcher's committee will review the researcher's collected data. Information from this research will be used solely for the purpose of this study and any publications that may result from this study. Any final publication will contain the names of the public figures that have consented to participate in this study (unless a public figure participant has requested anonymity): all other participants involved in this study will not be identified and their anonymity will be maintained.

Each participant has the opportunity to obtain a transcribed copy of their interview. Participants should tell the researcher if a copy of the interview is desired.

Participant data will be kept confidential except in cases where the researcher is legally obligated to report specific incidents. These incidents include, but may not be limited to, incidents of abuse and suicide risk.

Person to Contact:

Should you have any questions about the research or any related matters, please contact the researcher at: **pdownes@region18.org, (860)388-5410**.

Institutional Review Board:

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, or if problems arise which you do not feel you can discuss with the Investigator, please contact the Institutional Review Board Office at (801) 863-8156.

Voluntary Participation:

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you do decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part in this study, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. You are free to not answer any question or questions if you choose. This will not affect the relationship you have with the researcher.

Unforeseeable Risks:

There may be risks that are not anticipated. However, every effort will be made to minimize any risks.

Should you feel that you would benefit from speaking to a human resource professional, please contact your district's human resource department to access the services of its *EAP* (Employee Assistance Program); contact Connecticut's database of services by dialing **2-1-1**; or accessing free and confidential human services through www.infoline.org .

Costs to Subject:

There are no costs to you for your participation in this study

Compensation:

There is no monetary compensation to you for your participation in this study.

Consent:

By signing this consent form, I confirm that I have read and understood the information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix C: Letter to Participants

Patricia H. Downes

<div align="right">

106 College Street
Old Saybrook, CT 06475

</div>

Phone (860) 510-3586

Email pdownes@region18.org

March 14, 2011

Dear Mrs. Dion:

Thank you for your willingness to help me with my doctoral research. I am most appreciative of your support. Enclosed in this envelope is a folder with several documents that will explain the nature of my work.

At your convenience, please take a few moments to read and sign the *Informed Consent* document. I will collect it when I meet with you for the interview. If you have any questions regarding its content, feel free to call or email me. Beyond outlining important details of this study, this consent form underscores the confidential nature of your responses. Please be assured that collected information will remain anonymous.

In your folder, you will find the interview protocol and background information on the concept of *emotional labor.* I hope these serve to stimulate your thinking on the subject of emotion work as it relates to educational leadership.

Thank you for being willing to share your time and unique perspective on this topic. I look forward to the interview and will contact you to set up a time that works with your busy schedule.

With Appreciation,

Patricia H. Downes

Appendix D: Interview Prompts

Your expected time commitment for this study is:

- Brief initial phone contact or email correspondence to arrange interview appointment.

- 60 minute interview session

The interview will most likely resemble a professional conversation between the two of us. I will ask you to reflect on emotions you have felt based on interactions with constituents of the school. I will prompt you to describe specific situations in your work with teachers, families or children that brought about an emotional response within you as a way for us to identify meaningful associations between emotion and leadership.

Prompts for this may include:

- How did you feel in this situation? What emotions did you experience/

- How did you handle this emotion?

- What about the situation made you feel or respond this way?

- What are some of the circumstances of your work that contribute to the emotions that you experience as part of your job?

- What are the aspects of your work that increase or diminish the effects of the emotions you experience?

Appendix E: Brief Summary of Emotional Labor

Focusing on the school leader, this research will explore key themes, in the ever-expanding definition of a school leader, to underscore the growing emotional demand on school leaders.

Dealing with Feelings: emotional labor and school leadership

In her book, *The Managed Heart: the commercialization of the human heart* (Hochschild), sociologist Arlie Hochschild, coined the term "emotional labor" to describe the commercialization of human feeling as defined by the management of feelings for wage. Her ethnographic study of flight attendants and bill collectors looked closely at the private and commercial aspects of workplace emotions in relation to the preservation of self. Recognizing this emotional demand requires acknowledgement of the work involved in monitoring, regulating and understanding it, otherwise known as *emotional labor* (Hochschild, 2003).

Webster's New World Dictionary defines *emotion* as any strong feeling, and *feeling* as emotion. Some would debate the philosophical distinction between *emotion* and *feeling*, but for the purpose of this discussion, and the examination of Hochschild's work, the two shall be used interchangeably. Hochschild, herself, defines feeling as emotion and compares it to a sense like sight or hearing.

> Feelings, I suggest, are not stored "inside" us, and they are not independent of acts of management. Both the act of "getting in touch with" feeling and the act of "trying to" feel may become part of the process that makes the thing we get in touch with, or the thing we manage, into a feeling or emotion. In managing feeling, we contribute to the creation of it. (p.17)…individuals turn to feelings in order to locate themselves or at least to see what their own reactions are to a given event. That in the absence of unquestioned external guidelines, the signal function of emotion becomes more important, and the commercial distortion of the managed heart becomes all the more important as a human cost. (Hochschild, 2003. 22)

Though not the first to identify jobs that require standards for employee behavior, Hochschild's research established the definition of the term *emotional labor* and its three main criteria: face to face contact with the public; a goal of producing an emotional state in another person; and the employer having control over the emotional activities of its employees (Hochschild, 1983).

> "This labor requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others—in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place. This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality." (p7)

While the terms *emotional labor* and *emotion work* are often used interchangeably, Hochschild differentiates the terms in the following manner:

> I use the term emotional labor to mean the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has *exchange value.* I use the synonymous terms *emotion work* or *emotion management* to refer to these same acts done in a private context where they have *use value.* (p7)

Early writing focused on emotional labor as a component of jobs in the service sector, particularly those in which a specific relationship with a customer is mandated by an employer. These included, but were not limited to, flight attendants, bill collectors, waitresses, secretaries, healthcare workers. More recently it has been acknowledged that teachers experience emotion labor. (Hargreaves, 2000, Beatty 2000a, Gronn, 2003) Hochschild, a social constructivist, disclosed the psycho-social dimensions of people-work through the lens of jobs that oblige employees to be *nice*r or *nastier than natural* (Steinberg, 1999). But the relevance of her findings reach well beyond the jobs described, for most jobs entail "…some handling of other people's feelings and our own, and in this sense we are all partly flight attendants…" (Hochschild, 1983. 11).

> Emotions are not all our own, although we like to think they are. They are borrowed from our national and organizational culture, and we return them in sometimes modified form. This is how the norms of appropriate feelings and emotions change over time. The culture of the organization helps create and reinforce the dominant emotions of control in the workplace, such as guilt, fear, shame, anxiety or 'looking happy'. We have to learn what emotional 'face' is appropriate, and when. (Fineman, 2003.23)

Emotional labor is the work involved in managing feelings as part of the expectation of employment. Hochschild acknowledges the strong influence of the work of Erving Goffman on her thinking. Goffman (Goffman) was the first to speak of behaviors in jobs that are guided by "the invisible hand" of norms for appropriate behavior or expectations that are established by organizations. (Brotheridge, 2003) Using theater as a metaphor for human behavior, Goffman r eferred to individuals as performers who attempt to create an impression of reality that they may or may not believe themselves. A "performer" may be completely taken in and convinced of the reality of his performance. This person is seen as "sincere". On the other hand, an individual may clearly recognize his "act" (p17) and may be motivated to foster feelings in others as a means to an end. This person is seen as cynical and may engage in this performance for self-gain and with no concern for others, or with a belief that it is in the best interest of his audience (p18).

Hochschild revealed the inauthenticity, alienation of self and stress that comes from curbing felt emotional response in the workplace (Hochschild, 1983) resulting in burnout from over-identification with one's work role and self-blame due to feelings of insincerity.

> When rules about how to feel and how to express feeling are set by management, when workers have weaker rights to courtesy that customers do, when deep and surface acting are forms of labor to be sold, and when private capacities for empathy and warmth are put to corporate uses, what happens to the way a person relates to her feelings or to her face? When worked-up warmth becomes an instrument of service work, what can a person learn about herself from her feelings? And when a worker abandons her work smile, what kind of tie remains between her smile and her self? (Hochschild, 2003 89-90.)

Display is the outward manifestation of one's feeling. The connection between feeling and display is an unconscious one until that feeling does not align with the situation . It is then that the question arises as to whether or not one should act in accordance to social and cultural expectations, or *feeling and display rules*. (p56) Hochschild defines feeling rules as the social scripts that govern social exchanges (p56) that individuals are socialized to incorporate into a private emotion system (p56). Hochschild refers to feeling rules as culturally relative traffic rules that we do not presume "to be universal or objectively valid according to any moral criteria", (p 260) but rather are the guideposts

that inform individuals as to how one *ought* to feel (p 61) and reflective of where one stands on the social landscape. (p57) The incongruence of feeling and display becomes the basis of emotion work. Hochschild identifies this as "emotive dissonance," (p90) an internal rift caused by acting in opposition to genuine feeling. Surface acting, putting on an act, implies that one does not feel comparable feelings to those displayed. It becomes a matter of the appearance of feeling. The continual demand for such inauthentic displays of emotion to others may be harmful and result in burnout.

In Summary…

Schools are a "people" business, and where there are people, there are emotions. A growing body of literature has exposed the emotional nature of leadership. Despite new definitions of the school leader that include relational leading, the role emotionality plays in school leadership has not been fully explored. School leaders continue to feel the pressure of high-stakes performance assessments based on national and state mandates. As increasing demands are placed on principals to be all things to all people, the position of school leader loses its appeal to teachers who may have once aspired to move beyond the classroom. Critical to the development and retention of effective school leaders is an understanding of the affective nature of their work.

Emotions play a major role in the workplace, including the human side of leadership and the importance of reflective, caring, organizational management. The purpose for this research is to better understand the characteristics of emotional work and its relationship to educational leadership. Furthermore, it will address the concept of emotional labor in an effort to position it within the abundance of literature on emotion in the workplace. Recognizing that managing the emotional labor of others is, in and of itself, emotional labor, the emotion work of teachers will be considered as it impacts the school leader.

And finally, underpinning this research endeavor is a theoretical stance that embraces the concept of emotional knowing as a valid way to interpret the world, and more specifically the school community.

Appendix F: Interviewer's Guide

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Research Question

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What role does emotionality play in the work of a Connecticut school leader, and how prepared is she to experience, express, and understand it? (Beatty, 1999, 2006)

<div align="center">

Sub Questions

</div>

5. What are leaders' inner experiences of emotions associated with their work: the inner emotional life of a school leader?
6. How do leaders experience the emotionality of others and if acknowledged, how so?
7. How prepared are school leaders to deal with the emotionality of educational leadership?
8. What are the perceived moderators of the emotional experience of school leaders?

Participants asked to:

9. Recall and reflect on experiences based on interaction with constituents of the school.
10. Recall a specific occasion of a meaningful association between emotion and leadership: i.e., "What associations have you experienced between emotions and leadership?"
11. Additional probes to develop and elaborate on the ideas offered in response to #2 to identify the emotions themselves, the provocations, the inner emotionality and the emotional inter-subjectivity of any occasion or incident being discussed.
12. Depending on whether the selection in 2 & 3 was an example of an inner emotional nature or an inter-subjective nature, the second type would be solicited here.
13. Using the Beatty's *Emotional Epistemological Theoretical Framework*, place their experience along the continuum and reflect on

Procedure:

- Initial meetings prior to first interview in order to assure participants of certain rights and protections, including:
    - Confidentiality—names and the institutions they represent will be kept confidential.
    - Participants may withdraw at any time.
    - Purpose and nature of research will be fully disclosed
    - Responses will be clarified with respondents for the purpose of total understanding and clarity
    - Participants will be invited to be co-researchers in acknowledgement of the unique relationship that may form between interviewer and respondent
- Format: personal interviews using specific questions.
- Researcher's observation notes
- Participants online written reflections about interviews
- Review and positioning of participant's emotional experience in relation to the continuum of Beatty's (2002) *Emotional Epistemologies Framework*

Analysis of data through recording; transcription; analyzing and coding for the purpose of understanding the emotional nature of school leadership.

Appendix G: Request for Written Reflection

TO: Admin Team
FROM: P. Downes
RE: Request for Input
DATE: 09/29/12

Dear Admin Colleagues:

This is a humble request for your help in obtaining some additional information for my doctoral dissertation. As you know, I am researching *emotional labor* as it relates to school administrators. I have developed a response sheet based on themes that emerged from the interviews with our team. I have included some background information in an attempt to provide a context for this specific activity. I am more than happy to meet with you or send along additional information should you have any questions. Complete directions are included at the top of the instrument, but I want to assure you upfront that your responses can be as short or as long as you desire.

Please let me reiterate statements included in the paperwork I gave you at the onset of my research. Protection of your privacy is paramount to my endeavor. It would only be with your prior knowledge and permission, in addition to my pledge to provide you with anonymity, that I would include excerpts of your writing in my dissertation.

Background Information

As school administrators, we find ourselves continuously interacting with members of our school community. Given the number of interactions we have on a daily basis, we may find ourselves wrestling with how best to act with our clientele. Sometimes these interactions are spontaneous and occur naturally; other times they are scripted. When these scripts dictate behaviors that are not in alignment with our personal feelings, we can experience cognitive and emotional dissonance, leaving us to question ourselves and the organization we represent.

Regardless of the motivation for our behavior toward others, few would dispute the existence of an emotional component associated with these interactions. Research tells us that most of us have jobs that require some degree of *emotion work*. This work involves managing the emotions of others as well as our own. My investigation into effectively handling emotions as a requirement of our positions as school administrators forms the basis of my dissertation on *emotional labor.* Emotional labor is the work involved in being nicer or nastier than natural as an integral component of doing our job and collecting our wage. (Hochschild, 1983, 2012) How this makes us feel and how best to manage it is the focus of my research.

Members of our team sat down with me and talked about emotion work as an aspect of leading the schools in our district. From these interviews, I identified key words, phrases and themes that were repeated within and across these professional conversations. Without exception, those with whom I spoke acknowledged the need to "mask" or hide personal feelings in fulfillment of their professional roles. Also a common response was the need to convincingly "act" in a manner that engendered

specific feelings in others. Sociologist Erving Goffman (1959) used the metaphor of theatrical performance as a framework for understanding human behavior in social interactions. In our interview sessions, team members referenced the drama that typically unfolds as administrators struggle with communication and human interaction within the school setting. Building on the team's perception that we "wear many hats", I represented the specific roles you identified as a cast of characters in a "playbill". This playbill is the vehicle I propose we utilize to deepen our understanding of the masks we wear as school administrators. It is my hope that reflection and self-awareness will place us in a better position to manage what our team has identified as <u>the</u> most challenging aspect of the work we do.

How you can further this research…

Please look at the list of parts/roles that were developed from the transcripts of our conversations on managing emotion in school leadership. Please provide the "backstory" for each and share any emotions you associate with your experience. The context you provide for your responses may range from the identification of specific events to more general statements that characterize your practice over time.

I value your perspective, knowing it will significantly enhance my research. There are absolutely no right or wrong feelings to express. The feelings you identify as having experienced while playing a given role may or may not align with how you expected to feel. Don't overthink it. This is about emotions, so write from your heart. Since this form of qualitative research engages you as co-researchers, you are as entitled to my input as I am to yours. In that spirit, I am providing you with what I have written so far…my responses to the first few areas. You will find it as an attachment entitled "My Responses to the Playbill".

Please be assured that I will keep all responses anonymous and not let any portion of what is shared be attributable to any individual. As a further measure of privacy, I will not be including the name of our district in my writing.

I am so very grateful for your help with this. The instrument begins on the next page.

Patty

Appendix H: The *Playbill*

The Masks We Wear…The Parts We Play

The Cast

The Cheerleader (Championing a cause; bolstering student, staff and parent morale):

x

The Coach (Helping staff and parents develop their skills):

x

The Confidante (Listening and being sympathetic; based on trusting relationship):

x

The Counselor (Listening and being someone to bounce thoughts off of; working with students; staff and parents):

x

The Enforcer (At all levels…students, staff and parents; maintaining order and discipline):

x

The Expert (As an instructional leader or child development specialist):

x

The Friend (Boundary spanning with colleagues; former teaching partners; peers; neighbors; parents as friends):

x

The Fixer/Mediator (From problems with the physical plant to personnel that isn't getting along to unhappy parents to bus issues):

x

The Hospitality Chair/Cruise Director (Schlepping the snacks to a meeting; organizing programs):

x

The Manager (Schedules and logistics):

x

The Nurturer/Parent Figure (Comforting; encouraging; setting limits):

x

The Policeman (Literally monitoring parking lot and safety concerns in the building…fire; lock down):

x

The Professor (Sharing professional knowledge and encouraging higher order thinking):

x

The Stoic (Balancing the perception of weakness that can come from showing emotion with the perception of having no heart):

x

The Teacher/Mentor (Sharing practical ideas; modeling strategies; the instructional piece that goes along with student discipline):

x

The Tightrope Walker (The whole balancing act that goes with being a middle manager):

x

Are there other roles you see as part of an administrator's position that are not represented in this questionnaire? Any and all input will be appreciated.

x

Do you believe that "acting" in a particular manner toward someone can lead to genuinely adopting those feelings? (Basically…Do you believe we can be taken in by our own act?)

x

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