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**Teachers' Mood and Emotions from the
Perspective of 9- to 11-year-olds: An
Exploration into the Understanding of
Communication of Teachers' Feelings in
Primary Schools**

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the
University of West London for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy**

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Abstract

This research set out to explore children's perceptions of their teachers' emotions, and the impact that those emotions have on children that they teach.

A group of 10 child co-researchers were recruited from parallel Year 5 classes in one English Primary school to mirror the age range participating and providing data. These co-researchers were key participants in the research process, meeting regularly until the end of their primary school career, and contributed to all but the final stages of the analysis of the data.

14 children aged between 9- and 11-years-old, and five teachers who were not known to the children, were interviewed. This exploratory research was analysed using principles of constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006).

Five categories were developed from the children's data, reflecting the children's acute perception and ability to identify, and attribute, their teacher's emotions, and to discern whether emotional expressions were genuine. Children demonstrated their awareness of the impact that teacher emotional behaviour had on children directly as well as on classroom practice. Lastly, the children demonstrated that they were complex social actors within the classroom, planning and executing interventions to alter the emotional environment if they deemed it necessary. Analysis of teacher data revealed ambivalence about children's emotional competency and specifically about their knowledge of teacher emotions, along with awareness of the impact of their emotional states on the efficacy of their role in the classroom.

The implications of this research are discussed, and it is hoped that it will address gaps in knowledge and understanding of children's perception and understanding of teacher emotions and providing a basis for further research.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION.....	10
1.1 Introduction to this chapter	10
1.2 The background of this research and significance	10
1.3 Personal values and beliefs	12
1.4 The nature of childhood and children’s participation	14
1.5 Emotional development and emotional competencies	16
1.6 Teacher emotion and the school context	19
1.7 Approaches to research and methodology.....	20
1.8 The focus and purposes of this research	21
1.9 Outline of following chapters	22
CHAPTER TWO – THEORIES OF CHILDHOOD AND THE HISTORY OF CHILD PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH	24
2.1 History of children’s participation	24
2.1.1 The nature of childhood.....	25
2.1.2 Children’s rights in relation to participation in society	29
2.1.3 Children as social actors	31
2.1.4 Children as consumers and service users.....	32
2.2 Researching from a child-centred perspective.....	33
2.2.1 Children’s participation in research	33
2.2.2 The voice of the child	39
2.2.3 Summary.....	43
CHAPTER THREE- REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE RELATED TO EMOTION AND EDUCATION	45
3.1 Introduction and overview	45
3.2 Current theories of emotion	47
3.2.1 Basic emotion theories	47
3.2.2 Multicomponent theories of emotion	49
3.2.3 Appraisal theory	51
3.2.4 Social constructionist theory of emotion	55
3.3 The function of emotions	58
3.4 The language used to describe emotions in emotion research in education	60
3.5 Children’s emotional development and emotional competence	63
3.5.1 A social constructionist view of child development.....	63
3.5.2 Children’s emotional competence	66

3.6	Emotional competence in middle childhood.....	67
3.6.1	Interpretation of facial expressions.....	68
3.6.2	Children can understand the emotional experiences of others.....	71
3.6.3	Children’s emotional competence and language skills.....	75
3.6.4	Children’s memory of emotional events.....	77
3.6.5	Children’s emotional competence and learning.....	79
3.7	The emotional climate of the classroom.....	82
3.8	Teachers’ emotions in the classroom.....	86
3.8.1	Teachers emotional labour and emotional exhaustion.....	87
3.8.2	Teacher’s emotional experience and expression of emotion.....	98
3.8.3	Transmission of emotions in the classroom.....	102
3.9	Student’s perspectives of teacher emotions.....	105
3.10	Development of the research question.....	108
	CHAPTER FOUR - METHODOLOGY.....	111
4.1	Research methodology: theoretical considerations.....	111
4.1.1	Rationale for using Grounded Theory methodology in this research.....	111
4.1.2	Classic Grounded Theory.....	113
4.1.3	Straussian Grounded Theory.....	115
4.1.4	Constructivist Grounded Theory.....	117
4.1.5	A summary of similarities and differences between the three GT approaches.....	120
4.1.6	The GT methods utilized in this research.....	120
4.1.7	The distinction between Constructivism and Constructionism.....	123
4.2	Ethical considerations.....	124
4.2.1	Gaining access.....	125
4.2.2	Informed consent.....	125
4.2.3	Confidentiality and privacy.....	127
4.2.4	Protection from harm.....	128
4.2.5	Secure data storage.....	129
4.3	Methodologies.....	129
4.3.1	Overview of research activities.....	129
4.3.2	Locating areas and access to schools.....	131
4.3.3	Working with co-researchers.....	134
4.3.4	Identifying key questions to ask interviewees.....	136
4.3.5	Conducting interviews with children.....	139

4.3.6 Interviewing the teachers	141
4.3.7 Reviewing the interviews with co-researchers.....	142
3.4.8 Reflections on data collection.....	143
4.4 Analysis	144
4.4.1 Transcription	144
4.4.2 Reflecting on the data with the co-researcher group.....	144
4.4.3 Reading, reflecting and reviewing – beginning open coding	145
4.4.4 Applying codes to the data sets	146
4.4.5 The use of memoing: comments and reflections.....	148
4.4.6 Problems encountered with analysis.....	148
4.5 Researcher reflexivity	150
CHAPTER FIVE – CHILDREN TALKING ABOUT TEACHER EMOTIONS	152
5.1 Introduction	152
5.1.1 The structure of analysis	152
5.1.2 Use of Language.....	153
5.1.3 A note about the transcripts and quotes.....	153
5.1.4 The five categories of children’s knowledge of teacher emotions	155
5.2 Identification of teacher emotions	157
5.2.1 Body language and physical cues	158
5.2.2 Voice indicates teacher emotions.....	169
5.2.3 Interactions and familiarity.....	172
5.3 Attributing teacher emotions	177
5.3.1 Teacher’s personality - “Our normal teacher is normally happy”	179
5.3.2 Teacher emotions are due to children’s behaviour.....	181
5.3.3 Teacher emotions related to external factors – “If there is an OFSTED Inspector”	189
5.3.4 Attribution of teacher emotion to relationships – “They feel happy because ... somebody’s made them a cup of tea.”	195
5.4 Teachers emotional labour – “A real smile looks different”	200
5.4.1 Identifying ‘fake’ emotions	202
5.4.2 Reasons for faking emotions.....	209
5.4.3 Awareness of teachers’ emotional regulation.....	215
5.5 Impact of teacher emotions	219
5.5.1 Teacher emotions affect children’s emotions	221
5.5.2 Impact on teaching.....	228

5.5.3	Impact on learning.....	232
5.5.4	Impact on behaviour management.....	238
5.5.5	Impact on relationships with children	244
5.6	Interventions by children (Children as social actors).....	251
5.6.1	Being kind or helpful to change teacher’s emotions	252
5.6.2	Children trying to keep their teacher happy.....	256
5.6.3	Children managing their own emotions.	263
5.7	Summary	266
CHAPTER SIX – FINDING FROM THE TEACHER INTERVIEWS.....		268
6.1	Introduction.....	268
6.2	Identification and attribution of teacher emotions.....	271
6.2.1	Teacher awareness of their own emotions.....	273
6.2.2	Disbelief about child emotional competence	280
6.2.3	Child awareness of teacher emotions	284
6.2.4	Children interpret teacher behaviour as emotion.....	289
6.3	Impact of teacher emotion on children.....	297
6.3.1	Impact of teacher emotion on children’s lives in school	299
6.3.2	Impact of teacher emotion on teaching and learning.....	310
6.3.3	Impact of teacher emotion on behaviour management	318
6.4	Purposeful use and control of emotions.....	322
6.4.1	Using emotion displays as a management tool	324
6.4.2	Containing and masking emotions	333
6.5	Chapter summary	342
CHAPTER SEVEN – DISCUSSION.....		344
7.1	Introduction.....	344
7.2	Approaches of teachers and child participants to interviews	345
7.3	What do children know about teacher emotions?	349
7.3.1	Discerning teacher emotion.....	349
7.3.2	Discerning insincere emotion displays	351
7.3.3	Memory, and the intensity and valence of emotions	352
7.3.4	Attribution of teacher emotions.....	353
7.3.5	Children’s emotional knowledge through the Johari Window	355
7.4	What impact do teacher emotions have on children in school?	360
7.4.1	Teacher emotions have consequences for children’s emotions	360
7.4.2	Teacher emotions influence teaching.....	363

7.4.3 Teacher emotions has consequences for children’s learning.....	364
7.4.4 Teacher emotions influence their management of behaviour.....	366
7.4.5 Impact on teacher relationships with children.....	368
7.5. Teacher’s emotional labour and emotional work.....	370
7.6 Children’s agency within the emotional climate of the classroom.....	372
7.7 Working with children.....	375
7.7.1 Participant representation	376
7.7.2 Degree of participation	377
CHAPTER EIGHT – CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	
.....	379
8.1 Conclusions	379
8.2 Limitations of this research	380
8.3 Critical reflections	381
8.4 Implications of this research	382
8.5 Future research	384
8.6 Recommendations.....	386
BIBLIOGRAPHY	388
APPENDICES	416
Appendix A: Articles 12 and 13 of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989)	416
Appendix B: Search criteria and results.....	417
Appendix C: Information and consent forms.....	423
Parent and carer’s information and consent for the co-researcher group member participation.....	423
Information and consent for children to participate in interviews.....	427
Information and consent for teachers.....	430
Appendix D: Questions for consideration in the interview schedule	433
Pupil questions:.....	433
Teacher questions:.....	434
Appendix E: Thank you letter to the co-researcher group members.....	436
Appendix F: Segments of transcripts	438
Segment of transcript of two children being interviewed together:	438
Segment of transcript of a child being interviewed on their own:	439
Segment of transcript of a teacher’s interview	440
Appendix G: Sample of final analysis	441

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to this chapter

In this chapter, I will provide an overview of the background of my engagement in this area and significance of this research. I will share my personal beliefs and experiences related to this domain and which, I believe, underpin the integrity of the research. I will also position this research within theories of children's emotional development and emotional competence. Finally, I will present an outline of the subsequent chapters.

1.2 The background of this research and significance

My personal and professional experiences have led me to investigate this topic, having observed variations in the way that teachers' emotionality is expressed in their classrooms, whilst in the role of educational psychologist. I was aware that teachers' emotional behaviour influenced children's behaviour, for example displays of warmth accompanied by encouragement as motivation to persist in learning, or overt expressions of anger serving to subdue the entire class. Years ago, I met a primary school teacher wearing sunglasses and claiming to have the beginnings of a migraine. In the staffroom at morning break, they confided that they actually had a hangover, but that none of the children would know that, and because they believed that they were so professional that their hangover would not influence their teaching. Later, during a second observation in that teacher's classroom, I overheard a group of three children reassuring a fourth child that their teacher had been grumpy all morning and their anger was not personal. This demonstration of insight intrigued

me, and over the years I collected several more anecdotal examples of children's astute observations of their teacher's behaviour or emotional state and began to informally collect articles of interest. When the opportunity arose to conduct some research, it was natural that emotions in the classroom, and specifically children's observations of teacher emotions, should be the topic of study. The main aim of this research is to develop a greater understanding of the way in which teacher emotions impact children's lives in school, particularly from the children's point of view, as consumers of the education systems. I also remain interested in teachers' perspectives of their emotional communications and the impact their emotions have on school life. I had been told that studies involving children's 'voice' invariably restrict the areas of exploration of sensitive topics, such as those related to teaching and learning, and often focus on concerns raised by teachers themselves (Fielding, 2001), and this seems to be borne out by the balance of research published to date. However, when testing this out in exploring the possibilities of researching teacher emotion from the child's perspective, I found teachers interested and open to the notion of participation for themselves and the children they taught, provided appropriate permissions were granted. I wondered at the assumptions that had been made by researchers and others in the educational field that perhaps had precluded asking the questions in the first place and considered it possible that the reluctance to engage with children in discussing facets of their teacher (as opposed to the teaching they receive) elicits managerial concerns about discipline and a possible disruption to the traditional balance of power in educational establishments.

1.3 Personal values and beliefs

One of the reasons that I became interested in the impact of teacher emotions arises from my own schooling – during the course of accompanying my parents on their travels as my father, an army officer, was posted to different locations, I attended a total of seven primary schools. My experience as a consumer of primary education occurred in the 1960s. I still retain vivid memories of making rapid assessments of teachers as I sought to determine their ambient emotional states and triggers for change in mood and emotion. I remember both being supported by some children who translated their familiar teacher’s behaviours for me, the newcomer, and being misled into causing a strong reaction, usually ire, by others, often to class-members amusement or horror. It is likely that most of us have had similar experiences as we navigated our way through primary school, albeit perhaps without the added pressure of landing in new locations and getting to grips with different school ethos and expectations.

As well as emotional aspects, my childhood primary school experiences allowed me to sample educational approaches that ranged from the highly formal and desk-bound to actively free flowing and child-centred. When I applied for teacher training these personal experiences led me to the Roehampton Institute, where I studied at Froebel College. Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) was a German educational reformer who is widely associated with the words “play is a child’s work,” and focused on the education of young children, (he introduced the concept of ‘Kindergartens’ and coined the term as we use it today), offering a child centred and play-based curriculum. My understanding of child centred education led me to a life-long interest in child participation and active learning, in which the learner is facilitated in constructing new meaning from their educational experiences rather than passively

receiving information that has been pre-processed by adults and delivered by didactic teaching approaches within the context of a fixed curriculum.

I come from a background of feminism and this has fed into my belief in the participation rights of children (The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989), and a concern to address power issues inherent in engagement of children in research. It is for this reason I developed a research design that placed the focus on a group of co-researchers of approximately the same age as those who had agreed to participate in this research.

I identify myself as a social constructionist, and accept the ontological assumption associated with this position that reality is not absolute, but is socially constructed and that therefore multiple realities exist that develop or fade depending on time and context (Mertens, 2010). Part of the construction of one's own social reality in school, aided by discussions, observations, and communications with others, is the acknowledgement that if we adopt the stance that children are active learners, interacting with their environments and the people within those environments, they are going to develop understandings that are associated with the 'hidden curriculum'. The hidden curriculum is described by Haralambos and Holborn (1991) as those things learnt by pupils through their experience of attending school, rather than stated educational objectives that are intentionally taught. This includes "implicit messages relating to knowledge, values, norms of behaviour and attitudes that learners experience in and through educational processes" (Skelton, 1997, p. 188) and may also involve learning things about their teachers of which the teacher may not have intended to share and of which they may not even be aware.

This summary of my personal beliefs, I believe, is important, as this has had significant impact on my identity as a researcher. Pat Sikes notes that

Ideally people work on research which, in all its dimensions, accords with their beliefs and values and which matches their philosophical position/s with regard to ontology, epistemology and human nature and agency. When this happens researchers can believe in what they are doing and maintain their integrity. (2006, p. 107).

In practice, maintaining integrity is not always straightforward, and requires reflexivity to identify and overcome those personal and professional beliefs that may limit the research itself (Willig, 2013).

1.4 The nature of childhood and children's participation

Theories of the nature of childhood and the rights of children are both relevant for my research. Constructs of childhood have developed across the centuries, ranging from the concept of children as undergoing a developmental process through which they become adults, to the current perspective that childhood is a state of 'being' in its own right, and not simply a stage on the route to becoming adult (James & Prout, 1997; Uprichard, 2008). Developmental psychologists such as Piaget (1896-1980) maintained that children pass through stages on the way to adulthood, whilst Vygotsky (1896-1934), proposed a social constructivist model of child development, with Burman (2016) reflecting a greater emphasis on the impact of the social and cultural environment in which the child lives. In recognising that children learn through social interaction with peers and adults in their environment, and actively engage in experiences relevant to their development and interests, I am adopting a

social constructionist perspective of childhood. This does not mean that I reject the reality of the physiological development of children as they grow and age, but rather that the concepts, theories, and assumptions that are made about children, for example, the nature of childhood, when childhood begins and ends, how children should behave and their degree of agency, are subject to the social context and culture in which the children live. Furthermore, I am of the view that children should be considered as capable of independence, and are, for the most part, resilient and assertive. It is our responsibility to provide opportunities for them to be so.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) conferred protection rights, provision rights and participation rights, subject to beliefs about the nature of childhood, the culture and circumstances of the different countries in which the children live. The social construction of childhood has implications for those seeking to determine the ages at which children should participate fully in the society to which they belong. If they are seen as people who actively learn and are capable of making and expressing judgements and are social actors in their own right, (James & Prout, 1997; Prout, 2002), then children should be valued for themselves, no matter how different their contributions are from those of adults (James, 1999). This has implications for research that seeks to understand children and their perspective of the world, or the subjects that have direct relevance to children's lives. It is my strong belief that such research should ideally only be undertaken with informed and direct participation of the children themselves.

Kellett (2005) observed that there is a growing awareness that children are capable of research in relation to their own lives (see also Kellett, Forrest, Dent, & Ward, 2004). As the impact of teacher emotion seemed to me to be a prime example of a topic which had the potential to directly affect children, I placed an emphasis on

children's participation in the design for the research. This will be discussed more fully as this thesis develops.

1.5 Emotional development and emotional competencies

It seems appropriate at this point to briefly consider what is understood of the concept of 'emotion' in the context of this research, and the expectations that we might have of the emotional competence of children in middle childhood.

Research related to the nature of emotions largely falls into two dominant positions – social constructionism and naturalism (Ratner, 1989), and scientists are continuing to debate the nature of emotions and of emotional development (Hoemann, Xu, & Barrett, 2019; Izard, 1977b). For example, naturalism, according to the literature, posits that there are a series of discrete emotions (Ekman, 1992; Izard, 2007) which are universal within the human condition, and as “having evolutionary old neurobiological substrates, as well as an evolved feeling component and capacity for expressive and other behavioural actions of evolutionary origin.” (Izard, 2007, p 261). In contrast, rather than regard emotions as innate, social constructionists consider that the undifferentiated affective states experienced by infants, such as distress, pleasure, calmness, or tiredness, are honed into differentiated emotional responses as “children learn to experience and perceive emotions in culture-specific ways” (Hoemann et al., 2019, p 1830). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

However, both naturalistic and constructivist perspectives do agree that instances of emotion categories such as joy are relatively similar in physical and in perceptual features. In addition, most emotion theories posit that there are a number of components to emotions, albeit with differing emphases over the sequence and

relative importance of these components in the experience of emotion (Moors, 2009). Within education research, the theoretical model of emotion underlying individual studies is not always clear (Uitto, Jokikokko, & Estola, 2015), and I believe reflects assumptions of a common understanding of the theoretical basis of 'emotion', as studies examine discrete emotions, or group emotions into 'positive' or 'negative' without necessarily expanding on their understanding of the concept of emotion.

My epistemological stance within the context of this research extends to a social constructionist view of emotions, in which children and adults have personal constructs of emotions. These constructs may have many commonalities with other members of their cultures and communities, dependent upon their own experiences and those shared with people around them, including a shared language and culture which influences expression of emotion. However, language and cognition have a role in the social construction of emotion. Caregivers use words to describe their interpretation of the emotional state of the babies and young children in their care, and children naturally observe and listen to caregivers and others in their environments in their incidental use of language (Hoemann et al., 2019). It is hypothesised that words may encourage infants to assemble emotion categories and use the resultant concepts through which to perceive and experience emotion (Feldman Barrett, 2006). Children as young as two have been found to be able to discriminate between stereotypical facial expressions and infer emotional meaning when asked to categorise them with emotion words, and ability to distinguish and infer discrete emotion from facial expressions continues to develop throughout childhood (see Widen, (2016) for a review of more than a dozen studies in this area).

I have found the term emotional competence most useful in framing the emotion-related skills that children need to develop as they mature. Emotional competence is a broad term applied to different types of emotion-related skills (Garner, 2010), including awareness of emotions, ability to use and understand emotion-related language, knowledge of facial expressions, ability to attribute emotional facial expressions to situations that give rise to them, knowledge of the cultural rules governing the expression of emotion, and skills of managing emotion displays and regulating the intensity of emotion. Emotional competence differs from Emotional Intelligence (Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2000), in that the latter reduces the importance of culture and social context and presents the acquisition of competencies as an individualistic endeavour which does not sit comfortably within a social constructionist paradigm.

Although much of the current research on development of emotions has focussed on the early years, children progress in development of emotional competencies throughout their childhood and into adulthood, with different skills becoming apparent at different ages. For young children, emotion knowledge is more concrete, with heavy reliance on observable features. Their emotion expression and emotion regulation are less well-developed and require more support and reinforcement from their social environment (for example, their family and carers). As they progress through primary school, children develop their ability to discuss emotions, talking about their own emotional state and to offer explanations of emotion-related situations (Saarni, 2011). Saarni (ibid) argues that, as children mature, their ability to integrate not only situational information but also that arising from their prior experience or knowledge, and history when inferring what others may be feeling. Their discernment of emotions and knowledge of more complex and simultaneous

emotional presentation develops as they get older, along with their ability to express their thoughts and feelings. Insight into the emotions of others grows through interaction and as the child gains greater understanding of their own emotions, experience, ability to empathise with others, and the capacity to understand the causes of emotions and their behavioural consequences.

At ages 9 to 11, when children educated in England are in the final years of primary school, although the emotional competence of individuals differs, I would expect all children to be able to contribute to a conversation about emotions, as suggested in the literature, at levels appropriate to their individual abilities (Beck, Kumschick, Eid, & Klann-Delius, 2012) and desire to contribute (Andersen, Evans, & Harvey, 2012).

1.6 Teacher emotion and the school context

It has been argued that children in Primary School spend more of their awake time with teachers than with their parents (Barnard, Adelson, & Pössel, 2017), and that is certainly more believable during term time, when schools are open. Furthermore, primary aged children spend a significant amount of time in their classrooms, often with one teacher, for the majority of their working week, and these are interactive settings which are full of emotions. As Hargreaves (2000) asserts:

Teachers, learners and leaders all, at various times, worry, hope, enthuse, become bored, doubt, envy, brood, love, feel proud, get anxious, are despondent, become frustrated, and so on. Such emotions are not peripheral to people's lives; nor can they be compartmentalized away from action or from rational reflection within these lives. (p. 812) .

Emotions are important in the school environment and other contexts, because they are an integral part of our wellbeing (Becker, Goetz, Morger, & Ranellucci, 2014), and this applies equally to teachers and the children they teach. However, cumulatively there is little research on the topic of teacher's emotions, perhaps because historically teaching has mostly been viewed as a cognitive activity, and research has tended to focus on such elements as teaching skills, pedagogy and content knowledge (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003).

Given our knowledge of the emotional competency of even very young children, I believe that it is unlikely that the emotional state of the teacher goes unnoticed within the classroom, or that children are oblivious to all of the consequences arising from their teacher's emotional states. This is the central premise underlying my research. My interest is such that I have sought to explore the awareness and understanding that both children and teachers have about the impact of teacher emotions.

1.7 Approaches to research and methodology

My ontological position is one of relativism, and I am approaching this research with a social constructionist epistemological stance. As already noted, I believe that emotions are a product of the interaction between a person and their social and physical environment, informed by shared communications and experiences, and that there is no single reality or truth. These realities require some interpretation in order to ascertain the nature of what is known, and the underlying meaning of the events and experiences of the participants in this research.

I have chosen an exploratory research design, enabling an in-depth investigation into the impacts of teacher emotions through collaboration with co-researchers and

interviews with child and teacher participants. By utilising grounded theory principles (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) within a social constructionist paradigm (Charmaz, 2008) in the analysis, there will be maximum opportunity for the participants' voices to be heard and appropriately represented. By working together with a group of co-researchers in the same academic year groups as the children who participated and were interviewed, my aim was to create a research design which fostered an enhanced level of participation and partnership in the exploration of this topic. The reflexive approach adopted throughout this research is intended to highlight, and account for, my assumptions, beliefs and biases which I have brought to the research (Mertens, 2010).

1.8 The focus and purposes of this research

The focus of this research is on the impact of teacher emotions and exploring this from the child's perspective is both new and innovative. Most research in this area relies on self-reporting by teachers, and those studies that have involved children chose to do so by use of questionnaires restricted by closed questions and response through rating scales (Becker, Keller, Goetz, Frenzel, & Taxer, 2015; Frenzel, Goetz, Lüdtke, Pekrun, & Sutton, 2009). My expectation was that children would have some knowledge and understanding of emotions and be able to communicate their knowledge freely if given the opportunity and desire to do so within the context of the research (Kellett, 2005). Engagement of teacher participants was undertaken as I felt that a balance of perspectives would add value and enable exploration of the commonalities in perspective of different types of emotional events in the classroom attributable to the teacher. In methodological terms, working in partnership with

children as co-researchers in this research both made sense in terms of my perception of children as social actors who ethically should at least guide, if not lead, research into areas that have the potential to have a profound impact on their time in school.

The purposes of my research were related to an interest in exploring:

- Children's insights into the emotional life of their teachers in their school context, including the observed or experienced ramifications of their teacher's emotions.
- Teachers' perceptions and understanding, both in relation to their own emotions and the impact that those emotions have on the children that they teach.
- The value added through the process of working collaboratively with children in this researching this area.

1.9 Outline of following chapters

In Chapter 2 an overview of theories of childhood and child participation is presented. Chapter 3 offers a critical review of the literature, beginning with an explanation of the purpose of the literature review, followed by an overview of theories of emotion, the function of emotions and emotion labels. The remainder of the chapter focuses on a systematic review of literature reflecting what is known about children's emotional development and emotional competence, classroom emotional climate, and teachers' emotions in the classroom, before ending with student observations and the development of the research question. My research aims to bring both children's knowledge of emotions and impact of teacher emotions

together to enhance our understanding of this area. The chapter concludes with the research questions developed through consideration of the literature and discussion with co-researchers.

Chapter 4 describes our research strategy, the rationale for the methodology and a discussion of different models of grounded theory. It also provides a critical discussion of participant selection and the methods chosen for collecting and analysing the data. In Chapters 5 to 7 I firstly present and then discuss the findings associated with the research questions and other, unexpected findings arising from the analysis of the data using grounded theory principles. I conclude with Chapter 8 where I present implications of this research and make recommendations on that basis.

CHAPTER TWO – THEORIES OF CHILDHOOD AND THE HISTORY OF CHILD PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

This chapter seeks to provide an overview of the participation of children in society in general, and research in particular. The way that children, and their childhood is viewed by the society in which they live, is a key part of this. The chapter begins with the history of child participation and the nature of childhood (2.1) and goes on to explore researching from a child-centred perspective (2.2).

2.1 History of children’s participation

Increasing the participation of children in a variety of social and institutional contexts has largely been driven by several influences.

1. The recognition that childhood is a social rather than a biological construction (James & Prout, 2015).
2. The increased attention paid to children’s rights since the implementation of the UNCRC in 1989.
3. The recognition of children as “social actors” in their own right
4. Their concomitant recognition as consumers, or “users” of services
5. This in turn has led to a growing recognition that an ethnographic approach to social research is more compatible with a child-centred perspective than traditional positivistic research frameworks.

The role of research mirrors constructs of childhood as it seeks to challenge or confirm assumptions made in different social and historical periods (Kellett, 2014).

2.1.1 The nature of childhood

The concept of childhood has evolved over the last few hundred years, during which time it has been shaped by diverse cultures, theories and politics. Kellett (2014) also noted that “Conceptions of childhood change and are rooted in their own times and cultures” (p. 16).

Early Western conceptualisations of childhood have been attributed to the 17th century, when images of childhood were dominated by Puritan dogma (Hendrick, 1997). Puritans considered children to be innately evil and to have been born with “original sin” that had to be purged from them. John Locke (1632-1704) was an English philosopher who challenged this view, arguing that children were a product of their environment and experiences. He held the image of children being born as ‘blank slates’ who, with the right education and environment, could become responsible adults. The emphasis was on ‘becoming’ adult, rather than on ‘being’ children.

By the 18th century, the religious dogma had been replaced with secular discourse (Kellett, 2014). The dominant view of childhood (of the wealthy, at least) was of a time of innocence, during which children needed to be saved from corruption and could be moulded into responsible adults. Any wrongdoing could be attributed to the corrupting influence of society, as children were born pure and naturally good. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Genevan philosopher, continued with this idyllic view, arguing that children needed a natural environment where they could develop at their own pace. By the 19th century the wealthy had consolidated this romantic notion in relation to their own children, advocating that childhood was to be enjoyed and protected. At the same time, when children’s books and illustrations were reflecting

the wonderful beauty and innocence of childhood, the West, including the UK, produced a factory routine which allowed “terrific exploitation, long hours and dangerous working conditions of masses of working class children” (Fass, 2013, p. 4). Poor working-class families had children as young as five working and contributing to family incomes, and mill owners, taking advantage of the low wages, constructed spinning machines in the cotton industry that were designed for tiny fingers to operate and clean. The harsh economic realities of the lives of most poor families did not leave space for protecting their children when their contribution to family finances was essential.

Extensive social reform and subsequent child labour legislation brought significant changes to modern constructions of childhood. For example, the Mines Act in 1842 which banned children under ten from working was closely followed in 1844 by the Factories Act, reducing child working hours by half. The introduction of compulsory schooling served, in 1880, to significantly reduce the number of child labourers in the United Kingdom. (Kellett, 2014).

The constructs of childhood were reappraised in the period following the first world war, when children were increasingly being seen as the ‘future of the nation’, to be emotionally treasured, enjoyed and protected. Childhood was perceived as a period when children were considered to have their own mental, physical and emotional needs, and this brought about a major shift in preserving and protecting them. When state funded education was brought in, local authorities decided what was taught, how, and for how long (Hendrick, 1997). This, along with research on children, Hendrick (ibid) asserts, was influenced by politics and fuelled by educational reformers, and was characterised by distinct theories and practices, such as the universality of childhood and need for education and discipline.

From the perspective of developmental psychology at this time, childhood was viewed in terms of preparation for adulthood but was then divided into age-graded developmental stages (made more convenient by school attendance) which were examined in more depth (Kellett, 2014). Average ability was analysed for each stage and tools developed for defining what was considered “normal”. The school system presented then, as it does today, opportunities for the study of childhood with ready-made, convenient samples of participants where research techniques can be deftly employed (James, 1999; Kellett, 2014).

Jean Piaget's (1896-1980) work has been pivotal in outlining stages of cognitive development in childhood. He maintained that all children passed through this sequence of stages, although acknowledged this occurred at different rates. His work has been criticised, although Kellett et al (2004) argue that:

Much of Piaget's work has been misunderstood and there is often a failure to credit him with emphasising a child's active role in his or her cognitive development ... What such critiques fail to acknowledge is that Piaget had a deep respect for children. He listened to them closely and did not belittle their explanations as examples of inferior (non-adult) ways of thinking. (p. 31)

More recently, theory relating to developmental psychology has been increasingly influenced by social constructionism and feminist theory. The history of social construction of child development first emerged through the work of Leo Vygotsky (1896-1934). They proposed a social constructivist model of child development, with an emphasis on the socially interactive nature of learning (Burman, 2016). However, Vygotsky was also concerned with the role of adult models of thought, as exemplified in their ‘zone of proximal development’. This is the term Vygotsky gave to the gap

between what a child can achieve alone and what can be achieved with adult support. Burman (2016) notes that there has been a shift in focus from understanding the individual, towards a greater emphasis of the impact of interpersonal, cultural, historical and political contexts within which childhood is situated. Forrester (1999) discusses an “emerging anti-developmentalism” (p. 305), by which they meant that the understanding of any aspect of development must be embedded in a thorough comprehension of contemporaneous social practices. The most significant of these is language. The social construction of childhood must be understood through the lens of the language used to define it, as “in essence, within a socially constructed world there are no constraints and childhood is not viewed in any precise, identifiable form” (Kellett, 2014, p. 21).

My research builds upon social constructionism in order to develop insights into the complexities of children’s emotional awareness and understanding of teacher emotion within their ‘working’ environment, at a stage in their development where they are preparing for transition to secondary education and are in the beginning of entering adolescence.

The social construction of childhood extends to the definition of ‘child’ by their age. By the beginning of the twentieth century, childhood in the United Kingdom included not only infancy and the period between 6 and 10 years old, as it had in earlier times, but extended to children between 10 and 14 years old. In the second half of the twentieth century, “childhood” also applied to teenagers. The UNCRC and The Children Act 1989 defined a child as someone under the age of 18 years. However, in the UK children have certain legal rights and responsibilities before that age. For example, the age of culpability for criminal acts remains at 10 years, at 16 years old people can marry albeit with permission from parents, at 17 years can hold a UK

driving licence for cars, tractors and motorbikes, although at 13 years a person is permitted to drive a tractor unsupervised on farmland. Children can drink alcohol in private from the age of 5 years, consume beer and wine with a meal in a restaurant from 16 years and can purchase their own alcoholic beverages from age 18. The scope of schools and educational establishments has extended so that young people must now be in education or training until the end of the academic year in which they are 18 years old (Education and Skills Act 2008). In contrast, there is no legal age at which children cannot be left in the care of other children: this is a value judgement based on the perceived maturity of the carer. Thus, in England, young children are considered to be responsible for their actions and capable of fulfilling a caring role, whilst at the same time they are deemed incapable of exercising responsibility until they are eighteen years of age.

2.1.2 Children's rights in relation to participation in society

The social construction of childhood extends to theorising about the age, or stage of development by which the child is considered able to participate in society as citizens. The right of children to participate is embedded in the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989), reflecting changes in the ways in which children are viewed in this respect (see Appendix A). However, Hill and Tisdall (2014) point out that "in the past decades, the moral coinage of rights has been applied to children, typically by adults on children's behalf." (p.21) and the UNCRC was no exception to this. Children were not consulted in the process of developing the convention, which confers a comprehensive set of economic, cultural, social and political rights on them. It also states that children's best interests are to

be a primary consideration for policy and decision makers and that the evolving capacity of children must be factored into law and policy. The UNCRC has undoubtedly had a significant impact on the way that children are viewed, and in their ability to participate and for their voices to be heard. However, it is left to adults to interpret the UNCRC and to make judgements about the broad definition of children's interests, the extent to which these interests are represented by the children themselves, and what form this representation takes. When applying Articles 12 and 13 (which require that children's views should be sought and given due weight in all matters affecting them), the UNCRC paved the way for children to voice their opinions on activities and decisions that shape their lives. The circumstances in which this takes place, and who is selected to 'represent' children's perspective remains ultimately in the hands of adults, where the fundamental power imbalance must surely have an impact. This context is one in which many adults remain anxious or even hostile about extending children's power and influence (Hill & Tisdall, 2014), perhaps mistakenly believing that it will result in children doing exactly what they want. 'Children' are a highly diverse group of people, and being young is only one small factor that makes them who they are (Hadfield & Haw, 2001). Gender, class, ability and disability, family structure and other characteristics crucially effect children's experiences, self-perceptions and treatment by others (Hill & Tisdall, 2014, p.3).

Never the less, despite these criticisms, the biggest research understandings of childhood have emerged in the wake of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) in the 'new sociology of childhood' (James & Prout, 1997).

2.1.3 Children as social actors

The term 'social actor' in this context refers to a view of childhood as a political-cultural construction, and of children as subjects who participate in their own representation, and in that way, actively construct their own 'childhood'. This contradicts the perspective of seeing adults as the 'human beings' – the responsible, rational and able members of society, whilst children are conceptualised as 'human becomings', still undergoing development and education and who are not fully formed members of society (James & Prout, 1997; Qvortrup, 2005).

Uprichard (2008) argues that simply being a child involves having a past, present and future. They comment that the 'being' child is an actor in their own right, whilst Qvortrup (2004), asserts that "it was not merely psychologists and parents who were looking forward to adulthood on behalf of 'the child'; also children were anticipating adulthood in ways that contributed to forming their childhood in the here and now" (p. 269). In my view this contributed to the dissolution of the dichotomy of the 'being' child as opposed to the 'becoming' child, in that the reality of children's lives is that they are both being children and becoming adult, and both are relevant and add to the richness of their state of childhood.

The concept of children and young people as social actors, leads to the conclusion that they have agency in their own lives and are increasingly accepted as valued members of society in their own right, rather than being held to adult standards of development, rationality or communication (James & Prout, 1997; Prout, 2002).

In 1999, James commented that there was a growing recognition that "children were just different ...what children meant was what they said ... nor was it a problem that these meanings might not be congruent with those of the adult world." (p.239).

This more empowering view of children and childhood is increasingly translating into purposeful engagement with adults in exploring their world, and a growing body of evidence that demonstrates children's capacity for both conceptualising and executing research (Coppock, 2011; Kellett et al., 2004; Uprichard, 2008).

2.1.4 Children as consumers and service users

Children are major consumers and users of public services such as health, welfare, education institutions and the environment (Hawkins, 2016). According to Keatinge et al (2002) a consumer is "someone who is getting something, perhaps without choice, and will have something to say if he or she does not like what they are getting." (p. 16). Following on from the UNCRC, the agency and voice of the child have increasing importance for policymakers and practitioners in relation to public services. However, whilst adult consumers generally have a right to express their views on services and goods, children's right to reply in response to involvement with good participation with services is relatively limited. Hawkins (2016) expressed concern that "children find themselves displaced as consumers in societal, economic, political and social policies, where their voice is often unheard." (p. 2). Despite periodic efforts to be informed by children's views, Hawkins (ibid) observed that the voice of adults "are very often used as a substitute for children's consumption of products and services, which does not necessarily reflect the experiences or views of children as consumers in their own right." (p. 2)

Although this research is not focussed so much upon consumerism in the sense described by Keatinge et al (2002), the sensitivity of children to the nuances of the

'service' they receive from adults in their school environment must surely be part of the totality of their experience as consumers and therefore worth investigating.

2.2 Researching from a child-centred perspective

While researching the child's perspective of a topic, as opposed to an adult adopting the perspective of a child (Nilsson et al., 2015) it is helpful to consider the nature of the children's participation in research (2.2.1) and the voice of the child (2.2.2).

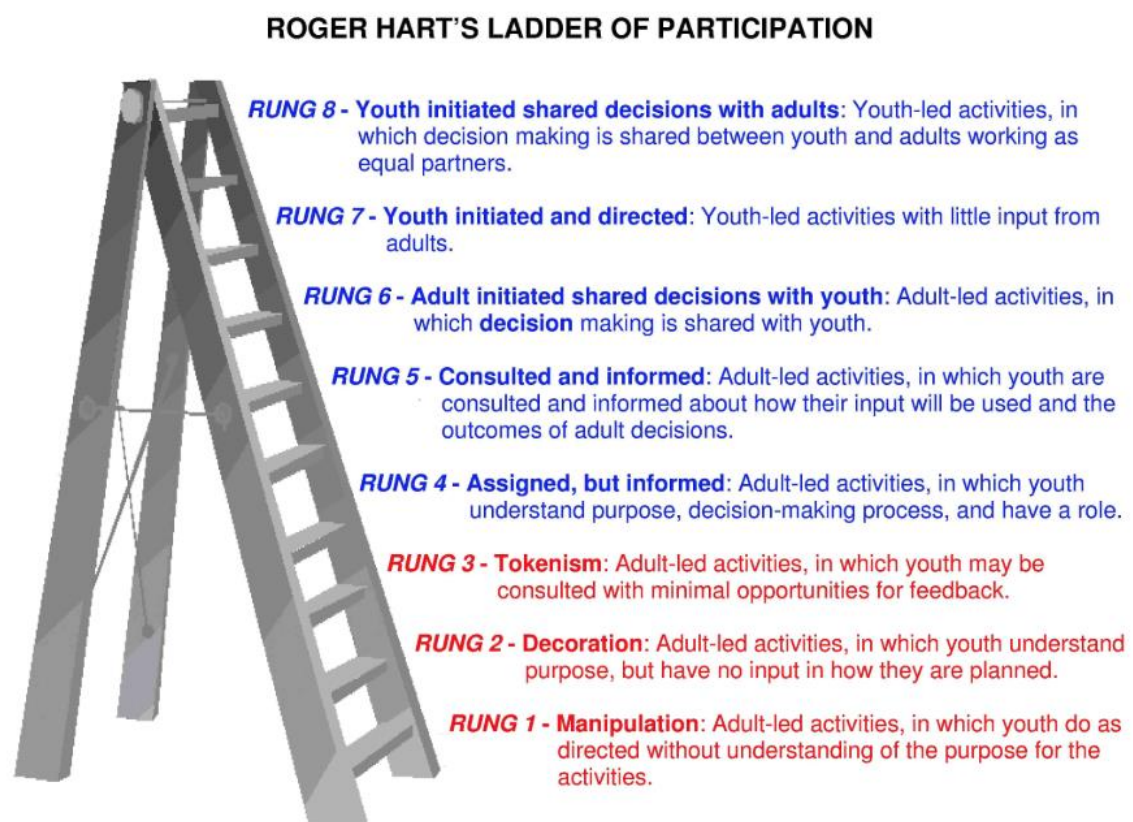
2.2.1 Children's participation in research

Children have been traditionally viewed as 'objects' of research, with adults studying and interpreting their lives (Alderson & Morrow, 2004). However, there is an increasing awareness that children can research their own lives (Kellett, 2005; Kellett et al., 2004) and should therefore be actively involved in conversations that directly impact them.

Participation is defined by the Cambridge Dictionary (2021) as "the fact that you take part or become involved in something". In my view, the breadth of this definition of participation has contributed to ambiguity when discussing participation of children. As explored above, Articles 12 and 13 of the UNCRC (1989), promote the rights of children to be consulted, involved and informed of decisions that impacted them, and this has in turn facilitated the development of participatory and proactive models of engagement with children. The extent of participation and how 'real' this has been the subject of much debate. Kellett (2014) notes that the participation agenda has developed in three stages, namely listening, consulting and involving children directly in decision making. In 1969, Sherry Arnstein used the metaphor of a ladder to

describe the gradations of general citizen participation in urban programmes and development decision that impacted on their lives, and created a theoretical model of citizen participation comprising 8 steps (Arnstein, 1969). Roger Hart drew on this model in 1992, when they made what is considered to be the first attempt to theorise the participation of children in issues impacting upon their lives. Hart’s “Ladder of Children’s Participation” (Hart, 1992) is also constructed of eight rungs, the lowest three classified as non-participation (see figure1. below) and the remaining five describing increasing levels of participation.

Figure 1: Roger Hart’s ‘ladder of participation’



Adapted from Hart, R. (1992). Children’s Participation from Tokenism to Citizenship. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, as cited in www.freechild.org/ladder.htm

The next four rungs become increasingly empowering, while the highest rung is reserved for child initiated, shared decisions with adults. Whilst being used as a

yardstick to measure degree of participation by schools and other institutions (Hart, 2008), the model has come in for some criticism. Treseder (1997) critiques the failure to acknowledge any cultural contexts, pointing out that children participate to different degrees depending on the societal context in which they live. Reddy and Ratna (2002) criticise the hierarchical structure and also comment that “Roger Hart’s Ladder of Participation has actually been rather misleading as it more aptly describes the role of adults viz a viz children’s participation, rather than the levels of participation of children.” (p.4). These criticisms were answered (Hart, 2008) by pointing out that the original theoretical model had been developed and presented “to stimulate a dialogue on a theme that needed to be addressed critically” (p. 19), and had not been intended to be adopted wholesale in the way that it had been, as a tool used by institutions and public bodies wishing to position themselves in relation to child participation.

Kellett (2014) argues that adults may have good intentions but the reality of children’s participation may differ. She comments that “there is a gap between the rhetoric and reality of meaningful participation that I would argue is best understood through young people’s own lived experiences.” (p. 26). This reinforces the view of Reddy and Ratna (2002) when they note that the role of adults ranges from resisting participation by children to facilitating their meaningful participation and ultimately accepting children as partners. Adults, they say, “play these roles consciously and unconsciously and their roles could vary depending on the situation and the children they are with.” (p. 4).

Although Shier (2001) acknowledges the influence of Hart’s model on their own, Shier’s (ibid) model does not include any equivalent of the first three non-participatory rungs of Hart’s Ladder. They remark that “many practitioners have

found this to be the most useful function of Hart's model: helping them to recognise, and work to eliminate, these types of non-participation in their own practice." (p.110)

Instead, Shier's model of participation intentionally focuses on adult roles rather than the status of children within projects. They framed questions for adults to ask themselves when planning or evaluating participatory projects, under the three headings of 'Openings', 'Opportunities' and 'Obligations'. Shier (ibid) based his model on five levels of participation, ranging from children being listened to, to sharing power and responsibility for decision making. They provided a simple question for each stage of each level. For example, when looking at the third level of participation, "Children's views are taken into account" at the opportunities level of commitment, the question is "Does your decision-making process enable you to take children's views into account?" (p. 111). Shier's intention is that by answering the questions, "the reader can determine their current position, and easily identify the next steps they can take to increase the level of participation." (p. 10).

Lansdown (2005), following their work in reviewing how Ugandan children were involved in investigating, hearing and handling child abuse cases within their community, offered a matrix for measuring participation. This matrix included ethics, how voluntary their engagement is, inclusion and the impact of projects undertaken, rated from 'none' to 'considerable impact'.

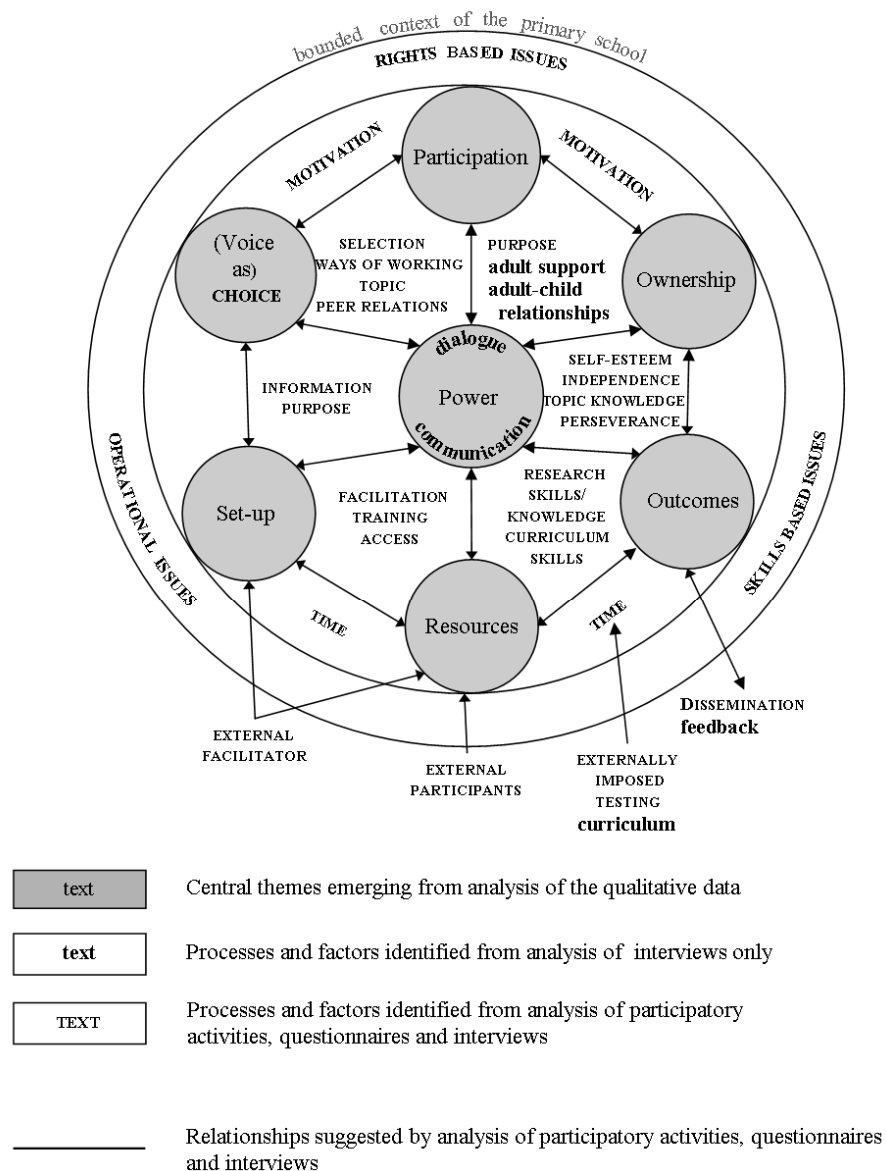
Kirby and Gibbs (2006) criticise all of these theoretical models on the basis that an individual task or initiative cannot be simply assigned to a single level of participation, because decision making power constantly shifts within projects and research, and within individual tasks themselves. In addition, Kirby and Gibbs (ibid) point out that:

The models stop short of identifying how children make decisions and take action, and how adult facilitators need to move fluidly between providing different kinds of support to groups of children and the individuals within those groups, at different times, in response to their needs. (p. 211).

This was in part addressed in the model formulated by Sue Bucknall (2009) as part of their doctoral studies on the subject of children as researchers. Working with five primary schools, they explored the issues and barriers in child directed research within primary schools, by asking both children and adults about their experiences of child directed research and analysing the data in the style of grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In the resulting theoretical model, Bucknall (ibid) placed power in the centre of a circular model of good practice for enabling children to work effectively as researchers in primary schools, emphasising its influence on every aspect of her model of child participation (See figure 2 below). The other six themes were participation, voice, ownership, resources, outcomes and set-up. This was the first model published using ideas and experiences of young researchers themselves (Lewis, 2015), which in itself is remarkable, given the lengthy rhetoric about children's rights and participation that had preceded it.

Bucknall and Kellett worked together at the Open University's Children's Research Centre, devising training programmes to teach research methodology to children. This model, and Kellett's work in particular have also been criticised, as it adopts a deficit approach to participation by assuming that children need to be taught research skills and adult ways of working (Malone & Hartung, 2009). Yet it is acknowledged that young children are natural researchers (Yardley, 2014), at least until adults within school and educational systems "start to take control of their

Figure 2: Bucknall's (2009) model of factors impacting on children as researchers in primary schools (p. 259)



learning, when opportunities for independent inquiry are neglected” (Lewis, 2015, p. 38). In my research, there was no structured training of the co-researchers. Although this may sound radical, I wanted to work together with the children as we thought about how to research how children of their age understood teacher emotion together, and the impact it has upon them. If this research was to challenge pre-conceptions about what children may think and feel, and how they react to events, then they must, in my view, be able to “develop and share their child’s eye view with

us” (Yardley, 2014, p. 51). My objective was to create a dialogue, unfettered as much as possible by preordained boundaries, in order to enable children to enrich our understanding and professional practice in relation to them (Davis, 1998). They did not disappoint, but instead discussed data collection through interview, stating categorically that questions were enough, and no further props (e.g., drawings or warm-up games) would be needed as there was a lot to say on the subject of teacher emotion. A recurring theme addressed by the co-researchers was also that of their status as ‘people’, and indeed the children being interviewed commented on their own maturity in relation to other children on several occasions. Pictures, opportunities to draw or other props were seen by the co-researchers as distractions that should not be required for young people of their age. I found that interesting, as much of the literature discussed facilitating children’s ability to participate meaningfully through deployment of participatory or ‘warm-up’ activities (Andersen et al., 2012; Clark, 2011; Lansdown, 2005). However, Alderson (2008) demonstrated some understanding of the co-researcher’s and my position when they expressed some concern about the way that methods promoting participation involving games may appear to be child friendly, but may disguise the crucial aspect of “the level at which adults share or hold back knowledge and control from children.” (p. 282)

2.2.2 The voice of the child

Data collection in this research occurred through interview with both children and adults. In this context, an interview “is considered to be a verbal interaction between two people.” (Dockrell, 2004, p.162). In my research I was one of the participants, seeking information about teacher emotions from the other participant involved in the

interview. Understanding the nature of the child's voice in this process is one of the key elements of the research.

Whilst participation is the act of both doing, and being involved, 'voice' is the right to freely express views that may, or may not, emanate from that participation (Kellett, 2014). This relates to Article 13 of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989 – see Appendix A).

The concept of 'voice' is itself quite a difficult one, and the term is open to multiple interpretations. One concept of 'voice' implies a passive role for children, for example, "giving children a voice", is a common phrase that implies that the powerful might bestow it upon young people. This calls into question whether 'giving' children a voice really does equate to working together, as when their views are 'allowed to emerge' (Hamill & Boyd, 2002, p. 116). There is no guarantee in this statement that children's voices will be listened to once given. Hendrick (2000) comments that children do not have an 'authorial voice' (p. 43) that enables them to challenge adult accounts, and there is an issue of the 'authenticity' of a voice that is only heard through adult conversations and actions (Thorne, 2002).

Another possible issue with the term 'child's voice' is that it is clear that no single child can speak for all children. Using the term can disguise a lack of recognition of "the diversity of voices, experiences and opinions" (Clark, 2005, p. 500). Members of a group may share a perspective whilst at the same time have a range of different views about what they know, want and need, and what action needs to be taken (Thomas, 2007).

In order to conduct credible research with children where *their* views are sought, researchers have to be explicit and transparent about what is reasonable and

feasible concerning 'child voice' This is because many researchers have constraints put upon them that means that their supporting of the promotion of an authentic child voice within the practical context of their research, for example, time, access to children, pre-specified agenda, detailed knowledge of what 'authentic' means in this context. There must, however, be a commitment to create the space required for children to exercise 'voice' in order to conduct participatory research (Lundy, 2007).

Lundy (2007) conceptualised 'voice' in four parts:

1. Space: Children must be given the opportunity to express a view
2. Voice: Children must be facilitated to express their views
3. Audience: The views must be listened to
4. Influence: The view must be acted upon as appropriate

This highlights the inefficiency of 'voice' operating in a vacuum, and Kellett (2014) comments that "researchers, educationalists and policy-makers need to be proactive rather than passive in providing for, and encouraging, children to express their views in safe spaces without fear of reprisal." (p. 27)

Fielding (2001) addresses some of the issues of power and control in his 9 point framework. For example, on the first, speaking, he asks four questions:

1. Who is allowed to speak?
2. To whom are they allowed to speak?
3. What are they allowed to speak about?
4. What language is encouraged / allowed?

The other eight areas addressed in his framework are: listening, skills, attitudes and dispositions, systems, organisational culture, space and making of meaning, action, and the future. Thomas (ibid) criticised the limitations of expression of student

'voice', about educational matters, and notes that "if either are allowed into the circle of discussion, the questions and concerns that are raised are invariably identified and framed by teachers for teachers" (p. 101). They also argue that students are primarily treated as sources of data rather than active agents of transformation. I feel privileged that schools, children and teachers were able to join with me in discussing teachers' emotions – a highly sensitive subject.

One of the key components of 'voice' is language, and it is important to understand that children's use and interpretation of words may differ from that of adults (Lansdown, 2005). In the modern world, researchers working with children are often interested in abstract concepts, such as learning, well-being, relationships and so on. These then have to be operationalized to devise situations that the researcher hopes will elicit what they consider relevant information. A key aspect of this is finding appropriate language that all participating children can understand as intended, which can be challenging (Porter, 2014). The words that researchers use must be understood so that both parties within the interview derive the same meaning from what is being said (Dockrell, 2004). However, where children are expressing their views, adults will need to allow the children their own interpretations of events or issues being explored, rather than to interpret for them and run the risk of pre-judging the meaning behind their communications (Lansdown, 2005). James (1999) has questioned how much researchers ascribe their own conceptions of the 'culture of childhood' when conducting their research 'with' children, and how far those cultures are "part of children's own conceptions of who they are - part of their own identity which, as a consequence, may shape children's relationships with adult researchers." (p. 240).

2.2.3 Summary

Three of the dominant theoretical models of child participation have been discussed, with combined coverage of non-participation (Hart, 1992) to completed child directed (Bucknall, 2012). The core issue is not only the willingness and capability of children to engage successfully in participatory activities, including research, but the extent to which adults are willing and able to concede power and open doors that enables younger people to access opportunities to conduct and manage enquiries and research into their own lives (Bucknall, 2012; Hart, 1992; Shier, 2001).

There has been an ongoing debate about the distribution of power in research with children, not least because published research is almost entirely achieved through facilitation, mediation, commitment and often initiation of adult researchers, much like myself, for example, seeking a higher degree or following an emancipation agenda in other forums.

The positioning of children in my research has proved complex. The children who participated in data collection by being interviewed are at Shier's (2001) level one, where they were listened to. Their decision making in the process was confined to consent and freedom to give as much or as little information as they wished. It is perhaps more accurate to describe these interviewees as having been consulted within this research, rather than participating. Consultation, as defined by The Cambridge English Dictionary (Dictionary 2021), is "the process of discussing something with someone in order to get their advice or opinion about it". This rather suggests that there is a dialogue taking place on equal footing between the interviewer and interviewee. However, in such a situation the power is held by the people seeking views is evident, and includes control over topics, methods, time-

frames and the use to which any views are subsequently put (Bucknall, 2009; Miller, 2003).

The group of co-researchers, however, accompanied me on my research journey, deciding how to conduct the interviews within boundaries set by the geographical location, research design that was predetermined prior to their recruitment, which included an undertaking that I would conduct all interviews personally, with both children and teachers.

Hearing the authentic 'voice' of children is a complex issue. The positioning of the researcher and the researched is one of the key factors on creating transparency necessary to offer realistic boundaries around the research and to clarify what is represented. My research is small in scale and builds on the individual views of fourteen children from two schools, and therefore does not pretend to represent the whole of UK childhood. It does, however, offer a model and insight into those children's understanding of emotion which can be extended on by myself and others in the future.

CHAPTER THREE- REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE RELATED TO EMOTION AND EDUCATION

“As an emotional practice, teaching activates, colours, and expresses the feelings and actions of teachers and those they influence.”

(Hargreaves, 2001, p. 1057)

3.1 Introduction and overview

The purpose of a literature review is to assist in indicating the significance and importance of the research topic, and seeks to share the results of other studies that are closely related to the current research (Creswell, 2009). Marshall and Rossman’s (2006) concept of the literature review as “a conversation between the researcher and the related literature.” (p. 4) has assisted in the organisation of this chapter.

This literature review will look at theories and research that can address the question of what children in Years 5 and 6 of primary education in the UK understand about the impact of teachers’ emotions. This involves consideration of the following:

- Current theories of emotion (3.2),
- Theories about the functions of emotions (3.3),
- The language used to describe emotions in emotion research in education (3.4),
- Children’s emotional development (3.5),
- Emotional competence in middle childhood (3.6),
- The emotional climate of the classroom (3.7)
- Teachers’ emotions in the classroom (3.8), and
- Student’s observations of teacher emotions (3.9).

Sections 3.2 to 3.5 offer a broad overview of the subject of emotions, to contextualize the review of the literature relating to teacher emotions (3.8), children's knowledge of emotions in middle childhood (3.6), the emotional climate of the classroom (3.7) and student's perspectives of teacher emotions (3.9). The chapter will finish with the development of the research questions (3.10).

Searches of the literature designed to address the above were carried out (See Appendix B) and the results of those searches will be discussed in this chapter.

The scope of the current research, which focuses upon what children understand about the impact of teachers' emotions, does not include extensive consideration of relationships and security of attachments, although I acknowledge that these factors are likely to influence the emotional experiences of both children and teachers, including those that are related to learning outcomes (Meyer & Turner, 2006; Stuhlman & Pianta, 2002). The current research focuses on the child-eye's view of teachers' emotions. To reiterate, the main aim of this research is to develop a greater understanding of the way in which teacher emotions impact on children's lives in school, particularly from the children's point of view, as consumers of the education system.

In order to conduct research about emotions, it is necessary to gain and understanding of what is understood by the concept of 'emotion'. The following section will explore current emotion theories focusing on those prevailing in education research.

3.2 Current theories of emotion

The precise nature of emotion has yet to be agreed amongst theorists (Hoemann et al., 2019; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003; Zembylas, 2007), and this extends into those conducting education research, where a number of theoretical stances have been adopted. This is important, as there should be a close link between the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of research being undertaken and the theoretical stance being adopted for the study of emotion in education. For example, a constructionist approach to emotion will lend itself to qualitative research, such as Andersen et al's study (2012) in which children's views were sought about their teacher's positive emotions. In contrast, those adopting quantitative methodology are likely to have a realist ontological viewpoint, for example, in which discrete emotions are considered as being experienced and manifested in a universal manner (and therefore are cross-cultural) and are intrinsically measurable, such as exemplified by the work of Ekman (1973, 1993).

Therefore, I will begin this chapter with a discussion of the dominant theories of emotion and with reference to those that are currently prevalent amongst researchers in education, and which have relevance for those studies included in this review of literature.

3.2.1 Basic emotion theories

I placed basic emotion theory first in this review of relevant emotion theories in education research only because of its place in history.

Basic emotion theories contend that there are a number of basic emotions, such as anger, fear, joy, disgust, surprise and sadness (Ekman, 1992). The number varies between 6 and 14 discrete emotions, depending on the theorist (Scherer, 2000) all of which have their own specific conditions for being elicited and which manifest in predictable expressive, physiological and behavioural patterns. These discrete emotions are considered both innate and universal, regardless of culture (Ekman, 1973). This concept, which can be traced back to Charles Darwin, has been popularised by Ekman (Ekman, 1973, 1992, 1993) and Izard (Izard, 1977b, 1977a, 2007), who have worked to obtain empirical evidence for early ontogenetic onset, prototypical facial expressions and the universality of those patterns. The idea of discrete basic emotions is supported by the fact that there are a number of verbal labels that are used with high frequency, such as anger, joy, sadness and fear (Scherer, 2000), which describe conceptual or prototypical emotions which are found in the majority of cultures. However, the concept of universality has been challenged, for example, by Gendron and colleagues (Gendron, Roberson, & Barrett, 2015), who suggest that ways in which participants were taught Western emotion categories prior to being presented with stimuli (such as photos, vocalisations or vignettes) “constrains participants’ response options, thus limiting the ability to discover cross cultural variation” (p. 358). They found that spontaneous and unrestricted responses revealed a variation in emotion perception processes.

Other theories, in common with basic emotion theory, consider emotions to be made up of a number of elements or components, and those will be considered in the next section.

3.2.2 Multicomponent theories of emotion

Most theorists agree that emotions, whether viewed as processes or states, involve a number of components (Frijda, 1986; Scherer, 2000), with differences in the detail and emphasis on the components varying according to theory. Scherer (2000) provided a working definition that they believed was gathering consensus in the literature as follows:

Emotions are episodes of coordinated changes in several components (including at least neurophysiological activation, motor expression, and subjective feeling but possibly also action tendencies and cognitive processes) in response to external or internal events of major significance to the organism. (p.138).

Although written over twenty years ago, their assessment of commonalities underpinning emotional theories remains relevant to current debates on the nature of emotion. This is reflected in educational research, where many researchers in emotions in education also conceptualise emotions as being multicomponential processes (Buckley, Storino, & Saarni, 2003; Burić, Slišković, & Macuka, 2018; Frenzel et al., 2016; Schutz, Hong, Cross, & Osbon, 2006). The key components that feature in emotion theories are:

1. Appraisal – a cognitive evaluation and judgement of the environment around the individual in terms of the personal well-being of that individual.

Multicomponent theories posit that emotional processes begin with an appraisal or judgment of a situation or event. This involves some interpretation of the significance of this event for the individual's motivation, their goals or their concerns (Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003; Lazarus, 1991b).

2. Motivation – the tendency to or readiness for action, which is often termed ‘action tendency’ or ‘action readiness’ in the literature (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). These refer to the impulses for action experienced alongside the experience of emotions, for example, responding with aggression when angry. It is these tendencies to respond which are addressed through emotion regulation (Gross, 2014) or emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983).
3. Motor – resulting in expressive and functional behaviour. Emotion expression includes facial expression, which change in predictable and recognisable ways when emotions are experienced (Ekman, 1993; Izard, 1977b), for example the production of tears when sad. Some physiological changes and nonverbal expressions of emotions, including facial expressions, are consciously felt by teachers and observed by their students. Sutton and Wheatley (2003) comment that students’ behaviour may be influenced by their observations of teachers’ facial expressions and the conclusions they draw about their teacher’s emotional state (p. 331).
4. Physiological – changes within the body, such as changes in blood pressure, body temperature or heart rate (Scherer, 2009).
5. Subjective experience – drawing on the individual’s prior experience and personal internal feelings. Sutton and Wheatley (2003) view the subjective experience of emotions as “a distinct type of private mental state. Thus, joy does not feel like surprise, sadness, anger, or fear.” (p. 330). That is to say, the components of emotion are experienced as personal, internal processes.

These components are often present and acknowledged in other theories, although the relative importance of components may differ. For example, in Pekrun’s (2006) Control-Value Theory of Achievement Emotions, motivation and appraisal,

particularly in relation to goal attainment, are dominant components. In Pekrun's (ibid) theory, 'achievement emotions' are grouped by their valence (pleasant or unpleasant), the degree of activation (activating or deactivating), and object focus (activity or outcome), and propose a three-dimensional taxonomy of emotions related to achievement. Examples of these are pleasure in learning or teaching, pride (positive activating emotions), relief, relaxation (positive deactivating emotions), anxiety, irritation (negative activating emotions), and boredom and hopelessness (negative deactivating emotions). These emotions all have a function with regard to achievement activities, or to achievement outcomes within the school environment, and are thus allied to motivation for learning.

3.2.3 Appraisal theory

The basic premise of all appraisal theory is that emotions are adaptive responses which reflect the individual's appraisal of factors in the environment that are important for the well-being of that individual (Moors, Ellsworth, Scherer, & Frijda, 2013). Appraisal theorists believe that emotion is a process, involving several components, the first of which is assessment. The other components include action tendencies, and motor, physiological and subjective experiences. Moors and colleagues (ibid) note that many other theories of emotion use the term 'appraisal' casually and agree that emotional processes begin with an 'appraisal' or judgement. However, Moors and colleagues posit that Appraisal theory differs from other theories that have an 'appraisal' component, as they emphasise that it is the recognition of the importance the role of appraisal has in the emotion process, and the influence that appraisal brings to bear on other components, that distinguishes

Appraisal theory from other emotion theories. In Appraisal theories, it is the individual's appraisal of an event, situation or potential outcome which determines the quality and intensity of the other emotion components, for example, the action tendency and behaviour (motor), subjective feelings and physiological responses (Lazarus, 1991). Lazarus (ibid) argued that there are primary and secondary appraisals. The initial, or primary, appraisal, is associated with how important the outcome or event is seen to be by the individual, so if the event or outcome is not perceived as important to a person, there is little scope for emotion (Schutz et al., 2006). Lazarus (1991) identified three features in the primary appraisal: goal relevance (is it important to the individual's goals?); goal congruence (are things going as the individual hoped they would?); and involvement of the ego (how much of the individual's personal identity is involved?). According to Lazarus, goal relevance is essential for experiencing and emotion, and is the extent to which the encounter, event or situation touches on personal goals. If the ensuing evaluation or judgement is congruent with the individual's goals, the emotions are positive. Negative emotions arise from incongruence. In education, some researchers argue that "goals, standards and beliefs are central organising constructs and represent the entry point for how we discuss the nature of emotions in education" (Schutz et al., 2006, p. 346). Thus, a teacher whose primary goal is for the quality of their teaching to be recognised through pupils doing well in a class test may feel happy to see pupils engaged in their work but may feel upset or frustrated when pupils are uncooperative and distracted from their task. The ego-involvement, according to Lazarus (ibid), is the degree that self-esteem is perceived by the individual to be affected, so if an individual's self-esteem is enhanced, they may feel pride, whereas if slighted, this may impact negatively on their social esteem and may give rise to

emotions such as anger. These initial appraisals, or judgements, can occur rapidly and without awareness (Hargreaves, 2001), and are vital for emotions to occur (Frijda, 2013) . As well as being dependent on the individual's ability to process information about their environment, they emerge from the individual's personal beliefs, experience, **culture** and context. Appraisal, or making judgements about our environment, is not a static event, but an iterative process, evolving with the situation, event and context in which they occur. Lazarus (1991) suggests that secondary appraisals are judgements that individuals make about their own ability in relation to the event, situation or potential outcome, and this influences which emotions the individual might experience. The cognitive areas that are seen to differentiate between potential emotions include: agency (Who is responsible?); problem efficacy (the individual's perceived ability in relation to the event, situation or outcome); or coping potential (the individual's confidence about being able to handle the event, situation or outcome). Schutz and colleagues (2006) give an example of a student in process of taking a test that is of some importance to student (goal importance), which is not going well (goal incongruence). If the secondary appraisal results in self-blame and low efficacy (for example, acknowledgement of lack of study and perceived inability to answer the set questions), the student is likely to feel increasingly anxious. If, however, their secondary appraisal results in them blaming their teacher for poor or incomplete curriculum delivery for their lack of preparedness, then the student is likely to feel angry.

Thus, appraisal theory explains why the same event or situation does not give rise to the same emotions, and why there may be individual differences between teachers in their emotional experience when children exhibit similar behaviour (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). For example, if pupils perform well in their class test, one teacher

may experience pride, perceiving this behaviour as a personal validation of their teaching ability, whilst another teacher may be emotionally unaffected and perceive the same achievements as entirely unremarkable.

Appraisal theory also offers an understanding the role of culture in emotion. Cultural differences are seen as a difference in the perceptions and interpretations of events or situations. **The culture of the individual informs their central values, goals and concerns and this forms the background upon which appraisals are formed** (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). In education, this means that if teachers and pupils are from different cultures and have a different appraisal of an event in the classroom, they are likely to experience different emotions. In our cognitive appraisal a person will draw on information from their environment, i.e., geographical information, content and actors involved in interaction and the person's previous experience, and these are likely to be embedded in both the macro and micro cultures in which the emotional episode occurs. For example, a student may be pleased that their parent has purchased a woolly hat to keep them warm on their walk to school. When the parent remarks, as the student is leaving for school, "I like your hat", that may elicit feelings of emotional warmth and happiness, and induce the student to smile. During the journey, the leader of a dominant peer group, who has previously bullied the student, may focus on the same garment and their comment of "I like your hat" may be perceived as a threat to safety, with resultant feelings of fear and anxiety. In the secure context of the school environment, surrounded by allies, the same comment by the bully may induce feelings of anger and desire to lash out, whilst a teacher's quiet comment on the same subject may recreate feelings of warmth and reassurance, but result in suppressed display of pleasure, as perhaps the student

believes that within the culture of their peers it is not considered 'cool' to accept compliments from school staff.

In appraisal theory the initial judgement or appraisal is the primary driver of the physiological, motivational, motor and subjective components of the individual's experience of an emotional episode, but this is not the case with all theories of emotion. Social constructionism, considered below, views the appraisal component as important, but not as the primary driver of our experiences of emotion.

3.2.4 Social constructionist theory of emotion

Social constructionists generally argue against any inborn or inherent characteristics, and instead hold that expressions of human emotions are constructed in response to personal interaction, social patterning, practices within the individual's family and culture, structures of institutions and the dynamics of power (McClure, 2010). When we are born, the theory holds, our personalities and feelings are undifferentiated, generalised and generic until they are given social and cultural meaning. The social constructionist theory of emotion does not deny that there are physiological and motor response components to emotions, but posits that these are secondary to the meaning that is conferred by the social and cultural contexts of the individual, in relation to both the interpretation of the event which elicits the emotion (appraisal) and "the role of the emotion reaction in the person's sense-making and social interaction." (Scherer, 2000, p. 149). Thus, the acquisition of meaning can occur through actions of carers and the individual's observations and reflections about their immediate environment and growing experience, **set within the cultural norms of their community.** Thus, individuals construct meanings about their world, driven by the

social interactions that they are party to, or observe, **within their socio-cultural context**, and they experience emotion and behave in accordance with those socially constructed meanings (Schutz, 2014). These constructed realities can be complex, multi-layered and subject to continual construction and reconstruction as the individual's information about the world around them changes. In relation to emotions, it is thought that "while the construction of emotion tends to be constrained by previous experience, socio-cultural understandings, and practices, the process of social construction is thought to take place in each emotional episode again and anew." (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012, p. 222).

Working from a social constructionist perspective, and working in education, Schutz and colleagues (2006) define emotion "as socially constructed, personally enacted ways of being that emerge from conscious and/or unconscious judgments regarding perceived successes at attaining goals or maintaining standards or beliefs during transactions as part of social-historical contexts." (p. 344). It is not simply exposure to social and cultural experiences that promotes **emotion perception and** meaning. McClure (2010) asserts that emotions and their meanings are **also** directly related to a person's place in the social order and to culture, and this is evaluated as part of the initial appraisal of the context in which the emotive situation arises. In schools the school culture, the age and developmental maturity of the actors and their roles (e.g., teachers hold more power than students) will all be of influence in determining the meanings and experiences of emotion. Notwithstanding the secondary nature of these components within the theory of social constructionism, the physiological aspects of emotions, and the way in which those emotions are expressed, are also informed by the individual's culture (Parrott & Harre, 1996). It is not only the case that particular emotions are determined by social expectations, as the way we

experience our feelings, the contents of emotions are also culturally specified.

Heelas (1996) noted considerable cultural differences

in the number of emotions clearly identified; what emotions mean; how they are classified and evaluated; how the nature of emotions is considered with regard to locus, aetiology and dynamics; the kind of environmental occurrences which are held to generate particular emotions; the powers ascribed to emotions; and management techniques. (p. 171)

To summarise, the social construction of emotions can be considered to be an iterative process, ongoing within interactions and relationships, and which derive their meaning and shape from the customs and conceptualisations of the wider sociocultural context (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012).

A social constructionist perspective is appropriate to take in relation to the current research. A social constructionist standpoint acknowledges that the social and cultural contexts in which we find ourselves constitute, shape and define our emotions, and that emotions are therefore socially constructed (Averill, 1980; Boiger & Mesquita, 2012; Hochschild, 1983). The children and teachers participating in this research were from a white British cultural context (albeit from within the subculture of the South East of England). This will have influenced their perceptions of emotion and the way in which they will have constructed meaning from their own emotional experiences (Gendron et al., 2015). The personal experiences that the participants have had will also impact and they are likely to have differing perceptions interpretations of emotional situations from which their understanding of emotions is constructed.

Once the nature of emotions has been considered, the next logical question might be to ask about the purpose or function of emotions. The following section will address this question.

3.3 The function of emotions

As considered above, emotions are believed to begin with the individual's appraisals, and within the school context, these appraisals are likely to be different for different pupils and their teachers. Keltner and Gross (1999), posit that emotions have a function for the majority of the time, and they consider 'function' in this context as "a certain sort of consequence of goal-directed action" (p 469). They also comment, in common with other researchers (Ekman, 1992; Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991b) that emotions are adaptations to perceived problems in the immediate human environment, and have salience in terms of physical and social survival.

In my view, a social constructionist position complements the functionalist viewpoint, because nuance in emotional experiences, which may be due to additional contextual cues and which influence the interpretation of any given situation (Buckley et al., 2003), can be shared and commonly understood within the sociocultural context. This familiarity of meaning and commonly understood experience may lead to individuals appraising the frequently occurring or routine elements in their sociocultural context, thus influencing the valence and intensity of individual's response as their experience and understanding of their socially constructed emotions develop.

Frijda (1986) describes emotions as having two main functions, which may happen rapidly and without conscious processing. Warning signals increase the level of

arousal, which in turn facilitates the second function of preparing the individual's body for action. 'High priority' warning signals will cut across all other activities to ensure that the alerting event gets noticed. Cognitive appraisal informs that individual about the nature of the perceived event or threat. Frijda (ibid.) notes that emotions also have an informative quality, so that, for example, negative emotions can prepare the body to defend, whilst positive emotions signal that the individual does not need to remain in a state of high arousal, or to be alert for threats and obstacles.

Fredrickson (2001, 2004), working in the field of positive psychology, has developed the 'broaden and build' theory of positive emotions. They suggested that positive emotions have the function of broadening the individual's repertoire, leading to creativity. For example, "joy sparks the urge to play, interest sparks the urge to explore, contentment sparks the urge to savour and integrate, and love sparks a recurring cycle of each of these urges within safe, close relationships." (Fredrickson, 2004, p. 1367). This, Fredrickson argues, may lead to the generation of a wider repertoire of strategies to tackle problems, or generate a range of creative ideas, both of which are beneficial for learners in a school environment and give the opportunity to build personal resources. In contrast, negative emotions, Fredrickson posits, narrow the individual's mindset to a small range of action tendencies (such as fight or flight), which although may be functional in addressing the immediate situation, but will not serve to facilitate future emotional growth and learning.

In the next section, the use of language to describe emotions in the literature relating to educational research in emotions is reviewed.

3.4 The language used to describe emotions in emotion research in education

In my investigation of the literature, I found that the language that was used in relation to emotions was not consistent. Popular usage of language treats 'emotion' -a multicomponential phenomenon- as synonymous with 'feelings' - the subjective experience component of emotion, reported for example, by Scherer (2000).

Scherer (ibid) notes that 'mood'- a diffuse affective state of some duration- is also popularly interchangeable with 'emotion' – a phenomenon typified by its relatively brief episodic nature. Although researchers tend to be clearer about their definitions, there remain differences in the language used to describe emotions which are relevant to the current research.

While some researchers distinguish emotions, and therefore labels, across broad dimensions, such as positive and negative ((Cross & Hong, 2012; Hayashi & Shiomi, 2015; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Rucinski, Brown, & Downer, 2018) or pleasant and unpleasant (Prosen, Vitulic Smrtnik, & Skraban Poljsak, 2011), the research of others focuses on discrete, named emotions. As discussed, approaches featuring discrete emotion aim to categorise emotions which can be differentiated from one another through specific patterns of cognitions, physiological responses and behaviour (Burić et al., 2018; Ekman, 1992; Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991a). Fear, for example, is associated with an urge to escape, or anger associated with an urge to lash out, although whether those action tendencies are acted upon is dependent on other factors, such as context and the individual's ability and motivation to manage their emotions. Basic emotion theorists differ over the number of discrete, and universal, emotions. Ekman holds that there are six core emotions – joy, sadness, anger, surprise, disgust and fear (Ekman, 1992). Tomkins replaces sadness with

anguish and adds interest and shame (Tomkins, 1984), and Izard adds a ninth universal emotion, contempt (Izard, 2007).

Lavy and Eshet (2018) based their research in Israel on the “broaden and build” theory of positive emotion (Fredrickson, 2004), describing the form and function of “a subset of positive emotions including joy, interest, contentment and love.”

(Fredrickson, 2004, p. 1). In their research study, however, Lavy and Eshet (ibid) also included in the ‘emotions’ that they investigated states of cognitive arousal (‘attentive’ and ‘alert’), physiological states (‘active’), and motivational factors (‘determined’) rather than those associated directly with emotions.

Other researchers have also included in their vocabulary of emotions words that might be considered to refer to physiological states, such as ‘fatigue’ (Burić & Macuka, 2018). However, fatigue can be related to either positive or negative emotions, for example, a fatigued teacher settling at home after a long day, curled up on their sofa with a glass of wine, may feel pride and contentment (low valence happiness), whereas in a classroom situation their fatigue may result in that same teacher being less able to regulate their response to the unexpected event of one child bumping into another, giving rise to a display of anger.

Frenzel and colleagues (2016) hold that the most frequently assessed discrete emotions in teaching contexts are joy, anger and anxiety, and these are considered key in the emotional life of the teacher (Keller, Chang, Becker, Goetz, & Frenzel, 2014). Frenzel and colleagues (2016) also noted that:

apart from their high relevance and frequency, we also chose to include enjoyment, anger, and anxiety into our TES (Teacher Emotions Scales) because they are clearly separable with respect to their componential

definition, their appraisal patterns, their subjective phenomenology, and their semantic meaning even for laypersons. (p. 150).

That is, these emotions occur frequently in teaching environments and are more easily identified both by observers and the actors themselves, and thus may be adopted by researchers for these pragmatic reasons.

Within the current research, from a social constructionist perspective, it is understood that the language used to describe emotions within the culture in which it is spoken must be accepted and interpreted in terms of the meaning that is intended by the individuals within that culture and context (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012). Our role as researchers is to accept the communication and where appropriate, discuss with interviewees our clarifying interpretations of the meaning of language that is used within the context of the research being undertaken (Burr, 1995, 2014). So when concepts are presented as emotions, for example, 'interest' and 'curiosity' (Bradley et al., 2018), or 'agitated' and 'alert' (Lavy & Eshet, 2018), which may be considered cognitive descriptions related to engagement or physiological states respectively, it could be argued that they should be accepted as 'emotions' in the cultural context in which they are used. However, it would be beneficial if the rationale for their inclusion as 'emotions' was explicated in the context in which they appear.

In order to consider what children may understand by the impact of teacher emotions, it is useful to consider how their emotional development and competencies will inform their ability to contribute to this topic. This will be discussed in the following two sections.

3.5 Children's emotional development and emotional competence

This research is being conducted with a relativist ontology and social constructionist epistemology, and a social constructionist perspective of children's emotional development is being adopted. This entails consideration of:

- A social constructionist view of child development (3.5.1), and
- Children's emotional competence (3.5.2)

3.5.1 A social constructionist view of child development

The debate on the nature of emotions extends to the nature of emotional development. To take a polarised perspective, basic emotion theorists, for example Izard (1977a), view emotional development as the formation of emotion concepts which are scaffolded onto innate, universal emotional reactions. Other theorists, on the other hand (e.g. Feldman Barrett, 2017), view children as being born with undifferentiated affective responses such as distress, pleasure, high or low arousal, and emotional development refers to the process of differentiating affect into emotional responses. A social constructionist view is that children learn to perceive and experience emotions in a culture specific way (Boiger & Mesquita, 2012; Hoemann et al., 2019), in order to be efficient in eliciting responses from their caregivers and other social contacts.

Whichever theory one subscribes to, it is commonly acknowledged that infants have developed emotion concepts by 6 months old, as evidenced by their ability to discriminate between stereotypical facial expressions for anger, fear, happiness and sadness (Hoemann et al., 2019), but whether the babies in the research studies

were being assessed for their ability to distinguish between the stereotypical features of the stimuli presented to them or the affect that the stimuli represented is less easy to discern.

Hoemann and colleagues (2019) drew on the work of Widen (2016), who aggregated data from 11 studies where children were asked to freely label faces, or to choose from a limited selection of emotion labels. Hoemann and colleagues (ibid) argue that the first strong evidence for distinct emotion concepts is found around the two- to three-year-age groups, when children categorise emotional meaning from stereotypical facial expressions with emotion words. The constructionist perspective elucidated by Hoeman (ibid) is that there will be emotion related vocabulary in the infant's social environment which is part of their culture, and this will influence the development of corresponding culture-dependent concepts. Others (Gordon, 1989; Saarni, 1999) emphasise that we learn to give meaning to our experiences, which are context dependent, through social exposure and our own cognitive developmental capacities, that is, individuals construct or interpret the meanings of their emotions, and those constructed meanings shape the individual's emotional experience and expression, and language is a part of that context and of the individual's cognitive processes through which the world is interpreted. Thus, argues Gordon (1989), the individual's cognitive development has an important role to play in children's emotional development, alongside the specific contexts and unique social history (Saarni, 1999). Gordon (ibid) regards children as active creators of their own emotional experience. As Saarni (1999) explains "Through exposure to others, they learn the emotional behaviours, norms, and symbols of their culture (or subculture) as the unintended consequences of social interaction" (p. 14).

There are established 'milestones' for children's emotional development, in that particular skills manifest themselves at different ages. In general, for young children, emotion knowledge is more concrete, with heavy reliance on observable features, for example, a smiling or sad facial expression. Their emotion expression and emotion regulation are less well-developed and require more support and reinforcement from their social environment (e.g, their family and carers). As they progress through primary school, children develop their ability to discuss emotions, talking about their own emotional state and to offer explanations of emotion-related situations (Saarni, 2011). Saarni (ibid) argues that, as children mature, so does their ability to integrate not only situational information, but also that arising from their prior experience or knowledge and history when inferring what others may be feeling. Their discernment of emotions and knowledge of more complex and simultaneous emotional presentation also develops as they get older, along with their ability to express their thoughts and feelings. Saarni (ibid) also posits that insight into the emotions of others grows through interaction. Thus, as the child gains greater understanding of their own emotions, their experience, ability to empathise with others, and the capacity to understand the causes of emotions and their behavioural consequences also develops. The converse is also true, as children learn about other people's emotions, their ability to make inferences about their own emotional experiences also builds. These skills expand throughout adolescence and into adulthood.

Emotional competence is a term applied to different types of emotion- related skills, which provide a scaffold for understanding children's overall emotional development. In the next section, this topic is explored in more detail.

3.5.2 Children's emotional competence

Garner (2010) describes emotional competence as a broad term applied to different types of emotion-related skills, including awareness of emotions, ability to use and understand emotion-related language, knowledge of facial expressions, and ability to attribute emotional facial expressions to situations that give rise to them. Knowledge of the cultural rules governing the expression of emotion, and skills of managing emotion displays and regulating the intensity of emotion is also an important emotional competence milestone. It is accepted that children need to develop emotional and social competencies in order to succeed at school (Denham, 2007), including expressing and regulating emotions in an age-appropriate way, and decoding these emotions in others.

Saarni (1999) explicated the concept of emotional competence, focusing on skills required to manage the child's immediate social context. They consider that these emotional adaptive responses help the individual in five areas – to reach their goals, cope with challenges, manage their own emotional arousal levels to enable problem solving, to discern others' emotions and respond, and to recognise the influence of emotional communication and presentation within relationships. They noted that developing skills in emotional competence also promotes a belief in self-efficacy, and that this self-confidence can be observed in children with respect to learning, social competence and confidence, and resiliency.

Saarni (2000) identified eight discrete emotional competencies, as follows: The individual's awareness of their own emotional state; Skills in discerning and in understanding the emotions of others; Skills in using emotion-related vocabulary; the capacity for empathic and sympathetic involvement in the emotions experienced by

others; understanding that inner feelings does not have to correspond to outward expressions of emotion; skills in adapting to challenging emotions, using self-regulation; awareness of the role of emotions within relationships, and; the individual's capacity for emotional self-efficacy. Saarni (ibid) explains self-efficacy as the individual's ability to perceive themselves as experiencing emotions, in general, the way that they wish to experience them.

Viewing the concept of emotional development from the perspective of discrete emotional competencies enables researchers to focus on specific competencies, for example, discerning others' emotions through facial expressions (Ekman, 1973; Izard, 1977b; Widen, 2016), or understanding that inner feelings do not have to correspond to outward expressions of emotion (Hochschild, 1983; Zajdel, Bloom, Fireman, & Larsen, 2013). Research that focuses on children's understanding of and competence in emotions in middle childhood (that is, children aged between eight and twelve years old) is considered in the next section.

3.6 Emotional competence in middle childhood

The age range of children participating in the current research is 9- to 11-years-old, that is, children in their final two years of primary schools in the UK, and this age range falls within the range referred to as 'middle childhood' (beyond early years and before adolescence). The development of emotional competence skills is such that difference skills become apparent at different ages (Garner, 2010; Saarni, 1999), as discussed above. However, most research in development of emotions is related to early childhood (Hoemann et al., 2019). For example, von Salisch (2001) published a literature review and noted the primary importance of parents in children's early

emotional development, because of their “emotional expertise who instruct their offspring on the use of emotion labels, appraisals, expressions, and regulation strategies.” (p.310). The basics of emotional competency are thought to be present before children are of school age (Saarni, 2000) and are built upon throughout childhood and beyond.

This section will look at the emotional skills and competencies of children in middle childhood, in the following areas:

- Facial expressions (3.6.1)
- Emotional competence and language skills (3.6.2)
- Memory and emotional events (3.6.3)
- Understanding emotional experiences of others (3.6.4)
- Emotional competence and learning (3.6.5),

All of the above are relevant to the current research as they are associated with children’s ability to recognise and meaningfully discuss emotions.

3.6.1 Interpretation of facial expressions

The ability to make sense of emotional facial expressions is thought to be present early (Ekman, 1993; Izard, 1977a) in children’s lives, as evidenced through studies using static images and observation of children’s responses (see Widen, 2016, for a summary). However, Fong and colleagues (2020) were concerned that most of this research was conducted using non-social approaches, for example, being asked to make judgements about pictures under controlled situations. Their research took place in Australia and involved 42 children between the ages of 4- and 9-years-old.

The children were asked to participate in a task where they had to guess which of four possible objects were in a box, when opened by an adult, by that adult's facial expression. The contents were either a sticker, a broken toy, a toy spider and toy poo, and the adult opening the box adopted facial expressions of 'happy', 'sad', 'scared', and 'disgusted' respectively. The children then took the role of opening the box and producing the appropriate emotional expression. The authors found that the children's ability to correctly identify the emotion (by pointing to the object most likely to be in the box) increased with age, but that this did not predict their ability to reproduce a recognizable expression. The authors also found that ability to select the correct object did not vary in accuracy across emotions, in contrast to another study, which had found that accuracy was higher for happy emotions (Nelson & Mondloch, 2019). The authors attributed this to the subtle difference in design of the two studies, where Nelson and Mondloch (*ibid*) presented the toy in a box scenario on a screen via a live feed whilst Fong and colleagues had placed the child and adult in the same room, facing one another. In Fong and colleagues (2020) study, the adults had been trained to express the four target emotions and this may have been a limitation, resulting in a rather stereotyped and somewhat artificial expressive display. There was also no indication of whether the adults facing the children gave additional, subtle physical expressions, such as tensing muscles for the negative emotions or slight opening of body-language for the positive emotions, which may have been noted by the children. However, this study reinforces that children in social situations are able to discern emotions in adults using cues including facial expressions.

Kathleen Kang and colleagues took the exploration of children's knowledge of facial expressions a step further (Kang, Anthony, & Mitchell, 2017). They were also

concerned that relatively little was known about children's ability to interpret emotions in real-life situations, and which are expressed subtly. They explored the ability of children aged 7, 9 and 11 to discriminate emotion displays for five discrete emotions. These were happy, sad, angry, shocked, and disgusted. One hundred and eight children from a primary school in the United Kingdom were included in the study, all native English speakers. The authors created naturalistic video clips by presenting a number of young adults with a series of photographs depicting emotional expressions and video recording them as they completed a task. Unknown to them, they were spontaneously and faintly imitating the expression that they were viewing. It was these short video clips of the adults faintly imitating emotional expressions that were shown to the children participating in the study. The children were then asked to identify the expressions by selecting emoticons representing the five emotions being explored. All of the children were mostly able to identify 'happy' expressions and were relatively accurate in identifying the expression of 'sad'. However, identification of the subtle expressions depicting 'shocked', 'angry' and 'disgusted' was much less consistent. The study did not find a gender difference in the ability to identify emotional expressions. There was also a correlation between ability to identify emotional displays and academic attainment that was independent of the participant's age. This is consistent with other research (Izard et al., 2001). The authors noted that as even 7-year-olds were able to complete this task with comparable success to the 11-year-olds, their "data are not informative about the developmental onset of recognizing subtle and spontaneous facial expressions." (Kang et al., 2017, p 1087). However, Kang and colleague's study does confirm that children in middle childhood can identify some subtle facial expressions in others in

dynamic 'real-life' situations, and this ability is relevant to the current research, where data is provided through interview.

The evidence from the studies above builds on research looking at children's' ability to label emotions from facial expressions depicted in a static medium, such as photographs, and indicates that children aged 9- to 11- years can identify a range of emotional expressions in social contexts, when these expressions are presented dynamically through video clips or in controlled 'live' situations in a laboratory. Classrooms are complex environments, and emotional displays can be both dynamic and complex. Identification of emotion is a prerequisite to understanding the emotions of others. For children in a classroom environment, understanding of how others are feeling may not only be of interest to the child but may serve a protective purpose.

3.6.2 Children can understand the emotional experiences of others

Evidence shows that children are capable of identifying discrete emotions, in both laboratory and 'real life' situations, and of reporting on them through the use of language (see above). However, in 'real-life' situations, facial expressions are just one of the elements which are likely to be observable, within a context which also contributes to the information available to children making judgements, or appraisals (Lazarus, 1991) about emotions. One of the features within the immediate context regarding emotional expression are the cultural 'rules' about how emotions are displayed, and to whom.

Wu and Schulz (2019) investigated whether American children, between the ages of seven and ten, were able to use emotional expressions in social contexts to work out

the probable desires of a person socially interacting with someone whose emotional expression the children could see. In the study, children were presented with situations where a protagonist displayed one emotional expression in front of their social partner and another one behind their social partner's back, whilst the social partner remained expressionless. This study arose from the authors speculation that "as children progress into middle childhood, this kind of sophisticated emotion understanding may be especially important." (p. 1786). Children's theory of mind, and their ability to understand emotion has been found to correlate with the quality of peer relationships (Izard et al., 2001), and Wu and Schulz (ibid) hypothesised that in order to succeed at their tasks, children would need to understand that the desires of the social partner would dictate how the protagonist regulated their emotional expression in this social context. 92 children each saw two illustrated stories, one where the protagonist was happy in front of the social partner but sad behind their back, and the other where the reverse was true. Results were scored separately for the children's responses to the protagonist and to the social partner. After analysis, Wu and Schulz (2019) concluded that:

these results suggest that children can use their knowledge of social display rules and emotional expressions to infer not only the desire of the person expressing the emotions, but also that of the person perceiving the expression. (p. 1794)

However, this was not a 'real-world' study, and by using static and stylised figures, the observations of children were restricted to processed and stereotypical depictions of the two emotions being studied. One of the implications is that these limitations preclude children offering judgements involving other emotions. Nevertheless, this study is relevant because it allows some insight into the ability of

children in middle childhood to draw conclusions about the inner feelings of people by observing the interactions between them, and their understanding of some social display rules.

In another American study, Zajdel and colleagues (2013) were interested in more complex emotional events. Their study explored the ability of children to report on their understanding and experience of allocentric mixed emotions. The participants were 128 children from New York State, aged between five and twelve years old. Children were grouped into age categories and shown a clip of a film 'Robots', where the male protagonist departs from his father, sad to be leaving, but happy to be pursuing his dreams. After watching the video clip, each child was asked a series of questions about the feelings of the protagonist. The children were also asked how the film made them feel, in order to assess their own emotion experience. Data suggested that the majority of children in each age group were able to demonstrate understanding of the mixed emotions depicted in the film clip, with older children able to share their understanding spontaneously and without the need for additional prompts. As the children got older, they were more likely to report experiencing mixed emotions in response to the video clip. The authors noted that "mixed emotions understanding occurs earlier in development than mixed emotion experience" (p 596). Zajdel and colleagues (2013) found that girls experienced mixed emotions earlier than boys, and they speculated that it is possible that boys did not identify with the characters to the same extent as the girls, and this impacted on their emotional experience resulting from watching the video clip. This study provides evidence that not only are children able to understand and report on the mixed emotions they observe in others as they negotiate real life situations, but that

for some children the act of observing may result in them experiencing mixed emotions themselves.

Many, but not all, of the children had watched this mainstream movie, in some cases several times, prior to their involvement in the study. It is possible, that prior exposure to the emotional scene had an impact on their personal emotional responses (for example, dulling the emotional experience through repeated exposure and ability to predict the plot) and also on their understanding of the mixed emotions scenario presented to them. Indeed, it is possible that, as happens within many family groups, previous co-watchers explained various parts of the movie to one another which we may expect to influence the responses of those participants in comparison to participants who were seeing the video clip for the first time.

Never-the-less, both studies provide evidence that children in middle childhood are able to make judgements about the inner emotions of other people through observation, as well as to derive information from their outward presentation.

The current research draws in children's direct and observed experience, and these studies confirm that children are capable of discerning and making judgements about emotional events in their environment.

Much of the research on children's understanding and knowledge of emotions and emotional development relies on verbal interaction with children (Davidson, Luo, & Burden, 2001; Wu & Schulz, 2019; Zajdel et al., 2013), and the current research is no exception. The next section will discuss research on the relationship between emotional competence and language development in middle childhood.

3.6.3 Children's emotional competence and language skills

Skills in using the vocabulary of emotion and expression is considered one of the components of emotional competence (Saarni, 1999). The following two studies explore relationships between language and emotion.

Beck and colleagues (Beck et al., 2012) examined multiple components of language competence and emotional competence, as they considered that the interrelationships between them had not been sufficiently studied. They described language competence as consisting of two broad domains: linguistic competence, which is knowledge of linguistic forms and knowledge of meanings, and pragmatic competence, referring to the ability of "people to communicate in a socially adequate way" (p. 503). Emotional competence is defined by the authors as referring "to the ability to understand, express and regulate emotions" (p. 503), as they drew on work of (Denham, 1998). 210 children aged between 7- and 9-years-old who attended schools on the outskirts of Berlin, Germany, participated. Two discrete test sessions were held, at least one week apart. The first session assessed emotional competence, testing expressive emotion vocabulary, declarative emotion knowledge, awareness of mixed emotions and recognition of facial expressions. The second test session measured language competency, and literacy skills. Bivariate correlation analyses resulted in significant and positive correlations between emotion and language measures, particularly relating emotional competency to receptive language and literacy skills. The dependence on the use of language to administer measures of emotional competence may be viewed as a limitation of this study, although the authors are confident that their measures were distinct from one another.

Streubel and colleagues (2020) also explored the relationship between emotional competence and language. Building on the work of Beck and colleagues (2012), they studied the relationship between emotion specific and general vocabulary to components of emotion understanding (for example, facial recognition) and components such as emotion knowledge (for example knowledge of emotion regulation strategies), which they describe as 'later-acquired' (Streubel et al., 2020). 113 German children aged between 4- and 9-years-old participated in the study, divided into three age bands. They looked at emotion vocabulary by size and also depth, that is, the security with which the child understood the words they used. They used a series of vignettes featuring the 6 basic emotions and 12 more complex emotions that could be subordinated to the basic emotion categories, for example, pride and contentment being subordinates of the concept of joy, and frustration and envy subordinates of the concept of anger, from a measure that the authors developed. They found that emotion specific vocabulary was important for both early acquired and later acquired emotional components and their vocabulary grew larger as they got older in line with developmental expectations (Baron-Cohen, Golan, Wheelwright, Granader, & Hill, 2010). At pre-school, the size of the vocabulary appeared significant in the acquisition of early and later emotional components (e.g., knowledge of emotion regulation strategies). However, as the children progressed through primary school, the authors found unexpected differences in the depth of emotion specific vocabulary, in that 6- and 7-year-olds demonstrated more depth than the 4- and 5-year-olds, but the 8- and 9-year-old children had a similar level of depth to the 6- and 7-year-olds. The authors speculated that this "might mirror the phenomenon well known from research on language acquisition ... when children extend their vocabulary in a given domain, they might start to use new words in a

tentative way before using them correctly” (p. 16). They concluded that although the 8- and 9-year-olds in the study had larger vocabularies than the other two groups, they were at that time less proficient at using it.

This study has strengths in the systematic way in which language and emotional competence were explored, but this also presents a limitation as it does not allow for the inclusion of personal vocabulary or descriptive phrases which the children may communicate in a less structured design. As an indicative measure of the capabilities of children in middle childhood, in relation to emotional and language competence, however, the study does demonstrate that children of the age of those engaged in the current research are likely to have the conceptual development to support them in emotional understanding together with the ability to report verbally on their experiences and observations.

Memory is a key factor in reporting events that have already occurred, and this includes the emotional events and experiences explored in the current research.

Memory will be considered in the next section.

3.6.4 Children’s memory of emotional events

When working with children, ensuring that there is a common understanding of the vocabulary that is being used by all parties is one of the key aspects of successful communication. Children also need to recall emotional events, including those events that they observe, involving others. Particularly pertinent to the current research is the children’s ability to recall emotional events, as data collection for the current research is through interview.

Davidson and colleagues (Davidson et al., 2001) conducted a study involving children in 1st, 3rd and 5th grade classes in Illinois, USA, in which they examined the children's memory for emotional behaviours, emotional labels, and non-emotional behaviours. They considered that understanding of emotions may be based on the significance of the emotional event. As individuals monitor and appraise their world they detect changes in the status of their personal goals, and this may then lead to an immediate effect on the individual's emotional state. They note that "emotional memories for both children and adults often involve the attainment (happiness) or blocking (sadness, anger, etc) of personal goals" (p. 3). In a series of studies involving a total of 50 children in each grade, the authors presented children with short stories involving high and low emotion events or those that were emotionally neutral, by telling or reading the stories to them. An example of a high emotion event might be a child drops a carton of eggs which smash, whilst the low emotion version might involve an apple being dropped and picked up. In some of the stories, emotional labels were used, for example, "Ron was happy because ..." (p. 16), and in others they were not. They asked the children to recall the story immediately and again the following day. They found that emotional behaviours were recalled better than non-emotional behaviours by both younger and older children, and that the labelling of emotional events also improved memory for them, particularly where low emotion events were concerned. The authors suggested that this might be because there was some ambiguity about the emotional content of these events, for example, for some, dropping and picking up an apple may not be perceived as having emotional content for the protagonist unless the children are told, through labelling, that it does. The authors found that, as expected, the younger children did not recall as many details as the older children did when stories became longer. Although the

mechanics of enhanced memory for emotional content is not yet understood, the authors speculate that the emotional information may increase levels of arousal or attention.

Although the intervals between the children hearing the stories and being asked to recount them are relatively short, this study is important in relation to the current research as it confirms that children do retain memories of events which have some emotional content.

This study (Davidson et al., 2001) indicates that there is a relationship between learning and emotion. The emotional environment of the classroom will be explored in the next section.

3.6.5 Children's emotional competence and learning

Children's emotional competence develops throughout childhood, and that development is ongoing during a stage referred to as 'middle childhood' (Saarni, 2000). Some research has been conducted to determine the extent to which aspects of emotional competence are related to learning and academic attainment.

The link between emotional knowledge and attainment was investigated within a study by Izard and colleagues (2001). They evaluated an index of emotion knowledge in terms of its ability to predict longer term social behaviour and academic competence in a group of disadvantaged children. They argued that "emotion knowledge provides the foundation for emotion communication and social relationships" (Izard et al., 2001, p. 18). The longitudinal study took place in the USA, where 72 children were assessed using predictor measures at age 5, and

again when they were 9 years old, when criterion data was obtained. Receptive language and emotion knowledge were directly measured with the children at five years of age; at nine years old, teachers evaluated social behaviour. The authors found significant correlations as predicted: preschool verbal ability correlated with emotion knowledge, and with teacher ratings of academic competence at 9-years-old. The authors stated that “our study shows that preschool children’s abilities to recognize and interpret emotion cues in facial expressions have long-term effects on social behaviour and academic competence.” (p. 21). They also found that emotion knowledge served as a mediator between verbal ability and academic competence and suggested that this may be due to the influence of emotion knowledge on relationship quality with teachers and with peers. The non-directional quality of correlations limits our ability to locate causality. Also, because the study engaged with children described as disadvantaged, more work needs to take place to determine whether these findings are also valid for the general population of children.

These findings are further supported by Garner (2010), who published a review of theory and research linking aspects of emotion competence to school related outcomes and learning across childhood. They conceived of emotion competence as:

including the awareness of emotion the ability to use and understand emotion-related vocabulary, knowledge of facial expressions and the situations that elicit them, knowledge of the cultural rules for displaying emotion, and skill in managing the intensity of one’s emotional displays in ways that are appropriate to the audience and the situation. (p. 297)

Like Izard (2001), Garner (ibid) found evidence that emotions are related to both children's academic and cognitive competence. Regarding emotion knowledge, Garner (2010) notes that most studies have focused on very young children. However, they assert that children can continue to improve their understanding of emotion-eliciting situations, including subtle cues, as they move towards adolescence. Garner (2010) draws on the work of Parker and Gottman (1989) to illustrate that "school age children also know the importance of hiding their internal feelings" (p.301) as they are likely to understand the consequences of emotional display in the context of social interaction. Garner (ibid) also reviewed research in emotion regulation, academic and school-related competences as well as emotional intelligence, and children and teachers' emotions in the classroom. They noted that further research was required as there were major gaps in our knowledge, particularly with regard to the application of research in the classroom. The competence of children in understanding their teachers' emotions is of direct relevance to the current research.

The studies reviewed above found a positive correlation between emotional competence and attainment, and this underlines the importance of emotions in the context of school life, for all of those involved.

The current research seeks to explore the impact of teacher emotions on children. It has been established that children in middle childhood can discern, describe, remember and understand some of the complexities of emotional presentation and inner feelings, giving credence to their participation in research relating to emotions.

Teachers and their students occupy the same physical environment and are likely to have some shared experiences and perceptions of aspects of the classroom. This will be explored further in the next section.

3.7 The emotional climate of the classroom

The concept of classroom climate is apposite when exploring teachers' emotions.

Evans and colleagues (Evans, Harvey, Buckley, & Yan, 2009) consider that classroom climate, which they conceptualise as teacher and students shared perceptions of their classroom (Yan, Evans, & Harvey, 2011) as having three discernible components. First, academic components, that is, pedagogical and curricular features; second, management components, such as approaches to discipline and maintaining order within the classroom, and third; emotional components, that is, the affective interactions between individuals and groups within the classroom. These three components overlap, they argue, with emotional climate being superordinate to management and academic components, as "it interfaces with the conventional academic and management elements of effective learning environments." (Evans et al., 2009, p. 131).

The current research explores teachers' emotions within the classroom, and therefore the focus is concentrated on this aspect of the emotional classroom climate. Teachers are thought to be becoming more aware of the importance of their own emotional skills in improving children's learning abilities (Yan et al., 2011). Examples of this include developing cognitive flexibility and creative problems solving (Fredrickson, 2001), and promoting more prosocial behaviours between children. Wilson et al (2007) commented that "in classrooms marked by high-quality

emotional supports and evaluative feedback, children displayed significantly better social competence than children in other classrooms” (p. 81). This reinforces the importance of the teacher’s emotional wellbeing and emotional presentation within the classroom context.

According to Hamre and Pianta (2007), classrooms characterized as high in classroom emotional climate have four relevant features: first, teachers who are aware and sensitive to the needs of the children they teach; second, positive teacher-student relationships, for example, warm, friendly and nurturing; third, teachers taking student perspectives into account; and fourth, teachers who did not use sarcasm or take harsh disciplinary action. Hamre and Pianta (ibid) noted that the teachers of these classrooms could be said to deliberately foster the comfort and enjoyment of their students. Teacher emotional support is linked to children’s motivation and engagement in school (Reyes, Brackett, Rivers, White, & Salovey, 2012; Ruzek et al., 2016).

Yan and colleagues (2011) studied how teachers managed emotional events in the context of their interactions with individual students, groups and their whole class. These researchers were particularly interested in the range of positive strategies used. Six teachers (four female, two male) were selected as having exceptional positive emotional learning environments by a range of interested parties (for example, leadership teams, visiting professionals, and parents). These teachers’ classes had students who were aged between 8- and 13-years-old, i.e. in Years 4 to 7/8. A total of 60 hours of observations by clinical psychology graduates, focusing on spontaneous interactions with at least one student, took place with a view to collect rich qualitative descriptors of emotion-related ‘occurrences’ between the teachers and their students. Data reduction of these observations was described as

“consistent with Hubbard and Power’s (1993) view of this procedure as a way of seeing and seeing again to bring order, structure, and meaning to data” (Yan et al., 2011, p. 87) and four prominent themes emerged. These were fostering class relationships, setting and managing emotional guidelines, teachers’ emotional awareness, and management of emotional situations.

The decision to restrict the study to teachers identified as having exceptional positive emotional learning environments, (that is, high in classroom emotional climate) make it difficult to generalise to the range of teachers involved in the education of students of this age. Another problem with the focus on positive aspects of emotional interactions is the lack of consideration of the albeit small number of negative emotional interactions which arise in typical classrooms, resulting in an incomplete picture of emotional interactions between teachers and students. It is also possible that the presence of observers taking notes in the classroom may have altered the observed teacher’s emotional behaviour, even if positive. Although this study was conducted in the context of drawing attention to strategies that will bring positive change, it precludes the possibility that occasional negative interactions may also result in a positive impact, and because of this the research findings may be incomplete. However, this study is relevant in that it provides a model which highlights the interactional contexts and functions in which emotions arise in the classroom.

Reyes et al (2012) involved students in their study of the emotional climate in school, including the quality of relationships with the teachers, as they explored the premise that “the emotional connections students foster in their classrooms are likely to impact on their success in school” (p. 700). This was a larger scale quantitative study, involving 1399 students and 63 teachers from 44 different schools in the

North-eastern United States of America. Fifth and sixth grade students (aged between 10- and 12-years-old) were involved in contributing reports through completing surveys consisting of rating scales, were subject to observation through video recording, and their academic attainment measured through their report card grades. Teachers were observed through video recording. The study examined the relationship between classroom emotional climate, student engagement and performance within English Language Arts lessons. In this context, the authors adopted Pianta, La Paro and Hamre's (2008) Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS) as their measure of classroom emotional climate. This system looked at the dimensions of emotional support, classroom organisation and instructional support, through systematic analysis of the video recordings by a number of trained assistants from the laboratory of Reyes and colleagues. Multilevel analysis confirmed the author's hypothesis that classroom emotional climate has a pivotal role in student achievement. The authors recommended that teachers should pay attention to social and emotional aspects of learning in order to raise student achievement.

The authors express some concerns at including the student ratings, which they saw as a weakness which may have given rise to bias, for example, the students' desire to please may have skewed the findings. However, the link between high classroom emotional climate and student achievement is evidently key.

Classroom emotional climate is important in the context of the current research because of the relationship between the general classroom context, the teacher and children's personal experiences of emotions and their expression of it in school. Much of the research in this area has focused on exploration of successes, that is, with researchers seeking out and examining effective, highly positive classroom

contexts in order to understand what it is that makes them so effective. The purpose of the research reviewed, perhaps has the intention of training teachers. This might be considered a refreshing change from research focusing on weaknesses within the educational system and seeking to increase understanding and/or find solutions to 'problems' that are perceived to exist (an example of this may be teacher exhaustion, addressed in section 3.8.1).

In the next section, the research relating to aspects of teachers' emotions is explored.

3.8 Teachers' emotions in the classroom

Teaching is described as an emotional practice (Hargreaves, 1998, 2001) with emotions being an integral part of the lives of teachers (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Emotions are one of the drivers of teacher behaviour in the classroom, including their teaching behaviour (Burić & Macuka, 2018), as well as having a strong influence on the behaviour of their pupils (Newberry & Davis, 2008). Emotions also play a pivotal role in the well-being and general health of teachers and of their students (Fredrickson, 2001). One branch of research looking at teacher's emotions has been driven by concerns about recruitment and retention of staff, and thus focuses on investigating extent and causes of teacher stress and emotional exhaustion (Uitto et al., 2015). Related to this is the way in which emotions are experienced by teachers and their emotional displays. This includes three areas:

- Teachers emotional labour and emotional exhaustion (3.8.1)
- Teacher's emotional experience and expression of emotion (3.8.2)
- Transmission of emotions in the classroom (3.8.3)

3.8.1 Teachers emotional labour and emotional exhaustion

The term 'emotional labour' was first used by Hochschild (1983) to describe the degree of effort and control that is needed to maintain desired emotional displays, in response to particular contextual and social requirements. Emotional labour, they assert, occurs when individuals "induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7). Most organisations have expectations about how their employees behave in different situations, and this can extend to their feelings and emotional displays. Individuals are expected to obey both formal and implicit emotional display rules, and subsequently may have to deny or express their feelings, or to display acceptable emotions (Lindqvist, Weurlander, Wernerson, & Thornberg, 2019; Nyree Edwards, 2016).

When teaching, not all emotions occur spontaneously (Hargreaves, 2000), but are 'acted out' because the teacher might be deliberately seeking to influence students, for example, 'expressing' anger to curb undesirable behaviour, or joy when a student makes a breakthrough in learning. At other times, those same teachers may need to suppress their inner emotions, for example, so that they remain calm when faced with dangerous or violent student behaviour, or to suppress laughter when a student's misbehaviour strikes them as amusing.

These dissonances may arise when there are differences between the individual's genuine emotions and those that are expected of them. Hochschild (1983) proposes that the individual may reduce that sense of dissonance by either suppressing their own emotions or faking (surface acting) or generating the desired emotion within

themselves (deep acting). Lee and Brotheridge (2011), noted that there was some utility in differentiating between the two types of surface acting. They proposed a triadic approach comprising surface acting, suppression, and deep acting. Surface acting was described as where the individual alters the emotion that they display to match the emotions that are required by the situation that they are in. Suppression occurs when the individual makes an effort to hide their true feelings; and when an individual is engaged in deep acting, they 'conjure up' the feelings that are required to be displayed by the situation within themselves (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011; Näring, Vlerick, & Van de Ven, 2012; Nyree Edwards, 2016).

Although these components are thought of as distinct constructs, they may occur simultaneously during an interaction (Lee & Brotheridge, 2011), for example, a teacher may feel both amusement and annoyance simultaneously when a student tells a disruptive joke. This may necessitate the teacher to suppress their inner feelings of amusement and augment the degree of annoyance they express.

Researchers have recently become interested in the impact of high levels of emotional labour required in the classroom, considering links between emotional labour, emotional exhaustion, and the well-being of teachers.

Keller and colleagues (Keller et al., 2014) took a quantitative approach to studying the emotional exhaustion of teachers. They worked with 39 German secondary school teachers, with a view to further understanding the relationship between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion. These researchers noted that emotional exhaustion is "the core component in the study of teacher burnout" (p.1). They adopted this definition of emotional labour, as "the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal

transactions” (1996, p. 987). The study looked at three discrete emotional states: enjoyment, anger and anxiety, which the authors considered most significant in teachers’ emotional lives. They considered that the experience of emotions in teachers’ professional lives as “thought to be predictors of teacher behaviour in class, in terms of effective instructional practices, as well as student behaviour and outcomes” (p. 1). Teachers self-reported momentary emotional experiences and momentary emotional labour was sampled, using scaling at randomised times during their teaching, using handheld devices on a total of 794 occasions (some signals were either ignored or not heard by the teachers). Each teacher had, prior to the data gathering phase of the study, completed a trait-based assessment including trait emotional labour and emotional exhaustion. The study found that enjoyment was the most prominent emotion reported, in 99% of lessons, with anger being experienced in some 39% of lessons to some extent, and anxiety experienced to only a small extent – 8% of the lessons sampled. At the same time, teachers reported that they regularly suppressed or faked their emotions, and in this way, the researchers argued, were engaged in emotional labour work. Analysis showed that the teacher’s overall level of emotional exhaustion was reflected in their emotional experiences, and researchers indicated that those who were most exhausted associated this with a lessening of enjoyment and increased feelings of anger. The study also found a correlation between experiences of anger and engagement in emotional labour, and between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion.

The restriction, by design, of all but three discrete emotions, and focusing the study only on secondary school teachers does limit the generalisability of the study’s results. It would be useful to see whether these findings are also true within the

more emotionally close context of primary school classrooms (Hargreaves, 2001). This research is never-the-less significant for the current research, as it demonstrates that teachers emotional state varies across the school day, that teachers 'fake' emotion and can be exhausted by this emotional labour. **The current study aims to ascertain the extent to which children perceive and attribute these changes in emotion.**

Emotional exhaustion and the requirement to engage in emotional labour were studied by Naring, Vlerick and Van de Ven (2012). They were also interested in the relationship between teachers' emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) and both their job satisfaction and personal perspectives. 200 secondary school teachers in the Netherlands participated in the study. The authors were interested in the degree of emotional self-regulation that is required of teachers to manage their negative emotions and to handle the emotions of others. The study was interested in those emotions that arose from the demands of colleagues, and students engaging in challenging behaviour. Data was collected through a series of validated questionnaires measuring emotional labour, emotional job demands and emotional exhaustion, and this was analysed by regression analysis. The authors found that emotional exhaustion was positively associated with emotional job demands. Job demands were found to be more important than the individual's emotional labour strategies in determining their emotional exhaustion. The authors noted that this implied that increased job demands, such as teaching children who are more challenging, or working within a demanding organisation (for example, with a gruelling teacher appraisal regime) will contribute more significantly to the emotional exhaustion of the teachers than the individual teacher's emotional labour itself. The study concluded that there should be more focus on the emotion demands of the

teachers' work context than on individual teacher's emotion regulation. It seems that much of the emotional exhaustion of the teachers in this study could be attributed to the context in which they were teaching, including challenges arising from expectations and abilities in classroom management in relation to the children being taught. This is of significance to the current study because of the association between teachers' emotions and their behaviour in the classroom, and their efficacy as teachers, for example in classroom management, student-teacher relationships and quality of instruction (Jennings & Greenberg, 2009; Sutton & Wheatley, 2003).

Not all emotional labour is considered destructive to teachers' well-being. Lavy and Eshet (2018) studied the daily dynamics of teacher emotion and emotional regulation and found significant differences in types of emotional labour deployed, and the impact it had on teachers in relation to feelings of burnout and job satisfaction.

Teachers were drawn from all phases of education in Israel, which reportedly has a similar school system to western countries. Sixty-two teachers completed daily diaries, recording measures of emotional state, emotional regulation, burnout, and feelings of job satisfaction over ten working days. Teachers rated the extent of feeling seven discrete emotions each day. These were attentive, alert, active, determined, afraid, agitated, and upset and were taken from the positive and negative affect schedule (PANAS) - short form, where these states are described as dimensions of positive and negative affect (Thompson, 2007). They also recorded daily use of emotion regulation strategies using the Emotional Labour Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). Daily burnout and daily job satisfaction were also recorded.

The authors expected that positive teacher emotions would promote the use of more adaptive emotion regulation strategies, for example, using a range of approaches to

manage misdemeanours (rather than adopting a fixed response which may or may not be successful). They hoped that this would feed into an upwards positive spiral, leading to greater teacher well-being. They expected that negative emotions would have the opposite effect. These authors describe emotional labour as being “When this emotion regulation is motivated by external factors such as managerial demands” (p. 152), and instead opted to use the term ‘emotion regulation’ as they considered it more suited to the professional role of the teacher. The authors found notable associations of surface acting, where the teachers’ emotional display does not correspond with their inner feelings, with increased burnout and decreased job satisfaction. Deep acting, where the teachers’ inner emotions are similar to their emotional display (Hochschild, 1983; Lee & Brotheridge, 2011), was associated with increased job satisfaction. The authors commented that there are implications for the quality of teaching processes and class climate, as well as teacher efficacy, and for students learning and achievement. Classroom climate can be described as “the intellectual, social, emotional, and physical environments in which our students learn” (Ambrose, Bridges, DiPietro, Lovett, & Norman, 2010, p. 170) and has relevance to the current research due to the acknowledgement of the key role of emotion.

The ambiguity of the discrete ‘emotions’ selected (attentive, alert, active, determined, afraid, agitated, and upset) in Lavy and Eshet’s (2018) study confuse physiological, cognitive and emotional states and therefore cloud the impact of the study, as it is not clear what is being considered in the dimensions of emotional regulation or emotional labour.

Frenzel, working with Taxer, looked in more detail at the processes involved in emotional labour, by focusing on the expression, faking and hiding of teacher emotions (Taxer & Frenzel, 2015). The study focused firstly on the discrete positive emotions (such as happiness, liking, enthusiasm and pride) and negative emotions (for example, sadness, anger, anxiety, and dislike). 266 secondary school teachers in Oklahoma, USA participated, and data was gathered by questionnaire with teachers self-reporting using Likert scales to indicate frequency of occurrences of expressing genuine or faking, or hiding, each emotion. Related data such as emotional exhaustion, job satisfaction, mental and physical health was also collected.

Teachers reported that positive emotions or happiness, liking enthusiasm and pride were the most frequently faked, whilst the faking of negative emotions was rare. According to the teachers, negative emotions were most frequently hidden, or never genuinely expressed. Disappointment was the most frequently expressed negative emotion. The authors found that genuine positive emotional expression correlated positively with “teaching self-efficacy beliefs and feelings of relatedness to students” (p. 82). In addition, genuine positive emotions were positively related to good mental and physical health, and negative emotions with emotional exhaustion. Lastly, hidden negative emotions showed negative relationships with teaching self-efficacy and mental health and physical health, and a positive relationship with emotional exhaustion.

In empirical studies, self-report may be considered a limitation, as, particularly in areas considered sensitive such as emotional displays. This is because there may be a bias towards projecting and reporting on those emotions that the participant regards as desirable, compromising the findings of the study.

This study is important in relation to the current research, as it implies that the researchers believe that children can at least recognise emotion through adult expression and perhaps can also attribute emotions that they have identified to events and consequences of action, otherwise displays that are intended to hide or fake emotional state would not be considered necessary. The next study included data obtained directly from students, as well as teachers.

Arens and Morin (2016) examined the relationship between teachers' emotional exhaustion and student outcomes, in a study utilising data collected in Germany for the "Progress in International Reading Literacy Study" (PIRLS) in 2006. The objective of PIRLS was to identify factors relevant to school and individual students that explained literacy achievement in the 4th Grade at school (when children are approximately 10 years old). This study was made possible because PIRLS included data in the following areas: data related to the organisation of the education system; school climate and resources; how instruction in the classrooms occurs; teacher factors; and student perspectives. 380 teachers and their 7899 students took part (one class from every school). Measures used for the study included teacher self-reporting of emotional exhaustion, and student reporting noncognitive factors of self-perception of confidence, satisfaction with school, and perception of teacher support. Student achievement (a cognitive factor) was measured through teacher assessment and student performance on Standardised Assessment Tasks (SATs). The authors hypothesised that teachers' emotional exhaustion would be negatively related to noncognitive factors, and that individual levels of students noncognitive factors would positively relate to individual levels of achievement. The authors found that the classes of teachers' who reported higher levels of emotional exhaustion tended to present with lower levels of academic achievement. They also found that,

as expected, teacher emotional exhaustion was negatively associated with students' perception of teacher support and school satisfaction. However, contrary to expectation, no influence was found upon students' self-perception of their own competence. The authors speculated that "students may rather attribute their lower levels of achievement to the exposure to less stimulating lessons and inadequate instructions provided by emotionally exhausted teachers" (p 808).

This study is significant because it highlights the impact that the teacher's state of emotional exhaustion can have on the students they teach. It included data that was directly obtained from students of primary school age, that is, in their middle childhood. Conclusions hint at the possibility that the 10-year-olds in the study were making judgements about themselves and their performance whilst taking account of the emotional state of their teacher. The children were also able to note the impacts that those emotions had on the quality of teaching they received, as well as on their own pleasure in school.

The above research involved relatively high numbers of teachers and were framed as empirical studies. Jiang and colleagues (Jiang, Vauras, Volet, & Wang, 2016) conducted a mixed methods study involving only four teachers, as they examined both the way that teachers regulated their emotions, and how their students perceived their teacher's emotional states. 53 children in Years 7 to 9 (aged 11- to 14-years-old), attending secondary school in Finland, rated four of their teachers across eight emotions during one lesson. These emotions were happy, inspired, tender, affectionate, angry, annoyed, nervous and distracted. This selection was based on emotions that the authors noted from previous, unspecified research, as those that teachers have reported experiencing. Teachers then participated in semi-structured interviews, where the same emotions were used as examples, so that the

teachers could discuss their emotion regulation whilst teaching. Emotion regulation refers to “shaping which emotions one has, when one has them, and how one experiences or expresses these emotions” (Gross, 2014, p. 6). Gross talks about two broad types of emotion regulation, antecedent-focused, which occurs before emotions are generated, and response-focused emotion regulation, occurring after the tendency to respond is triggered. A deductive template approach was used to frame the analysis of the teacher interviews. In this, the coding categories are developed prior to looking at the data, with reference to the research questions and theoretical constructs. The authors found that “antecedent-focused emotion regulation might be more desirable than response-focused emotion regulation.” (Jiang, Vauras, Volet, & Wang, 2016, p. 30). The strategy of reappraisal appeared to be more effective than the suppression of emotions in reducing teacher’s negative emotions and increasing their positive emotional displays, for example, teachers who reappraised emotional events may have gained additional insights which influenced how they interpreted challenges, enabling them to deal with them more adaptively. The authors matched student and teachers’ responses and found a high level of agreement amongst the children regarding the labelling of emotional displays. Students perceived only one of their teachers, their (male) maths teacher, to display negative emotions. The maths teacher was perceived negatively by the students and was reported to rarely express positive emotions. The three other teachers (1 male, 2 female) reported using situational modification as an emotion regulation tool. Suppression was only raised by the maths teacher, who spoke about suppressing their anger. The other three teachers who tended to apply antecedent-focused emotion regulation were associated with positive emotions by the students.

The contrast in methods of data collection between teachers and students is an obvious limitation of this study. Whereas student responses were restricted to predetermined emotions, the teachers were given those same emotional labels as 'prompts' but were offered a higher degree of flexibility in their responses.

Nevertheless, the students in the above study were able to contribute useful insights into their experience of their teacher's emotional expression. The current research aims to address the balance of teacher and student information about emotions.

The studies in this section focus on the links between emotional labour or work and the emotional exhaustion of teachers, with the last one (Arens & Morin, 2016) also considering the impact of those emotions from the perspective of students. These studies provide clear evidence that teaching requires emotional work, and reinforce the concept that classrooms are emotional places. In addition, teacher well-being, as measured through their emotional exhaustion, can be seen to be influenced by the amount of emotional work that is undertaken by teachers. However, significant gaps remain because of inbuilt restrictions of the studies – by seeking to explore and quantify, researchers must restrict their studies to collection of data which can be measured quantifiably (for example through scaling). This in turn results in a restriction in the range of focus of the research, which therefore may not reflect experiences in the real world. These gaps in our knowledge will be considered in the current research. In addition, the current research will contribute to addressing the lack of studies focussing on schools in the U.K.

How teachers experience and express their authentic emotions is of interest, not only because of the impact it has on the teacher's personal life (for example, emotional well-being, job satisfaction) but also because it has a direct impact on

teachers' efficacy within the classroom (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003; Taxer & Frenzel, 2015). The experience and expression of teachers' emotion will be considered in the next section.

3.8.2 Teachers' emotional experience and expression of emotion

The situations in which teachers experience and express their authentic emotions (as contrasted with those emotions generated through emotional labour, for example) is not only of relevance to teachers' wellbeing, but also to their experiences of teaching in general. Frenzel and colleagues (Frenzel, Becker-Kurz, Pekrun, & Goetz, 2015) were interested in differences in emotional experiences and expression in different teachers, working with various groups of students and across a range of subject areas. They noted that "teachers' emotions are critically important for the quality of classroom instruction" (p. 1), as well as being a key component to teachers' well-being. This study focused on the individual, within teacher variation in emotion experience and expression across different contexts. The authors focused on the discrete emotions of anger, anxiety and enjoyment, asserting that these are the "three emotions that have been shown to have a particular salience for teachers in the classroom." (Frenzel et al., 2015, p. 2). Two hundred and twenty teachers from schools in Germany participated in two studies. The first study looked at teacher emotions in classrooms where teachers taught the same group of students in different subjects across the school year. The second study had subject specific teachers to allow for variance of emotion with student group to be assessed. Paper diaries were used to assess teachers' emotions across two weeks of teaching, self-reporting their enjoyment, anger and anxiety for each class period using a Likert

scale. Multilevel analysis confirmed that all three emotions varied from person to person, and in addition, teacher emotions varied considerably between subjects and the group of students taught, particularly with respect to anger and enjoyment.

Across the school day, teacher emotions were found to vary considerably.

The extent to which teachers' emotions are *experienced* as varying across the school day by students as participants, and subjects of, the emotional climate of the classroom is relevant to the current research.

The Frenzel et al (2015) study above looked at teacher emotions relating to their experiences across the school day. The following study explores the relationship between teacher emotion and the behaviour of their students.

Hagenauer and colleagues (Hagenauer, Hascher, & Volet, 2015) studied the way that teachers' emotions may be predicted by their students' behaviour and the relationships that they have with their students. 132 secondary school teachers from Austrian schools participated and rated their experiences of the discrete emotions of joy, anger and anxiety during classroom instruction times. Teacher perspectives on self-efficacy were also measured through scaling questions, and teachers also reported their perspectives on their students' behaviour, levels of discipline, engagement, and the children's perceptions of closeness in relationship with their teacher. The authors found that teacher student relationships were a strong predictor of teachers' joy (positive relationship) and anxiety (negative relationship), whilst lack of discipline predicted teacher anger experiences. Student engagement was also a predictor of teacher emotion, with teachers experiencing positive emotions when their students were engaged and negative emotions when they were not. The authors concluded that teacher student relationships, as determined by the teacher,

play an important role in the teachers' emotional experience in class, and that the ability to manage classrooms and to form positive relationships are important factors relating to teacher well-being in their job context. In common with Keller and colleagues ((2014), this study (Hagenauer et al., 2015) found that experiences of joy were relatively high, while anger and anxiety experiences occurred much less often.

The study provides further evidence that the majority of teacher's reported emotional experiences were positive. The authors also found a link between teacher emotion and relationships with, and engagement of, the students.

The following study explores the relationship between teacher emotion and their engagement in teaching over the longer term.

Buric and Macuka (2018) examined the relationship between teachers' engagement in their work and their emotions, using the framework of Fredrickson's broaden and build theory of positive emotions (Fredrickson, 2004). They worked with 941 subject teachers of children aged between 11- and 18-years-old, across 119 schools in Croatia. Validated questionnaires measuring emotion and work engagement were completed on two occasions, time point one was autumn, with time point two in the spring of the following year. A measure of teachers' self-efficacy was also administered at time point two. The authors found that teachers who reported more positive emotions, for example of joy, pride and love at time point one tended to be more engaged at time point two. This was manifested through more enthusiasm while working and interacting with students, greater confidence when facing obstacles, and finding more personal meaning in their work. The reverse was also found, with teachers experiencing fatigue, anger and hopelessness at the time point one being shown to be less engaged at time point two. The authors commented that

these results have implications for studies of teacher motivation and the development of positive occupational well-being through the promotion of strategies aimed at building the personal resources of teachers.

Although the above study focuses on the teacher perspective, it implies that the emotional state of the teacher has a direct impact on quality of engagement with the teacher experienced by their students. This has relevance for the current research because the objective is the exploration of the impact of teacher emotions on the lives of the children that they teach.

Teachers experience and expression of emotion varies across the school day, in different subject sessions and with differing groups of students. The behaviour and engagement that students display are both predictors of teacher emotions and teachers engagement in their work is also related to their emotional state, and this is true over the longer term. The studies above, focusing as they do on the teachers, do not explicitly state the impact of those teachers' emotions on the students that they teach. In addition, the research available for this review was all conducted with teachers of older children, of secondary school age. Younger children's perspectives of teacher emotions will be explored in the current research.

Teachers' emotions are influenced by the behaviour and achievement of their students. Evidence relating to teacher's emotions and the emotions of their students, or indeed, if student's emotions are influenced by their teachers' emotions, is now explored.

3.8.3 Transmission of emotions in the classroom

It is recognised that there is some transmission of emotions from one person to another (Frenzel et al., 2009; Hartel & Page, 2009). Hartel and Page (2009) conceived of the crossover theory, which they defined as “the process of the crossover of discrete emotions such as anger and joy” (Hartel & Page, 2009, p. 238) suggesting that emotions can be elicited directly or indirectly from the emotions of others. Another term used for this phenomenon is emotional contagion (Bakker & Schaufeli, 2000), which is described as a process in which the individual’s emotional state is ‘caught’ by another person at an unconscious level. For example, individuals may automatically adopt the facial expression, intonation, posture or movements of people they are with, resulting in emotional assimilation. Kang and colleagues (2017) utilised this contagion when they set up their study of children’s ability to recognise dynamic facial expressions (see section 3.6.1 of this chapter). They used emotional contagion as a means of obtaining real-world, subtly expressed emotion to present to the child participants.

The difference between direct empathy and contagion is, according to Bakker and Schaufeli (2000), one of conscious intent. Empathic crossover of emotions can be intentional through a conscious cognitive ‘tuning-in’ to someone’s emotions, while emotional contagion is automatic and unconscious. Both empathy and emotional contagion may lead to individuals ‘feeling’ another’s emotions (Bakker & Schaufeli, 2000). Schools and classrooms are acknowledged to be emotional contexts (Hargreaves, 1998; Sutton, 2005), and the subject of transfer of emotions between teachers and students is part of that emotional context.

Becker and colleagues (2014) set out to explore the strength of the relationship between teachers' emotions and those of their students. They examined teacher emotions and their instructional behaviour from the perspective of their students and related this to the student's self-reports of their own emotions. They asked 149 Swiss high school students to rate their teacher's emotions (joy, anger and anxiety), their instructional behaviour, and the students own self-reported emotions by completing short surveys during lessons using handheld devices loaded with experience sampling software. Becker and colleagues (ibid) chose those three discrete emotions for two reasons: firstly, previous research indicated that enjoyment, anger, and anxiety were relevant to teachers (see Sutton & Wheatley, 2003); and secondly, because the authors consider that these three emotions are "easy to detect based on pro-typical expressions ... because teachers' emotions were assessed by students' perceptions." (p. 18). The students were in the ninth grade in school (with an average age of 15.63 years old). Multi-level regression analysis supported the cross-over theory of emotions and demonstrated that teacher emotions were significantly related to student emotions in class for all three discrete emotions. Teacher's instructional behaviours were found to be related to the students' anger and enjoyment, but not to their anxiety. The authors commented that teacher emotions are as important for student emotions as the teachers' instructional behaviour and concluded that crossover between teacher and student emotions was occurring either unconsciously through contagion, or consciously through empathy.

This is one of very few studies which endeavour to ascertain the student's perspective of their teacher's emotions (for example, Andersen, 2012), and is valuable for that reason. The study of just three discrete emotions of joy, anxiety

and anger with students is a limitation of the study, as it precludes exploration of any complexities or richness of the emotional landscape in relation to transfer of emotions. There is also an implication that the authors believe that 15-year-old students can identify only these prototypical emotions, although there is research to the contrary (see sections 3.5 and 3.6 of this chapter).

Frenzel and colleagues (Frenzel, Becker-Kurz, Pekrun, Goetz, & Lüdtke, 2018a) conducted a study which looked at the phenomenon of emotional transmission of one discrete emotion, enjoyment, in the classroom. This was a longitudinal study, taking place across the first six months of a school year, and involving 69 teachers and their 1643 students, aged between 10- and 15-years-old. All attended secondary schools in Bavaria, Germany. There were three time points across the period of the study where data was collected through completion of standardised questionnaires. At time one, demographic data and measures of student and teacher enjoyment were collected. At time two, the teacher's perception of student engagement and student perception of teacher enthusiasm were measured. Finally, at time three, data was collected on both teacher and student enjoyment. The study found evidence of reciprocal transmission of enjoyment between teachers and their students, and the authors believe it to be the first longitudinal study to do so. This reciprocal transmission of emotion implies that the impacts of teacher emotion on the students they teach (and vice versa) are direct in terms of transmitting and influencing emotional states, and authors consider that this may be a major contributor to the general classroom climate. This study is also significant because, as in Becker et al's study (2014) it directly asks for children's views about their teachers, albeit through a constraining set of questions and use of rating scales.

All of the above studies focussed on secondary school aged students and their teachers. There is a gap in the research regarding teacher emotions relating to the primary school sector, which the current research will address.

3.9 Students' perspectives of teacher emotions

Some of the references found during my search of the literature in relation to how students perceived teacher emotional expression or behaviour were incidental to the studies undertaken by researchers. For example, Lewis (2001), looked at students' development of responsibility and forms of teacher discipline by asking school students aged between 11 and 17 years old to complete a questionnaire. They found that both primary and secondary school pupils responded that they had experienced times when their teachers yelled angrily at students who misbehaved. Lewis noted that there was a correlation between teacher aggression and students finding this distracted them from their work.

Another example is found in the qualitative study undertaken by Newland and colleagues (Newland, DeCino, Mourlam, & Strouse, 2019), who conducted a study which sought to understand aspects of children's subjective emotional well-being through a mapping exercise and semi-structured interviews. The phenomenological analysis focused on emotional well-being, specifically children's perception of the impact of relationships in school for their emotional well-being. 23 children aged between 8- and 13-years-old participated in the study in the Midwest of the USA. Although the focus of the study was on the children's emotional responses to relationships and their experiences of emotional well-being, the authors did report on several children describing the emotional impact of their teachers' emotions. One

child, for example, reported observations of a teacher demonstrating feelings of warmth to a child whose pet had died. Another child reported feelings of anger and contempt for teachers, which the authors interpreted as an emotional response to the negative behaviours and emotions of the teacher. Newland et al (2019) contend that “By asking children directly about the emotions they experience across diverse school setting, we may begin to identify contextual experiences both unique and universal in supporting their well-being” (p. 68). In contrast with the study previously discussed by Becker et al (2014), Newland and colleagues appear confident that children, even as young as eight, are capable of detecting and discussing emotions, including those of their teachers.

These studies are important because, although not directly focusing on teacher emotions and their impact, they do reference children’s subjective experiences and perspectives of their experiences of teacher emotions and the impact of those emotions and illustrate the competencies of primary aged children to communicate their emotional experiences and understandings in the context of research. It is in studies such as these that we begin to hear the authentic voices of the children themselves.

The children’s perspectives of their teacher’s emotions in Andersen, Evans and Harvey’s study (2012) were not incidental, but the main focus of the study. They investigated positive aspects of the emotional climate of the children’s classrooms, through structured interviews and activities with children in New Zealand. The study focused on testing out children’s views of three broad dimensions of classroom climate, namely management and discipline, instruction and curriculum, and student-teacher relationships by asking children about positive teachers’ interactional styles and emotional behaviour. Andersen worked with 79 children aged between 8- and

12-years-old, using a games-based interview technique within focus groups, and analysed data using thematic analysis as part of their Master's degree, under the tutelage of Evans and Harvey. They concluded that the children were able to demonstrate a general high level of emotional competence, although there were age related differences in the children's ability to recognise teacher feelings. The children made acute observations of teacher feelings, reflected in teaching style, around how discipline was maintained, relationships with children, and overall responsiveness. Andersen et al (ibid) concluded that "emotion permeates all aspects of teaching practice and emerges from the relationship between teachers and members of the class. When positive, this relationship is one of mutual positive respect and enjoyment." (p. 199).

Much of the research described above takes a 'teacher-centric' perspective, and it was disappointing to encounter significant difficulties in locating studies that offered an authentic child's perspective. Exploring the nature of teacher's emotional experiences and expression, and the impact that these have on their own lives and the efficacy of their classroom practice, serves to highlight the large gap that exists in the current literature regarding the impact of teacher emotions on the children that they teach. Some work has been done in this area, in the USA (Sabol & Pianta, 2012; Wilson et al., 2007), for example, and in New Zealand (Andersen et al., 2012; Evans et al., 2009; Yan et al., 2011), with work focussing on exploring the concept of classroom emotional climate through the lens of positive experiences and practices of apparently intentional emotion work (Hochschild, 1983) by the teacher. The majority of work has taken place in secondary schools, although some has involved younger students of primary school age. This review identifies gaps in consideration of the impact of teacher emotions on the children that they teach, focus on children

of primary age in this area, inclusion of less positive emotional scenarios, and, in my view, most importantly, the informed engagement of children in the research, without restrictions on the emotions that can be explored. Lastly, only one of the studies reviewed (Kang et al., 2017) was based in the UK.

In conceptualising the current research, I wanted to ensure that the authentic voices of those directly involved in classroom life were heard as they teased apart the ways in which teacher's emotions – however they describe them - impact their lives in school. The language that they use to label and describe emotions, discrete and general, is an important part of this, and restricting the palette of emotional language available would, I believe, restrict and could negatively bias the quality of the data derived from participants' contributions.

I believe my current research to be the first of its type, where children of a relatively young age are directly asked, without the aid of constraining surveys or predetermined hypothesis testing, for their views and experiences relating to teacher emotions and the impact that those emotions have had on them in during their time in school. Despite studies (Andersen et al., 2012) demonstrating that younger children do detect and have understanding of teacher emotions, there remains a significant gap in studies focusing in this area which the current research seeks to address.

3.10 Development of the research question

Exploration of the perception of teachers' emotions by children and the impact this has on them is needed for three reasons. Firstly, as although there is increasing research into emotions in the classroom and teacher emotional labour (Näring, Briët,

& Brouwers, 2006; Näring et al., 2012; Nyree Edwards, 2016), children's real world knowledge about emotion in the school context is not well understood. Secondly, in this era of inclusion, there is a need to hear from children directly, not only about their learning and achievements (Göllner, Wagner, Eccles, & Trautwein, 2018; Lewis, 2015; Murphy & Beggs, 2003), but also about their view of the socio-emotional environment in which that learning takes place (Jiang et al., 2016).

Finally, this research is needed to inform and enhance teachers' and their leaders' understanding of adult emotional states and communications in primary schools and the impact that it may or may not have on children and their education. This may then lead to informing changes in practice to the benefit of both children and their teachers.

The research question was developed during an exploratory meeting with the consultation group children, then aged 9- and 10-years-old, who became my co-researchers during this research. On reflection I realise that at this stage in the research process I had not settled into my role as researcher alongside the children and so the language in which this primary research question is expressed is my own.

The primary research question for this research is:

“What is understood of the impact of teacher's emotional lives on the children they teach?”

The co-researchers were keen to demonstrate their knowledge and experience of teacher emotions, including identification and attribution of emotion, and whilst in discussion we agreed that it was pertinent to also explore the context in which the question of the impact of teachers' emotions is embedded, for example, clarifying what the children participating in interviews know about teacher emotions as a

precursor to considering impact. My initial attempts to distil this discussion resulted in five secondary questions:

- How do children discern different mood and emotional states of teachers, and how do they describe these moods and emotions?
- What do children say about how they respond to teacher's feelings in the school context?
- What are the similarities and differences in the way that children in the study identify and respond to moods and emotions of teachers?
- What do children say about the reasons behind teacher moods and emotions that they observe?
- What do children say about the impact of teacher mood and emotions on their learning?

This was again reviewed with the co-researchers and resulted in simplification, reducing the secondary questions to one:

“What do children know about teacher emotions?”

CHAPTER FOUR - METHODOLOGY

This chapter is presented in three parts. The theoretical considerations of the research methodology (4.1) will be followed by an account of the methodologies used in this research (4.2), and finally, the analysis (4.3) is discussed.

4.1 Research methodology: theoretical considerations

In this section different models of Grounded Theory, and why this approach was used for the analysis of the current research, are discussed.

4.1.1 Rationale for using Grounded Theory methodology in this research

The current research was stimulated by a desire to investigate the phenomenon of teacher emotion from children's perspectives. I am conducting this research from a social constructionist perspective, and in accordance with social constructionism, the ontological assumptions associated with this research are that "reality is not absolute, but is socially constructed, and that multiple realities exist that are time and context dependent" (Mertens, 2010, p. 226).

In conducting the current research, I and my co-researchers seek to explore, inform and develop our understanding of children's perceptions about teacher emotions, increasing understanding of meanings constructed by children in their classroom context. This curiosity means a qualitative methodology is being adopted (Guba & Lincoln, 2005), with data being provided directly by children and teachers through semi-structured interviews. The involvement of children of a similar age to those

being interviewed as co-researchers is an important part of the design of this research, as the co-researchers offer an opportunity to work *with* children in conceptualising and increasing understanding of this area, as well as offering mutual support to the research programme and bringing a freshness and immediacy to the children's perspective, through their own ideas and experiences of life in the classroom.

Grounded Theory (GT) approaches are particularly helpful when current theories about a phenomenon are either inadequate or non-existent (Creswell, 2007), and in looking at the area of children's understanding of teacher's emotions in school settings, I came to the conclusion that the use of GT methods were a good fit for this research. GT approaches are considered to be amongst the most robust qualitative research methodologies as they provide the necessary rigour to generate substantive knowledge (Wu, & Beaunae, 2014). GT methodologies are systematic qualitative procedures that are used to generate a theory that explains a process, an action or an interaction about a substantive topic (Creswell, 2009). It is because the methodology allows concepts and theories to be derived directly from data through a rigorous analytic process that I considered it to be the most appropriate approach to adopt.

In all research, there needs to be clarity about the philosophical position of the researcher in the context of the research being undertaken in order for a coherent body of research to develop (Barker, Pistrang, & Elliott, 2002; Denscombe, 2007; Robson, 2011). This is because any lack of transparency could be understood as inferring that the research is itself value free, and therefore researcher perspective and bias has no impact and would not be explicitly considered.

There are several forms of GT, each with differing philosophical underpinnings. The three most dominant designs are discussed below, in historical order and followed by a justification of the research design of the current research.

4.1.2 Classic Grounded Theory

Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss were sociologists studying at the University of California in San Francisco in the 1960s. They collaborated in researching male hospital patients who were dying. In the course of their research, they developed a constant comparative method of data analysis, which they later renamed as Grounded Theory Method. At the time of GT's initial development, quantitative research methods were considered most robust, with the classic positive paradigm of hypothesis testing through empirical study. At the time, qualitative methods were not seen as adequate methods for either theory generation or validation. From a historical perspective, GT represented a "solution to a broader problem about perceptions of the status of qualitatively based knowledge in the social sciences" (Thomas & James, 2006), as it served to legitimise careful qualitative research by demonstrating a logical and detailed process which was based on a realist ontological position and therefore a positivist epistemological paradigm. This paradigm asserts that there is only one objective reality.

In classic GT the researcher seeks to distance themselves from the data with an assumption that they can approach the data and analysis from a neutral position. This is often described as being inductive in nature, in that the researcher has no preconceived ideas to prove or disprove (Morse, 2001). The Classic GT approach is

therefore one of 'discovery', where data is 'uncovered' and allows the research to 'find' theoretical underpinnings to real world objects and positions.

Barney Glaser came from a strongly positivist background and has maintained the notion of the 'invisible researcher', approaching data with 'tabula rasa', or blank slate, and with focusing on discovery of truth that emerges from the data, on the assumption that findings are representative of a 'real' reality (Glaser, 1978). Glaser believes that researching, and 'knowing' about the subject can in itself lead to bias in the form of 'forcing the data' from the researcher's perspective. As a consequence, they consider that literature reviews prior or during data analysis are not acceptable in the classic method. It is only at the stage of emergent theory that comparisons with the literature are considered appropriate.

The constant comparison of data is a feature of GT. From the beginning of the research, the researcher analyses the data by constant comparison, initially of data with data. As the data is interpreted and translated into codes, these codes are compared. Moving through the analysis, codes and categories are developed, and compared with each other and with more data. The principle is that this constant comparison within the analysis leads the researchers to ground their theorising in the data itself, and in the experiences of the participants in particular. Throughout the process, the writing of memos and sorting them is used by the researcher to aid in thinking their way through the labyrinth of emergent meanings as they progress towards a substantive GT (Kenny & Fourie, 2015).

Strauss and Glaser diverged in their philosophical positions and went on to develop and publish GT literature separately (Charmaz, 2008; Kenny & Fourie, 2015). Whilst Glaser continued to focus and refine the classic GT, Strauss went on to work with

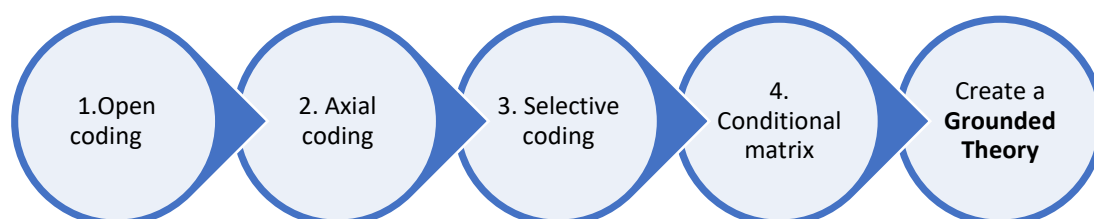
Julia Corbin and continued to develop a highly structured process which also came from a relativist, rather than realist ontological position (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

4.1.3 Straussian Grounded Theory

Strauss and Corbin (1994) write from a relativist ontological position and have clearly stated that they don't believe in "a pre-existing reality 'out there'. To think otherwise is to take a positivistic position that ... we reject ... Our position is that truth is enacted." (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 279). They comment that their work is interpretive and that "interpretations must include the perspectives and voice of the people who we study." (ibid., p. 274).

Corbin and Strauss, whilst retaining a strong belief in the necessity of theory emerging from data and the importance of the participant in research, reconfigured the coding procedures. They designed a highly systematic and rigorous structure that they believed created theory, which closely corresponds to the data rather than engaging in systematic discovery of the Classic GT method. Strauss and Corbin have classified coding in four stages, although they consider that the boundaries between each stage are artificial, and the researcher constantly moves back and forth between them in consecutive coding sessions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Figure 3. The Coding procedure of Straussian GT (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, reproduced in Kenny and Fourie, 2015)



In the above, the conditional matrix is intended to be a “framework that summarises and integrates” the first three levels of coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, pp.158-159), rather than a fourth level of coding. This process of analysis largely follows the same procedure as Glaser’s but is far more meticulous and detailed. Although this process appears complicated, Strauss and Corbin argue that it is appropriate because life is itself complex. Their specific coding directions are intended to direct the researcher to enhance and clarify and are critical to counter the researcher’s prejudices and preconceptions that they invariably bring to the research. In this way, Strauss and Corbin acknowledge researcher bias, and set out to minimise the impact of the researcher on the research through their design. The exacting nature of the Strauss and Corbin (ibid) approach to coding in a systematic fashion so that concepts can be related in an accurate, convincing and complex manner, allowing the researcher to build “a rich, tightly woven, explanatory theory that closely approximates the reality it represents” (1990, p. 57). This statement, in my view, reflects a realist ontological outlook which is in contrast with their avowed relativist positioning, in that it presupposes an external and objective reality. Charmaz (2000)

asserts that both Glaser and Strauss, despite their divergence in methodology, retained a methodology “imbued with positivism with its objectivist underpinnings” (p. 513). Furthermore, she criticised Straussian GT as encompassing an excessive “maze of techniques” (ibid., p. 512). She argues that Strauss and Corbin transformed classic GT’s flexible coding into a set of immutable rules, characterised as positivist, rigid, narrow and overly complicated. Other grounded theorists have also argued that the “densely codified operation” of Straussian GT is excessive (Goulding, 2003, p. 7), and Glaser (1992) contended that it revealed that Strauss “misconceives our conceptions of Grounded Theory to an extreme degree, even destructive degree” (p. 3).

Straussian GT also views the place of literature differently from Classical GT methodology. In Straussian GT, literature is viewed as offering other perspectives which can contribute to the researcher’s analysis of the data and construction of theory. They therefore consider that the researcher should engage proactively with literature in the area being researched from the very beginning of the research process.

4.1.4 Constructivist Grounded Theory

Constructivist GT was developed by Charmaz (2003, 2006) as an alternative to Classic GT. Charmaz’s method values the inductive creativity of the classic methodology. However, the epistemological stance of constructivism challenges the belief that there are objective truths that can be discovered. From a constructivist perspective, meaning does not lie dormant, waiting to be unearthed, but is created by individuals as they interact and interpret, and assign meaning to the world around

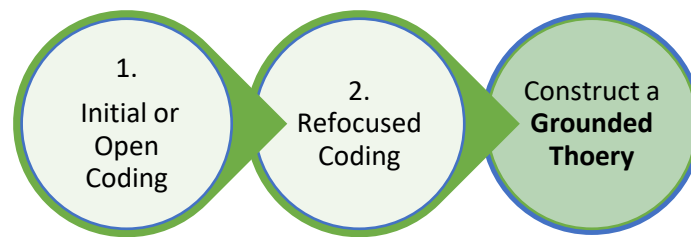
them (Appleton & King, 2002). Charmaz (2003) therefore proposed a version of GT that: “assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognises the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and viewed, and aims toward an interpretive understanding of subjects’ meanings” (p. 250).

Taking this perspective on the nature of reality, Charmaz (2006) is naturally critical of Classic grounded theorists, who believe it possible to discover latent patterns of behaviour within the data. Instead, her Constructivist GT is unambiguously underlined by a relativist ontology, which presupposes the existence of many social realities (Charmaz, 2000, p. 510). In contrast with the Classic GT approach where the researcher strives for invisibility, Constructivist GT emphasises the central role of the researcher. This approach reflects the view that researchers approach their work with background assumptions and perspectives, and that these shape the research. These may be derived from the researcher’s own world perspective, their reading of relevant background literature and their interest in the area as a whole, all of which serve to inform the initial ideas of the research. These are understood as ‘sensitizing concepts’ (Blumer, 1969, cited in Charmaz, 2006, p.19). It is these concepts and different disciplinary perspectives that provide a starting point for the research. The development of Informed Grounded Theory (Thornberg, 2012) stresses that the researcher cannot rid themselves of bias and that knowledge is socially constructed, and therefore subjectivity is inherent in any interpretive methodology. Charmaz (2008) is unequivocal in that the constructivist position endorses the role of researcher and participants in co-construction of knowledge and a mutual interpretation of meaning.

In contrast with Straussian GT, the Constructivist methodology of Charmaz used highly adaptable and deceptively simple coding guidelines which aim to encourage

an “imaginative engagement with data” (Charmaz, 2008, p. 168), supporting the construction of a conceptual interpretation of the phenomena being researched.

Figure 4. The coding procedure of Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2008, reproduced in Kenny and Fourie, 2015)



Although this coding process has much in common with the Classic GT methodology, Charmaz suggests that, rather than look for one main concern, grounded theorists should seek to construct a “picture that draws from, reassembles, and renders subjects’ lives” (Charmaz, 2003, p. 270). She emphasises the abductive nature of the analysis, where the researcher moves back and forth through the data, examining nuances and adding more data, returning to the previous coding to investigate new categories as they emerge. She emphasises the importance of memo writing in constructing a theory, noting that the researcher should use them to scrutinise codes and categories for meaning, highlighting determining conditions and tracing progression and consequences, as well as to identify any gaps in the data. (Charmaz, 2008). In common with Corbin and Strauss, Charmaz (ibid) also endorses the use of literature throughout, and also suggested that there should be a literature review chapter, written after the data analysis, to avoid the possibility of becoming immersed in the literature in such a way as to stifle the researcher’s openness and creativity (Charmaz, 2006).

4.1.5 A summary of similarities and differences between the three GT approaches

In summary, the three dominant iterations of GT have methods in common, such as simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis, the use of memos to develop and define categories, the need for coding and constant comparison, theoretical sampling and a direct relationship with the participants own experience.

The three approaches do, however, differ in several important ways:

- The epistemological and ontological positioning of the GT approach
- The position of the literature review in the process
- The degree of complexity of the coding and analytic process
- The position of the researcher in relation to the content of the research
- The nature of the grounded theory

4.1.6 The GT methods utilized in this research

GT approaches are particularly helpful when current theories about a phenomenon are either inadequate or non-existent (Creswell, 2007) and this has contributed to its popularity. In looking at the area of children's understanding of teacher's emotions in school settings, I noted significant gaps in the research literature, particularly with reference to children's perspectives. I considered that this omission was worth investigating, and gathered data through interview, although did not adopt the approach of gathering data, analysis, more data gathering, and so on, that is traditional in GT methodology. This is because restrictions to access of participants for interview, resulted in interviews being held sequentially with only a few minutes

between them (see section 4.3.8 of this chapter). However, I considered that Constructivist GT methodology would be a good fit for the analysis of this research.

The constructivist approach reflects the view that researchers approach their work with background assumptions and perspectives, and that these shape the research. These may be derived from the researcher's own world perspective, their reading of relevant background literature and their interest in the area as a whole, all of which serve to inform the initial ideas of the research. These are understood as 'sensitizing concepts' (Blumer, 1969 cited in Charmaz, 2006, p. 19). It is these concepts and different disciplinary perspectives that provide a starting point for the research.

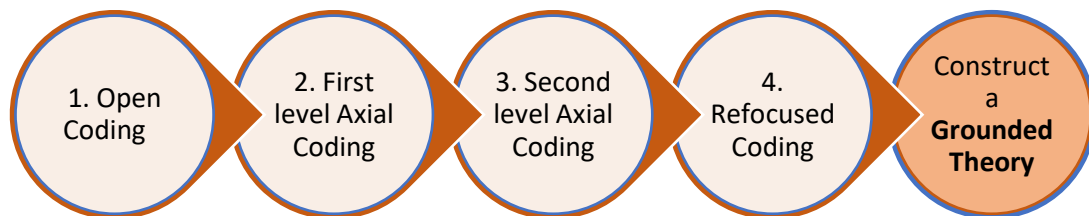
Social constructionism and informed grounded theory advocate the use of abductive reasoning to inform any concepts and theory that are emerging from the data. In classic grounded theory, only inductive reasoning is used. Abductive reasoning, in contrast, includes elements of deductive reasoning, which allows for testing of hypotheses during the analysis of data and inference from this to provide explanations (Charmaz, 2006; Thornberg, 2012; Wu, & Beaunae, 2014).

It became apparent during the course of the data collection and analysis that, whilst approaching this research from a constructionist epistemology, I needed a greater degree of structure than that offered by Cathy Charmaz's coding procedure, in order to assist in making sense of the large quantity of data I was amassing. I attribute this to my position in research as a newcomer to the methodology, Charmaz (2006) herself notes that GT "guidelines offer a set of general principles and heuristic devices rather than formulaic rules" (p. 2), whilst Kenny and Fourie (2015) reminded me that "the researcher doesn't necessarily have to adopt a pure form of one

tradition, and indeed, within the parameters of consistency, there is freedom to blur the boundaries between Classic, Straussian or Constructivist GT.” (p. 1286)

I therefore increased the structure of the coding procedure so that it was closer to resembling that of Straussian GT, whilst still using the analytic theory of Charmaz’s Constructivist GT methodology as described below.

Figure 5. The coding procedure used in the current research



I used the Straussian terminology of axial coding at stages two and three as this seemed to best describe the process and function of the analysis as I reflected on relationships between codes and made connections between them or created and developed categories. I used Charmaz’s terminology for the fourth stage as it reflected the focusing on categories as a step toward constructing theory. In doing so, I maintained a consistent approach throughout and believe that the essence of GT is that there is room for flexibility within the execution of the methodology, provided that it is adapted with sensitivity and the rigour inherent in the methodology is maintained.

4.1.7 The distinction between Constructivism and Constructionism

In her published works, Charmaz appears to use the terms 'constructionist' and 'constructivist' interchangeably. Raskin (2002) discusses the difference between the two epistemological positions. Constructivist approaches centre on the internal construction of reality by the individual, through their personal interactions with the world, whereas social constructionist approaches emphasise that the primary sources of psychic life for the individual are relational, conversational and social practices (Stam, 1998). This research methodology is founded on interaction and conversation – the main source of data is thus gained through interview and discussion with both children and teachers, and it would be disingenuous to posit that the interaction itself had not contributed to the meanings and understandings that emerge through the research. I therefore consider social constructionism to be a more appropriate description of my epistemological position than that of social constructivism.

Social constructionism acknowledges the interactive processes that are concerned with how individuals within cultures make sense of the world. This research explores children's understandings of teacher emotions through interviews with individual and pairs of participants. In Charmaz's social constructionist version of grounded theory, my assumptions and perspectives are accepted as shaping the research topic and the conceptual framework.

An important part of this methodology was the inclusion of children as partners in the research endeavour. This makes the social constructionist approach more apposite as much of the thinking about the nature and initial language used to describe emotions was discussed during focused groupwork between 10 primary aged

children and myself. Here the basic shape and prompting questions were formed for the data collection itself. In this context, my reflexivity was crucial, as was the transparency of the methodology. This enabled me to consider potential bias and remain open to new ideas as the research progressed. I also wanted to stay open to the notion that whilst the research began with the particular considerations of teacher emotion and children's experiences and perspectives, it might also lead to other knowledge, including my own self-knowledge and that of my co-researchers (Wisker, 2008).

4.2 Ethical considerations

The ethical approval for this study was granted by the University of East London's University Research Ethics Committee (UREC), and this was accepted by the University of West London when I transferred to that university to complete this thesis. This research also complies with the British Psychological Society's Code of Ethics and Conduct (British Psychological Society, 2018). I am bound by the Health and Care Professionals Council's (HCPC) Standards of Conduct, Performance and Ethics (Health and Care Professionals Council, 2016) as a Practitioner Psychologist and have a current enhanced Certificate from the Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS). This research also follows data protection principles (GDPR, 2018).

The key ethical considerations discussed in this section are: gaining access (4.2.1); informed consent (4.2.2); confidentiality and privacy (4.2.3); protection from harm (4.2.4); and secure data storage (4.2.5). The procedures followed during the current research were guided by the same principles with both children and adults, albeit with differences related to the specific vulnerabilities of children and are described below.

Copies of letters of information for participants and consent forms can be found in Appendix C.

4.2.1 Gaining access

Access to schools was initially granted by the local authority and subsequently by the headteachers of those schools in their role as gatekeepers. Gatekeepers are key in gaining access to cohorts of participants for research, particularly when the participants are vulnerable, for example in terms of being able to give informed consent and where there may be potential safeguarding issues (Williams, 2020). For example, it would not be considered ethical to approach school children directly. However, the access granted by the local authority and headteachers as gatekeepers did not necessarily result in consent for the research by teachers, children, or the children's parents or carers. This will be discussed below.

4.2.2 Informed consent

Informed consent for this research was first gained from the local authority and headteachers of the schools in which the research took place, in their role as gatekeepers. Headteacher consent, was, I understand, in most cases granted following discussions with senior management teams in the school and teachers who potentially would be involved in the research. However, I also directly sought informed consent from the class teachers of the potential co-researcher group and child participants. I considered that, given the topic of research, children were likely to discuss their own direct experiences and that might involve current teachers (Andersen et al., 2012). I therefore specifically consulted verbally with teachers that

were most likely to be talked about within interviews and during meetings of the co-researcher group, in addition to providing them with written information about the research. This gave those teachers the opportunity to ask questions and veto the involvement of their school in the research if they were uncertain or unhappy about children talking about them, or indeed about teacher emotion in general. It also gave the teachers information needed to reinforce with the children that they agreed that the children would have these discussions. This was done with the objective of supporting children managing any feelings of disloyalty they may have if they talked about uncomfortable issues relating to a particular member of staff.

Parents in the schools attended by the co-researcher group and the child participants were sent letters by the headteachers, explaining the research and enclosing an information and consent form. They were also offered the opportunity to meet with me prior to data collection. A large group of parents, along with their children, and with class teachers in attendance, attended a meeting in the co-researcher group's school, where I made a presentation to them and answered any questions. Parental attendance at a meeting at the participants' schools was lower, and in one of the two schools, representative parents had been sent to talk to me and to report back to a wider parent group. The majority of parents simply signed and returned their consent forms. Headteachers checked parental understanding of the written information and confirmed that they were satisfied that parental consent received was informed and genuine.

Separate presentations were made to all children in each school who were interested in participating in either the co-research group or as interviewees, and for whom I already had parental consent. Opportunities were given for questions and at

this stage. Children were informed that participation was free choice, they could change their minds at any time, without giving any reasons.

4.2.3 Confidentiality and privacy

Participants from each of the three groups (child interviewees, the co-researcher group and teacher interviewees) were drawn from three separate geographical areas of the same county local authority. This added a layer of confidentiality, as members of these groups were unlikely to come into contact with each other.

Difficulties in finding suitable spaces in busy schools is sometimes encountered, and we were fortunate to be prioritised for the use of rooms which made privacy possible for the co-researcher group and participants in this research. Teachers were interviewed in the privacy of their own classrooms.

The importance of confidentiality was emphasised in the written information sent to participants and gatekeepers. However, this was also reiterated at the beginning of the interviews the teacher participants were assured that our discussion would be confidential, within the safeguarding policy of the school, and child participants were reminded of the confidentiality of our meetings, unless they told me something that meant that either they, or someone else, was at risk of harm.

The co-researcher group, during our first meeting, laid down some ground rules, explaining confidentiality as “keep the conversation in the room.” (see section 4.3.3) with a verbal safeguarding caveat as above. These rules were revisited at the beginning of subsequent meetings.

The privacy of individuals and schools was protected by codes, for example, the children in the two schools were, identified as BA, BB, BC, and so on. These codes

were initially used in the transcription of recordings. Later, these codes were replaced by pseudonyms for ease of reading. Finally, all recordings were transcribed by me, so no third party had access to videos.

4.2.4 Protection from harm

The protection of both children and teachers from harm, which involved in researching inner feelings and emotions was considered carefully. In all cases headteachers asked class teachers and the 'designated safeguarding lead' to screen the returned parental consent forms to ensure that children that they considered vulnerable were not included in the research. The rooms in which the interviews of the participant children took place were familiar to the children, and close to the main school office. All had a window in the door which was kept uncovered. In both schools from which the child participants were drawn, a member of non-teaching staff worked nearby, and the children were aware of their location. The children sat nearest the door and were reminded that they could leave at any time without giving any explanations. In addition, children were given a choice to be interviewed on their own or with a friend, and that they did not have to decide until the date of the interview. Those children who did elect to be interviewed as a pair chose a friend from the participant group in their school, with full consent for their involvement.

Talking about teacher emotions had the potential to be emotionally challenging for the children. At the beginning of the interview, each child told me what they would do if they didn't want to answer questions, for example, in one case by saying "next, please", or for most children, shaking their heads. As an experienced educational psychologist, I was also alert for any signs of discomfort throughout the interview. At

the end of the session, children were debriefed and spent a little time talking about the rest of their day and what they were looking forward to before they left.

4.2.5 Secure data storage

Participant interviews and meetings of the co-researcher groups were video recorded using a digital video camera with Wi-Fi disabled, in accordance with the schools' data protection requirements. Files were transferred to an external hard drive, and password protected before the transcripts were made. The camera's memory was wiped. Recordings, transcripts and completed consent forms were kept in a secure location accessible only to me. After transcriptions were complete, video recordings were deleted, and the external hard drive overwritten.

4.3 Methodologies

The research involved a group of primary pupils who were co-researchers, together with primary school children and teachers who provided data to the research through interview. A summary of the research activities below (4.3.1) is followed by more detailed account of the research process.

4.3.1 Overview of research activities

The table below summarises the order in which research activities were carried out. This will be expanded upon in the sections that follow.

Table 1. Summary of the order in which research activities were carried out:

Stage of Research	Activity
Preparation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Researching the literature • Development and submission of research proposal • Discussion with Local Authority for informed consent • Locating areas and schools
Identifying co-researchers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting with Headteacher, teachers, parents and pupils to outline research and answer questions • Informed consent and agreement for participation in research gained
Preparation with co-researchers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reiteration of informed consent and nature of the research • Agreement of ground rules, including confidentiality, for this and future meetings of co-researchers • Sharing knowledge about teacher emotions • Discussion on how to research teacher emotions
Preparation with co-researchers (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Designing questions for semi-structured interviews of pupils and teachers • Further discussions on the nature and experiences of teacher emotion within the group
Identification of first pupil participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting with Headteacher, teachers, parents and pupils to outline research and answer questions • Informed consent and agreement for participation in research gained
Pupil interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Five pupils interviewed, 2 as a pair and three individually, decided by interviewees
Identification of first teacher participant, and teacher interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion with headteacher followed by discussion and consent of Y5 teacher • Interview with Y5 teacher
Reflections with co-researchers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report back to co-researchers • Shared analysis of sections of one pupil and one teacher interview • Reconsideration and refinement of questions to be asked

Identification of second pupil participants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting with Headteacher, teachers, parents and pupils to outline research and answer questions • Appropriate consent and agreement for participation in research gained
Pupil interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nine pupils interviewed, four in pairs and one individually, decided by interviewees.
Reflections with co-researchers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report back on research progress to co-researchers • Discussion about teacher emotions • Co-researchers request opportunity to interview their own teacher
Identification of second teacher participants, and teacher interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discussion with headteacher followed by discussion and consent of two Y5 and two Y6 teachers • Interviews with four teachers, two in a pair and two individually, decided by interviewees
Reflections with co-researchers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report back on research progress to co-researchers • Discussion about teacher emotions • Permission to interview Headteacher discussed and agreed
Head teacher interview by co-researchers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agreement about who would ask interview questions and in which order • Interview with Headteacher
Final reflections with co-researchers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feedback from interview with headteacher • Reflections and evaluation of meetings over 18 months • Evaluation of research process and learning

4.3.2 Locating areas and access to schools

The current research involved three discrete groups: a co-research group, involving children of approximately the same age as the children who were interviewed; participant children, who provided data through interview; and participant teachers, also interviewed to provide data for the research.

Participants from each of the above groups were drawn from three separate geographical areas of the same county local authority in order to enhance confidentiality. I initially met with the local authority's Inspection and Advice Team, to identify three discrete geographical areas and schools within the local authority, which may be in a position to participate in this research and from which participants could be drawn.

Permission from the local authority to carry out this research was contingent upon consultation with these primary advisors, who were given the role by the local authority to identify and screen out schools for factors that might increase their vulnerability, such as OFSTED ratings, changes in leadership, overall achievement and behaviour of children, and any other challenges. The Primary Advisors took this a step further and I was presented with a list of schools which I could approach, and which had been endorsed by relevant leadership representatives within the local authority. These were schools which the local authority considered themselves to have a good relationship and where the Primary Advisors thought that the leadership team would be interested in furthering research in this area and would appropriately encourage staff and pupils to participate. In this way, the population from which participants could be selected was limited. It was also important that the school should have the capacity to provide familiar, protected space for meetings and interviews to take place, and to allow participants sufficient time without pressure to take part in the research. Information was sent to each of the schools that expressed an interest in the research.

In the first geographical area, where I was seeking to engage with the co-researcher group, the first headteacher I contacted was enthusiastic and volunteered their school immediately. This headteacher was confident that they understood the long

commitment that they were entering into on behalf of the pupils, their teachers and school.

In this respect, selection of children to participate in researching with me was opportunistic, with the main criteria being that their age mirrored that of the children who would be interviewed and that they were able to meet with me regularly throughout the course of the research, and had volunteered to steer and contribute to the research itself. I arranged a meeting with teachers of Year 5 pupils, all of whom consented to the involvement of children from their classes, before meeting with parents and finally with a group of children from three separate classes who had shown interest in my research of teacher emotions and for whom all relevant adult consent had been obtained. Eleven children signed consent forms to engage in the research.

I located children to participate in data collection interviews in schools in the second geographical area. Three of the headteachers contacted expressed interest in giving their Year 5 pupils the opportunity to participate in interviews in which they discussed teacher emotions. One school disengaged once staff had considered the written information about the research, as the teachers of the Year 5 classes expressed unease about the research topic. Meetings were arranged separately for teachers, parents and, finally, children in the two schools to obtain informed consent. The two criteria for the selection of these child participants were: children from Year Five in the summer term of the data collection or Year Six in the following autumn term (thus mirroring the year group of the co-researchers); school and parents had screened children through consent and consideration of each child's vulnerabilities on the day of interview.

In the third area, schools were approached with a view to engaging with teachers of Year 5 and Year 6 to participate. I was provided with a list of five schools to contact by the Primary Advisors. Two headteachers chose not to engage, saying that they had too much going on in their schools at that time. The headteachers of the other three schools were sent detailed information to pass on to their relevant staff, (teachers of Years 5 and 6) and responded with dates and times for interview of those teachers. In two schools this proceeded as planned, with rooms made available and teachers expectant, and released from teaching duties. These teachers had read and signed consent forms. However, when I arrived in the third school, teachers expressed anger at 'being told that they were participating' and explained that they had not seen any information and did not want to be interviewed. It was entirely appropriate that I should withdraw and so just two schools were available for interviews with teachers, with only five teachers participating in interviews. The selection of teacher participants was thus more problematic than engagement of child participants, and will be subject of further consideration in the discussion chapter.

4.3.3. Working with co-researchers

Initially, the co-researcher group was comprised of eleven children coming from the three Year 5 classes in the school. This was reduced to ten after one child left the school after the third session. The table below shows pseudonyms and ages of co-researchers at the beginning and end of their involvement in the current research:

Table 2: The co-researcher group

Co-researcher	Class	Age over the period of involvement
Imani	A	9:07 – 11:02
Sam	A	9:05 – 11:00
Taylor	A	9:10 – 11:05
Jessie	B	9:06 – 11:01
Lee	B	9:08 – 11:03
Frankie	B	9:04 – 10:11
Jude	B	9:08 – 11:03
Rowan	C	9:06 – 11:01
Lennox	C	10:01 – 11:08
Lesley (left after 3 sessions)	C	9:05 – 9:11
Ash	C	9:11 – 11:06

Nine of the children were of white British heritage, the remaining two from BAME communities.

The school leadership of the children’s school provided a quiet room for 2 hours, seven times across the nineteen months of data collection and preliminary analysis. The headteacher provided water and biscuits to, she said, emphasise the differences in participation from normal classroom practice. I was informed that in this particular school, it was normal practice to provide water and biscuits when children were doing additional activities, and this should not be considered an incentive to participate.

The initial meeting with co-researchers involved introductions, both to each other and to the topic. Although children from different classes knew each other a little, the introductions were useful in learning a little more about each other, and about me. Children were reminded about their rights in relation to the research, with emphasis being placed on choice of participation and ability to withdraw at any stages with no questions being asked. Basic ground rules were constructed. The children appeared

used to this activity, and my role was simply to raise the subject and ask whether they felt we needed structure and 'rules' for our meetings. The following five-point protocol was developed, in the children's own language:

1. Keep the conversation in the room – keep what we talk about confidential.
2. Treat everybody with respect – be nice to one another.
3. Listen to everybody's opinions and thoughts.
4. If you would like to, you can pass the question on to someone else.
5. Wait until someone else has finished talking before you have your turn.

During discussion they refined this, nominating me to keep order, rather than have a nominated person each session and the co-researchers decided that they would signal a desire to speak by raising their hands.

We also revisited the item on confidentiality, whereby I emphasised that there may be exceptions to this if the children told me that they, or someone they knew were at risk of harm. In that case I would have to let the designated Safeguarding officer know (although rather than talking about the title, I named the relevant person in each school). However, overall, they were satisfied that the above was all that was required, saying that if they needed to, they could change them later.

4.3.4 Identifying key questions to ask interviewees

Grounded theory is an appropriate methodology when the purpose of the research exploration in an area about which little is known (Creswell, 2009), and where

outcomes may be unanticipated. Using this methodology, the researcher follows the ideas that emerge in interviews flexibly, without imposing preconceptions on these through set questions. The researcher then narrows the range of interview topics as the data is collected in order to gather more specific information. This is in order to develop the emerging theory as interviews progress (Challis, 2009; Charmaz, 2006).

Whilst wanting to guard against preconceived categories, there is acknowledgement in grounded theory that construction of an open-ended interview schedule is helpful in considering the types of question used and may elicit the interviewees' experience (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1997). With this in mind I worked with my co-researchers to generate a series of questions, informed by our discussion of teacher emotions and my own review of the literature.

During the first session with the co-researchers, they discussed their own view and experiences of teacher emotions and began thinking about how they might obtain information from other children on the subject. They unanimously decided that simply asking questions was most appropriate form of finding out about teacher's emotions. In the second session, I gave the children a summary of the main areas of our previous discussion and, working in pairs, the children constructed 33 questions that they considered important. We then came together as a whole group to discuss how many questions it was reasonable to include in the interview schedule (they decided 10). The co-researchers then worked to refine, combine, and reject questions until they had thirteen that they felt should be included in the interview schedule (see appendix D)

There were some tensions during this process, although the co-researchers were enthusiastic and adamant about the questions that they wanted asking. It became

apparent that they were working from a more positivist perspective, writing questions and seeking answers that would confirm their hypotheses about other children's understanding and experience of teacher emotions. This caused some considerable reflection about the nature and methodology of the research. However, being committed to researching with, rather than on children, I came to the view that these questions should be asked and that encouragement, open prompting and, if necessary, moderation would also take place within the interview.

I reframed the questions for teachers (appendix D) so that they mirrored the ones constructed for children. The co-researcher group discussed the changes made and agreed that these were suitable and were insistent that the interview schedule that we had constructed for other teachers should begin with the question: "Teachers don't often cry in the classroom and yet I guess that children know when their teachers are sad. What else do you pick up?". This presented me with my first dilemma in terms of my role as participant/researcher, as I considered the question was a rather harsh introduction to the topic for the teacher interviews, whilst the co-researchers disagreed. I had to choose between working with the children as true co-researchers or overruling them, and thus treating them as consultants whose preferences could be disregarded if not in keeping with my own, as principal researcher. This was made more stark because as one of the conditions of engaging with the research, the Local Authority representatives requested that I, as principal researcher, would be conducting the interviews. I opted to respect the amount of thought that the co-researchers had put into the question and managed the situation in order to reduce the emotional impact of the first question, by providing an introduction for interviewees which included the source and reason that the questions were being asked and put the first question into context.

Although one would usually anticipate initial open-ended questions followed by more structured prompts (Creswell, 2009), in this case, the reverse was true. This was to preserve the integrity of the children's participation in the research and enable me to follow an approach that is consistent with the ontological and epistemological position that underpins this research.

Therefore, the initial questions designed in the co-researcher focus groups were used, together with prompts and encouragement, remaining aware of the need to achieve a balance between offering participant interviewees opportunities to tell their stories and focussing and prompting further information on significant statements (Creswell, 2009). The topic of teacher emotion was introduced and my role as interviewer was to encourage and support the participants to develop their ideas as fully as they could. This approach was maintained for subsequent interviews, but informed by previous interviews, prompts were refined. Data from these subsequent interviews triangulated emerging patterns in the data, with support of the co-researchers.

4.3.5 Conducting interviews with children

Interviews with the children took place within two schools in a sector of the county away from that in which the co-researchers were located. 14 children were interviewed, and details are shown in the table below. Interviews at school C took place in July 2016 at the end of their Year 5. The children in school D were interviewed in November 2016 at the beginning of their Year 6. The children in school D had the same teacher in Year 5 and in Year 6.

Table 3: The children’s interviewees

Pseudonym	School	Age at interview
Stevie	C	10:01
Andi	C	10:04
Sasha	C	10:06
Joey	C	10:09
Briar	C	9:11
Toni	D	10:06
Robin	D	11:01
Blake	D	10:09
Riley	D	10:01
Jordan	D	10:11
Morgan	D	10:11
Bobbi	D	10:08
Devon	D	10:03
Alex	D	10:05

Most children chose to be interviewed in pairs although four, (Stevie, Sasha, Joey and Alex), elected to be interviewed on their own.

The timings of the interviews were at the headteacher and class teacher’s discretion, and they had the final say in whether children should attend or be excluded from the interviews on the day. This was because the school leadership retains safeguarding responsibility and were in the best position to relate directly with parents and to make judgements about the emotional and physical state of each child on the day of the interviews. At the beginning of each interview, I reminded the children about what they had consented to in the interview, confidentiality and privacy, and included caveats related to safeguarding. I also confirmed that they did not have to participate, could leave at any time, and that if they changed their minds about having spoken to me later, they could let a named member of staff know and I would delete their record with no questions asked. All interviews were video recorded using a digital camera with Wi-Fi disabled, and I asked the permission of children before the camera was switched on.

Throughout the interview process, my aim was to emphasise the interviewees thoughts and for them to feel that they could speak as freely as was possible. At the end of each interview, children were asked if there was anything else about teacher emotion that they would like to tell me. After the camera was switched off, we then spent a few minutes debriefing, by chatting about their interests, what lesson they would be returning to and lastly, whether I could keep the recording that I had made in order to transcribe the data. The reason for this were to further facilitate the children’s informed choice – having considered the questions they had been asked during the data gathering process, I felt that they were better informed to give consent about the subsequent use of the video recording and the data.

4.3.6 Interviewing the teachers

Five teachers were interviewed from two schools, one from the first and four from the second. Teacher participant details are shown in the table below:

Table 4: Teacher interviewees

Pseudonym	School	Year taught	Years of teaching Experience
Reagan	School A	Year 6	15
Kelly	School B	Year 5	4
Chris	School B	Year 5	8
Drew	School B	Year 6	6
Ali	School B	Year 6	8

In all cases, interviews took place in an otherwise empty classroom away from other staff members and children.

The first teacher, Reagan, was asked mirror questions to those in the child participants interview schedule. The co-researchers group reviewed a section of the

transcript arising from this interview and, after discussion, two further questions were added to the interview schedule for the remaining four teachers.

Three teachers were interviewed on their own, whilst two chose to be interviewed together. As with the child interviews, at the end of the session each teacher confirmed that they were in agreement that I could use the data collected through the video recordings.

4.3.7 Reviewing the interviews with co-researchers

After each group of interviews, the co-researchers met with me to consider the progress of the research and review findings. Due to time limitations, co-researchers were not able to review transcripts of the full interviews, but instead discussed key issues and suggested further amendments to the research. For example, towards the end of our time together, the co-researchers requested the opportunity to interview their own teacher. Their headteacher was consulted about this and explained to the children that she could not agree to their request. However, she did suggest that, as she actively taught one day a week, that they might be interested in interviewing her, and made herself available to them for this purpose.

Our final meeting took place at the end of the academic year when the children were leaving their primary school and would be progressing to several different secondary schools. This meeting took the form of a review of our work together, with their reflections on the process, their part in it, and what they felt could have been improved upon (see discussion chapter: 7.7). The co-researchers were each given a letter thanking them, and summarising their involvement and learning (Appendix E)

4.3.8 Reflections on data collection

Interviewing children in pairs required a different process to interviewing a single child (see Appendix F). The interviews with children on their own were characterised with clear exchanges, with the interviewer demonstrating interest and encouragement for further clarification of the information that the interviewee was giving. When interviewing two children together, they tended to speak over each other, finish each other's sentences and interact much more with one another, occasionally leading to some distraction as they conversed. The energy provided by two children was greater than that provided by one alone, and this had an impact on the apparent enthusiasm for sharing anecdotes. We could argue that this resulted in data that had more depth. Talking over each other (and the interviewer) increased the difficulty of the subsequent transcription of the data, and my role as interviewer involved a greater degree of management than interviewing an individual.

School timetables and organisation resulted in the headteachers of both schools from which the child interviewees were drawn, arranging the interviews immediately after one another. This gave only a little time for reflection, note taking and consideration of the themes emerging between interviews. However, abductive reasoning can be viewed as taking place within interviews, and I was able to actively listen and check through emergent themes and ideas (Charmaz, 2006; Robson, 2011), and make some notes as each interview progressed.

4.4 Analysis

All the data collected in this research is qualitative. This data analysis was carried out using the methods of grounded theory described above, using a constructionist approach which “sees both data analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 130).

4.4.1 Transcription

The recordings of each session were separately and fully transcribed verbatim and the recording itself then deleted. I undertook the transcription myself, because this enabled me to interact with the data in an intensive and intimate way (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Mertens, 2010). Mertens (ibid) notes that researchers bring their own point of view to the process, and I was concerned that with third party transcribers, there may have been a risk of outsider interpretation and perhaps lack of persistence in deciphering the more difficult sections. Video recordings were helpful during transcription of the data where pairs of children were being interviewed, as it enabled me to confirm who was speaking and in general, to distinguish what was being said if the child was speaking quietly or being talked over, using the additional cues that the visual record held.

4.4.2 Reflecting on the data with the co-researcher group

After the first interviews with children and the first teacher, I met with the co-researchers and reflected on my experience of those interviews with them. Together we looked at sections of the transcripts, with the children commenting on the

responses to the questions and confirming that they were happy with their semi-structured questions. Although they did not want to change the children's questions, the co-researcher group wanted more information from the teachers and, after discussion, added a further two questions to the teacher interview schedule. One of these questions concerned teacher feelings of guilt, whilst the other queried teachers' ability to interpret the thoughts of children (See appendix D).

The co-researchers discussed the fullness of the responses and swapped anecdotes based on both the child and teacher's responses, confirming that the co-researchers were able to relate to the issues raised and examples given. They commented that the teacher liked children and was interested in them.

Further meeting with co-researchers included aspects of transcribed data for discussion as they engaged with, and reviewed, sections of the data being collected. This enabled the co-researcher group to contribute to the initial analysis of the data.

4.4.3 Reading, reflecting and reviewing – beginning open coding

Access to the co-researchers was limited and so the majority of the analysis I carried out by myself, but importantly, returning periodically to the co-researchers for their input and discussion.

The analysis began with the teacher generated data. The first stage of analysis involved reading and re-reading the transcripts, whilst reflecting upon their content. (Gibbs, 2018) After the second reading, notes were made, to facilitate a move from which pieces of data were interesting, for example, in terms of apparent themes and triggers for future strands of enquiry within the data, as to *why* they were interesting

(Mertens, 2010). As more transcripts were read, further ideas and possible themes began to emerge, as my reflections and thoughts were informed by what I had previously read.

Thoughts and my responses to sections of the transcripts were noted, initially on the transcripts themselves and then a series of cards which I re-read and added to as the analysis progressed. Links between sections were noted and documents revisited to check my understanding of passages which seemed significant in that context (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1997).

This process was repeated for the transcripts of the children's interviews, which I embarked upon in depth sometime after that of the teachers, as I was concerned that there may be the possibility of subconscious cross referencing of themes and did not want the initial coding to be unduly influenced by patterns and themes emerging from the teacher (adult) data.

Samples of transcripts and initial notes can be found in Appendix F.

4.4.4 Applying codes to the data sets

The aim of research based on grounded theory was to identify central and core categories, both at a high level of abstraction, and grounded within the data collected (Robson, 2011). Grounded theory principles has data building up gradually to form patterns and to reveal themes, all originating from the data rather than any preconceptions about that data borne by the researcher (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), and this is achieved by carrying out different types of coding. Firstly, open coding is used to identify categories. Axial coding, as the name suggests,

interconnects this open coding. The third type of coding used was referred to as 'selective coding' by Corbin and Strauss (2008) and serves to establish the core category or categories (Robson, 2011). Instead, I used the term 'focused code' (Charmaz, 2006) to denote the identification of significant or frequent earlier codes to synthesise and explain larger segments of data.

I took the decision to initially block code the line-by-line open coding which had emerged from reading and re-reading the transcripts, with a view to reducing the large amount of data that I was handling to more manageable 'chunks'. I then took each 'chunk' and worked through the initial first and second level axial coding. At this stage, I amalgamated the data once more and worked with it as a whole. This enabled a fresh look at the complete data set and the process of revisiting axial codes, amalgamating similar codes and recognising new codes across the whole of the data set was easier (an example can be found in appendix F).

Once tentative categories began to develop, I returned to the data set to seek illumination of the categories. This iterative process did prevent me from becoming overwhelmed and was repeated several times before connections were made that brought the categories together to form a 'theory'. This 'aha' moment occurred after I had spent a long time immersed in the data and happened to visit a school in my role as an educational psychologist. As I was walking past one class with the headteacher, she remarked "They are all working hard in there." I glanced and saw a child being spoken to by the teacher. Another child was walking towards the teachers' desk with work in their hand, when a third child stopped them. My understanding of what I saw during that brief observation was that it appeared that the child with their teacher was being told off, and the third child was preventing the child with work from getting involved in the incident. This image stayed with me and

when I returned to the children's data it became apparent that from the perspective of the children participating in this research, they were indeed all working hard in the area of emotions, managing and using their knowledge of teacher emotion in the classroom to inform decisions about their own actions.

4.4.5 The use of memoing: comments and reflections

Charmaz describes the process of the researcher writing of memo's as "stop and analyse your ideas about the code in any – and every – way that occurs to you during the moment" (2006, p. 72).

Reading the transcripts and coding gave rise to a number of thoughts throughout the process, many of which were captured using memos. At first, many of the memos were descriptive in nature, relating to factors of interest or particular utterances. As the coding progressed to the first axial level, memos were used to capture similarities and differences between data, and links to theoretical modelling. This prompted a reappraisal of categories and revisiting both coding and the original transcripts in order to find related ideas.

4.4.6 Problems encountered with analysis

Two types of problems were encountered with the analysis:

1. Related to working with co-researchers

I was disappointed to be unable to meet with the co-researchers as much as I had hoped. This was mainly due to competing priorities within the host school. This resulted in more limited examination of the transcripts together. I therefore reduced

the size of the sections from transcripts that were shared, to enable us to examine and discuss more interview samples. The children, in their role as co-researchers, were keen to develop their own understanding of teacher emotion and to share their insights. They generously gave their time when this was possible.

2. Related to handling the data

Transcribing the interviews. The data amounted to many hours for video recordings to be transcribed, not all of which was easy to interpret. There are issues related to the joint interviewing of children which I had underplayed. For example, the tendency of children to talk over each other and to finish each other's sentences, or to continue with their response in fragments between comments of the other child, thus making it challenging to capture in a coherent form.

Keeping the teacher and child analysis separate initially. The design, developed by the child researchers and myself, had teachers being asked questions that mirrored those asked of the child participants. In the subsequent conceptualisation of the data, it was at times difficult to treat the adult and child data sets as distinct. I felt that this was an important and integral part of the research, in order to allow children's voices to shine through, rather than have their views subsumed by those of adults who have their own views about emotion and the classroom environment.

Keeping the authenticity of the child's voice. I frequently revisited the whole transcripts, re-reading them during and following the line-by-line open coding. Even so, I initially found myself moving too rapidly from the voices of the children to those of adult conceptualisation, and revisited the first level axial codes on more than one occasion in order to satisfy myself that a) the language used in these codes reflected the communication and expressions of the children whose views and experiences I

was seeking to represent, and b) that the final coding and themes were those which had face validity when juxtaposed against the transcripts themselves.

4.5 Researcher reflexivity

The analysis of the data raised a number of personal points of learning for me. The use of software to aid with analysis did not work for me, and I regret that I was unable to get to grips with Nvivo or Atlas. Working with excel spreadsheets, although perhaps more time-consuming, was however, useful.

This is the first time I have used GT methods in research, and I had not expected the long period of time when the analysis did not appear to be either yielding anything of significance nor did it have the authenticity of voice that I had been anticipating. I am forever grateful for the comments of my principal supervisor, Sharon Cahill, who suggested that I simply made a copy of the data sets and “play” with them. This playfulness caused me to feel closer to the children that I had worked with, and enabled me to make the breakthroughs, or experience the ‘lightbulb’ moments, that are an established experience for those researchers using this form of analysis. These breakthroughs included a link with the construct of children’s emotional competency at a level that I had been unprepared for, including the place of emotion labour within the emotional dynamics of the classroom environment.

Throughout the process of analysis, I reviewed my own response to the data, for example, times when I had an emotional response to the content, such as joy at the humour of some of the data, and anger or sorrow at others, or when I felt empathy at the plight of a teacher reporting their attempted to conceal their fear response to birds. Embodied responses like those are considered “markers of meaning from

which researchers can learn.” (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2009, p. 68), and reflecting on the significance of my own responses to the data was a part of the analysis process itself.

Finally, the authenticity of the ‘voice’ of the participants has been at times elusive, partly due to the conceptual leaps I initially made during analysis. I found using the question “How would my co-researchers say this?” helpful as I studied the children’s data, searching for similarities, differences, connections, and topics of interest. In contrast, I was much more comfortable with the language and themes emergent from the teacher data, perhaps because although I have experience of being both a child and a teacher, I was closer to the latter culture, of adults in education and their linguistic styles.

CHAPTER FIVE – CHILDREN TALKING ABOUT TEACHER EMOTIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the results of analysis of the child participant's transcripts, in response to the primary research question "What is understood of the impact of teacher's emotional lives on the children they teach?", and secondary question "What do children know about emotion?"

5.1.1 The structure of analysis

The analysis of the data has been set out using the categories for each part of the developing theory. The subheadings under each of the category headings are consistent with focussed and axial codes and are identified in the introduction to each of the categories below. Each of the axial codes are then supported by direct quotes from the interviewees. Interviewees did not have equal interest in each category, and so data is not spread evenly between them. Instead, some categories are represented more than others, for example, all children had contributions they wished to make about identification of teacher emotions and impact of those emotions on the children, but fewer commented on interventions that they made themselves to alter their teacher's emotional state. The possible reasons for this will be debated in the discussion chapter.

As is common in research of this nature, some data did not fit neatly into one category or another and themes overlap and are not always mutually exclusive. In

accordance with this, some quotes were used more than once to support and illustrate more than one axial and focused code.

5.1.2 Use of Language

The language in this section represents what the children themselves said in the interviews. They talked about 'emotion', 'feelings' and 'moods' interchangeably, and although there are differences in the academic meanings of these words, within this research, because the children did not differentiate, all these terms are used to describe 'emotion'.

Similarly, children talked about four broad emotional areas, namely happiness (normal, calm), sadness (unhappy, down), anger (cross, stressed, grumpy, annoyed) and upset. Use of this language will be exemplified as the reader moves through the analytic chapter.

In order to be able to give their perceptions on the impact of teacher emotions, children first needed to be able to identify their teacher's emotions and have some idea (realistic or not) about the attribution of those emotions. All of the children interviewed had something to say about this and therefore contributed to that part of the analysis.

5.1.3 A note about the transcripts and quotes

In transferring quotes from the original transcripts, I have made a few changes for ease of reading. As a researcher, I did not have expectations that the children and teacher would speak perfectly. However, it is my responsibility to present the

participant's ideas and observations as clearly as possible, in a way that I believe they would feel comfortable with, and without compromising the integrity of what they said (in the interview and on the transcript). So, I have punctuated sentences as I deemed appropriate, as during the course of transcribing the original files, punctuation conventions were not always observed, and in places punctuation was absent altogether, and so this has been remedied. Revising the punctuation was done as I referred back to the transcripts and located quotes that were illustrative of focused and axial codes.

The following conventions were used: I have used ellipses to denote noticeable pauses of up to one second. Pauses that were longer than one second have been denoted as behaviours thus [pause], and where I have omitted text, this is denoted by ellipses within brackets [...]. Omissions include irrelevant information as well as multiple repetitions of words or phrases, unless deemed important.

Children interviewed in pairs occasionally talked over each other, add on to each other's comments and interrupted with off-topic comments. As far as possible I have captured this, although in quoting the children I have also tried to ensure that the contributions of each child are clear. This research is, after all, focussed on what it is that they have to say.

The reference following each section of transcript denotes the source of the quote, the child code followed by the location of the first line of the quote. Contributions by me in role of interviewer have been coded as 'Int'. Participating children have been given gender free pseudonyms taken from emmasdiary.co.uk or nameberry.com. However, when children were being spoken about within the text, I gave them gendered pseudonyms to reflect both children and teacher's gendered references to them. Similarly, all female teachers have been identified as 'Miss X' or 'Miss Y',

while male teachers have been called 'Mr W'. The use of the word 'Miss' was regularly used as a short form to denote any female teacher by the children.

In parts, I have illustrated codes with short exchanges between two children, as some of the interviews took place in pairs. There are points in this where the origin references are not consecutive in terms of line numbers because of the nature of the transcripts and omissions as discussed above.

5.1.4 The five categories of children's knowledge of teacher emotions

Through analysis of the children's transcribed interviews, a number of first and second level axial codes were identified, as described in Section 4.4.4 of this thesis. This was an iterative process and connections were identified between second level axial codes, focused codes and tentative categories were identified. The whole data set was revisited several times, and axial codes promoted or demoted until in the final analysis 53 second level axial codes led to the development of 18 focused codes. At the end of the analysis, five categories had been identified through this process. These were:

- Identification of teacher emotion (5.2),
- Attribution of teacher emotion (5.3),
- Teachers' emotional labour (5.4),
- Impact of teacher emotions (5.6), and
- Interventions by children (5.7).

Figure 6 below shows the five categories that were developed during this research and the focused codes that contributed to those categories.

Figure 6. Children's knowledge of teacher emotions: Categories and focused codes



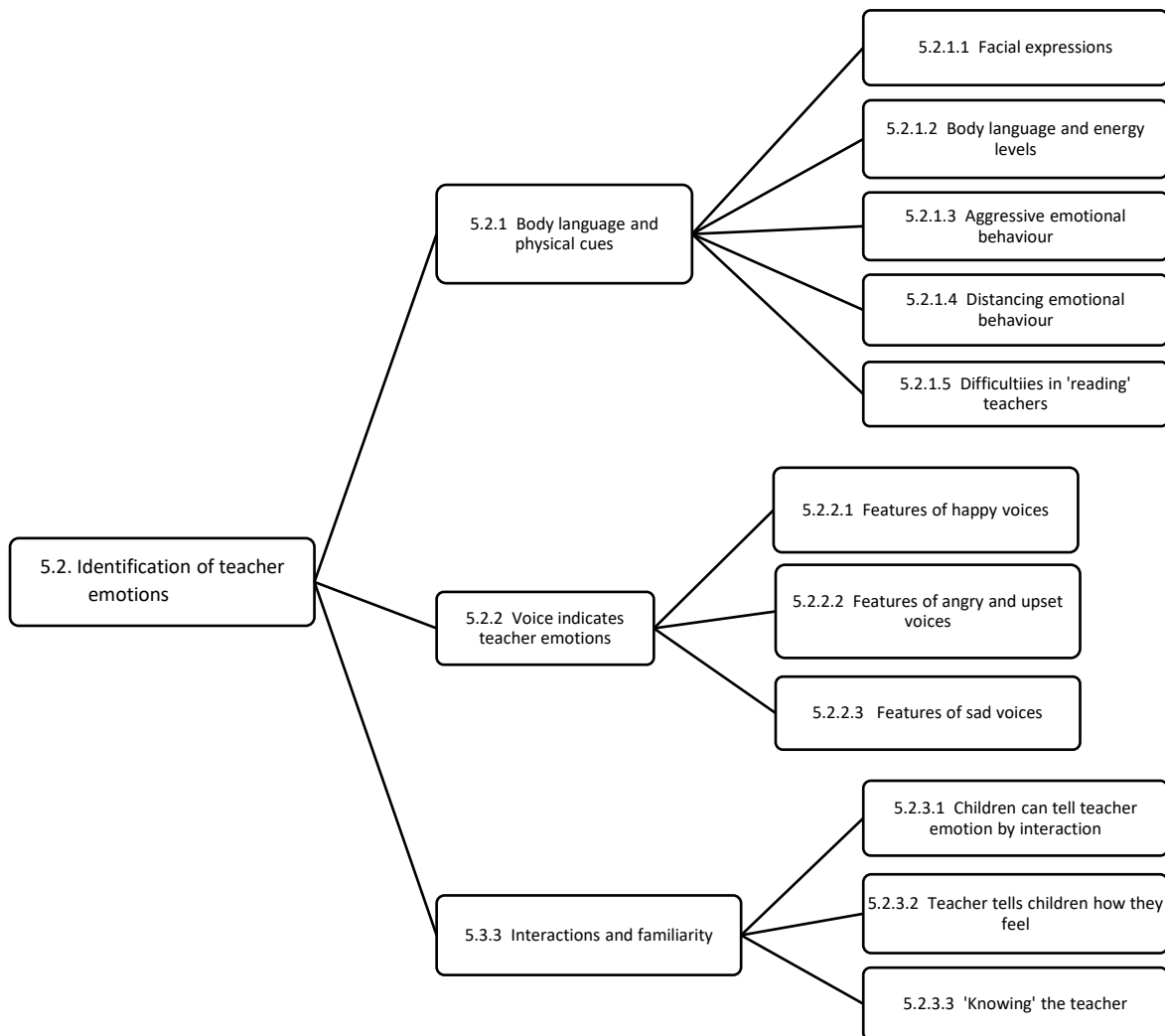
Examination of each category will then begin with a further figure (figures 7 to 11) that includes not only focused codes but also axial codes. These will be illustrated with examples throughout the analytic chapter.

5.2 Identification of teacher emotions

Children reported being able to tell how their teachers felt, using a number of cues. These fell into three focused codes, of body language and physical cues (5.2.1), teachers voice (5.2.2) and interactions and familiarity (5.2.3). The cues themselves form the axial codes and are described individually, although in practice the children appraised their teachers emotional state using the cues in combination, for example, facial expression, body language and the use of voice and language all contributed to the assessment of the emotional state of their teacher.

Figure 7 overleaf shows the focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Identification of teacher emotion”.

Figure 7: Focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Identification of teacher emotion”.



The axial codes making up each focused code will be illustrated below.

5.2.1 Body language and physical cues

Five axial codes were identified, making up this focused code. These were: identifying emotions by facial expression (5.2.1.1); body language and energy levels (5.2.1.2); aggressive emotional behaviour (5.2.1.3); distancing emotional behaviour (5.2.1.4); and difficulties in ‘reading teachers (5.2.1.5). Quotes are provided to illustrate the detail embedded within each of these axial codes.

5.2.1.1 Facial expressions

In describing how they identified emotions, children first focused on describing their teacher's faces. This could be, in part, because teachers in the UK expect children to look at them when they speak and pay high regard to eye-contact.

When asked how they knew what mood the teacher was in, most said "expressions"

"... like sometimes about their face and the mouth..." (Briar,372)

"... sometimes by their facial expression..." (Devon, 165)

Children had good knowledge of facial expressions and what they meant in terms of emotion. Briar explained that they derived most information from the shape of their teacher's mouth:

"I think the mouth would do it most because like if you smile, you're happy, if you frown you're sad. If you're in the middle you're like confused sort of."

(Briar, 275)

Children who talked about their teacher's happy expressions, often smiled as they did so. It is possible that their smiles were demonstrating the expression. However, these smiles appeared genuine, leading me to consider that the memories they were recalling were a source of pleasure.

"...she could be sometimes her face is glowing ... well, kind of lighting up."

(Stevie, 53)

"Well, there was a couple of teachers that when they are happy they are really really smiling, literally." (Stevie, 366)

Blake noted, however, that teachers did not always maintain their 'happy face':

“...you could kind of see that smile she always has on her face goes away.”

(Blake, 758)

Expressions associated with anger were described in a conversation between two children, Bobby and Devon:

“[gestures their face] ... you know when they’re a bit grumpy.” (Devon, 167)

“Their cheeks would be lower down. It would be like ... they wouldn’t be like that [smiles]. They would be like that [mouth turns down].” (Bobby, 168)

Children often demonstrated by pulling faces:

“He actually looks at us like ... [frowns and gives a hard stare]” (Riley, 137)

“[Looks at their interview partner, who mirrors their expression] ... with that face ...” (Riley, 71)

“He was like he kind of had a grumpy face [produces a downturned mouth and slight frown].” (Blake, 77)

Briar was concerned about their teacher’s eyes when they determined that they were angry.

“...they sometimes can give you an evil eye. ... It’s like when they’re like looking at you really cross.” (Briar, 168)

Blake explained what their teacher looked like when trying to contain anger:

“...because you kind of like your cheeks are kind of red and your face is just straight... and you’re breathing really deeply and you’re trying to hold it in...”

(Blake, 1199)

Sad expressions were also described.

“you know she’s got like you know a down face ... just like frowning... and sad” (Robin, 53)

“They’re not really happy and you can see like all the like emotions in their face.” (Blake, 1197)

These emotions were described with little language. When talking about facial expressions, the children were more prone to demonstrating, by recreating the facial expressions themselves as they talked about them.

Children sometimes found it more difficult to read the facial expressions of some teachers. These two children, Tony and Robin, attempted to explain their difficulties.

“It’s really hard to tell what Miss X how Miss X is feeling because normally she’s just ... she’s not smiling or frowning she’s got a normal face. So you can’t tell.” (Robin, 414)

“Her facial expressions don’t help.” (Robin, 438)

“She doesn’t even smile ... she doesn’t even give a facial expression.” (Tony, 407)

In the children’s opinion, their teacher’s face lacked expression and they could not identify their feelings by looking for facial expressions. However, as illustrated below, both of these children made use of other cues to discern teachers’ emotion when facial expressions were not clear.

5.2.1.2 Body language and energy levels

Body language was another key feature attended to by children to identify their teacher's feelings. Children felt that they could sometimes tell how a teacher was feeling by their body language alone:

"...it's like it comes down to their actions, like the way that they're doing stuff."

(Bobby, 235)

Energy levels were also noted as an identifying factor in emotions:

"She's like [throws their arms up] 'Okay, we're going to do this'." (Blake, 52)

"She's very enthusiastic" (Riley, 53)

When asked how they would tell if their teacher was in a good mood when they entered the classroom, children referenced their experiences of previous teachers:

"She was always loud and jumpy." (Robin, 456)

"Now that he's not our teacher we see him. He's like happy and jumpy and like that..." (Blake, 146)

Other children referred to happy behaviour as their current teacher's normal state.

"Our teacher is normally happy and then suddenly you know when she's upset or angry because her like (energy) levels suddenly go downwards"

(Andy, 816)

"Like if they're really sad they would be like [crashes their chair into the wall as they slump dramatically into it] shrivelled up on the corner. But if like they were really happy they'd be like 'There'll be maths tomorrow,' and they'll be walking up and down." (Joey, 500)

When describing how they knew that their teacher was sad, two children referred directly to observed changes in body language.

“Their body language is the same as happy but they’re sitting on their chair and they’re not really saying much.” (Joey, 428)

“Teachers don’t usually skip around the classroom but they wouldn’t be walking as cheerfully.” (Bobby, 33)

“They’d be more mopey in the way they walk.” (Bobby, 163)

In the following short extract, Tony and Robin compared sadness with their teachers typically happy mood.

“She’s normally like really jumpy, isn’t she? But when she’s sad she’s like really down she just [...]” (Tony, 40)

“puts her head down.” (Robin, 45)

As illustrated above, energy levels were important in discerning sadness. In another example, where their teacher seemed sad, Alex observed.

“...he wasn’t really moving around much.” (Alex, 190)

Not all changes in energy levels were attributed to emotion. On another occasion Alex attributed differences in energy to sickness.

“He’s normally like really fast when he walks in. He’s like ‘Sit down’ and um ...but the day he went off halfway in the day because he didn’t feel quite well he was kind of slower when he walked in.” (Alex, 212)

In the above example, Alex had reflected after discovering that their teacher had gone home during the school day and had re-interpreted lower energy levels to the teacher feeling unwell.

These changes in body language from their teacher's usual behaviour were acutely observed, even by those who struggled to express themselves through language alone.

“When they're calm, they're like their arms are out. Their arms are a bit up but [...] when she's um a bit angry she's got a bit different body language. Like she's leaning or or ... [leans toward me as they speak]. Yeah.” (Joey, 94)

Some physical cues can be subtle, as illustrated in the following quote. Alex described their teacher's appearance when they were angry.

“They might be really stiff.” (Alex, 206)

This implied that stiffness is an occasional feature of an angry teacher but is not necessarily always observed.

5.2.1.3 Aggressive emotional behaviour: “anger storm”

Children said that angry teachers occasionally display aggressive body language.

Stevie talked about rare 'anger storms'.

“So, when you're in the middle of an anger storm, what does her body do?”
(Int, 448)

“She gets um ... she uses her arms a lot.” (Stevie, 449)

“Does she? With a fist? You just had a fist on you.” (Int, 450)

“[laughing] Yeah.” (Stevie, 451)

“[...] And when you see that the anger storm is going down, does her body go different?” (Int, 454)

“She goes she calms and she doesn’t move around so much.” (Stevie, 455)

It seems that Stevie could explain that this difference in body language and energy level was a clear indicator of their teacher’s emotional state.

In another example, Andy and Sasha, interviewed together, illustrated that physical actions gave an insight into teacher emotions.

“Can you give an example of someone being grumpy?” (Int, 1078)

“Do this work!” (Andy, 1079)

“Banging on the table like [slaps the table] ‘Do that!’ sort of like.” (Sasha, 1080)

“Oh gosh. That sounds more angry to me.” (Int, 1081)

“It is.” (Sasha, 1082)

This type of physical response to anger was also recounted by other children

*“‘No! That’s very inappropriate,’ [Bangs their fist on table]. ‘You are **not** [...] allowed to do that!’” (Riley, 476)*

“Well, they sometimes like slam books or something on the desk when they’ve finished reading them .. yeah, like [Slaps their hand down on the table].”

(Alex, 317)

Children described these examples of angry teacher behaviour without also delivering any overt emotional responses in the interviews, such as those that could be interpreted as upset or fear.

In contrast, the occurrence of this type of physical movement was reduced when the teacher was described as 'calm':

“Cause you know she’s not going to snap or do something a little bit wrong.”

(Joey, 114)

5.2.1.4 Distancing emotional behaviour

Children were constantly watching and appraising their teachers and were interpreting their behaviour for cues about their teacher’s emotional state. This sometimes happened at times when seemingly trivial behaviours were being observed.

“She sits down a lot when she’s a bit angry, like on the chair [...] When she’s like leaning back on her chair talking ...then she’s a bit angry. Yeah. Angry. But when she’s like standing up and walking up and down and t talking, I think she’s a bit calm.” (Joey, 98)

Joey saw the distancing of a teacher sitting in a chair as an indicator of mood. They returned to this point twice more during their interview.

“When they’re in a bad mood I can um we can tell look like they ... they’re not in the right mood because, as I said they, they will sit down a lot they their body language is all like this [slouches down in the chair, head down and to

one side] and they're not like walking around really happy with a smile on their face, and calm." (Joey, 205

"...because like if they are sitting like this [slumps over in the chair] they're not happy or there's something..." (Joey, 385)

Some children observed that sad teachers prefer to be on their own:

"They just want to finish and then sit down and be peaceful." (Stevie, 247)

"Unhappy, they wouldn't be as lively as such because if they were unhappy about something that happened out of school they would just be a bit droopy and they wouldn't be normally themselves." (Joey, 216)

The contrast between teachers sitting down as they teach, and a more energetic approach was interpreted as indicative of negative emotion.

"...he wouldn't be so smiling and he would just be ... sat at his desk reading." (Blake, 417)

Small gestures were acutely observed and interpreted, in the context of classroom behaviour that children were aware may cause a negative response:

"What do you see that makes you think "Oh, he's getting disappointed or cross?" (Int, 368)

"There's some times they go like that [Crosses arms tightly] with their arms folded." (Briar, 370)

The children reported that one of their teachers could be explicit that they were purposefully distancing themselves from their class:

“He was just like ‘I’m tired, okay? Just leave me alone. I’m so tired.’” (Riley, 309)

“He’d be like ‘Sit down and put your hand up. I don’t have the time. I’m marking your work.’” (Riley, 314)

These comments were interpreted not only as a sign that the teacher was trying to work quietly, but that they were both tired and angry.

5.2.1.5 Difficulties in ‘reading’ teacher emotions

Not all children were so confident that they could always tell how their teacher was feeling.

“Well, we don’t really know with ease.” (Blake, 164)

Children felt that it could take some effort to work out how the teacher felt. At other times, the children simply could not discern their teacher’s emotions at all.

“We can’t tell his emotions.” (Riley, 165)

“Sometimes we don’t know how they feel.” (Sasha, 466)

Sasha and Andy tried to explain that teachers had an internal life that they could not penetrate.

“Like we... we can’t ... switch brains and things like ... or like switch bodies or like switch how they how they feel and ..” (Sasha, 1043)

“So like you can’t go inside their brain or like ...” (Andy, 1045)

“Yeah, like a mind reader ... we’re not like mind readers.” (Sasha, 1046)

“Mind reader. Yeah.” (Andy, 1046)

In the above extract, the children discussed the inner and unseen emotional life of their teacher, acknowledging that this might not be reflected by their teacher’s outward presentation.

Occasionally, children appeared to reflect on their teacher’s behaviour or presentation later and reach conclusions about how their teacher was feeling.

“We don’t really like at the time we don’t think it’s unhappiness but then when we look back on it we think it is...[referring to unhappiness]” (Joey, 434)

5.2.2 Voice indicates teacher emotions

Three axial codes made up this focused code. These were: features of happy voices (5.2.2.1); features of angry and upset voices (5.2.2.2); and features of sad voices (5.2.2.3).

Children felt that they could discern teacher emotion from the way that their teacher spoke. When asked how they knew what mood their teacher was in:

“...You can tell by her voice...” (Stevie, 39)

5.2.2.1 Features of happy voices

Two children, Stevie and Andy, explained how they recognised happy teachers by their voice.

“Happy. Well, you can tell by her voice ... you can hear if it’s softer.” (Stevie, 41)

“Her voice goes lower like nicer ... and softer.” (Andy, 68)

Sometimes, happy was distinguished by absence of shouting, perhaps through use of a contrasting quiet voice.

“Happy, she’s not shouting at people...” (Andy, 389)

The softness, and quietness of the teacher’s voice indicated that they were happy in the view of the children.

5.2.2.2 Features of angry and upset voices

The children were all very clear that when their teacher was angry, their voices audibly changed.

“If she’s angry then it’s deeper ... when she’s angry. Deeper like more louder.” (Stevie, 41)

“Like with our other teacher who comes in on a Thursday if she does get angry her voice goes up a lot” (Andy, 65)

“When they’re angry their shout is like really deep.” (Joey, 315)

“She sort of like her voice raises.” (Briar, 55)

“That kind of made him a bit ... angry ... really angry. So he did shout a bit.”
(Jordan, 131)

“They get more angry. Well, they can kind of, I don’t know what to say. ... They can kind of shout a bit like their voice gets louder...” (Morgan, 164)

“When they’re angry um they’re kind of like shout a lot ...” (Alex, 110)

“He would be like if he was angry he would be like so snappy...” (Blake, 1311)

Voice and tone appeared to be the primary indicator of emotional temperature for most children. In the above extracts, children talked about their recognition of changes in their teacher’s voice that indicated that they were angry.

During a conversation about anger, Bobby and Devon introduced the concept of ‘stress’, when their teacher was upset by the actions of other children.

“The teacher probably will have like a bigger reaction, because they’d be stressed out to what the other child has done. [...]” (Bobby, 117)

“Can you actually see from their behaviour whether they’re a bit stressed?”
(Int, 122)

“From their voice. It’s a bit ...” (Devon, 123)

“Yeah, louder.” (Bobby, 125)

“Yeah, a bit more louder, yeah.” (Devon, 126)

“More rough ... rough, rough.” (Bobby, 128)

“Rougher. ... Sometimes a bit shouty as well.” (Devon, 131)

These children’s recognition of their teacher’s stress was mostly centred upon the tone and quality of their voice.

5.2.2.3 Features of sad voices

One child demonstrated his sad teacher’s voice by speaking slowly and quietly, with their head down. Another said:

“And if they’re sad they’d be talking really quietly...” (Blake, 447)

When talking about a previous teacher, the assessment about sadness was similar.

“And you could tell when he was sad because he’s be like really down and ... he’d talk really quietly...” (Blake, 62)

“Deeper and low...” (Bobby, 40)

“So like sometimes like if you’re reading a book she normally gives it expression and stuff. She doesn’t when she’s like sad...” (Tony, 548)

“...when they’re like sad or worried they just like stay quiet a little bit more.”
(Alex, 110)

In use of voice, teachers are giving away quite a lot about their emotions, as far as the children are concerned. Quiet teachers are presumed to be happy (or calm), unless other cues indicate that a quiet voice is due to sadness or anxiety. Raised voices, for whatever reason, are interpreted as angry, stressed or upset.

5.2.3 Interactions and familiarity

This focused code was comprised of three axial codes as follows: children can tell teacher emotion by interaction (5.2.3.1); teacher tells children how they feel (5.2.3.2); and ‘knowing’ the teacher (5.2.3.3)

5.2.3.1 Children can tell teacher emotion by interaction

The interactions between teachers and the children in their class was considered useful to children as they felt interactions informed them about their teacher's feelings. The children were also sensitive to the language that teachers used.

"It depends how teachers like talk to you because you're talking really nice but the teacher's talking like .. like in a grumpy .. voice" (Sasha, 1067)

*"**Do** this work..." [points and wags their index finger as they talk]." (Andy, 1071)*

In the above example, it was not only the tone of voice (grumpy) but the non-verbal communication that accompanied it that confirmed the child's view of the teacher's feelings at that time. Joey ran through a number of emotions and the verbal delivery associated with them.

"When the teacher's calm you can tell it because she ... or he like she's talking in a not panicked or rushed way and she's calm they name somebody but when she's angry um ... they can be snappy and they can talk fast. I can we can tell if they're talking like fast because they're like talking really fast."
(Joey, 86)

When talking about a 'panicked' teacher, they explained their verbal delivery.

"They're like ... like they're all so fast talking they're like rushing stuff ..."
(Joey, 228)

Joey then explained that they judged their teacher's mood by their response to humour. It is not clear whether this was through observation, or by experimentation.

“I can tell when she’s calm and happy. When she’s calm she’s got a really ... all teachers got a real sense of humour so if we say a joke she’s like ‘ha’, but when she’s happy she’s not as relaxed so she doesn’t have as much sense of humour but when she’s angry she doesn’t ... she doesn’t have any sense of humour. So it goes from calm ... you can tell.” (Joey, 122)

Joey seemed to be equating the emotion ‘happy’ with ‘calm’. They were, however, clear that they could tell how teachers were feeling through their behaviour in response to their humour.

The teacher’s response to noise levels and tolerance was raised as an indicator of mood by Tony.

“When she’s grumpy ...she like even like the slightest whisper she goes like ... ‘Shhh!’” (Tony, 157)

Tony’s interview partner, Robin, said that in contrast, they could easily tell if their teacher was in a good mood.

“It would be very very obvious ... because um ... she’s like tries to make you laugh” (Robin, 701)

Children noted that sad teachers spoke quietly, and they did not say as much as they usually did.

“... you could tell when he was sad because he’d be like really down and he’s talk really quietly.” (Blake, 62)

“...um ... when Miss X is sad she normally doesn’t say a lot.” (Robin, 33)

Stevie’s view of teachers was that they followed their experience of all adults.

“When you’re angry, you shout. When you’re anxious, you sometimes stutter... You’re a bit quiet.” (Stevie, 128)

5.2.3.2 Teachers tell children how they feel

Sometimes, teachers directly told their pupils how they were feeling.

“He was like ‘Kids, I woke up. I went to bed at one o’clock in the morning so I’m using every inch of myself to not shout at you right now.’ That’s what he was like.” (Riley, 60)

Teacher communications were not always very straightforward, and the children needed to interpret what their teacher had said.

“ You like.. she’ll sometimes say, ‘I’m having a sense of humour failure.’ ... she won’t just say like ‘I’m angry now’, she’d like say stuff that means it but she won’t like say it straightforward. She might go um she I think she sometimes says, ‘This is wasting my time and your time.’” (Briar, 57)

Briar was able to derive an understanding that their teacher was angry even though their teacher did not tell them directly.

5.2.3.3 ‘Knowing’ the teacher

Some children felt that as they got to know their teacher, they could tell what mood they were in.

“At the start of the year you’d sort of be more like... careful with what you do, but once you get to know the teachers ...” (Bobby, 561)

Children believed that as they became more familiar with their teacher, they would simply 'know' how they were feeling.

"We'll have had her for two years so and we might we'll probably know how they feel..." (Sasha, 1288)

I think it's because we've been because it's near the end of class you know them and you get to know them ..." (Jordan, 61)

Andy recalled looking through the window of his classroom and seeing their teacher.

"I feel [...] the outside looking in they look a bit sad..." (Andy, 716)

The sense of being able to 'read' a familiar teacher's emotions was expressed by Joey, without being able to define how they were doing it.

"When they're in a bad mood I can we can tell look like they ... they're not in the right mood." (Joey, 205)

Judgements about teacher mood appeared to be based on changes from what the children expected and described as the normal state of their teacher.

"And then when she was a bit sad one day um she was like kind of not very ... she wasn't normal." (Alex, 60)

Andy and Sasha appraised their teacher and based their identification of teacher emotion on their teacher's choice of clothing.

"Like our teacher normally wears bright and happy colours ... but she could be having a sad day so she could be wearing grey and things." (Andy, 1021)

"If they come into school with a lovely dress on with flowers and things like that ... like you know they're happy." (Sasha, 1035)

The above illustrates the extent to which children observe their teachers, and perhaps all adults around them, for information about their mood, and how acutely insightful some of those observations can be, including making judgements about their teacher's emotional state based upon their choice of colours.

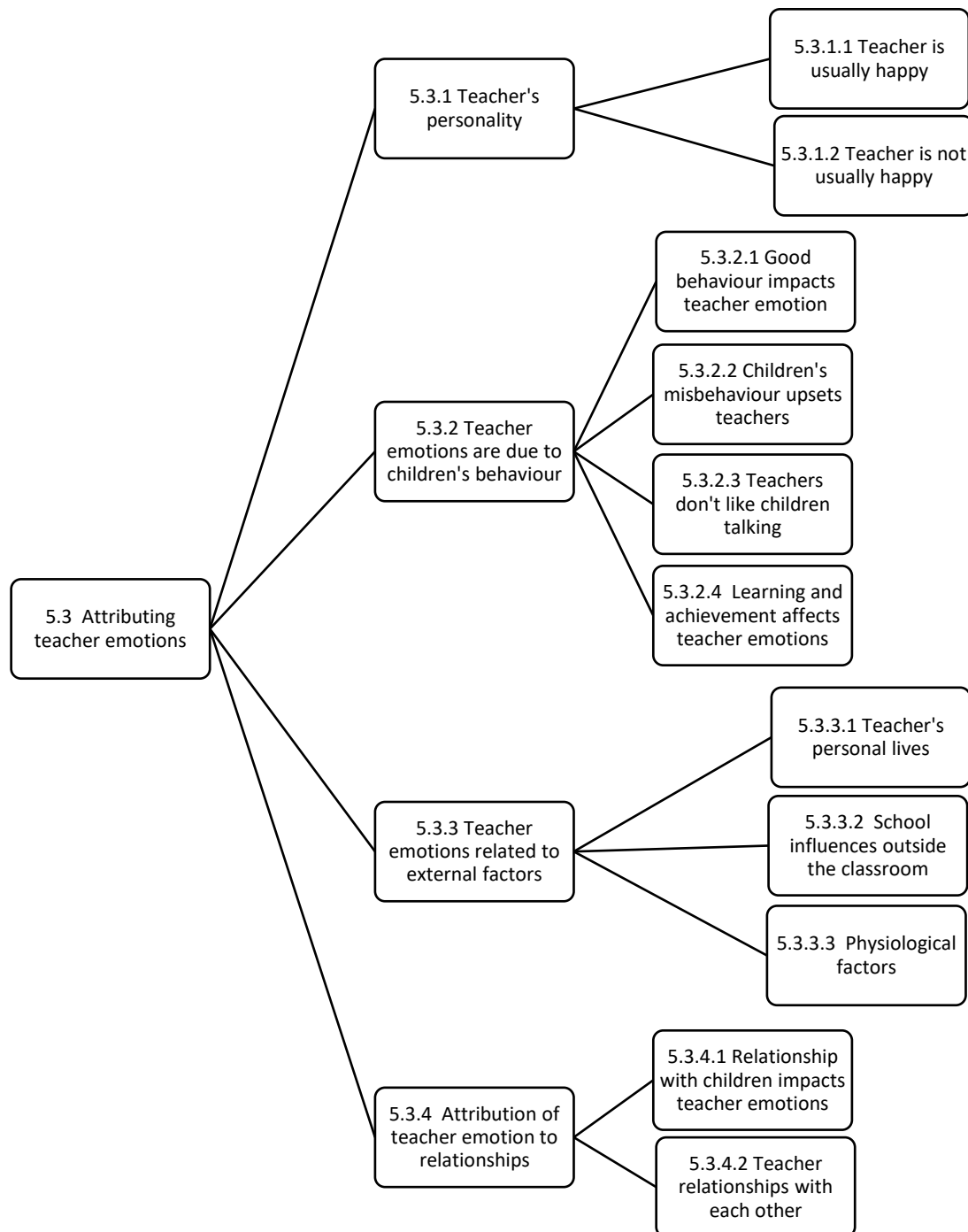
5.3 Attributing teacher emotions

Attribution theories “describe people’s causal analyses of (attribution about) the social world. For example, an attribution can address whether someone’s behaviour seems due to the external situation or the person’s internal disposition.”(Fiske & Taylor, 2013, p. 14). Four focused codes make up this category, encompassing both the teacher’s internal disposition and external factors.

The focused codes identified are the teacher’s personality (5.3.1), children’s behaviour (5.3.2), teacher emotions related to external factors (5.3.3), and the attribution of teacher emotion to relationships (5.3.4).

Figure 8 overleaf shows the focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Attribution of teacher emotions”.

Figure 8. Focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Attribution of teacher emotions”



5.3.1 Teacher's personality - "Our normal teacher is normally happy"

In this focused code, children talked about how their teacher usually presented, under two axial codes: teacher is usually happy (5.3.1.1); and teacher is not usually happy (5.3.1.2).

5.3.1.1 Teacher is usually happy

All of the children were unequivocal that their current teacher's usual emotional state was happy, or calm. They said this several times during the interviews and used their teacher's happiness and usual state as a reference point when illustrating different emotions.

"They're normally happy" (Morgan, 68)

"She's normally really happy." (Robin, 68)

"Yeah, because Miss X is all nice and happy." (Blake, 1028)

"Like when you normally go in our normal teacher is like normally happy and things." (Andy, 104)

"Our last teacher in Year 4. She was like always happy." (Tony, 453)

In an interaction between two children, there was a strong level of agreement:

"She's happy and bouncy." (Blake, 177)

"Yeah. She's happy and bouncy." (Riley, 179)

Because they observed their teacher to be happy for much of the time, children noted that this was not always the case.

“Your teacher is generally happy?” (Int, 334)

“Yes ... ninety-nine percent.” (Alex, 335)

“There are some days when they can be a bit angry with some people but mostly they’re welcoming.” (Jordan, 78)

“Like most of the time, he was happy.” (Riley, 431)

This was expanded within the interviews, when, having established that their teachers were generally in a pleasant mood, they talked about exceptions.

Briar described their usual teacher’s mood in terms of physiological state.

“Calm, because unless someone’s been naughty and done something, she’s kind of calm.” (Briar, 81)

Whilst Devon was at a bit of a loss for words, they communicated that generally all was well with their teachers:

“Basically, they’re all a bit normal. ... Normally, they’re normal.” (Devon, 51)

I interpreted this as Devon communicating that their teacher did not behave in an unexpected manner.

5.3.1.2 Teacher is not usually happy

Although children believed that their current teachers were happy people, when referring to previous teachers, or teachers that they knew in the school environment, children were able to explain that some of those teachers were not always happy.

“Yeah, Miss Y isn’t ... one of the happiest teachers or teaching assistants.”

(Robin, 383)

“I don’t think Miss Y’s like a very happy person, like ... just in general because she’s ... she’s not always very happy.” (Robin, 568)

Bobby described the teachers in the school:

“You can get teachers that are more strict and stuff but [...] are usually quite angry.” (Bobby, 55)

5.3.2 Teacher emotions are due to children’s behaviour

Children made a clear connection between their teacher’s emotional state and the behaviour of children in the class. Four axial codes that make up this focused code: good behaviour impacts teacher emotion (5.3.2.1); children’s misbehaviour upsets teachers (5.3.2.2); teachers don’t like children talking (5.3.2.3); and learning and achievements affect teacher emotions (5.3.2.4).

5.3.2.1 Good behaviour impacts teacher emotion

Behaviour which the children described as ‘good’ was considered a key factor in keeping the atmosphere in the classroom positive and their teacher happy.

“...if you get stay on the right side of her she’s normally happy...” (Andy, 19)

“If you respected her, she was really calm with you...” (Joey, 355)

The above examples show that children are aware of the impact that their behaviour toward the teacher had on the teachers’ emotions.

5.3.2.2 Children's misbehaviour upsets teachers

Although 'good' behaviour seems to have taken up the majority of the day, and teachers were described as 'usually happy', the times that children could most easily bring to mind when talking about teacher emotion were those times when teacher's emotional response was not described as a happy one. Children 'messing about' and what could be described as low-level disruptive behaviour has a variable impact on changing teacher emotion:

"She sometimes gets annoyed because of people messing about again."

(Briar, 130)

"You might be upsetting a teacher by saying ... talking and getting arguments"

(Sasha, 924)

"When we're being like really upsetting because they ... they have to repeat themselves like five times last times." (Joey, 415)

"When you're in like a calm mood and you've just come back from something and just if you are starting another lesson they're all like calm and really nice, but like when we've just come from break and we're like a bit a bit over excited, they're snappy at us because they're a bit angry we're like not come in sensible." (Joey, 76)

Joey later expanded on the impact of excitable children's behaviour on their teacher:

"...if we're really like 'ha ha' and with our friends being all funny and just come in from the playground she's in ... in quite an angry mood but if we come in absolutely silent she's in a calm mood." (Joey, 149)

In the above extracts, children seemed to be talking about experiencing their teacher's responses to their behaviour as emotional, rather than part of the systematic communication used in order to management of their behaviour.

Sasha felt that the frequency with which teachers had to bring children 'to order' impacted on their emotions:

"If they're like telling children off every ... ten, fifteen, ten, fifteen minutes, they're going to go bad, but if they're telling off every like ... if they're telling off someone about half [...] every lesson or something [...] it's okay.." (Sasha, 399)

Infrequent reprimanding of children does not make a difference to the teacher's usual mood state, in Sasha's opinion speaking in the extract above, whereas when the children's behaviour resulted in their teacher telling children off more frequently they were likely to 'go bad'.

Another child spoke about the teacher mirroring their emotions.

"Why do you think teachers get into bad moods?" (Int, 301)

"Well, it's often the children. If we're in a bad mood they can get in a bad mood or if we do something they don't want us to do and they've asked us to stop, they get in a bad mood." (Joey, 302)

Sasha felt that when the teacher saw a child acting out of character, it could be upsetting for them.

"Turning into one of the people who gets into trouble quite a lot. You're upsetting the teacher." (Sasha, 929)

Andy and Bobby observed that when teachers told children off, it could result in the teacher displacing their angry response.

“They are feeling angry about say somebody else in our class was acting up and’ve been looking at them and trying to work with that person, they might say ‘good try’, but like ... and then shouting at them instead of the other person.” (Andy, 521)

“...if like someone in class like maybe one person has done something really bad and someone else does something like small, then the teacher probably will have a bigger reaction, because they’d be stressed out to what the other child has done.” (Bobby, 116)

The above examples demonstrate that children use their experience and observations to enable them to process some quite complex emotional scenarios.

Boisterous behaviour occurring in less structured times of the week was interpreted as causing the teacher to become angry.

“She gets anger storms occasionally. [...] On a Friday afternoon [...] because she wants to get her work done, and it’s golden time, which basically we get to do anything [...] and if we’re noisy if it’s indoors golden time then she gets quite loud. Even though it’s our free time [...] and also end of the week, tired hassle to mark all the books. So she gets a bit angry at times.” (Stevie, 457)

Stevie was reflecting their understanding about the various elements that contribute to their teachers’ anger – pressure of work, noisy class and their teacher’s general tiredness at the end of the week.

Focussing on one child because of significant behavioural incidents was seen as causing several emotions for teachers. Tony and Robin discussed difficulties caused by their classmate, Noel.

“She’s like all attention on Noel because he’s so naughty and if we need like really need help then she can’t help” (Tony, 519)

“It makes her feel sad.” (Robin, 526)

“She’s just really sad and Noel does not care.” (Tony, 536)

The children had a view of their teacher as sorrowful when dealing with behaviour outside of the classroom ‘norm’. In the extract above, they spoke as observers, but with some concern about the impact Noel’s behaviour was having on their teacher’s feelings.

Sometimes, children felt that their teacher may have been anxious when children exhibited difficult behaviour:

“She kind of tightens her eyes but you can see that it’s a nervous look because she hasn’t really dealt with anyone as silly as Noel ...” (Blake, 802)

“Um ... sometimes they can be a bit anxious when someone’s done something really bad or something wrong.” (Morgan, 487)

Children felt that they could discern between strictness and an emotional response when explaining further issues involving a child whose behaviour was challenging.

“Because some people in our class have started to copy Noel and she has to be like really strict and stuff now.” (Tony, 858)

However, the magnitude of the child's behaviour was thought to be significant in terms of interpreting the resultant teacher emotional behaviour:

"If they did something really like naughty ... he would be like 'Snap out of it.' He'd be like angry not annoyed." (Blake, 468)

"Some people left the classroom and went down to the office without asking ...um ... I think that kind of made him a bit angry ... really angry." (Jordan, 128)

5.3.2.3 Teachers don't like children talking

Their teacher's response to children talking was a repeated theme, and several examples were given of the impact children believed that talking had on their teacher's feelings.

"So if they're happy and then someone like ... someone like talks when they're not supposed to [...] and then they say 'Can you stop?', and ... when they carry on it kind of gets annoying like ... They get more angry." (Morgan, 159)

"Everyone's talking and chatting, then the teachers would get quite angry." (Bobby, 265)

Alex reported that teachers could be quite explicit about their likely emotional response should children persist with unwanted behaviours.

"And then when people aren't really listening and then they're talking to the person next to them um they say ...um 'If you ask for help I'm not going to be very happy.'" (Alex, 244)

However, teachers getting angry because children were talking was understood to be reasonable by Bobby.

“If it’s just chatting about out of school or something irrelevant, I think it’s quite fair that they get angry.” (Bobby, 287)

In the above example, Bobby was not only saying that chatting about irrelevant topics made teachers angry, but that they could understand why this might have been the case.

Sasha used an example of an after-school activity.

“I do football on a Tuesday and sometimes ... like some people upset the coach because they’re talking ... not paying attention. It’s the same as school if they’re talking.” (Sasha, 944)

Although the example given was from an after-school activity, Sasha was drawing parallels with what they observed to have happened inside their classroom.

5.3.2.4 Learning and achievement affects teacher emotions

Most children talked specifically about learning behaviours, including attention to lessons and achievement, and the impact of the children’s learning on teacher emotions. Achievement and effort were both singled out as factors that made their teachers happy.

Children working hard was thought to please teachers, and result in them being happy:

“But then when you’ve finished, she’ll be pleased ...” (Stevie, 230)

“You could make your teacher laugh by doing something that you know they love ...” (Blake, 1352)

Teachers showed their appreciation of achievement, which was interpreted as happiness.

“That day we went to the swimming gala we came joint fourth I think that was a happy day ... out of eight.” (Andy, 368)

“There was one bit ... paragraph we had to write and then she got impressed with a lot of people because they were doing good work about it.” (Briar, 189)

Other examples where children felt that the whole class had made their teacher very happy were given.

“When the whole class completed the ICT project in two lessons when it was meant to be three...” (Stevie, 59)

“Um ... like she’s happy when we um get a ... really good score or like a spelling or something...” (Morgan, 361)

Children who were not engaging in appropriate learning behaviour was thought to impact negatively on teacher emotions:

“...A bit cross that we’re not learning.” (Joey, 170)

Children who were not listening to the teacher, as exemplified above, was cited by several children as cause for negative changes in teacher emotion.

“If they’re like ... if we’re like chatting and they’re trying to say ‘Sit down class, sit down,’ or something like that and we’re ignoring them, they’re going to just get unhappier, unhappier, unhappier.” (Joey, 263)

“Like it makes them more angry because and annoyed because they have to stop because you’re talking.” (Briar, 47)

“If the teacher’s trying to ... like explain what you’re going to do in the lesson and you’re chatting to your friend next to you and they turn around and see you doing that they get quite usually angry...” (Bobby, 272)

Blake commented that teacher emotion can be attributed to the teacher caring deeply about the lesson that she was giving.

“Because she’s so devoted on the lesson instead of being like a little bit loose, she can be sometimes snappy at it.” (Blake, 1055)

The children were, through these examples, demonstrating that they were aware that their teachers were invested in delivering the curriculum, and that children interrupting that process could be the cause of negative emotional responses.

5.3.3 Teacher emotions related to external factors – “If there is an OFSTED Inspector”

Children attributed many emotions, particularly those that were negative, to incidents that took place outside their sphere of influence, that is, the personal lives of teachers outside school (5.3.3.1), school influences occurring outside the classroom (5.3.3.2), and physiological factors, such as tiredness, or hunger (5.3.3.3).

5.3.3.1 Teacher’s personal lives

Children considered that events taking place on the teacher’s journey to and from school, and issues that occurred outside school caused emotion states that were not

typical (happy) for their teachers. The children were interested in teacher's families and life outside school, and two of the children directly attributed some of their teacher's emotions to their family lives.

"Cause if they're sad, something really bad has happened in the family..."

(Stevie, 247)

This was said with utter certainty, and without the usual tentative voice that accompanied Stevie's speculations.

Sasha spoke about teacher's anger about home-based incidents being misdirected at children when the teacher did not mean to:

"If they're really angry at something or like because ... most teachers in our school have children and if their children have done something they might be quite angry so then all they ..." (Sasha, 55)

"Are you talking about the children that they've got at home?" (Int, 58)

"Yeah. Or or like adult children. They might be angry at them." (Sasha, 59)

The attribution of anger to a source outside school seemed to be a reflection of children's awareness of the complexities of teacher lives. However, this attribution also directs the source of teacher anger away from themselves, in circumstances where the children are unable to identify incidents within school that might have triggered their teacher's emotion.

Having heard about the negative emotions that the children felt that teachers brought into school, I asked them about when they thought that their teacher was happier.

"Do you think sometimes they come in really happy?" (Int, 313)

“Yeah, they do ... Most I think most of the time they do.” (Andy, 314)

In the following extract Andy and Sasha also recognised that teachers have personal lives that they did not want the children to know about, thus making it more difficult for children to attribute teacher emotions to specific life events.

“I think ... they don’t want you to know and they don’t want you to wor worry.”

(Andy, 726)

“Yeah, because ... like you don’t want to give up your personal things. Nor does the teachers.” (Sasha, 727)

“Yeah” (Andy, 728)

Joey wanted to explain how they would be aware that external events had altered their teacher’s emotional state, even if they did not have information about what had happened:

“If they were unhappy about something that happened out of school they would be a bit droopy and they wouldn’t be normally themselves ...” (Joey,

216)

Despite being unable to attribute their teacher’s emotions in all but the broadest of terms, Joey was satisfied with their conclusion that teachers affect was due to external circumstances.

5.3.3.2 School influences outside the classroom

Teacher’s work in general appeared to be identified as stressors for some teachers.

In the context of talking about anxiety, Andy created the following scenario:

“Say if her husband was at home. She’s never seen him in a long while, then she said, ‘I’ve got to do this’ ... you’ll be like and then like ‘but I have to do this. I can’t let them down.’” (Andy, 990)

This also reflects the value that Andy put upon their teacher’s devotion to them. In this example, they consider that the teacher was choosing their pupils over their family and this was resulting in the teacher feeling stressed.

What happens during school break times was also considered a possible influence on teacher emotion.

“She’s got to deal with arguments at playtime, she might get angry.” (Sasha, 109)

“It depends what ... it’s a bit like when we have playtime in the morning ... so it depends how that goes. If that goes bad your teacher’s happy in the morning ... but it’ll probably go all wrong.” (Sasha, 350)

“And every teacher in the school, I’ll tell you, they feel like they feel a bit upset because you’ve just had your play ...” (Joey, 155)

Later, Joey returned to the subject of playtimes and expanded on their explanation:

“They’re not as calm as in class because in the playground they’re like ... it’s not their decision but they’re like ‘I think they shouldn’t have a play. I think they should be learning, but at the same time we don’t want them to get tired in class’, so they think two of the same two different emotions at the same time.” (Joey, 456)

In the above extract, Joey was identifying the conflicting feelings that they believed their teacher had about children being allowed a playtime. In illustrating their example, Joey imagined the teachers internal thought processes as speech.

Children thought that some teacher emotions were influenced by the day of the week.

“Most days like Wednesday, Friday and Monday, I don’t know why it’s them three says but teachers are more happy on them days but on on Thursdays [...] it’s a bit like ... panicked.” (Joey, 224)

The above example is one where Joey had identified a pattern in their teacher’s emotional state but could not attribute it to anything other than the days.

Bobby and Devon remembered the impact of an OFSTED inspection on their teacher’s emotional state:

“If there is an OFSTED inspector ...” (Bobby, 608)

“Yeah, they’d be stricter ...” (Devon, 609)

“Yeah anxious and sort of worried” (Bobby, 610)

The entry of an unpredictable ‘intrusion’ into the daily life of the classroom was perceived by the children as a reason why their teacher might be anxious.

5.3.3.3 Physiological factors – the impact of tiredness and hunger

Blake and Riley discussed the role of nutrition in the well-being of their teacher:

“He brings it in and then he eats it before class and then he puts the rubbish in the bin and you can just smell it in the classroom.” (Blake, 112)

“Then everyone like crowds round the bin like ‘Oh. It’s a McDonalds [...]”

(Riley, 114)

“I think it ... I think it calms him down, though.” (Blake, 117)

This highlights children’s perception that when their teacher was hungry, he presented in a ‘bad’ mood, and that consuming food made a difference, and had a calming effect.

In the following extracts, from the same interview, the developmental element was said with some humour and affection as the children addressed their teacher’s affect and fatigue on arrival at school:

“I think, I think he’s ...” (Blake, 364)

“Moody teenager, you could say.” (Riley, 365)

“Kind of tired.” (Blake, 366)

Blake later added to their remarks about the same teacher.

“He would be tired, though, because he lives in Worthing.” (Blake, 373)

Worthing is some distance from the school, and the implication here was that the daily commute had taken its toll.

“Mr W he... he is a good teacher but sometimes he can be a bit snappy and tired and stressed.” (Riley, 1031)

“He was tired most of the time.” (Riley, 436)

Robin addressed the impact of fatigue on their current teacher:

“If she’s a bit moody or tired then she’ll be like ... a bit grumpy ...” (Robin, 488)

Robin was relating uncharacteristic grumpiness with their teacher's fatigue, rather than attributing this to children's behaviour.

When talking about teacher mood when they meet them first thing in the morning, Sasha commented:

"Depends on what ...side they wake up on the bed." (Sasha, 30)

Using this turn of speech to indicate that teacher's mood in the morning was unpredictable (Sasha had previously asserted that their teacher was usually happy), but the inference that it was not something that had anything to do with the children is clear.

Andy explained the extent to which they believed that sleep impacted on mood.

"When you got like in school like you're more angrier or something like you haven't had a good night's sleep or something like that." (Andy, 304)

All these quotes raise the importance of sleeping well in terms of emotional well-being. The impact of not enough sleep was that their teacher was in a less good mood at best and exhibiting angry behaviour at worst.

5.3.4 Attribution of teacher emotion to relationships – "They feel happy because ... somebody's made them a cup of tea."

Two axial codes made up this focused code: relationship with children impacts teacher emotions (5.3.4.1); and teacher relationships with each other (5.3.4.2).

Jordan summed up their knowledge of the teacher – pupil relationship in their class.

“You get to know them so it’s just like a bond with them kind of sometimes.”

(Jordan, 62)

In that context, the children discussed how they were able to discern teacher emotion within those relationships.

5.3.4.1 Relationship with children impacts teacher emotion

Children cited several examples which they felt illustrated the warmth of their teacher’s feelings for them.

“She was more angry but when we went to bowls she ... I feel like she was more happy in some way.” (Andy, 379)

“But she is really nice if you don’t mess around too much and you can kind of tell that because she’s kind of stressed out. Because she works with loads of little ones...” (Blake, 1105)

“Because they’re devoted to that their children’s feelings are but they also need to be devoted to the lesson, so it’s kind of half and half and they don’t know what to do.” (Blake, 1246)

These children were demonstrating that their teacher’s relationship with children in their class is positive, and the children felt emotionally secure with their teacher.

Jordan illustrated their belief that teachers tended to mirror children’s emotional state:

“So, if the person being naughty is angry and that’s why they’re being naughty, the teacher would have the same emotions as they’re having ... if

they're being naughty because they had a bad day, the teacher would kind of had the same ... emotions sometimes because I think that's happened to ... some people in the class." (Jordan, 285)

Children were concerned that sometimes, when their teacher had been unfair in reprimanding them, this had a negative impact on the teacher.

"They don't mean it's angry and then say if they was ... if they do say that they say 'Oh sorry, I meant good try. That's a good try' not as in like an angry voice ... They try to re-correct themselves" (Andy, 511)

"She probably feels a bit guilty because she's told a person off and they haven't done anything." (Tony, 143)

Children believed that their teacher might experience guilt when they realised that they had made an error in telling someone off, or if their voice did not reflect the communication that they were trying to have with that child. Riley and Blake talked about the aftermath of a teacher telling a child off and making them cry:

"I don't think they feel guilt... or I think they might feel a little bit guilty in a way. But I think they just do it to make them stop crying, so they can like carry on with..." (Riley, 1242)

"with the lesson..." (Blake, 1244)

In the above extract, the children were discussing the guilt they believed to have identified and expressed doubts about whether the teacher's possible guilt over the incident is real, or if their subsequent behaviour simply had a function in enabling them to continue to deliver the curriculum to the class as a whole.

Morgan felt that there was a sense of shared responsibility, including for the teacher's actions:

"Like when the teacher has done something bad, all like children they feel a bit guilty after they've done it." (Morgan, 531)

5.3.4.2 Teacher relationships with each other

Only three of the fourteen children interviewed chose to speak about teacher relationships and the impact that they believed it had on their teacher's emotional state. These children were interested in the relationships they observed between teachers, and this extended to speculation on the impact of those relationships. Stevie and Sasha (participating in different interviews) expressed concerns about bullying.

"If they're sad, something bad has happened in the family ... some if one of the people at school found out then it might spread and then the teacher might get teased and make them even more sad." (Stevie, 247)

"Well, like, sometimes teacher bully other teachers or like because like they some they could laugh at each other. Because our old teacher who was ... who we went away with for a week um they were laughing in the ski thingy about something like that we didn't know ..." (Sasha, 370)

Whether accurate or not, children were concerned about their teacher's welfare and emotional impact of other teachers on them. It appeared that the children were using language that related more often to children themselves to describe issues that they believed might have existed between teachers. On the whole, however, children

observed that teachers were supportive towards one another, and that the laughter that was observed between teachers was not unkind. Andy described an incident where a teaching assistant tore their cardigan during the school breakfast club.

“It had ripped a hole in it and then she told Miss X our... our teacher and like she got and they all started laughing every...everybody like came in and started laughing ... so it was a good start to the day.” (BB, 363)

In the following extract, it was the relationships with school staff, rather than events external to the school environment, which were considered most important for the teacher’s emotions at the start of the school day:

“Do you think sometimes they come in really happy ...?” (Int, 313)

“Yeah, they do ... most think most of the time they do.” (Andy, 314)

“Sometimes ... because like when the teachers come in in the mornings, they normally go to the other teachers or like the teaching assistants” (Sasha, 315)

I understood the implication of the above example to be that teachers sought out each other’s company and the children believed that this had an impact on their teacher’s emotional state. Later, Sasha clarified:

“... they’ll go and speak to the umm teachers about ‘Oh, um, has anything gone wrong this morning?’ or things like that but they don’t come straight to the children.” (Sasha, 328)

Andy and Sasha discussed an example of teachers looking out for each other:

“They feel happy because ... somebody’s made them a cup of tea. They have ... they haven’t made it themselves.” (Andy, 855)

“when they could be making ... they could have been making their own. So ... so they try and cheer each other ... teachers up.” (Sasha, 858)

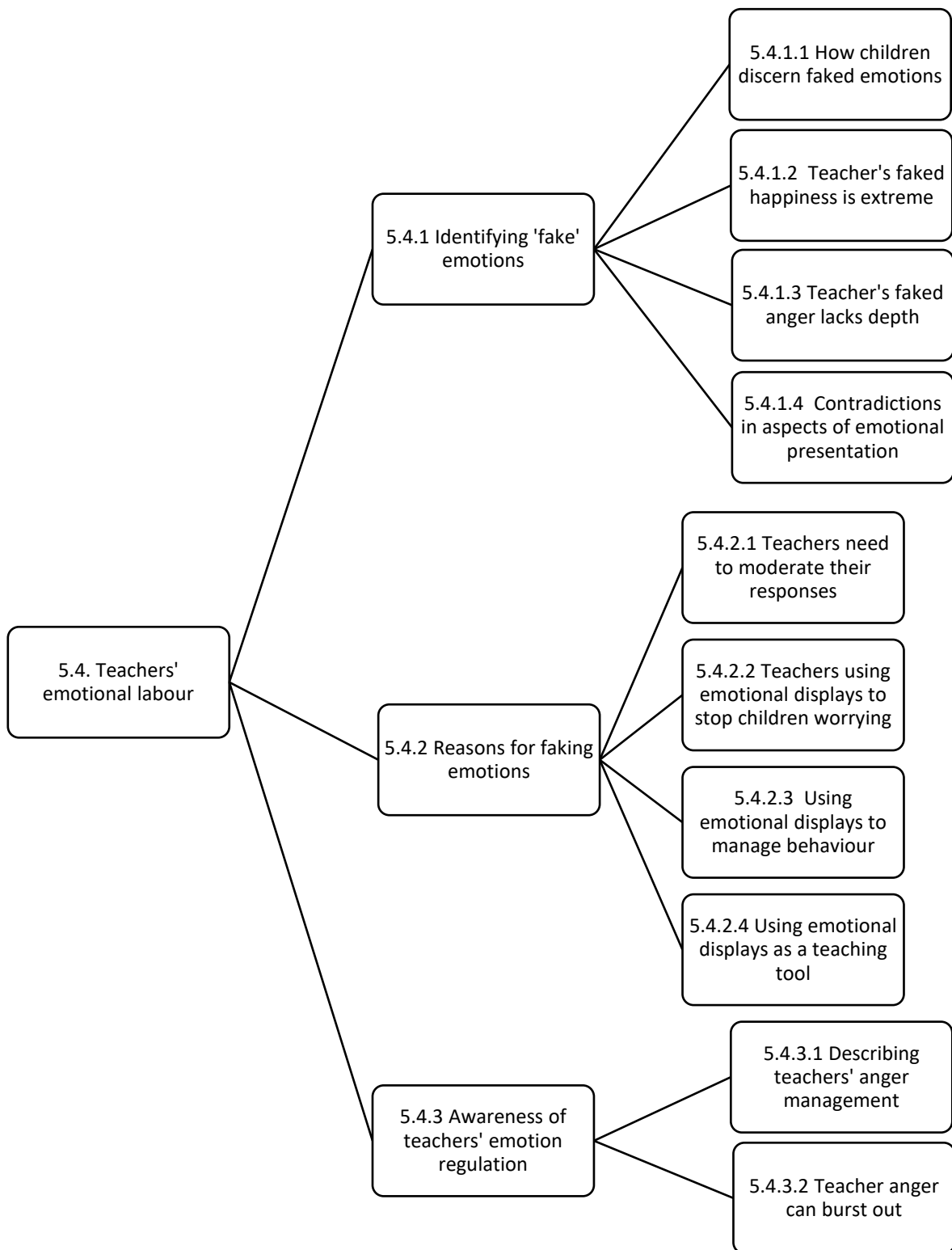
This gave a sense of teachers deliberately acting to ensure that their colleagues were in a good mood, and also that small, gestures such as making a drink for someone were interpreted by the children as caring for the recipient of those gestures.

5.4 Teachers emotional labour – “A real smile looks different”

Much has been written about emotional labour since Hochschild first used the term in her work with passenger aircraft cabin staff in the 1980's. There has been a focus on emotional labour of teaching, from the perspective of teachers. The following theme demonstrates that children are aware of, and may be said to collude in, the emotional labour of their teachers. They used the term 'fake' to describe situations when the children did not believe the teacher's apparent emotions did not match what they believed the teacher to be really feeling. There are three focused codes making up this category: identifying 'fake' emotions (5.4.1), reasons for faking emotions (5.4.2), and awareness of emotional regulation (5.4.3).

Figure 9 overleaf shows the focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Teachers' emotional labour”

Figure 9. Focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Teachers’ emotional labour”



5.4.1 Identifying 'fake' emotions

Children are acutely aware of their teacher's emotional state, looking for and collating multiple cues, as discussed above. They are also alert to emotional behaviour and behavioural displays which they feel are not genuine, and do not reflect the inner feelings of their teacher. Four axial codes made up this focused code, namely: how children discern faked emotions, (5.4.1.1); teacher's faked happiness is extreme (5.4.1.2); teacher's faked anger lacks depth (5.4.1.3); and contradictions in aspects of emotional presentations (5.4.1.4).

5.4.1.1 How children discern faked emotion

These children were able to describe how they knew that another teacher was not genuine in their emotional presentation.

"You could kind of tell by like his facial expression." (Robin, 329)

"their face expressions is a bit different to when they are actually angry at you." (Andy, 291)

"A real smile looks different." (Joey, 322)

Stevie was able to discuss how they were able to tell how an emotional interaction or display by their teacher was 'fake'.

"Well, because if it's real they will do it for quite a long time, but if it's fake, then the teachers might do it for five minutes or five minutes and then they'll slowly forget about it. And then you [...] and also, they won't be so enthusiastic about it when they're fake (.) when it's fake rather than real. And

*they won't ... the expression on their face how their face looks (.) it's not glowing and it's not **dark**."* (Stevie, 325)

In the example above, Stevie talked about both the lack of duration of a fake emotion, and the depth of the emotional display. They went on to say

"It makes it half the way or three quarters, but it will never be a full ... transformation kind of thing." (Stevie, 333)

5.4.1.2 Teacher's faked happiness is extreme

Blake and Riley discussed different features of their head teacher's emotional presentation, which they felt was put on for their benefit.

"Miss Y has like this really big smile but you can kind of tell it's fake because she does it all the time" (Blake, 663)

"And her voice. She has a really high pitch like 'Good morning, children' [imitates high pitched cheerful voice] ... and when she's talking to teacher's she's like 'Oh yeah, our library has just been wrecked and it's so sad.' [Voice is now very deep and quiet]." (Riley, 665)

In the extract above, the children explained that a very broad smile and a high pitch were both a little too unnatural for them to believe in. The contrast between her greeting children and then having a conversation with teachers in a different tone, highlights their observations of the fleeting nature of insincere emotional presentation.

"She'd be kind of like exaggerating a bit" (Blake, 291)

Later during their interview, they discussed smiling in more depth:

“It’s kind of like a fake smile’s not like you can’t really tell they’re happy because it’s kind of smaller.” (Blake, 617)

“It’s kind of like ...” (Riley, 619)

“Than like [gives a broad smile] and it it’s a real smile you’d be like really happy, you have like wads of enthusiastic feelings.” (Blake, 620)

“Enthusiasm” (Riley, 622)

“Enthusiasm, and you’ll just be really happy that you smile, and you can tell, but if you’re like faking a smile ...” (Blake, 623)

“Because then you’d be able to like stop that smile straight away like(.) like for example if like Miss I could tell that Mr W was laughing for real because his face turned red and he was laughing for ages, but if he had like a fake laugh he would be able to stop that laugh like straight away.” (Riley, 625)

The children in the extract above were certain that they could tell the difference between genuine and insincere smiles by duration and the other cues, such as the enthusiasm that accompanied the smile, as well as the increased control that their teacher had over smiles that were not real.

Where positive emotional displays were concerned, the children felt that their teachers overcompensated, and their efforts could appear rather forced.

“Miss Y’s like really, really nice but (.) she kind of exaggerates her smile. Like you can tell that it that she’s exaggerating it to make it look like she’s very very happy, like too happy, like over the line.” (Blake, 687)

The children believed that their teacher's responses to the children's attempts to share jokes were typified by false laughter.

"Like if we say a really bad joke and then like one of our teachers will go 'ah ha ha ha,' and then and they just go back to their normal face like ... just ..."
(Robin, 372)

"Then if you did something to try and like make them laugh they wouldn't laugh as much..." (Bobby, 479)

Sometimes, children noticed that teachers did not sustain their 'happy face'.

"Mr W, our old teacher, he ... he used to like always like laugh at our jokes in like the class ... and then sometimes [...] sometimes when he went out into like the activity bay or something he would like put a [pause] a frown on his face." (Tony, 319)

5.4.1.3 Teacher's faked anger lacks depth

Children were especially alert for signs of their teacher's negative emotional states and were able to scrutinise angry emotional presentation for signs of sincerity. The lack of depth appeared one of the most telling elements of faked anger.

"It's so it goes ... it's like louder but not as loud as it like if it was really angry. It's a bit like not as loud ... it's like a bit shorter like not as loud. Umm ... yep"
(Andy, 86)

Robin was talking about their teacher telling other children off, and why they felt that the 'anger' in that interaction was not real.

“Um because ... after they’ve told them off, then they’ll probably like put a big smile on their faces and start like going round to people and like saying good stuff “ (Robin, 338)

During the following exchange, Bobby and Devon had been asked if they can tell if teachers are faking being angry.

“Um, sometimes. Like when they’re like ... [looks to Devon]” (Bobby, 179)

“When they’re like for like a bit and then and then someone does something bad and then their voice goes like ... angrier and stuff [...] and then when they stop doing it then they go back to being happy.” (Devon, 180)

“Right. Like it’s like a sudden change you [...] can sort of tell the difference between. So if they’re angry ... and then they just suddenly change back to being happy [...] you’d sort of be able to tell the difference if it was fake or not.” (Bobby, 186)

These changes of emotional presentation, and the fleeting nature of their teacher’s faked anger were seen by the children as evidence that they are not genuine.

Joey talked about the single dimension of faked anger.

“They’re just faking it because they’re just shouting [...] When they’re not really angry their voice is less low pitched but when they’re angry their shout is like really deep [claps in emphasis].” (Joey, 309)

Here Joey not only talked about the fact that their teacher faking anger is ‘just shouting’, but they were able to describe discernible differences in the quality of their teacher’s voice when they are really angry.

Blake and Riley, reflecting back on their previous teacher, discussed how angry they had appeared when they were in the teacher's class.

“And now that he’s not our teacher we see him. He’s like happy and jumpy and like that [...]” (Blake, 146)

“He might not have been too cross.” (Riley, 148)

In hindsight, the children re-evaluated their view of the teacher's emotional presentation and wondered if he had exaggerated his feelings of anger.

5.4.1.4 Contradictions in aspects of emotional presentation

Some contradictions in emotional presentation were observed. For example, Jordan's teacher gave themselves way by unsuccessfully stifling laughter when trying to appear angry.

“Once we had a [...] we had a ... year group assembly in our school hall [...] He was trying to be a little bit ... I think he was faking to be angry because ... um he was saying it in a a loud ... and stern voice, but he was laughing at the same time so I was ... so yeah, I could tell.” (Jordan, 192)

Robin noted that their teacher sometimes faked an angry expression when telling them to redo their work. I asked how they knew that the anger was not real.

“Um. It’s like um ... she kind of does it with a smile on her face [...] So it’s like she’s trying to [looks at CA] It’s like she’s trying to hide it.” (Robin, 353)

Another exchange between Robin and Tony illustrated contradictory language and facial expression.

“(Their teacher) Tells people off but she’s still smiling.” (Robin, 433)

“And it’s a fake smile” (Tony, 434)

“If she’s frowning like she just laughs so it’s kind of a mix.” (Robin, 436)

“It’s all weird. Weird.” (Tony, 437)

These children appeared rather thrown by the mixed messages of facial expression contradicting what their teacher said and did, although they were not convinced of authenticity.

“One of the teachers I’ve had um it was um she didn’t look um ... um he didn’t look quite well but then he was like ‘Oh, I’m fine. I’m fine.’ and then but he still didn’t look ... as much as he was.” (Devon, 175)

In the above illustration, Devon was concerned that their teacher was not feeling well. Although they received assurances that the teacher was fine, Devon did not believe them.

In another extract, Sasha and Andy discussed the occasional contradiction between action and voice, which the children felt revealed the sincerity or otherwise of the emotion that the teacher was displaying.

“Like they could bang the table and go [points with index finger at the other child] ‘Can you do that work please?’ or ...” (Sasha, 1084)

“Because like and like” (Andy, 1086)

*“That that’s a nice voice but then they could be like ‘**Do that work!**’”* (Sasha, 1087)

Where the teacher's voice was consistent with the table banging, the children believed that the teacher was really angry. However, when they banged the table and then asked politely for compliance, children did not believe that their actions arose from real anger.

Blake was convinced that their teacher's emotional presentation was genuine. For example, they maintained that their current teacher was always emotionally honest with the children.

"But Miss X doesn't really fake things." (Blake, 175)

Blake was, however, able to give several examples of their previous teacher's emotional behaviour that did not appear to be real to them.

5.4.2 Reasons for faking emotions

As in the attribution of what the children identified as genuine emotions, the children interviewed were able to give coherent reasons for their teachers' use of emotion communication and display when they were not, in the children's judgement, reflecting their inner feelings. The four axial codes in this section are: teacher's need to moderate their responses (5.4.2.1); teachers using emotional displays to stop children worrying (5.4.2.2); using emotional displays to manage behaviour (5.4.2.3); and using emotional displays as a teaching tool (5.4.2.4).

5.4.2.1 Teachers need to moderate their responses

Andy and Sasha believed that teachers had to hold back from revealing their true feelings, because they were not allowed to say what they actually thought of the children.

“Inside they could be like ‘I want to, like I want smack the table and shout at you,’ but they obviously can’t. [...]” (Andy, 1088)

“Um some um all teachers like want to just like go up to someone and say ‘Can you stop doing that please?’” (Sasha, 1093)

“Yeah” (Andy, 1095)

“You’re the worst student in my class,” (Sasha, 1096)

“But they can’t.” (Andy, 1099)

These children understood that there was a convention within their school about how teachers must behave, and that involved them having to moderate their behaviour and emotions. At another point in the interview, Sasha spoke about their teacher regulating their emotions.

“If they’re angry then because they’re trying to calm themselves down, but we don’t really see teachers angry [...] well because well they would be showing it in the inside but we see the outside.” (Sasha, 674)

Sasha felt that the teachers were successful in calming themselves, to the extent that they doubted that they had ever seen a teacher genuinely angry. Sasha was also explicit about their understanding of a difference between the way that people may feel and the way that they act and had applied this to their teachers.

5.4.2.2 Teachers using emotional displays to stop children worrying

Three children described how their teachers might be experiencing negative emotions but tried to manage those emotions for the good of the class.

“But they’re trying to be happy. Yeah. Trying to be nice to the class” (Joey, 328)

“The teachers don’t want to upset you.” (Sasha, 921)

“She kind of will try her hardest to make like the children not worry about her.” (Riley, 308)

Children also noticed differences in observed emotional presentation when their teacher thought that they were not being observed before school started, as compared with when the children entered the classroom. The following example was contributed by Andy and Sasha, discussing changes in their teacher’s emotional presentation at the start of the school day.

“Yeah, they look a certain way like ‘Oh, I wonder why they’re sad’, and then you go in and they’re all happy and jolly and I’m like ‘But you were just sad a minute ago.’ It’s really weird. [...] Like they just suddenly changed in a minute.” (Andy, 721)

“Okay, why do you think that is?” (Int, 725)

“I think it’s because they don’t want you to know and they don’t want you to wor worry.” (Andy, 726)

“Yeah, because um like you don’t want to give up your personal things. Nor does the teachers.” (Sasha, 727)

These children were aware that their teachers had a private life and were able to relate to that through their own experience. They also acknowledged that the teacher may have been protecting them from any sadness that they might have been experiencing. Similarly, Blake spoke about their teacher's behaviour when they were thought to not be in a good mood.

“And if she’s not in such a good mood?” (Int, 1366)

“She doesn’t show it.” (Blake, 1367)

Children felt that their teachers were so nice that they disliked being cross and so attempted to contain their feelings.

“Like they’re lovely teachers in this school, but sometimes they can get quite cross.” (Sasha, 487)

“Yeah, because like they obviously don’t like to get cross and they probably like build it up inside and when they do get really cross I think it just comes out in one.” (Andy, 489)

However, Andy did note that on occasion when containing emotions could not be sustained, then their teacher became very angry indeed.

5.4.2.3 Using emotional displays to manage behaviour

Some children recognised the use of displays of anger to manage their behaviour, and to emphasise that children should stop what they were doing. Devon and Robin explained how they knew that it was not real anger.

“When they’re like, like for like a bit and then [...] someone does something bad and then their voice goes like ... angrier and stuff [...] and then when they stop doing it then they go back to being happy.” (Devon, 180)

“Um because ... after they’ve told them off, then they’ll probably like put a big smile on their face ...” (Robin, 338)

The children were familiar with this type of communication, directed at a single child or group, but clearly not directed at the whole class. Bobby explained how teachers used smiles to keep children in a productive mood throughout the day.

“It’s like say if you say a joke and they they smile ... and they’re trying to smile to say ... not influence you but like want to keep you to try and keep being happy.” (Bobby, 218)

Bobby was reflecting acute observation skills and an understanding of the social conventions of joke telling, and the importance of keeping children happy.

5.4.2.4 Using emotional displays as a teaching tool

The notion of teachers using a positive affect to set children up for a successful day was mooted by Andy.

“I think they try and come in it ... in a happy mood so it makes you excited for school.” (Andy, 338)

Joey explained that they felt their teacher used fake smiles to encourage.

“like a really smile looks different to like this [pulls a smiley face and screws up his eyes] because that’s like a fake smile, and they do that a lot when you do something good.” (Joey, 322)

Joey understood that the teacher used smiles when they were praising them. Their comments show that they were not convinced of the sincerity of the smile but understood it to mean that they had done well.

Blake expanded on their understanding of emotional displays used as a teaching tool.

“Yeah like me, Miss Y um whenever like we do my maths, Miss Y smiles like, ‘You can do it,’ and it’s kind of like we know we can do it. [...] We know she’s like she is like fake smiling” (Blake, 634)

Blake knew that the smiling was not necessarily a display of real happiness and was meant to encourage, and yet still acknowledged that it has an impact. Blake felt that it boosted their self-confidence. A little later in the interview they returned to the topic.

“In my maths like if we got something wrong Miss Y is like ‘That’s really good’ but you [...] could tell she was fake smiling but she would be happy about it that you tried but she’s kind of like fake smiling [...] like trying to encourage us.” (Blake, 644)

There are times when the use of encouraging positive emotions does not always ring true for children, however.

“... so you think ‘why is that correct?’ but it’s not actually correct but they say something like ‘Yeah, really good try,’ that but you think ‘Oh no that’s not good work’, and they’re like ‘yeah, that’s good work.’” (Andy, 801)

The notion that teachers may differ in their judgement of the work from the child was shared by other children when describing insincere smiles.

“If you’re stuck on it, you could see she was like trying to fake that you were good at it [...] yeah, like ‘Oh, you’re really getting really good now,’ and I’m thinking in my head ‘No I’m not. I really don’t get this at all.’” (Blake, 252)

Riley thought that the teacher may be trying to motivate them.

“Kind of like ... like trying to put in our heads ‘Oh. We’re really good at this. Now we just need to work harder.’ [...] but I’m the one who puts negative in my head like ‘No, she’s not telling the truth. I’ve got this all wrong and she’s saying it’s good.’” (Riley, 254)

Children doubted the sincerity of teacher emotions when their emotional behaviour did not match the child’s assessment of the response they expected. In this example, when children felt that they had not understood their work and it was not very good, it was met by teachers who were exhibiting pleasure at their achievements. Riley’s conclusion was that the teacher was expressing pleasure for another reason, for example to motivate the children to continue with their learning.

5.4.3 Awareness of teachers’ emotional regulation

Children are particularly aware that teachers use emotional regulation strategies to dampen down or disguise their inner feelings. However, some children demonstrate

in this focused code that they could recognise teacher's use of emotional regulation, particularly when that was related to strong emotions such as anger, illustrated by the two axial codes "describing teachers' anger management" (5.4.3.1), and "teacher anger can burst out" (5.4.3.2).

5.4.3.1 Describing teacher's anger management.

The children that were interviewed had been taught some strategies for managing their own anger and applied that knowledge when appraising the adults around them in their school environment.

In the following extract, Sasha describes their teacher's emotional management.

"Say their emotions are on the edge of a cliff. They're wobbling. If they fall off, they just let it out. But if they hold it in they take a couple of deep breaths [...] Because sometimes just a glass of water and a couple of deep breaths makes it helps a lot." (Sasha, 1136)

"And do you see teachers doing that?" (Int, 1140)

"Sometimes because they do get quite stressed." (Sasha, 1141)

The cliff-top analogy appears to have been taught to the children as part of their lessons on managing their own anger. Nevertheless, it is interesting that this child is applying it, in an appropriate context, to their teacher, and observing how their teacher controls their angry feelings in the classroom.

Jordan described observing deep breathing.

“I guess I think everybody can tell, I’m not sure, but inside you can kind of ... just ... [shrugs] kind of .. cooling off kind of like they’re breathing a little bit heavily and letting ... the anger leave the body and then ... one they’ve done that they’re really nice and happy again.” (Jordan, 338)

Whether taught or not Jordan, in common with others, was able to demonstrate a high degree of knowledge about how teachers use emotional regulation techniques to dampen down strong emotional responses.

5.4.3.2 Teacher anger can burst out

Teacher’s emotional regulation is associated with their displaying emotional messages that do not reflect their true emotional state. Indeed, this emotional labour is considered to be a key aspect of the emotional load carried by teachers.

However, containing anger is not always successful, and children demonstrated their understanding of this. Blake and Riley gave a vivid description of their teacher trying to, and failing, to manage their anger.

“You can see the way they’re trying to hold it in [...] because you can see like”
(Blake, 1193)

“They’re going to blow.” (Riley, 1196)

“They’re not really happy and you can see like all the like emotions in their face.” (Blake, 1197)

“How ... what is it that you do see? So it’s the face that you see the emotions in?” (Int, 1198)

“Yeah, because you kind of like your cheeks are kind of red and your face is just straight like [demonstrates an emotionless expression] and you’re breathing really deeply and you’re trying to hold [...] it in, and you can tell they are, and then they do let it out, it just goes everywhere, and makes everyone feel their feelings.” (Blake, 1199)

These children said that they were able to see that their teacher’s anger was rising, and observed their attempts to manage their anger, which in this case did not work. Their description of the teacher trying to hold anger in, is said in the third person. At the conclusion, the children said that the teacher made everyone feel their feelings – an account of the resulting emotional impact.

Andy explained a situation in which they had observed a build-up and release of anger.

*“Cause like they obviously don’t like to get cross and they probably like build it up inside and when they do get really cross I think it just comes out in one. To like one person. So if they’ve been doing it [a misdemeanour] like over and over again and it gets to ten minutes and then it gets to the headteacher I think it just comes out all of a sudden and shouts **‘Go to the headteacher.’**”*
(Andy, 489)

In the above extract, Andy referred to the school sanction system where docking ten minutes from playtime was the sanction used before sending the child to the headteacher. Andy went on to explain that following an incident such as the one above, teachers might still be angry when talking to other children.

*“So say if they’re telling you ‘Good work,’ or some saying ‘Well done, you’ve done it. Good try,’ and they accidentally shout it saying, ‘**Good try**’ or something like that and they don’t mean to.” (Andy, 500)*

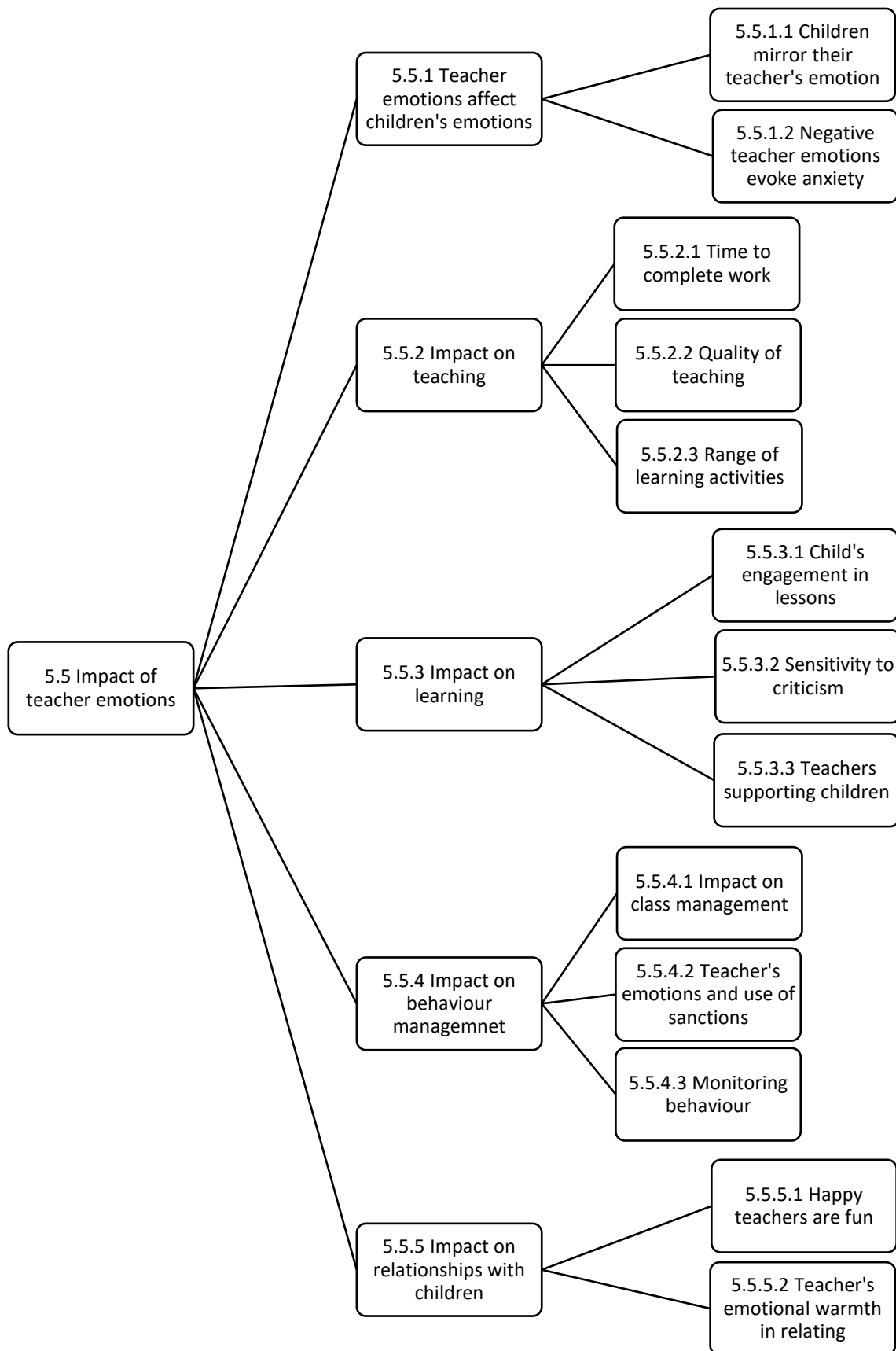
In the above excerpt Andy was demonstrating awareness that teachers can occasionally make mistakes in the way that they interact with children and attributed that to anger with a child which had not completely dissipated before the teacher had addressed another child, shortly after their original burst of anger.

5.5 Impact of teacher emotions

The children interviewed considered that teacher emotions had an impact on them in five main areas. These are teacher emotions affect children’s emotions (5.5.1), impact on teaching (5.5.2), impact on learning (5.5.3), impact on behaviour management (5.5.4), and impact on relationships with children (5.5.5).

Figure 10 overleaf shows the focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Impact of teacher emotions”.

Figure 10. Focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Impact of teacher emotions”



5.5.1 Teacher emotions affect children's emotions

Children recognised that their teacher's emotions had a direct effect on how they, and their peers, were feeling. This is illustrated through two axial codes: children mirror their teacher's emotions (5.5.1.1); and negative teacher emotions evoke anxiety (5.5.1.2).

5.5.1.1 Children mirror their teacher's emotion

Several of the children explained that when their teacher experienced negative emotions, they felt the same way.

"When she's talking louder it makes me feel angry as well because she's ... her emotions are travelling to my emotions as well a bit...." (Joey, 133)

"Yeah, well, he kind of makes us feel the way he was feeling..." (Riley, 1321)

"Then they do let it out, it just goes everywhere, and makes everyone feel their feelings..." (Blake, 1202)

"She kind of makes the pupils feel like she feels like 'Oh, I feel so bad today. I'm trying not to make you guys feel bad.' But the pupils actually do feel bad." (Riley, 1183)

These three children quoted above eloquently described transference of emotions, using examples of negative emotions. Other children also talked about how they shared a range of their teacher's emotions.

"So, like if Miss X is happy then we ... we're normally happy." (Robin, 482)

"I think if they come in a happy mood it all makes you happy." (Andy, 338)

“Say if they’re happy I’m ... I’m like happy ...” (Andy, 354)

There was agreement on this between one of the pairs interviewed:

“When she’s happier it like ... makes us feel ...” (Robin, 873)

“Good inside.” [Both children nod.] (Tony, 874)

This positive feeling, reflected from the teacher, was mentioned by several of the children. However, mostly the children wanted to talk about the impact of negative emotions, when they felt that they mirrored their teacher’s feelings. These children spoke about teachers who appeared angry to them.

“... well, it makes us like ... more sad or more like angry a bit more.” (Alex, 113)

“...but then it’s the teachers ... ‘cause if they’re acting in a bad mood they’re watching you like you might get ... like you might ... and sometimes I get quite angry...” (Sasha, 251)

“but say if you got told off or something bad happened, you’d be more grumpy.” (Bobby, 418)

Children also mirrored the teacher’s unhappiness, as Sasha and Andy illustrated.

“...if the teachers aren’t happy then they’re looking at you ...” (Sasha, 881)

“Then you feel unhappy.” (Andy, 882)

“You probably feel unhappy ...” (Sasha, 883)

Both children were aware that the teacher was not happy and this was mirrored in their own emotional responses.

“I feel a bit upset because like if they’re upset it kind of affects you in your lessons...” (Joey, 366)

“Miss X’s sad then it kind of makes me sad because I like Miss X.” (Robin, 542)

Robin attributed their feelings of sadness to their liking of the teacher.

“So, it’s kind of like um we...Miss Y isn’t like very happy but I don’t think she knows that it makes us upset...” (Robin, 884)

Robin made a comment about their belief that their teacher lacked awareness of the impact of their emotions.

Children’s discrete emotions may not entirely match those of their teachers.

However, the children reported that a negative teacher mood did impact negatively on the feelings of children in their class.

“Well, if they’re angry, it makes me feel kind of the opposite ... just like worried or sad ... yeah.” (Alex, 304)

“I feel like say they’re angry ... to somebody else, it makes the whole class feel down.” (Andy, 1131)

In the last example, Andy was referring to ‘down’ as a negative mood, and related it to observed teacher anger, rather than anger that was directed at them personally.

The children appeared to be constantly aware of their teacher, and to observe interactions in which they were not involved directly.

5.5.1.2 Negative teacher emotions evoke anxiety

During discussions related to this axial code, children raised some emotionally charged issues. Throughout the course of the interviews, and during reflection of content following, I concluded that it was not necessary to report any of their comments in the context of child protection and safeguarding. This was because of the way that the children recounted their observations and experiences, without any distress. Children expressed concerns that they might be noticed by their teacher when they were in a bad mood. Most of them tried to keep a low profile at such times, although the emotions evoked are of anxiety, as they attempted to avoid being the subject of their teacher's attention.

Stevie explained their dilemma about the teacher being cross:

"...when the teacher's cross, you... you get more chatty, and then so you get worried that you're going to get to chat in front of the cross teacher..." (Stevie, 108)

Stevie's perceived compulsion to chat in front of a cross teacher caused them anxiety. They felt anxious when thinking of the possible consequences of chatting under these circumstances, together with a sense of inevitability, that at some stage they would talk.

Andy talked about their vigilance when their teacher looked angry.

"And when they're coming toward you it feels like 'oh my god', but then it's like 'oh no, is it me?' but then they go behind you or something..." (Andy, 146)

Andy went on to talk about their heightened anxiety

“I feel like when they’re in a bad mood or .. not ... or an angry mood they turn ... like I want to go home or something...” (Andy, 338)

We could infer that Andy was talking about feeling the need to escape from the classroom when their teacher was angry. This was echoed in another conversation between Tony and Robin, talking about the teacher who relieved their usual teacher for preparation, planning and assessment (PPA) time on a weekly basis:

“I am frightened of her.” (Tony, 661)

“Yeah, and most of the people in our class are ... because... because like she ...she always shouts at us and it’s more aggressive...” (Robin, 662)

“... On Thursdays sometimes I don’t even want to come into school...” (Tony, 668)

Although not wanting to actually leave school, the following children also recalled the anxiety provoked by an angry teacher:

“When she’s angry it makes me feel ... it makes me panic a bit because I feel like she’s going to snap at me...” (Joey, 107)

“If the teacher is ...feeling cross like you might start crying.” (Sasha, 530)

“... they might leap out of their chair and go “What?” then you like take a big gulp...” (Sasha, 583)

“I nearly always cry when teachers shout at me because ... I’m just like ... I’m trying to do my best” (Blake, 1142)

The above extracts all described startle responses and are indicative of a measure of fear that the children speaking had for teachers when they were displaying strong negative emotional behaviours.

“It’s kind of like a bit more frightening and stuff...” (Devon, 412)

The sense in which teachers were unpredictable when angry was picked up by Bobby, who appeared to be voicing fears that they may get into trouble without realising what they had done to ‘deserve’ it.

“I ... probably feel quite worried because I wouldn’t go and want to get told off and things ... like I wouldn’t really want to get told off and then get punished for something.” (Bobby, 371)

The following exchange between Blake and Riley illustrates the depth of emotional response that they have when being shouted at by their teacher, along with their attempt to explain it. I felt there was merit in including their account in its entirety, although it crosses several categories, as it is so clear a communication about impact of teacher emotional behaviour.

“...you’re trying to do really well but you’re not and you’re messing around but you forget about it and the ... your teacher shouts at you when you ... when you most least expect it that ... it kind of makes you really sad.” (Blake, 1147)

“The shock ... Yeah, like I’m not sure how to explain it but you know like when you’re feeling comfortable and you’re like ‘oh, everything’s going perfect today,’ and you feel like all warm and cuddly in your class. And then suddenly your teacher shouts at you and like all that heat goes away and you’re feeling like ...” (Riley, 1152)

“It’s the shock for me, because ... it’s the shock of being shouted at because ... because I usually don’t get shouted at because I’m so quiet in class.”

(Blake, 1158)

The impact of having an emotional behavioural display, which they found aggressive, directed at them was significant, with varying degrees of anxiety and upset being experienced. This was particularly the case when children’s teachers took them by surprise. These children were able to reflect on the incident later, when they sought attribution related to their own behaviour for their teacher’s emotional reaction.

“If ... if you don’t understand what it’s for ... and you don’t realise that you’ve done something bad, then you could take it more seriously... but if ... say if you are doing something and you know you shouldn’t be doing it and you get told off you’d be more like, ‘Why have I done this?’ ...” (Bobby, 390)

Bobby was describing differing emotional responses to the teacher’s anger, depending on their judgement about whether they felt that anger is justified.

Tony felt that they wanted to intervene and explain to their teacher the impact they were having on them, but the thought of consequences made them worried.

“Sometimes I just want to tell Miss Y that she makes me feel sad but at the same time I don’t because I’m scared she’s going to like shout at me...”

(Tony, 881)

Riley simply ensured that they did not encounter their teacher when they were in a bad mood if possible.

“I’m like ... I’ll try not to like approach him until he feels better.” (Riley, 353)

Riley did not appear to be experiencing any of the anxiety or fear that the other children mentioned. They were aware of the teacher's mood but in this circumstance were confident that it could be managed. Thus, Riley was wary, although the emotional impact experienced was not as great.

5.5.2 Impact on teaching

Children identified a number of ways that their teacher's feelings impacted on their style of teaching, including the time given to complete work (5.5.2.1), the quality of teaching (for example, whether lessons were boring or fun) (5.5.2.2.), and the range of activities the teacher gave them within the course of delivering the curriculum (5.5.2.3).

5.5.2.1 Time to complete work

"Um, when they're angry, they're kind of like make us do our work a bit quicker. And a bit bit more quieter." (Alex, 117)

Joey described their teacher as being in a state that the child identified as panicked as they delivered the lesson.

"They're like ... like they're all so fast talking they're like rushing stuff and they're just um I .. it doesn't help us. Because when if they're rushing us we can't do our work neatly as they always go on about it." (Joey, 228)

5.5.2.2 Quality of teaching

Stevie noticed differences in quality of teaching, depending on their teacher's mood, and used this in part to discern how their teacher was feeling.

“When she’s happy, you don’t think about talking because she’s saying an interesting thing. When she when the teacher’s cross, you ... the teacher sometimes says ... it’s a ...maybe like boring and then you want to chat...”

(Stevie, 109)

Delivering boring lessons was not simply an indicator of crossness.

“They could be feeling anxious, if it’s their first time...” (Stevie, 122)

Alex saw a direct connection between the mood their teacher was in and the way that they taught.

“...because um if they are angry, they’re kind of not very fun... If they’re happy and they’re like it’s a sunny day um Miss X says, ‘Oh do you want to go outside and do some work?’” (Alex, 327)

Three children commented that when their teacher was sad, their delivery of the curriculum was different.

“They won’t really explain much. They just want to finish and then sit down and be peaceful.” (Stevie, 247)

“But when she was sad, she kind of took a little bit more and then because she was ... she didn’t really make it much fun .. maybe?” (Alex, 68)

“If she’s sad it’s not nice because she doesn’t really like ... teach the same.

It’s kind of she like does it a bit slower like ... talks a bit slower like ...” (Robin, 543)

These children talked about their teachers being slower in curriculum delivery and being emotionally distant from the children. Children identified differences that made the lessons less stimulating than usual.

Stevie identified teacher mood as one of the factors governing quantity of work given. This was important to them as they felt there must be enough work so that they can practice and improve.

“I think when she’s happy, she doesn’t give you as much work to do.” (Stevie, 212)

They went on to describe the desired emotions of a teacher:

“When you’ve got more I think it should be like she’s anxious. Then she becomes pleased. That’s how I like to have a teacher. She’s anxious then pleased ... At the start she’s anxious but she gives you a lot of work so you can practice, which is good, but then she also will be pleased when you’ve finished ‘cause you’ve done it.” (Stevie, 228)

Other children saw the increased amount of work as a punishment, meted out by an angry teacher, as the example below, provided by Blake, illustrates.

*“... if he happy he’d be low and cool and say ‘Okay, the minimum is two paragraphs’ but if he was snappy, he’d be like ‘**Four** paragraphs. Start **now**. On this.’ ...”* (Blake, 1312)

5.5.2.3 Range of learning activities

Sasha and Andy discussed how the quality of their teacher's offerings of learning activities for the children changed with their teacher's feelings.

"Yeah, we get to do fun things" (Andy, 111)

"... you do like all the um the wrong things, then you won't get to do anything fun but just be a boring day like maths test for about ... half a ... like an hour and a half." (Sasha, 113)

In the above extract, the children considered the impact of their teacher's mood on the range of activities they were offered, they comment on their part in changing their teacher's feelings through their behaviour. As they were discussing the maths tests, the length of time that they would be subjected to them was extended.

Teachers in a happy mood were considered to be more flexible in the activities that they offered to support the children's learning.

"When they come in in a happy mood they will treat us in a way ... they will reward us if they are in a happy mood but um ... in a dim mood in a bad mood they're ... they're give us like our work to do." (Joey,193)

"If they were sad they'd be talking really quietly and if they were happy and enthusiastic they would be like 'Come on, children, we're going to learn about this today and I'm going to make it really fun.' And we won't do any writing." (Blake, 447)

Children appear to experience more satisfaction from learning when they feel that their teacher is in a happy mood and they consider that the activities that they are given to do reflect their teacher's mood. This is apparent when talking about the

subject of writing. It appears to be a happy day when there is little writing to be done.

5.5.3 Impact on learning

Children talked about the impact that teacher emotion had on their learning. Sasha set the scene by explaining:

“It could be funny it ... it’s quite rare in our classroom because we’re one of ... we’re at that age now that ... yes we like a little bit of a joke but we’re mainly focusing on our learning.” (Sasha, 1195)

I inferred that children at the end of primary school had more serious things to do than to play in the classroom. Three axial codes made up this focused code: child’s engagement in lessons (5.5.3.1); sensitivity to criticism (5.5.3.2); and teachers supporting children (5.5.3.3).

5.5.3.1 Children’s engagement in lessons

Some of the children commented about their ability to do their work in relation to teacher emotions.

“Easier to work when she’s calm, ‘cause you know she’s not going to snap or do something a little bit wrong.” (Joey, 114)

“...and like if Miss X is happy one day, which is very very rare, we can like write a whole page...” (Tony, 876)

Others noted similar concerns about teacher’s anger.

“... because um I’m more concentrated on the work because I don’t want to be bad because the teachers like shouting at everyone else. I just try to get on with my work better.” (Devon, 152)

“...She’ll be like ... a bit grumpy and ... and then we’ll have to be like quieter and get on with our work otherwise we’ll get told off.” (Robin, 488)

“... if they’re, say, angry I’d be trying to get on with my work so I didn’t get into trouble.” (Bobby, 161)

In the above extracts, children felt that the impact of their teacher being angry was to focus them on their work, to remain on the right side of the teacher and avoid negative attention from them. Some children, however, gave examples of when teachers caused disruption as they were perceived to be in a bad mood. In those cases, children considered that their teacher’s classroom management disrupted learning.

“If Mr W was like really angry or cross it would kind of distract ... the whole class.” (Blake, 334)

“After they shout at us or something like that it would put me off for a bit ...”
(Morgan, 146)

In the following extract, Tony and Robin were discussing their teachers being angry, and the impact that has on them when trying to learn.

“It can, but not all the time ... because um it’s ... sometimes it can help us but if it distracts us then it’s not good as it can go either way.” (Robin, 185)

“And sometimes ... and sometimes like when she says ‘Shhh!’ to us constantly it like makes me feel like I need to keep on looking behind me ... just in case she’s like peering over my shoulder or anything.” (Tony, 189)

The children believed that this heightened vigilance with regard to their teacher distracted them from learning, although Robin acknowledged that this was not always the case. There were times when children reported that they could learn even though their teacher appeared to be angry.

However, Devon commented on the anxiety that anger created.

“...it makes me kind of like shrivel up and then try to get on with my work...”
(Devon, 146)

Devon’s concern to stay under the teacher’s radar was evident. Children also described a measure of disruption to their learning when their teacher was sad, although they attributed their distraction to their concern for the teacher’s welfare.

“I think sometimes with me if ... um if they’re like sad then I’d be looking to see like ... if they were okay.” (Bobby, 158)

“... so if they were a bit sad and they were teaching we might be a bit like ‘oh, are you okay,’ and stuff, instead of actually trying to learn from what we are doing.” (Devon, 72)

“...I feel a bit upset because like if they’re upset it kind of affects you in your lessons because um like they are upset so they are a bit different so we feel sorry for them or something and we ... we .. well it makes us curious in a way because we want to know what they’re upset about ... so you can’t really

concentrate because we just want to find out what it's about but we don't want to be too noseey." (Joey, 366)

Talking about their previous teacher, the following extract reinforces the distracting nature of a teacher perceived to be sad.

"... if we weren't doing our work and noticing him being sad, he would tell us to do our work more but we'd be so distracted that we'd do like a little..."

(Blake, 339)

And a conversation between Sasha and Andy:

"...if the teacher's ... if the teachers aren't happy then they're looking at you."

(Sasha, 881)

"Then you feel unhappy." (Andy, 883)

"You ... you feel unhappy and you ... you can't learn." (Sasha, 833)

The impact of perceived teacher unhappiness was that it was disruptive to children's learning. They talked about a mirroring effect - when the teacher was unhappy, it made the children feel unhappy, as discussed earlier. The children were clear that they felt this had an impact on their learning. The children also reported that they were unsettled by the teacher's perceived sadness and were distracted by it, wanting to be reassured that their teacher was alright and wanting to know what is going on.

5.5.3.2 Sensitivity to criticism

These children were sensitive to criticism and the degree of sensitivity about this was impacted by the teacher's mood as they delivered feedback on the children's work.

“...before you look at that work you look at the feedback, and because the teacher’s really angry it might be really bad feedback and then you mess up again and she’s angry and you keep on getting quite bad feedback.” (Stevie, 195)

“..if we don’t think that we’re good, then we probably won’t try, because um if you think that you’re not good, then you probably think that there’s no point in trying to do it.” (Robin, 284)

In another example, the class were drawing as part of an English project, aware that their teacher was in a bad mood.

“I drew a wolf and everyone like everyone said it was good but then she said it looked like a cartoon character ... and she ... she went on at me and like at playtime it made me cry because I’d tried my hardest and she said that it looked like ...a cartoon character.” (Tony, 637)

This was an incident that had happened some time previously but was clearly fresh in Tony’s mind. Their eyes filled with tears as they recounted the incident.

“...You’re not really confident with that way, and then you get it really wrong, and then ... the teacher gets angry.” (Stevie, 202)

These children experienced criticism of their efforts to be an emotional experience and appeared to be relating it to the emotions of the teacher. There appeared to be an element of perceived unfairness in the teacher’s comments on their work, and this has a big impression on how they felt about it, even some time later.

5.5.3.3 Teachers supporting children's learning

Children struggling to understand lessons reflected that their teacher's ability to communicate expectations varied with mood, as did their responses when the children felt they did not understand and sought clarification or help with their work.

When talking about a teacher that they described as "not always very happy", Tony explained.

"... She doesn't explain the maths and then when it comes to doing the actual work we don't know what we're doing because she hasn't explained it properly and then she moans at us and moves our names down, because apparently we haven't listened." (Tony, 572)

"...if we tell her that ... she hasn't read it out ... then she gets like a bit grumpy" (Robin, 582)

The excerpt above is illustrating the sense of injustice that the children appear to feel when their teacher delivers a sanction (moving names down on the class whiteboard into a 'danger zone') because they had been unable to follow the teacher's explanations of the learning activity.

The example below illustrated the conflict of emotions experienced by the children when they felt that they were following their teacher's instructions, but they believed that because of her bad mood, they were told off:

"Like if you have to talk in pairs but she like even if we just whisper, she doesn't like it." (Robin, 604)

"...you won't chat about the work because then you think that the teacher will tell you off ... for chatting about the work." (Devon, 313)

Andy was concerned because of the emotional impact his teacher made on his attitude to work:

“I think you feel differently about work like say if you get told off like put on a warning like I, I’ve had that once...” (Andy, 122)

In contrast, Sasha mentioned the difference that a happy mood made to the teacher’s capacity for offering help and support.

“If they’re feeling happy, they’ll be like looking at our maths books and things like that and like helping us ...” (Sasha, 54)

In summary, there were notable differences between children in the extent to which their teachers affect impacts on their learning, and it is likely that this is reproduced throughout classrooms, where developmental and prior experience has an impact on the way that individual children experience their teacher at any given time. There is clearly a fine line to be drawn for teachers in enhancing their class’s ability to focus and disrupting their learning, and this is impacted by their emotional presentation more than is currently acknowledged.

5.5.4 Impact on behaviour management

Behaviour management and the children’s views on the school systems were subject to some explaining in each interview as children worked to ensure I understood what their particular class system was in the context of their school system.

The principles of each school’s systems were similar. Both were designed to be predictable and consistent across all children and with every member of staff. There would be a series of rewards starting with praise and developing through such things

as writing the child's name in a rainbow on the whiteboard for a reward at the end of the week, to collection of house points on a whole school basis for a longer-term cumulative reward. Both schools praised children in assemblies, in recognition of achievement in both social and academic domains. One school had a "Star of the week" in every class, although some children expressed some confusion about how the 'Stars' were chosen. On the whole however, children understood their systems and the school and class rules that went alongside the behaviour management system.

Although detail differed in the two schools, systems for managing misdemeanours followed the similar routes. A series of verbal warnings, followed by official warnings, (in one school traffic light cards, and in the other names written on the whiteboard and progressively moved down into the danger zone), preceded sanctions, such as losing increasing amounts of break times and culminating with a visit to the head teacher, who might call parents in. The children interviewed were delightfully ignorant about this aspect and professed that they did not know what might happen if they were ever called to the head teacher's office, although all had lost part of their break times.

In this context, children talked about the impact of teacher emotion on the application of their school's behaviour management systems, under three axial codes, namely: impact on class management; teacher's emotions and the use of sanctions; and monitoring behaviour.

5.5.4.1 Impact on class management

Children perceived happy teachers as being more flexible of children's behaviour, and there is a sense of mutual enjoyment of the activities in the classroom.

"So if Miss X is happy then we're normally happy because ..." (Robin, 482)

"We can just like joke around ... mess about and make someone laugh"

(Tony, 483)

In another extract, one child contrasted their teacher's approach when she was in different moods:

"Yeah, because if she's happy like we get to talk and sometimes if she's being a bit moody or grumpy then you've got to be like quiet so .. and um ..."

(Robin, 108)

The following Andy and Sasha discussed the difference that their teacher's mood could make when an incident occurred.

"I think they deal with it like more better if they're having happy moods ... 'cause like they don't ... they like say 'Well, you need to like you need to try and sort it out yourselves'..." (Andy, 572)

"Or 'What's happened?' first." (Sasha, 577)

In the above extract, the children were illustrating that their teacher tended to ask before acting when in a good mood. The implication here is that children appear to feel that their teacher paid more attention to issues when in a good mood, rather than immediately turning to sanctions.

5.5.4.2 Teachers emotions and use of sanctions

Children noticed that the teacher's use of sanctions differed according to their emotional state.

"Well, if you're ... the teacher's in a good mood and you're naughty, they will say like 'Oh ... don't do that,' or something like that but if they are in a bad mood and you do something naughty they will say like 'Oh. Warning.' ...like five minutes off..." (Joey, 294)

"They might give you the look, but they might give you a talk to, but it all depends on how they're feeling." (Sasha, 59)

"In a good mood some they sometimes go 'warning...warning ... warning.' ... But they're angry, sad. They would be 'Warning. Five minutes off. Ten minutes off.'" (Stevie, 289)

*"Teachers maybe they get more angry with smaller things and they move **you** name down, but some teachers would be ... more happy so tell you not to do it again more than just move your name straight down..."* (Bobby, 86)

One of the features of a good mood, according to the children, was that teachers were more inclined to give multiple warnings rather than go straight into the official sanction system. A teacher whose mood was not good gave sanctions more quickly, with fewer warnings.

"Miss X is really nice but she says constantly that she will move your name down but she never does. She just tells off a lot." (Blake, 717)

“But if Miss X’s quite happy ... she lets us have like five warnings and then we go on first cross... and then when she’s like angry or sad she normally says like three or two.” (Alex, 85)

When their teacher was in a happy mood, and they did something naughty children believed that they were treated with greater leniency.

“... She’s let you off!” (Jordan, 119)

“Sometimes when people ... they’ll give multiple warnings.” (Briar, 392)

Children believed that their teacher was affected by following the sanction systems. The illustration below was given about their teacher sanctioning a child whom the children regard as being constantly naughty.

“... because he is doing it constantly which kind of like makes Miss X uneasy because ... it kind of makes her uneasy because she doesn’t usually have to move names down but she moves Noel’s down twenty-four seven and it ... you can see it kind of uneases her because ... she doesn’t really want to.”

(Blake, 745)

“It kind of like affects her.” (Riley, 749)

These children believed that their teacher disliked the sanctions

“...she really hates moving people’s names down.” (Blake, 803)

“Well um sometimes like well I’ve heard a couple of teachers say that they don’t want to tell us off. They don’t want to tell us off ... but they have to.”

(Sasha, 210)

Stevie noted that when his teacher was in a bad mood they added to the sanctions, which allow for ten minutes to be removed from break time before the child is sent to the head teacher. In this child's class when the teacher is angry:

"..then twenty minutes off. Then fifteen then twenty then ..." (Stevie, 295)

"Oh.. Those weren't on the card, were they? So do they just add them on sometimes?" (Int, 298)

"Yeah... they are allowed to. If they are really angry." (Stevie, 301)

Others noted that the speed of sanctioning increased when their teacher was not happy.

"...they can kind of shout a bit like their voice gets louder and ... and then they start moving the names down ... the board." (Morgan, 169)

"Well sometimes when me teacher's ... when my teacher's like fed up from the noise and stuff then she moves the names down more." (Devon, 97)

Children were able to demonstrate that teacher mood did impact the way that sanctions were delivered, together with the rate of progression through the sanctions. In most schools, sanction systems are designed to ensure fairness and consistency across the whole school. In the children's view, there were definite and identifiable differences in this domain.

5.5.4.3 Monitoring behaviour

Children were concerned that when their teacher was angry, or in a bad mood, then they watched the children more closely, ready to tell them off.

“...if they’re feeling like angry, she’ll keep an eye on you but then if they’re feeling happy, they’ll be like looking at our maths books and things like that ...” (Sasha, 53)

“When she’s grumpy or like tired she notices more ...” (Tony, 162)

“If she’s a bit moody or tired then she’ll be like .. a bit grumpy and and then we’ll have to be like be more quiet and get on with our work otherwise we’ll get told off...” (Robin, 488)

5.5.5 Impact on relationships with children

This focused code is comprised of two axial codes: happy teachers are fun (5.5.5.1); and teacher’s emotional warmth in relating (5.5.5.2).

5.5.5.1 Happy teachers are fun

Children appeared ready to enjoy school, and their relationship with their teacher was important to them. In the children’s view, the emotional state of the teacher had an impact on their relationship with their pupils, and this could be both positive and negative at times. For many children laughter was a strong indicator of good humour and a happy teacher.

“Some teachers like a laugh” (Sasha, 375)

“Miss X will always laugh, but Miss Y won’t, and you can’t make ... you won’t understand this, but you can’t make Miss Y laugh however hard we try.”

(Tony, 780)

“If you say a joke Miss X will laugh...” (Robin, 772)

“Even our Headteacher likes laughs...So like she laughs like and ... yes, so say she laughs. It’s obviously okay for everybody else to laugh.” (Andy, 1218)

Children took their cue for permission to have fun, crack jokes and laugh from the teachers. The extract above illustrates that Andy was beginning to understand that there is also a hierarchy within the school staff with similar social conventions about humour and when it is appropriate.

“Sometimes they say like ‘Oh, we’re going to do maths tests’, and then you’re like ‘oh.’, because it ... say if they did that on the last day of school like, we’d be like ‘Oh.’ And then they’d be like ‘No, I was only joking, we’re going to ... watch a movie with popcorn or something like that.” (Andy, 631)

Sasha also talked about their teacher teasing them, and how the children knew.

“...and we say ‘Watch a movie’ and... but we know she was joking because she was laughing.” (Sasha, 650)

Tony shared a moment of physical interaction.

“Today I was like stretching ... and she tickled my armpit. Just little things like that. It’s funny ... she’s a bit cheeky.” (Tony, 88)

The warmth and good humour behind this action was shared between teacher and pupil.

The laughter in the classroom was one of the things that children valued.

“She loves a laugh.” (Sasha, 373)

“Miss X, she does like jokes and stuff and she makes us laugh in maths or like something...” (Tony, 729)

“Miss X laughs a lot.” (Blake, 1342)

I had asked Tony and Robin about how their teacher behaved when sad, and received this response:

“It’s quite hard to find it but you know when she’s sad, because she’s normally really happy.” (Tony, 68)

“She’s normally ...” (Robin, 69)

“Like laughs a lot, doesn’t she?” (Tony, 71)

“Yeah, and she makes us all laugh as well” (Robin, 72)

Clearly happy times were easier to discuss for these two children, and they gave a lovely example of the usual relationships and classroom climate engendered by the teacher’s usually positive emotional state.

Children talked about positive interactions in the classroom.

“Well, once ... um ... I have fruit in the class and I had an orange and I was kind of put that in my mouth and she saw... she saw me doing that and ... I made her laugh.” (Morgan, 309)

“Sometimes at the beginning of the day she laughs because people will bring her things that are sometimes funny. Something’s nice and she likes to laugh.” (Jordan, 312)

“Say if the teacher accidentally misspelt something on the board or something, and you spotted that you start like ... like trying you know like laughing a little bit then ... the happy teachers would be like ‘ha ha ha. I can’t believe I did that that’s so embarrassing.’ And ... yeah.” (Bobby, 489)

Two children talked about telling jokes.

“If I like said the joke from ‘Mrs Brown’s Boys’ or something like that, I think she’d laugh ... because it’s like adult and she understands it.” (Riley, 1357)

“Jokes more ... are more appropriate in a more bigger variety of times with happy teachers ...” (Bobby, 502)

In the above extract, Bobby spoke not only about judging material to share with their teacher, but also that they felt safe to tell jokes when their teacher is happy. At these times the classroom climate is positive, joking is permissible, and the children are also happy.

5.5.5.2 Teacher’s emotional warmth in relating

Children appeared to keep an eye on the social structure of the classroom and made judgements about the perceived fairness of their teacher when dealing with different children, those with closer relationships and those whose relationship were less favourable.

Tony and Robin discussed their previous teacher in this regard.

“Noel was Mr W’s favourite person because he was cool and he was like...”
(Tony, 929)

“He ... he like... he’s like really funny and up you can tell that he’s Mr W’s favourite because um like Mr W pays all his attention to Noel.” (Robin, 930)

“Like even when Noel was talking he wouldn’t ... he wouldn’t move his name down but say if I was talking he would move my name down. But if I was

talking to Noel then he would just move my name down, not Noel's" (Tony, 932)

Teacher feeling emotionally warm towards one child could result in uneven punishments which were perceived as unjust by the children. Another example of this is presented below.

"... in certain classes where they give other people ... when they give other people doing the same thing as you lower punishments as you... So like me me one class ... me and Noel were messing around but then um we were doing exactly the same thing and I didn't have any punishment before and ... I got a worse punishment than Noel did." (Joey, 616)

One of the children had a lot to say about different degrees of emotional warmth that they had observed between their teacher and members of the class, and returned to the subject on several occasions during their interview. This child believed that they perceived a difference in the teacher's emotional presentation when relating to a child that they were thought to favour.

"He tends to ... teachers tend to treat them a bit more like happily like 'Oh, you're doing just fine. I'm not going to worry about you. But all the other children..." (Riley, 489)

"Like one like for some children she's happy and she's happy to let them do whatever they want, whereas like other children she's kind of straightforward and she's a bit kind of more snappy you would say." (Riley, 768)

In the extracts above, Riley was perceiving a difference in the emotional interactions between the teacher and different children in their class and appeared to believe that this indicated that their teacher liked some children more than others.

Later in the interview, Riley was more explicit about their beliefs that teacher attention and emotional warmth were related to the children's ability.

"Like she puts all of her attention to like... to like you could say brighter kids. Brighter kids. Would that work? ... Like more cleverer kids and like for a bit more like not brighter kids she kind of doesn't waste time on them. She does on the brighter kids." (Riley, 819)

"Like Queenie, for example. Well she's like the second brightest in our class and she's like 'Oh, Queenie, how can I help you today?' Like she's always happy when she sees her like she never has a doubt about her." (Riley, 842)

Riley's observation was that their teacher seemed happier to see Queenie than other children, and that there was a special relationship between them.

Alex noted that what their teacher said was not supported by evidence.

"Miss X says she likes us all the best um ... all of us the same way, but I think she has 'best'... (Queenie) she keeps on getting all of the stars of the day and then she's got ... two ... stars of the week." (Alex, 364)

"You can tell because they kind of like put a different attitude towards them as the rest of the class..." (Blake, 814)

Teachers telling children that they are all equally liked was not believed when the children perceived differences in the way that they were treated. They were acutely aware of differences in quality of interaction and this contributed to their notion of 'favouritism' in the classroom, with attached perceptions of the degree teacher's emotional warmth towards individuals.

The amount of attention that teachers paid to children was taken as a mark of warmth of relationship and liking, or otherwise, of the teacher for the child. Robin and Tony discussed an example of what happens when a teacher does not like a child.

“I think they don’t like really pay any attention to them so like they just ... if they’ve got their hand up they walk right past them.” (Robin, 911)

“And they just ignore them and if say someone is talking to her, then she won’t listen she ... they will not listen... This hasn’t happened today ...” (Tony, 913)

“Even if it’s an important thing about our work she still like ... they still don’t listen. Like the TAs in both classes too.” (Robin, 917)

“This hasn’t happened yet in year 6 but it has happened.” (Tony, 919)

The children were illustrating how pointedly ignoring children, unfairly was a clear sign of dislike of the child who was being ignored. They found this particularly serious as it impacted on the level of learning support available to that child. Devon, however, gave an example showing a high level of teacher attention on a child who they felt was not liked by that teacher.

“If ... if they’re like looking at the person like that they don’t really like, they’ll be like ‘I’m keeping an eye on you, because you might do something bad.’”

(Devon, 530)

Lastly, Andy considered that teachers were aware of the impact of their behaviour on the feelings of children towards them, and the quality of their relationship. In the following extract, Andy spoke about the impact of being told off on their feelings about their relationship with their teacher.

“I think I know why they don’t want to like tell them off ... ’cause like say if they say if you tell them off it feels like ... it feels like you ... you don’t have like a relationship with that like teacher anymore.” (Andy, 220)

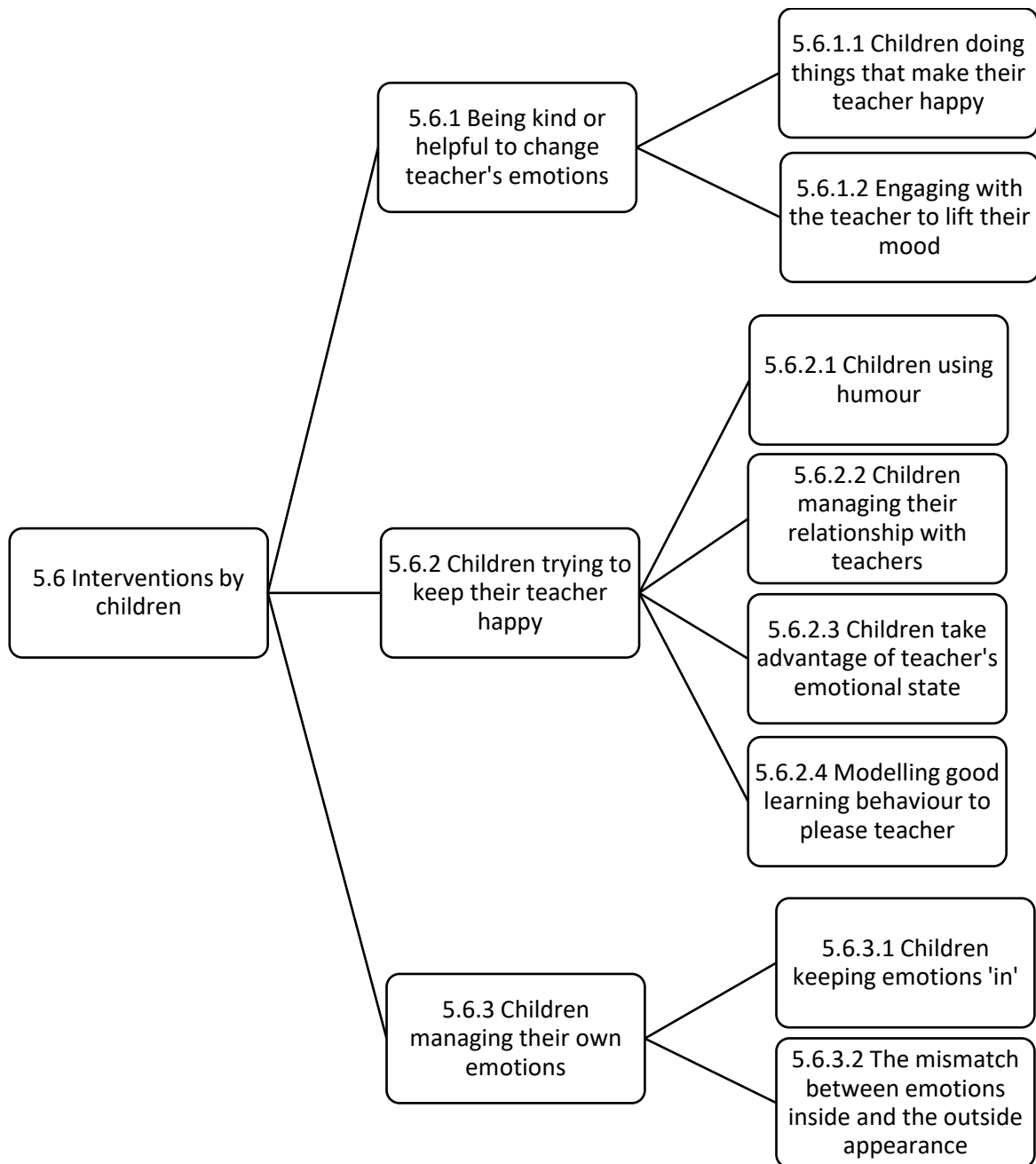
The children have given numerous examples of the ways in which teacher emotion has an emotional impact on them.

5.6 Interventions by children (Children as social actors)

All but one of the children had something to say about the interventions that they were purposefully involved with to either maintain their teacher’s positive emotional state or to improve their affect when the child judged the teacher to be feeling less than positive. There are three focused codes within this category, namely, being kind or helpful to change teachers’ emotions (5.6.1), children trying to keep teacher happy (5.6.2), and children managing their own emotions (5.6.3).

Figure 11 overleaf shows the focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Interventions by children”

Figure 11. Focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Interventions by children”



5.6.1 Being kind or helpful to change teacher’s emotions

This focused code is made up of two axial codes, centring on positive interventions with the teacher, as follows: children doing things that make their teacher happy (5.6.1.1); and engaging with the teacher to lift their mood (5.6.1.2).

5.6.1.1 Children doing things to make their teacher happy

Children attempted to alter their teacher's mood by responding to perceived sadness or anger by being actively helpful.

"If you do something good like complete the task or ... you help her, like say you um she opens the door and then it's really windy outside, and then all all her papers get blown around. If you pick them up, she'll be happier." (Stevie, 99)

In this example, Stevie interpreted their teacher smiling in response to them helping to pick things up for the teacher, as a sign that their teacher was then in a happier mood.

Three children described other things that they did to make their teacher smile at them.

"Completing tasks. And helping you ... Giving idea ... and that kind of ... helping people with autism." (Stevie, 407)

"You could make your teacher laugh by doing something that you know they love, or something unusual that will make them happy." (Blake, 1352)

"If you like say a joke the teacher might laugh." (Devon, 470)

When their teacher came into school having been angry the previous day, Joey was ready with their strategies.

"We behave in a way that's like offering and like 'Do you want me to do that or do you want me to do this?' and asking them stuff." (Joey, 440)

These children were using the strategies available to them in the constraints and expectations of the classroom that they believed would have a positive impact on their teacher's mood.

Tony and Robin talked about strategies for cheering up their teacher when they appear sad.

"I kind of act really stupid." (Tony, 402)

"If she like Miss X's sad sometimes people like people draw a picture for her and stuff [...] or write poems about her." (Robin, 403)

"Yeah, or write letters about her." (Tony, 406)

Presenting their teacher with academic gifts, or keepsakes, was seen by these children as effective and appropriate.

5.6.1.2 Engaging with the teacher to lift their mood

Blake described a strategy that they had developed which they believed to calm their teacher.

"He's made his own album and everything and we like asked him if it actually like played in Lidl because somebody said it did. He would like chat on about that and then he'd get into a better mood." (Blake, 405)

Blake was aware that their teacher had some interests outside school and if they noticed that he was not happy, Blake would engage with him about those interests. In the Blake's view, this was a successful method for altering this teacher's mood.

Devon and Bobby discussed the need to check on their teacher and intervene if they think the teacher was 'a bit down'.

"We would like want to look at the teacher to see if she or he is all right."

(Devon, 450)

"You want to check on them to make sure that they're say comfort them if something bad's happened [...] out of school [...] so if they're sad and the whole class has been really good, they could sort of change from you .. you couldn't really tell if it was fake or not, but they could change from being more sad than would appear to happy because of how the classes behaviour is."

(Bobby, 451)

Whilst Devon in the excerpt above was talking about monitoring their teacher's wellbeing, Bobby described interventions by the whole class to try to lift the teacher's mood. There was acknowledgement that the teacher may have been making an effort to appear happier in response to the children's positive actions, despite the possibility that their sad feelings remained. In this sense, this is a description of an emotional collaboration between teacher and pupils to change the climate within the classroom.

Blake and Riley gave an example of intervening directly to improve their teacher's mood.

"And if she's sad she'd be like 'Okay, we're going to do this today [child mimics with head down, talking slowly] I want you to do exactly what 's on the board but put it in your own words.'" (Blake, 1371)

"And I'd be like 'Come on, Miss X, put some umph into it!'" (Riley, 1374)

“She’d be talking quietly.” (Blake, 1375)

“And she might start smiling.” (Riley, 1376)

Noticing these small differences in affect appears to be important to the children.

Simply getting their teacher to smile when the children believed that she was feeling sad made them feel better.

5.6.2 Children trying to keep their teacher happy

Children spoke about several ways in which they purposefully endeavoured to maintain a positive teacher emotional state in their classroom, and these are illustrated in the following four axial codes: children using humour (5.6.2.1); children managing their relationships with teachers (5.6.2.2); children take advantage of teacher’s emotional s

tate (5.6.2.3); and modelling good learning behaviour to please teachers (5.6.2.4).

5.6.2.1 Children using humour

Stevie talked about the reasons for doing things that made their teacher smile.

“When she’s happy she won’t get angry.” (Stevie, 417)

Tony and Robin discussed their previous teacher’s response to their jokes.

“Mr Mr W our old teacher he he used to like always like laugh at our jokes in like the class.” (Tony, 319)

“Oh, yeah.” (Robin, 320)

Sasha talked about how they had set themselves up to create laughter.

“Do like I’m walking around saying ‘Oh yeah, I’ve got my glasses back’, but everyone is laughing at me then I take the glasses off because I’m going to the toilet or something and someone says, ‘You’ve got the wrong glasses on.’”

(Sasha, 611)

Children talked about making judgements about how appropriate it was to use humour in the classroom.

“Because um everybody has their own personality and um ... some people are more difficult to make laugh then some people are really easy to make laugh and then you have to try a bit harder.” (Alex, 349)

Joey talked about the role of laughter in helping a teacher who was ‘a bit down’.

“Um what would make them laugh is um not really jokes if they’re a bit down, because they won’t really get them, but like ... they could be a bit stunned if we all just put our heads down and were working all sort of finished at the same time. That would make them laugh. Like getting our work done but not saying jokes when they are a bit down.” (Joey, 478)

The extract above demonstrated the judgements that were made about joking and the place of laughter in the context of their teacher’s emotional state. Joey considered that joking when their teacher was ‘down’ was inappropriate and implied that they believed that their teacher’s sense of humour was reduced when they were not happy. Instead, there were other strategies that the class could deploy for restoring the teacher’s good mood.

Children demonstrated that they believed that the classroom was a place to learn, and Tony spoke about the results of telling jokes to an unhappy teacher when they should be working.

“If we like tell her a joke in like English or or like we finished our work or something, and like we’re doing our [...] Maths, then we tell her a joke and she doesn’t smile or laugh, she just ... is frowning.” (Tony, 379)

5.6.2.2 Children managing their relationships with teachers

Some children appeared to work hard to remain on the positive side of their teacher.

Andy explained that:

“Like you feel more happy if you’re not being told off because you feel like this day is going to be great and not bad, and I feel like day’s you could get told off you feel like the rest of the day is going to go horrible.” (Andy, 408)

Children appeared alert to the nuances of the answer that teachers are expecting – the responses that would make them ‘happy’.

“Like you don’t want to say ‘No’ to them so you’re like ‘Okay’.” (Andy, 906)

“Like the half ... the half the time you don’t want to upset anybody [...] You don’t want to upset teachers.” (Sasha, 912)

There was a sense of trying to keep the peace, by ensuring as far as possible that their actions were not going to cause any type of upset to the teacher’s feelings.

Sometimes children supported each other in noticing changes in their teacher’s emotional state and acted to mitigate their teacher’s emotional behaviour.

“Say when the Thursday teacher’s like staring at everyone when they’re talking, some people see the Thursday teacher doing that and they they um start saying like ‘Stop talking,’ like to the other students saying it to the people who are chatting and then they try and do that.” (Briar, 342)

As adults in education, this may appear to be an effective behaviour management strategy. Briar, however, experienced and recounted the incident in terms of diverting the teacher from a potential angry outburst. Briar also observed that not all children in their class could discern the teacher's cues or make appropriate decisions about how to act in response to their teacher's emotions, with some consequences.

Riley and Blake recalled a time when their teacher was behaving in an angry manner.

"...because I'm like, 'Oh, Mr W must be really tired. I'll try not to like approach him until he feels better.'" (Riley, 353)

"Yeah, but like some ... silly people ... but some silly people like Noel, they go up to Mr W and hug him. Like Noel like always does, and he's get like really cross." (Blake, 355)

Blake noted that Noel did not appear to have any ability to discern their teacher's emotions and considered that Noel put themselves at risk of upsetting the teacher as a consequence.

"We know her limits. We don't cause so we don't go further then her limits."
(Andy, 1290)

When children were familiar with their teachers, they learned that individual teacher's boundaries and were alert about how to read warning signs that they might have been approaching those limits.

In the following extract, Tony expressed feelings of being too disempowered to intervene the way that they would have liked to.

“Sometimes I just want to tell Miss Y that she makes me feel sad but at the same time I don’t because I’m scared she’s going to shout at me.” (Tony, 881)

5.6.2.3 Children take advantage of teacher’s emotional state

Stevie talked about the possibility of having an anxious teacher, and speculated about the possible mayhem that would result in.

“Oh, it’s the end of the year and then the teacher and then she gets a new class. But the new class has lots of naughty people and she’s anxious about dealing with them [...] it makes them think ‘oh, yeah,’ they might be they might be well they might be new and they think ‘ Oh, they’re new. We can do anything we want.’ [...] and just behave really badly and start flinging pencils and punching and poking and then punching, maybe.” (Stevie, 142)

Morgan suggested that the uncertainty and anxiety of new teachers resulted in a change of child behaviour.

“Some of them can be a bit naughty.” (Morgan, 551)

Similarly, Stevie observed a change in behaviour of some of their classmates when they perceived that their teacher was feeling sad.

“They get well people get confident that they can do anything. About or anything naughty [...] because the teacher they think the teacher is too weak to tell them off.” (Stevie, 270)

Stevie was concerned that sad teachers, or perhaps those that were performing under par, were perceived as weak by some of their classmates, who would then take advantage of the situation.

Tony and Robin discussed members of their class taking advantage of their teacher's mood.

"Do you try not to be naughty if she looks a bit grumpy?" (Int, 123)

"It shouldn't but ... sometimes people try to get away with stuff." (Tony, 125)

"Yeah. Sometimes they blame it on other people and then Miss X like she doesn't ... I don't know how to explain it but sometimes people blaming it on other people and then Miss X tells the other person off when they haven't done anything." (Robin, 126)

There were a range of children's behaviours associated with teachers not being in a happy mood, some of which were considered to be taking advantage and others reflecting children's determination to try and alter the teacher's mood. All of these actions were conscious decisions made by children on the basis of their appraisal of the teacher's emotional state, and an assessment of what that meant for the children themselves.

5.6.2.4 Modelling good learning behaviour to please the teacher

Children believed that their teacher's happiness was associated with the academic success and effort made by the children.

"Sometimes she ... she is happy and like um say if like we write a sentence and she thinks it's really good, which is rare, um she'll smile." (Robin, 785)

Stevie told of when they attempted to improve their work with the objective of making their teacher happy. Sadly, they felt they were unsuccessful.

“... because then you do you do that work and you think you’re meant to, but then she gets really angry so you try to do your work differently but you have not been taught like been taught it like that, or you’re not really confident with that way, and then you get it really wrong, and then ... [voice lowers] the teacher gets angry.” (Stevie, 200)

Stevie was trying to problem solve an academic and social situation where they felt that their teacher was angry because of their low achievement. That their solution to do better was unsuccessful adds poignancy to their account.

Two children summed up the impact of children’s behaviour on teacher mood when they described differences in their readiness to settle to learning.

“Yes well, it depends because if we’re like really like ‘ha-ha’ and with our friends being all funny and just come from the playground, she’s in in quite an angry mood, but if we come in absolutely silent she’s in a calm mood.” (Joey, 149)

“Well, sometimes we’re in a good mood and then we chat because like we might be in a good mood because like we’re sitting next to our friends. But um, I think it’s how we behave. Like if you you are in a good mood and you come in chatting it’s not going to get the teacher in a good mood, but if you’re in a good mood and you’re like not talking, it’s going to get the teacher in a good mood, because um she’s know you are actually paying attention, and giving her respect.” (Briar, 326)

They understood how their learning behaviour could influence teacher mood.

“It would make them really happy [...] if the class just got on with it,” (Joey, 488)

“Say during that lesson everyone’s being really good and quiet and like it’s supposed to be ... then they change from really angry to really happy quite easily.” (Bobby, 254)

In these examples above, although the children were not talking about direct interventions, they could describe how to influence their teacher’s mood.

5.6.3 Children managing their own emotions.

Children wanted to talk about managing their own emotions in the classroom and in school. They talked about both moderating and masking their emotional responses to events, including during emotional interactions with their teacher, under two axial codes, as follows: children keeping emotions ‘in’ (5.6.3.1); and the mismatch between emotions inside and the outside appearance (5.6.3.2).

5.6.3.1 Children keeping emotions ‘in’

Robin and Tony discussed managing their own emotions in front of their teacher when something had upset them.

“So it’s kind of like um we Miss Y isn’t like very happy but I don’t think she knows that it makes us upset um because she always does it and like she doesn’t really notice that we’re sad, so it’s like” (Robin, 884)

“We have to keep it in [...] and we have to like keep out emotions in because even with Miss um [...] Miss X we have to keep our emotions in because otherwise they’re going to shout at us or moan at us or move our names down, and we can’t even express our emotions.” (Tony, 887)

Riley and Blake spoke about managing their distress after their teacher shouted.

“Like I feel like I’ve got tears in my eyes, [...] but I’m just like ‘Don’t let it out otherwise everyone’s going to stare at you.’” (Riley, 1135)

“I nearly always cry when teachers shout at me because I’m just trying to do my best but [...] I can’t do it and if they shout ... you can almost see the tears in my eyes and I have to go to the bathroom saying I need the loo and wipe my eyes with tissue.” (Blake, 1142)

In the above illustration, Riley willed themselves not to cry, whilst Blake escaped the classroom to calm down.

In contrast, sometimes children found themselves stifling laughter.

“You’d want to say if you found something funny that you knew because of the type of the teacher they were from past experiences how they’d react and you wouldn’t want to get told off, you’d try and like hide it like put your hand over your mouth and sort of laugh a little bit or just try and keep it to yourself but you still found it funny.” (Bobby, 521)

In the above extract, Bobby was referring to how they considered their previous experience with teachers as being a guide to how they need to control their laughter, and perhaps other emotions, in order to avoid being told off.

5.6.3.2 The mismatch between emotions inside and the outside appearance

Andy and Sasha distinguished between how they felt inside compared with their emotional outside.

“I feel like I’m really sad or something, but I act really happy and like nobody realises I’m sad.” (Andy, 681)

“Like someone could have died in a family.” (Sasha, 684)

“Yeah.” (Andy, 685)

“They might be feeling it on the inside but then on the outside everyone’s telling you jokes and things like that so on the outside you could be feeling fun like like” (Sasha, 686)

“Cause this has actually happened like my brother moved out a couple of last week somewhere and I felt really sad when I was at bowls I felt really sad because I was at bowls on the outside I was really happy.” (Andy, 699)

In the excerpt above Andy had direct experience of a mismatch between internal and external emotions and was able to give a recent example of this, whilst Sasha made it clear that they understood by offering a pertinent example of their own. This could also be interpreted as an example of children describing themselves as experiencing mixed emotions.

They also talked about the way that peer relationships could cause anger which the children feel they need to manage.

“Like some like sus um sometimes I I feel like this. I want to go go up to someone and go ‘I don’t like you.’ But you can’t do that.” (Sasha, 1100)

“Like like you might get a pillow at home and go like strain into it like” (Sasha, 1103)

“To get your anger out.” (Andy, 1104)

“Yeah, and like then like ...” (Sasha, 1105)

Sasha then shared some behaviour management techniques.

“...sometimes just a glass of water and a couple of deep breaths makes it helps a lot.” (Sasha, 1139)

Children are both formally and informally taught emotion regulation strategies and experientially learn for themselves. This happened at home, with their peers and more formally through structured lessons in schools. They were aware of discrepancies between apparent and felt emotions. The children in this research were able to demonstrate that as well as being aware of their own emotions and how to manage them when they deemed it necessary, these children could make use of their knowledge when appraising teachers. They could not only make acute observations of their teacher’s emotional state, but also were able to demonstrate capacity to use that information when choosing whether and how to respond.

5.7 Summary

Five categories were developed from the data provided through interviews with children. First, the identification of teacher emotions (5.2) was comprised of focused codes which isolated the cues that the children reported using in their initial appraisal of teacher emotion. Second, attributing teacher emotions (5.3) reflected a range of attributions of teacher emotion, drawing on both children’s observations and experience, some of which appeared speculative in nature. Third, Teacher’s emotional labour (5.4) reflected the children’s reports of being able not only to discern the genuineness of their teacher’s emotions, but also the possible reasons

why teachers may conceal, or suppress their emotions, or fake their emotional presentation. The fourth category, impact of teacher emotions (5.5) developed the main premise of this research, exploring the impact of teacher's emotional behaviour on the children's emotions and their relationships, as well as on teaching, learning and influences on the management of behaviour within the class. The fifth and final category that was developed reflected the children's view of their own agency with regard to teacher emotion (interventions by children, 5.6).

CHAPTER SIX – FINDING FROM THE TEACHER INTERVIEWS

“You know [...] these are the behaviour strategies that are proven to work but never when we’re taught those behaviour strategies or they’re shared or you try them, emotion is never brought into that. And it’s just that, so you know, you do think perhaps it should be.” (Reagan, 453)

6.1 Introduction

Five teachers were interviewed as a complement to the 14 children who were interviewed for the main body of the research. The resultant transcripts were analysed using grounded theory principles, with some important differences – no more teachers were recruited due to some difficulties within the local authority in which I was working. Any inductive thinking went on through revisiting transcripts, codes and memos, as there was no opportunity to explore themes through added interviews. Due to the small number of teacher participants, findings can only be considered indicative of the need for further research. However, the teachers gave their time freely and were open in sharing their views and vulnerabilities. Despite being so few in number, their contributions reveal perspectives that are worthy of attention.

As with the findings in the previous chapter, the analysis of the data has been set out using the categories for each part of the emergent theory. The subheadings under each of the category headings are consistent with axial and focused codes and are identified in the introduction to each of the categories. Each of the axial codes are

then supported by direct quotes from the interviewees. Interviewees did not have equal interest in each category, and so data is not spread evenly between them. Instead, some were more popular than others, and so are not of equal length.

As is common in research of this nature, some data did not fit neatly into one category and themes overlap and are not mutually exclusive. In accordance with this, some quotes may be used more than once to support and illustrate more than one axial and focused codes.

Transcripts were scrutinised and quotes amended in the same way as with children's findings, that is, punctuation was inserted, and omissions and emphasis recorded for clarity of communication of their contributions to this area.

6.1.1 The three categories

Analysis of the teachers' data was conducted in the same way as that of the children's data (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4.4). A number of first and second level axial codes were identified. This was an iterative process and connections were identified between second level axial codes, focused codes, and tentative categories as they became evident. The whole data set was revisited several times, and axial codes promoted or demoted until in the final analysis 36 second level axial codes led to the development of 9 focused codes. At the end of the analysis, three categories had been identified through this process. These were:

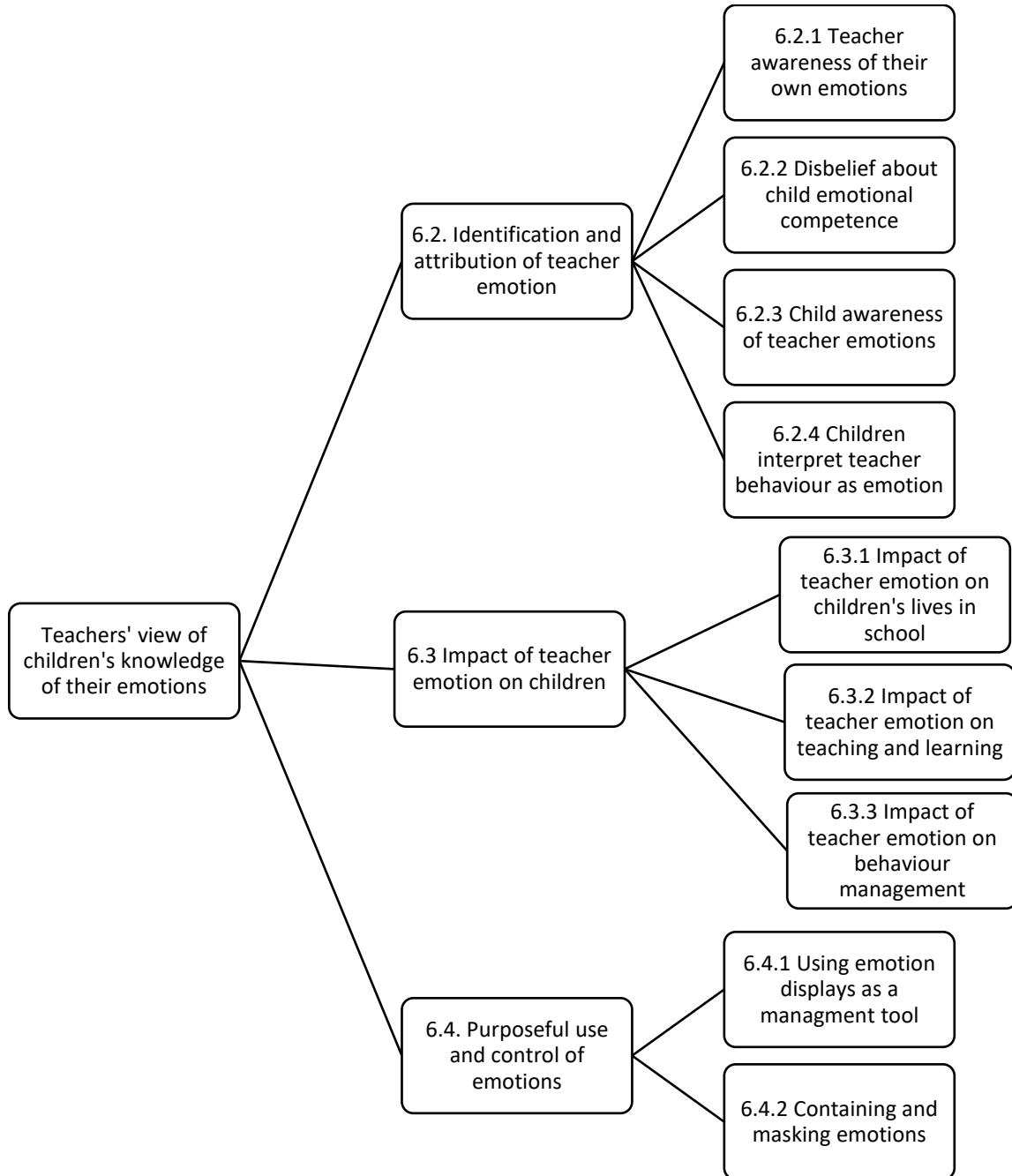
These are:

- Identification and attribution of teacher emotion (6.2)
- Impact of teacher emotion on children (6.3)

- Purposeful use and control of emotions (6.3)

Each of these themes will be expanded upon in turn as the analysis progresses.

Figure 12: Teacher's view of children's knowledge of teacher emotions: Categories and focused codes



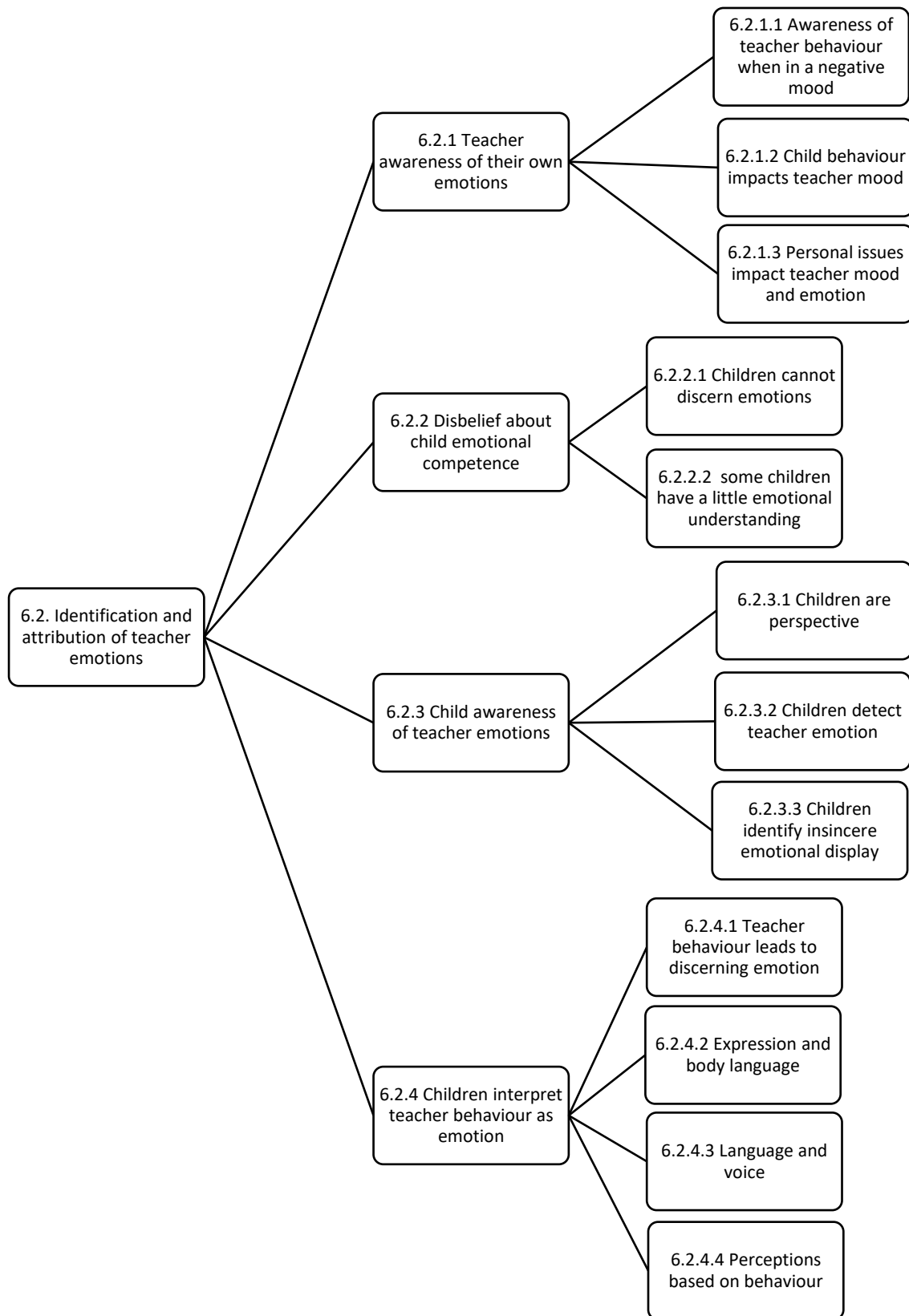
Throughout the analysis, I was struck by how much focus the teachers gave to more negative emotions. This may be in part because of the nature of the co-researchers' curiosity, but also because the teachers wanted to talk about the exceptions in their life and work in the classroom. They were candid in discussing area of potential vulnerability. These issues will be discussed further in this chapter.

6.2 Identification and attribution of teacher emotions

This category is comprised of four focused codes as follows, namely teacher awareness of their own emotions (6.2.1), disbelief about child emotional competence (6.2.2), child awareness of teacher emotions (6.2.3), and children interpret teacher behaviour as emotion (6.2.4).

Figure 13 overleaf shows the focused and axial codes contributing to the category "Identification and attribution of teacher emotion".

Figure 13: Focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Identification and attribution of teacher emotion”.



Each of the focused and axial codes will be illustrated in turn below.

6.2.1 Teacher awareness of their own emotions

The teachers appeared confident when discussing their own emotions and emotional responses.

6.2.1.1 Awareness of teacher behaviour when in a negative mood.

The teachers considered that they were aware of *some* changes in their behaviour when in a negative mood.

“I know that definitely I can become visibly irritated” (Reagan, 270)

“I would see um ... yeah ... me not being as [...] tolerant as I would like to be.”
(Kelly, 208)

“If you’re in a bad mood maybe sound I don’t know a bit snappier than normal.” (Ali, 86)

“I really show my emotions in my facial expressions. And people see it.”
(Drew, 233)

These teachers were aware that their emotions may become visible to children in their classes at these times.

Drew monitored their own behaviour and considered the different forms that their anger might take.

“If I actually sometimes if I think I’ve come across too angry in something and I don’t think they’ve deserved it, I’ll say ‘Look, I’m really sorry about how I said that to you. You know that I didn’t mean it like that,’ or you know, ‘Can you see my frustration? ... But I’m sorry if that’s how it made you feel.’ I actually said that the other day to a student. But then if I’ve done the right choice and I feel justified, well, I wouldn’t feel guilty, because I think that student needed it in that way, so we could get that point across to them, then I wouldn’t feel guilty. If I lost my rag, like I got you know really angry and I felt I lost control, then absolutely I’d feel guilty, because I’d think that’s not ... that is that’s not that’s bordering on unprofessional.” (Drew, 310)

In the excerpt above, Drew acknowledged their anger, and discussed several implications of their angry responses. First, they noted that occasionally they might have projected a greater degree of anger than was ‘deserved’ by the child that they were addressing, in which case they apologised, or explained. However, they went on to say that there were times when they felt that displaying anger was an effective means of conveying their message in a way that the child would fully attend to. Finally, they commented on their view that extreme anger is unprofessional and would result in them feeling guilty.

6.2.1.2 Child behaviour impacts teacher mood

Teachers were clear that child behaviour could impact their mood.

“I think sometimes managing behaviour does affect your mood.” (Reagan, 284)

“I think with more extreme behaviour, say if you’ve got a child that’s going to pick up a chair or something, that is going to affect you. Not necessarily give you a bad mood, but it’s going to give you an emotion, maybe of fear.”

(Reagan, 288)

“If you get the students respond very well to it [behaviour management], then you feel ‘Oh yeah. Good. Okay, I know what I’m doing.’. If they don’t, then then your behaviour ... your feeling and your mood then deteriorates” (Drew, 196)

“If they’re constantly bickering and arguing and you can’t see any progress it’s going to make you feel like a failure.” (Kelly, 398)

“I think the only time that you might feel guilty is if you realise you’ve told the wrong child off or for the wrong reason.” (Ali, 449)

Teachers related their emotions both to child behaviour and their effectiveness in managing that behaviour. The examples above illustrate emotional responses to child behaviour, and the impact that teachers felt it had on their self-image, when behaviour management did not go well.

Two of the teachers highlighted that interactions were a key factor in emotional state.

“I suppose it does depend [...] as how the teacher interacts with the children and how they maybe handle things and tackle things.” (Ali, 326)

“If a child’s crying in my class and it’s as a result of something maybe I have done or a way they have responded to my behaviour that makes me feel very upset.” (Reagan, 467)

The above example illustrates the awareness of this teacher that occasionally their interaction with a child could result in the child becoming upset in a way that was not intended, and the teacher then mirrored this emotion as they dealt with their own upset arising from the interaction.

Chris and Kelly were interviewed together in a pair, and discussed their concerns about the impact that 'naughty' children had on them.

"And sometimes that is frustrating for a teacher in that you have a pupil that, take out special needs, take out any vulnerability, is just a bit naughty, or talking all the ... talking's one really, isn't it?" (Chris, 407)

"Yeah" (Kelly, 410)

"That can just niggle, and you're having to constantly say something, and stop your lesson, stop your flow." (Chris, 411)

"Yeah" (Kelly, 413)

"That can become very frustrating." (Chris, 414)

The cumulative impact of what might be described as low-level disruption, created a situation where teachers became increasingly frustrated with impediments to them being able to deliver their lessons.

Kelly was not convinced that child behaviour had any impact on their emotional state in school.

"So, I've had some children doing some really nasty things and I've never actually been angry with them or felt like I've been angry" (Kelly, 333)

"I don't think I've ever actually been angry with a child." (Kelly, 315)

Later Chris talked about raised voices.

“And on the rare occasion that you might lose control or or raise your voice and you see their faces ...” (Chris, 261)

“Yeah” (Kelly, 263)

“And you think ‘That’s not what we want to do.’, so ...” (Chris, 264)

“Yeah. I think that’s the only thing we well can’t say we, but I would just raise my voice ...” (Kelly, 265)

“Umm” (Chris, 266)

There appeared to be an acknowledgement that occasionally this teacher did ‘lose control,’ although they were reluctant to contemplate that notion without the scaffolding provided by their colleague’s presence, with whom they were able to agree and add detail to their account.

Three of the teachers commented on children raising their mood and making them laugh.

“Children are funny. They don’t, they either make you laugh, because because they do something silly, or they tell a joke or the they’re just [...] brilliant and they’re just the best things to work with.” (Reagan, 696)

“They’ll say something funny, and then they’ll laugh about it and we’ll all laugh about it or yeah. No, they’re quite a good class. They always make me laugh.” (Drew, 478)

“They [...] do make me laugh, and they make me laugh and it’s when they laugh as well, so it’s never that I’m laughing at a child and no-one else is

laughing but they do make me laugh. It's part of the reason why I love the job so much. [...] It's because of their humour. The kids have a great sense of humour." (Ali, 487)

The evident pleasure that these teachers derived from the children that they taught highlights that there were times when they considered that their classrooms were happy places and the climate overall was positive.

6.2.1.3 Personal issues impact teacher mood and emotion

One teacher talked about how their inexperience as a younger teacher, heightened their emotional response.

"I had a child who was able, she was Year Three, but she would pick up a table and throw it. I was quite young in my career then, and it was scary."
(Reagan, 295)

In the extract above, the teacher described a fearful response to a child exhibiting violent behaviour that took place at the beginning of their career.

Another teacher commented on their view that their workload impacted on their emotional state in the classroom.

"If um if I'm in a in a um I wouldn't say a bad mood, but if I've got a lot on my plate, because teachers do and you're trying to think about loads of things and a child's persistently doing something, there's a big difference for me if I'm in a good or bad mood." (Kelly, 193)

Later during the interview, the teacher described how fatigue also made a difference to their mood.

“Like sometimes when I’m in a really good mood I’ll be going, ‘Oh my God, that’s amazing, that’s amazing, that’s amazing.’ really over praising them.. next day, feeling a little bit tired they kept going ‘Miss, can I show you my work’ and I said ‘Not yet, I’m just working with this child.’ [...] That’s how I change, so it’s more I think my positivity changes, and then I can be stern. Sometimes if I’m a bit grumpy but my positivity will change and my class love to say my name all the time and love to tell me questions and love to tell me things constantly, so my ability of being able to listen, to take the time for each child definitely changes.” (Kelly, 648)

One teacher talked about personality when discussing a colleague’s apparent emotional state.

“It might just be that ... being grumpy is his character.” (Chris, 566)

Another reflected on the impact of their own mood on their functioning, when reviewing the school day.

“I know that I can look back at the end of the day and think ‘Do you know what? That lesson wasn’t as good as it could have been. And it was because of my mood’.” (Drew, 124)

This teacher also commented on aggressive teacher behaviour, from an observer’s perspective.

“If a teacher’s in um I don’t want to say the word ‘aggressive’ but you know what I mean in that kind of aggressive mood where they’re on it and they’re it’s not because they want to be um if they’re really harsh on the children but not in a it’s not coming from a place of good discipline, it’s coming from a place of anger or frustration, or unhappiness.” (Drew, 80)

There was an acknowledgement amongst the teachers that their moods did vary within the classroom, and that they could detect differences within themselves and in the emotions of colleagues in school.

6.2.2 Disbelief about child emotional competence

Although all teachers contributed their views within this category, one in particular (TA) was very concerned about the notion of children having any understanding of teacher emotion, which they appeared to find disturbing. They have therefore contributed more to this section than the others.

6.2.2.1 Children cannot discern teacher emotions

One teacher wanted to emphasise their view that children saw behaviour but did not extrapolate to any underlying emotion that their teacher might be feeling. They used the example of observing the behaviour of the class on the opposite side of the corridor, which the teacher could look into from their own classroom.

“When I’ve looked across, they’ve definitely behaved very differently for a different adult. [...] Um ... Whether that’s emotionally done I don’t know because they do it whatever adult’s in the room.” (Reagan, 513)

This teacher believed that teacher behaviour was the key factor as far as the children were concerned.

“I think ... I think that I think that your behaviour [points to self] always is reflected back at you. Regardless of your relationship with whoever you’re with. [...] So, I think it’s got to have an impact on the children’s reactions to

you, but whether or not the children observe that as an emotional state, I don't know." (Reagan, 82)

They gave an example of when they believed that a child misinterpreted their behaviour.

"There's a little boy in my class who goes home to his mum and thinks I absolutely can't stand him. And his mum's been to see me about it. [...] and it's not that I don't like him. It's nothing to do with that. I'm trying to help his behaviour and she [the child's mother] perceives that." (Reagan, 557)

In the following excerpt, two teachers considered children's interpretations of teacher behaviour.

"I think it's just someone's character." (Chris, 551)

"I think, I think they just take it as character, definitely." (Kelly, 552)

"In Year Five, I would suggest, I would think that they're mature enough, their thinking is mature enough to ..." (Chris, 553)

"Understand that's a personality." (Kelly, 555)

These teachers demonstrated that they rejected the notion that children appraised and drew conclusions about teacher emotions based on what they observed.

One teacher commented on the different responses from class members to a teacher in a bad mood.

"I think you'll have children in a classroom who will be like 'Oh, something must be going on at home,' and there are some children who will take it really personally and um they'd be like 'What have I done wrong?' or they'll assume

it's them as a class that have done something wrong, and they'll be children that come to go to another teacher and say, 'Well, that teacher hates me.'."

(Drew, 102)

This teacher, whilst being unsure whether children were appraising emotion through the teacher behaviours that they observed, was also noticing individual differences within their class group.

One teacher expressed some concern that children might be able to tell how they were feeling.

"I honestly don't know if they know. I don't know how I would tell if they knew." (Reagan, 197)

We could infer from the quote above that the teacher was anxious about the possibility of children being able to identify teacher emotions.

Two teachers asserted that some children may not have even been aware of their own impact on the emotions of other children.

"I've got an, in my class there's a boy who is unable to recognise that he's being rude or upsetting another child, even when that child is stood in front of him crying." (Reagan, 234)

"Some of them they I mean obviously there's the obvious children who really struggle with understanding other people's emotions and how things make them feel." (Drew, 271)

The two teachers quoted above presented these examples to illustrate their belief that, since those children could not identify emotions in their peers, they would not be able to do so when appraising adults.

6.2.2.2 Some children have a little emotional understanding

Two teachers felt it possible that some children in their classes were developing an understanding of emotion states, and what that meant for themselves and others.

Thinking about the development of awareness of emotions, one of them commented.

“Because they’re still learning to do it themselves with their peers and stuff, so it might maybe that they can be a bit more perceptive of the adults around them because ... they’re still learning that skill and it’s still quite fresh to them sort of thing.” (Ali, 224)

This teacher noted that children were probably quite perceptive with regards to adults in their environment but maintained that this was in the context of the children learning about themselves. The inference appeared to be that the teacher believed that any understanding of teacher emotions was gained incidentally by the children.

Another considered the extent of emotional development within their class.

“They’re experiencing, they’re not just starting to understand their emotions and they’re starting to understand their own feelings, and I think they are also, a lot of them. They’re starting to realise that there’s a lot of different stuff happening for them, puberty’s kicking in, hormones are going, and they are starting to feel confused about their own emotions so how far they can see beyond that in terms of another person, particularly an adult’s emotional state, I don’t know. I wouldn’t know.” (Reagan, 97)

They added their thoughts in relation to empathy.

“I’ve not really ever thought about it. I don’t know but I think some children do. I wouldn’t say it’s the whole cohort, but there are definitely some individuals

within a class that you can see do have some empathy. But I don't know really.” (Reagan, 106)

At various points during the interviews, all five of the teachers appeared to find it difficult to contemplate that children could recognise the emotional state of their teachers.

6.2.3 Child awareness of teacher emotions

In direct contrast to their disquiet about children's ability in this area, teachers also provided examples of how children could detect and respond to their teacher's emotional states. Teachers considered circumstances in which the perception of children may lead to them becoming aware of their teacher's feelings.

6.2.3.1 Children are perceptive

Three teachers talked about how perceptive children might be.

“I think children are more perceptive than they sometimes get given granted for. I think they can sometimes pick up on things ... as children.” (Ali, 223)

The above quote reflected the teacher's beliefs that although children may have been perceptive, their thoughts 'as children' would not lead to any conclusions related to teacher feelings.

In the following extract, the teacher spoke about children paying attention to them.

“They are constantly watching you. They’re going to notice as well. You hope they’re constantly watching you [...] They’re going to pick up on things ...” (Ali, 228)

This teacher noted that children are expected to watch, and attend to, their teacher during lessons. They appeared concerned that perhaps the children were noticing more than teachers were aware of.

“I think that’s a two-way thing. I think they can pick up on us, and we can pick up on them.” (Kelly, 448)

Another teacher commented on the children’s age as a factor in perception of teacher emotion.

“I think actually, if anything, younger children would be more perceptive and act more carefully than the older ones.” (Drew, 154)

6.2.3.2 Children detect teacher emotion

One teacher considered that they were emotionally open – in certain circumstances.

“Do you think children can tell what teachers are feeling?” (Int, 202)

“In some ways, yes. Because I feel quite an open person. Um ... but I suppose it depends on what the feelings are, sort of thing.” (Ali, 206)

This teacher believed that some of their emotions could be discerned by children as they were ‘open,’ but they remained reserved about the extent to which this actually occurred.

“What do you think they pick up?” (Int, 52)

“Change of mood unwittingly, but you can’t sometimes help your change of mood.” (Chris, 53)

The above extract illustrates the teacher’s belief that children detected a change of mood, and that the familiarity with class-teachers, made it likely that children could identify their teacher’s emotions.

“Because they see their teachers so often - day in, day out - they obviously know their teacher’s emotions through the way they speak to them, so possibly they may be picking up on the change in their teacher’s voice.” (Ali, 30)

This teacher was suggesting that their voice might have revealed their mood to the children that knew them well.

One teacher reflected on a time when they had a series of traumatic events in their personal life.

“Even though I haven’t, I don’t tell them my life [...] but they’ve just picked up on all of those different emotions I’d obviously gone through over the last year or whatever, and they’d taken it on board themselves. Especially when you’ve got that close relationship.” (Drew, 181)

This teacher noted that, in their view, they had a close relationship with the class and this, they believed, led those children to be able to discern their emotional state.

The teachers appeared to believe that children appeared more able to discern negative emotions and derived their information from the way that they observed their teacher to behave.

“I think they know ... I think if they see that perhaps not in the best of mood so I’m feeling under pressure or I’m ... I think I think I still deliver a lesson or whatever, but it might not be quite a jolly bubbly way as normal.” (Reagan, 72)

One teacher gave an example of a time when they had to teach after receiving some bad news.

“It’s not that they were a badly behaved class as it was but I could tell that they were just being a bit like ‘Yeah, I’ve done this Miss.’ Trying to like make me happy, trying to like. Because they knew that I wasn’t angry, I was sad. And just by obviously the way I’d walked into the room.” (Drew, 164)

This teacher noted the response of the children and deduced that the children understood how they were feeling.

On another occasion, this teacher felt under pressure.

“So I mean ... I mean, if I’m feeling ... stressed and pressured about the job or whatever I don’t think my teaching’s as good as when I feel on top of everything [shakes head]. Because I simply have no confidence in what I’m doing, and I think the children, one hundred percent, pick up on that.” (Drew, 373)

The extracts above indicate that, even if sceptical about children’s ability to discern teacher feelings, all but one of the teachers gave examples of when they felt that children had interpreted their emotional state.

6.2.3.3 Children identify insincere emotional display

Four of the teachers mentioned that they felt perhaps children could detect when their outwardly projected emotions were not sincere.

“I think they know when I’m faking being angry.” (Chris, 214)

“Maybe if it’s like they can tell their teacher’s like [...] if they’re smiling and stuff but their voice doesn’t sound ... happy, or they don’t seem to have ... the eye connections sort of thing, maybe then they could pick up, although you’re pretending to be happy but maybe you’re not happy.” (Ali, 173)

Another gave an example where children responded differently when they believed emotions were sincere.

“They know. So children will know if you’re if you’re ... if you’re just not really that stressed. They’ll, they won’t respond as well. If you’re really angry, they tend to go very quiet, I find.” (Drew, 216)

This teacher had noted that children responded with a greater level of compliance when their emotional presentation was consistent with their feelings. This implies that the teacher believes in the children’s ability to assess whether or not their teacher is genuinely angry.

“I don’t know whether the children really believe that you’re cross when you say you are cross.” (Reagan, 492)

In the extract above, the teacher was in doubt about whether children believed that the teacher was experiencing the emotion that they were communicating. This was consistent with that particular teacher’s doubt about the capacity of children to identify and interpret teacher’s emotions.

6.2.4 Children interpret teacher behaviour as emotion

All five of the teacher interviewees believed that children interpreted teacher behaviour as indicative their teacher's internal emotional state.

6.2.4.1 Teacher behaviour leads to discerning emotion

The teachers viewed children as having only a very basic understanding of emotion, and voiced their opinions that children drew conclusions from their teacher's behaviour, although these conclusions may have been vague and unformed.

“I think I think some students know that they are not keen on going to another teacher or speaking to another teacher because they know they might get a more stern reaction from that teacher. Because that teacher comes across as very strict or stern. And they'll be reluctant. Um, so I think there are children who think but they won't know why.” (Drew, 327)

In the above excerpt, the teacher noted that children may have been experiencing a stern teacher as uncomfortable, although the teacher believed that attributing an emotion to this was more difficult to conceptualise or articulate.

“You'll have those one or two children will be really perceptive and they'll be like ‘Oh, Miss isn't the same as she normally is, something must be up.’ And then they'll make their decision on what that is, obviously, like children do.”
(Drew, 140)

The quote above suggests that the teacher believed that children may have drawn erroneous conclusions from behaviour that they observed. The following is an

acknowledgement that teachers (and other adults) may have been giving away more non-verbal information than they thought they were.

“I do think some children probably forget that teachers are humans too, and sometimes things happen that aren’t meant to happen.” (Ali, 187)

“I think we underestimate those really tiny things that people do.” (Drew, 253)

Differences in the way that teachers behaved with regard to their presentation in delivering the curriculum were seen as key pointers, in the children’s minds, of how their teacher may have been feeling.

“I think because when I had been so positive at some time and I’ve gone round like a rocket praising absolutely everyone, and I do it ... often ... not as often as I would like. Sometimes when I can’t physically do it [...] they perceive that as probably me being less...” (Kelly, 673)

“I think if they’re used to their teacher being somebody who’s very visual and somebody who’s very much ... passion with the teaching, but then [...] if it then seems that their teachers may be more reserved, and more quiet, they will pick up on it and they will perceive it and then they will be ‘Oh.’ And that might link back to [...] ‘Is my teacher upset about something?’” (Ali, 143)

The two examples above illustrate that teachers were aware that their behaviour changed with their mood and believed that children could detect those changes and that they may have attributed those behavioural changes, possibly to emotion. In the following extract, two teachers discussed their energy levels.

*“It’s how enthusiastic you are in a lesson, so you’ll either be dancing around”
(Kelly, 54)*

“Bouncing around.” (Chris, 55)

“Like you are on Blue Peter, or [...] or you’ll be quite slow and yeah [looks at Chris] you won’t take [laughs] behaviour. You’ll take behaviour. The little things wind you up.” (Kelly, 59)

“Yeah. You might be a bit more short tempered than you normally would be.”
(Chris, 61)

“Yeah. That’s the word I’m looking for.” (Kelly, 62)

They noted that when they had less energy, they felt that they were less tolerant of the children in their classes.

Teachers felt that children were prone to speculate about the teacher’s general state, sometimes giving emotional attributions, based on their teacher’s behaviour.

“If they know you really well, they may well pick up the minute they walk in the room ‘She’s sat with her head down working. Perhaps she’s – rather than being at the door welcoming us this morning – perhaps she’s not in the best of moods. Let’s come in quietly and sit down with a book.’ Sort of thing, and they may [...] tend to respond in that way. I don’t know.” (Reagan, 515)

In the extract above, the teacher was suggesting that the children’s behavioural response was informed by their speculation about the teacher’s emotional state, derived through observing their teacher’s behaviour.

In the following conversation two teachers contrasted the differing behaviour of two teachers.

“I think they might first think of, if someone’s very different to their teacher, they like I will ... like I’m on Blue Peter all the time, and then a man came in

and he was very old style say. Teaching, they might first think, 'Oh, he's a bit ...' (Kelly, 560)

"Grumpy?" (Chris, 563)

"Yeah, but they'll soon very quickly realise that he's not, by getting to know him. But I think that that two contrasts really quickly would make them maybe think that." (Kelly, 564)

The teachers speculated about the extent to which children simply related behaviour to mood, without any other knowledge of personality, particularly when teachers are unfamiliar to the children.

Two teachers, interviewed separately, commented that children may have been able to pick up on subtle cues, and could have been correct in their interpretations of those cues.

"It's not, you know, there are certain giveaways that you can't hide. So, for example, you might be sterner in your tone of voice, or you might be um less quick to enjoy a joke or share a joke with the children, or you might be less tolerant of noise levels." (Reagan, 143)

"I think teachers who are struggling or not happy in anything, any aspects of their like, they're going to be a lot less responsive to the children and their needs. And I think children pick that up because they know. They don't get the reactions they would expect if ... Do you know what I mean?" (Drew, 67)

The teachers speaking in the above excerpt were describing behavioural responses that they associated with periods when they were in a less happy mood and believed that children could also perceive this.

6.2.4.2 Expression and body language

Two teachers commented that expression and body language might have been an indicator that children could perceive, and may then come to conclusions about, teacher emotion.

“... in my class with my children and I just stood at the front, straight faced, didn’t do all the hand gestures that they know I do, wouldn’t laugh with them, but then getting them engaged with it, wouldn’t be as pacey with them, ... they would pick up on that.” (Ali, 156)

Teachers considered that some children interpreted emotions from their teacher’s body language.

“Because they knew that I wasn’t angry, I was sad. And just by observing the way I’d walked into the room.” (Drew, 166)

“Well, it’s everything, isn’t it? It’s your body language. It’s the words you use. It’s your facial expressions. It’s just your responses to them in general.”

(Drew, 62)

These teachers wondered repeatedly if children interpreted facial expressions as reflective of emotional state.

“It would be an obvious thing to pick up on if their teacher returned and looked like they’ve been crying, sort of thing.” (Ali, 53)

“Maybe they’d noticed my eyes were a bit glossy or something like that.”

(Drew, 169)

“... if they’re frowning...” (Ali, 366)

“I really show my emotions in my facial expressions. And people see it.”

(Drew, 233)

“There are other people where it’s really obvious because they’re either smiling or frowning and it’s pretty easy to tell how they are feeling.” (Ali, 218)

All the above examples, coming from just two of the participants, were describing very clear facial expressions.

6.2.4.3 Language and voice

Three teachers commented that it was possible that language and voice indicated their mood and that their children were aware of this. One teacher explained that they explicitly told the children how they were feeling when irritated about the children’s behaviour.

“I know that definitely I can become visibly irritated, because I have given them warnings. [...] ‘Actually, now I am irritated with you,’ and, and personally make that very clear that is how I feel.” (Reagan, 270)

Another was sure that the tone of voice alerted children when they were becoming irritated with them.

“I think there’s a tension in your voice. I think there is something in your voice they pick up on and they know they may have overstepped the mark or they they get that ‘Oh wait, actually wait a minute. She is really unhappy.’ It doesn’t even have to be actually shouting.” (Drew, 221)

“Just the it’s the choice of vocabulary isn’t it, sometimes? The words you use.” (Drew, 262)

“It sometimes can be the tone of voice, possibly” (Ali, 29)

As in the examples above, teachers explained changes in voice and language that were intentionally expressed, when they were emphasising their communications by using emotional cues.

6.2.4.4 Perceptions based on change of behaviour

One of the teachers mentioned changes in teacher behaviour as being a factor in children’s interpretations of teacher mood state.

“It might be the whole visual side of it, or is it that they’ve just changed? Is it that they stand in a different way? Is it that they move in a different way? Sort of thing. Obviously if it’s like generally, then they might pick up on it from the voice, or it might be that they seem more dismissive, I suppose.” (Ali, 370)

Another, whilst acknowledging that there were changes in body language, was less convinced that children either noticed or interpreted teacher behaviour.

“I think body language does give certain things away, but whether children pick up on body language, because some ... it depends.” (Reagan, 232)

The two teachers who were interviewed together shared doubts that children were perceptive about teacher emotion unless the teachers had made it explicit.

“You can’t hide your emotions, but I think we’re in a position whereas if if we’re at the point where we knew it was going to affect, I I do honestly believe we wouldn’t be in that position in the first place.” (Chris, 577)

“Yeah,” (Kelly, 580)

“We would be” (Chris, 581)

“And if I don’t even think it’s behaviour, I just think it’s our tone, our ...” (Kelly, 582)

“Yeah. Our body stance.” (Chris, 583)

“Our body language would just change. I don’t think we behave in another way.” (Kelly, 584)

“No, but I think if it was that explicit then I do think certainly in Year Five they’d pick up on it, if that was ever the case, definitely.” (Chris, 585)

There are implications that teachers believed that older children may be developing emotional capacity. Children may be picking up on the manner in which they are reprimanded as a clue about how their teacher was feeling.

“I know I can be a bit jokey about correcting children’s behaviour um when I’m in a very good mood um and I can I can be a little sterner perhaps about the same behaviour if I’m not feeling 100% or in the best of moods.” (Reagan, 11)

“So, maybe it’s because it’s such a drastic change to what they normally expect and see in their teacher, maybe that’s why they pick up on it.” (Ali, 60)

The five teachers shared a disbelief that children have all but the most rudimentary emotional competency. They were able to articulate that children can interpret emotion when their teachers make very explicit references to emotion, through obvious facial expression and body language, for example. The teachers were more confident when talking about their intentional emotional messaging, for example, when they wished to convey that they were unhappy about the children’s behaviour,

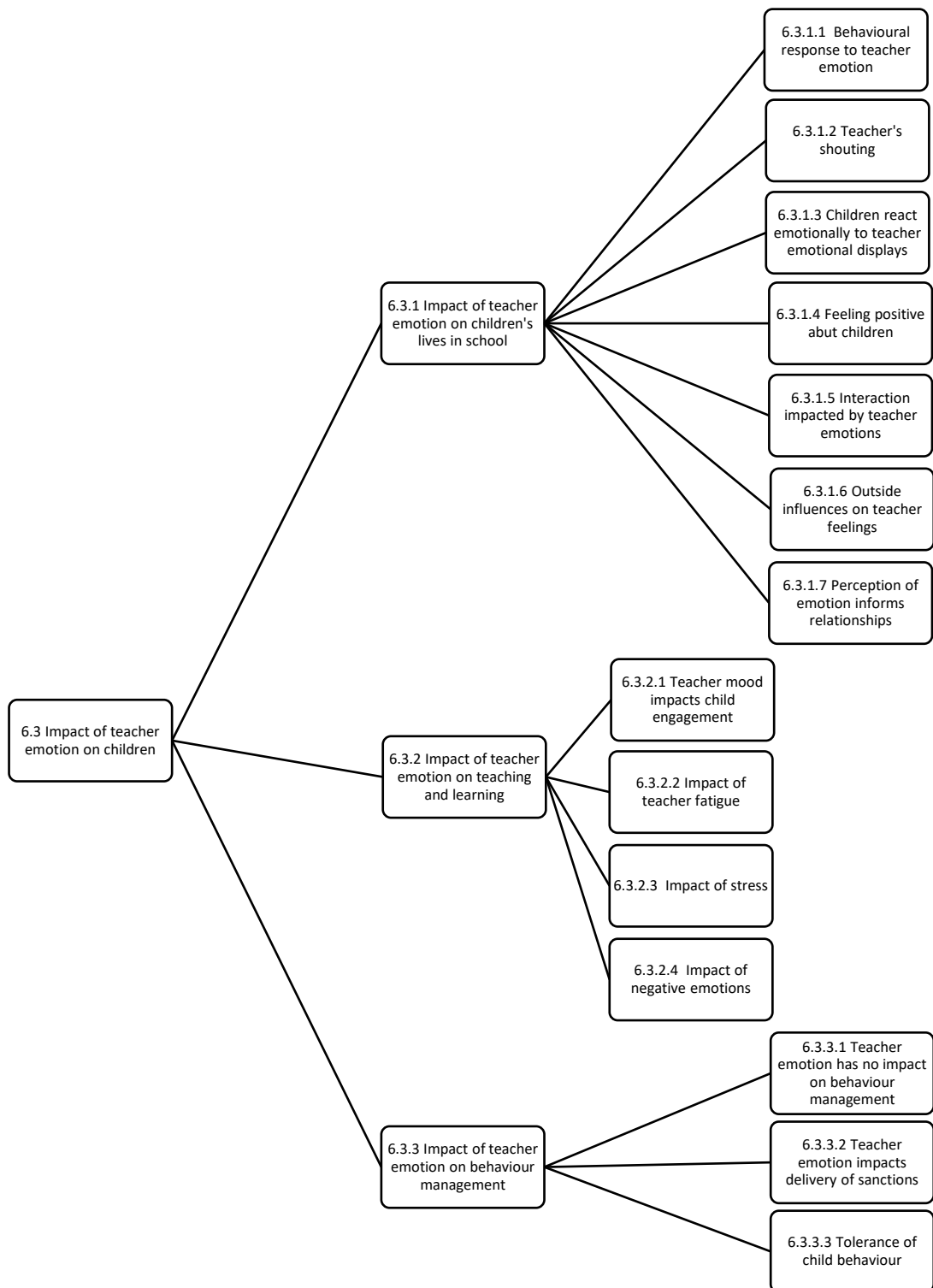
but were less certain whether children could perceive unintended emotional behaviour, some of which teachers believed, on reflection, to be quite subtle.

6.3 Impact of teacher emotion on children

All teachers were able to describe impacts of their emotional communication on children. This section is comprised of three focused codes as follows: Impact of teacher emotion on children's lives in school (6.3.1), Impact of teacher emotion on teaching and learning (6.3.2), and Impact of teacher emotion on behaviour management (6.3.3).

Figure 14 overleaf shows the focused and axial codes contributing to the category "Impact of teacher emotion on children".

Figure 14: Focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Impact of teacher emotion on children”.



These will be illustrated in turn below.

6.3.1 Impact of teacher emotion on children's lives in school

"I don't ... um I don't want to sound harsh, but I almost don't care if they don't like me... I care if they understand me. I care if they .. learn from me. That's what I care about." (Drew, 415)

There was agreement that teacher emotions directly impacted children, although in the illustrations below teachers offer little differentiation between genuine emotion and emotional presentation adopted by the teachers.

6.3.1.1 Behavioural responses to teacher emotion

Teachers noted that children reflected the teachers' behaviour, including that which resulted from their mood.

"I think if they see that I'm perhaps not in the best of moods so I'm feeling under pressure or I'm ... I think, I think I still deliver a lesson or whatever, but it might [...] not be quite a jolly bubbly way as normal and I think they respond to that by not being jolly and bubbly back." (Reagan, 72)

That teacher went on to generalise on this theme.

"I think that I think that your behaviour [points to self] always is reflected back at you [...] regardless of your relationship with whoever you're with."
(Reagan, 82)

One teacher talked about a time when children had responded to their emotions by trying to intervene and help lift their mood.

“...and for the rest of that lesson, it’s not that they were a badly behaved class as it was, but I could tell that they were just being a bit like ‘Yeah, I’ve done this, Miss’, trying to like make me happy ... “ (Drew, 164)

Three of the teachers spoke of the behavioural impact of children perceiving their teacher as angry.

“I know mine are more quiet if they know that if I’m a bit ... they’re definitely more quiet.” (Kelly, 72)

“If you’re really angry, they tend to go very quiet, I find.” (Drew, 217)

“I think if you ... come across as being angry or if you come across that way ... I think they children retract more, and they don’t quite engage ...” (Ali, 249)

These teachers had noticed that children withdraw from them when they are feeling angry. These were teachers who commented that they do not think that children can discern their mood state.

6.3.1.2 Teachers shouting

Three teachers spoke directly about shouting and the impact on children. One teacher talked hypothetically about the impact of a teacher shouting at a child.

“I suppose it depends on whether it’s a child you feel does get shouted at a lot, or whether it’s someone who never gets that. If it’s someone who isn’t used to something like that happening, then they would probably feel quite shocked. Um Possibly even confused and surprised. If it’s someone ... who is used to it, they might feel it’s more a case of ‘here we go again,’ or it’s that frustration. I can understand that they might ... children generally, if they’re

getting something like that puts them on edge, makes them feel ... um maybe even unwanted or unappreciated like those negative feelings, rather than it being a 'Oh, okay, I know they're only doing it for my greater good.'" (Ali, 292)

The notion of shouting as an emotional display, whether driven by anger or a desire to communicate displeasure at the child's actions, was thought to result in a spectrum of emotional responses by the child, depending on their prior experience. This teacher talked in language which distanced them from the act of shouting, although there was a tacit agreement that children did get shouted at in school. The teacher went on to speculate about the harm that shouting might do to the teacher pupil relationship.

"I think that if first instinct is to shout at somebody, then it will immediately come across as upsetting and negative and then, when the teacher's then trying to do the nurturing side of it, it can make it quite hard for a child to believe that side of it, after being shouted at, so I think that would resound more with them, if that makes sense." (Ali, 315)

The teacher expressed their concern that children will not trust a nurturing approach by a teacher who has shouted at them, with all the negative emotions that shouting elicits.

"I think it also depends on the child. I don't ... my own son doesn't respond very well to shouting. He shouts back. [...] And that's not just with his parents. That's with his teacher as well. His teacher shouts at him. He shouts back. He doesn't respond well to it because it makes him angry that somebody has shouted at him. So, I I would imagine that some children probably do feel angry that they've been shouted at." (Reagan, 388)

In the example above, the teacher was drawing on their understanding of the experiences of their own child to inform their reflections on the impact of shouting on the children in the school in which they work. However, another teacher recounted when they received feedback directly from the children, this caused them to reflect on their emotional behaviour.

“And on the rare occasion that you might lose control or or raise your voice and you see their faces [...] and you think ‘That’s not what we want to do.’”

(Chris, 261)

6.3.1.3 Children react emotionally to teacher emotional displays

One teacher suggested that children’s behaviour indicated that they sometimes experience the same emotions as their teacher. She gave the example of anxiety, manifested as uncertainty, and lack of self-assurance.

“I won’t feel as confident because of something else I’m thinking about. If I’m thinking about whatever reports I haven’t written yet, or whatever. And I think then they then want to seek more reassurances from me that they’re doing the right thing. Even if they are.” (Drew, 384)

This teacher was concerned that if she were to show fear, that the children in their class would feel unsafe.

“That’s why we have the same consistent boundaries for every child in a school because every child know where they are, where they’re at, and what is expected. [...] So they need to feel safe with us emotionally and physically

and I'm, I don't know. I'm not sure if I was to suddenly become a quivering wreck about a behaviour that they children would feel safe.” (Reagan, 314)

This teacher was anxious about extreme behaviours resulting in the teacher projecting fear which may then impact on the rest of the class. Their main concern was to ensure that children felt safe and secure within the school environment.

“I've seen children respond more negatively towards that [school rules] because they feel like ‘Wait a minute, you're just angry at us. We're not going to respond in the right way, because we're getting angry with you because you're doing that to us.’” (Drew, 85)

This teacher was sure that the children react in a way that mirrors their emotions, particularly when they are angry.

6.3.1.4 Feeling positive about children

Teachers felt that feeling positive towards children made a difference to the way that the children in turn felt.

“I know, sad to say isn't it, I know a teacher who responds really well to children whose parents like her as a teacher. [...] So she will respond well to those children and they're positive have a very positive experience as a member of her class. Children whose parents don't have that relationship with that teacher don't necessarily have as positive an experience.” (Reagan, 535)

Reagan's example above is of a teacher whose warmth towards the children in their class appears dependent on the relationship that teacher had with each child's

parents. Reagan noticed that there was a difference in the way that the children experienced school at an emotional level.

In the following extract, a teacher talked about how their liking of children and the fact the children made them laugh was reciprocated.

“They’re quite a good class. They always make me laugh. It’s various things. It’s hard to pinpoint them all.” (Drew, 479)

“And how do you think that’s perceived by the kids?” (Int, 481)

“They love it. They love, they really like it.” (Drew, 482)

The positive emotions engendered by laughter were reciprocated by the children, and positive emotions were then mirrored within the classroom.

6.3.1.5 Interaction impacted by teacher emotions.

Four teachers were aware that the quality of their interactions with children differed with their mood.

“If you’re telling off a child and they’re [the rest of the class] getting the idea that you don’t like them [the child being told off]. They then think it’s okay that when that child does something you can be bossy and speak to them like the teacher is speaking to them. That’s what I’ve seen before.” (Kelly, 702)

In the extract above, the teacher appeared to believe that children take interactional and relationship cues from the teacher.

One teacher described how they believe that they pay less attention to children when their mood is less positive.

"[...] you're not open and listen. It's that you know that active listening doesn't happy when you're in a bad place, I don't think." (Drew, 111)

Another teacher speculated that interaction was reduced when teachers were feeling less positive.

"If someone's ... like in a bad mood or upset or worried about something that it could change their teaching. Maybe they focus more on the actual teaching rather than interaction with the children, sort of thing. [...] That's ... I can see, maybe, that happening, that maybe that focus is more on 'Right, this is the lesson. This is what we're going to do. This is what you need to do.' And they're sort of going through the motions, maybe, of being the teacher ... rather than ... that more personal interaction with the children, maybe." (Ali, 134)

Although this teacher did not directly refer to emotional impact, there was an implication of negative impact on classroom climate.

"That's, what is it that you see the teacher doing that makes you think 'Oh, no, they're angry'? [...] It might be that they seem more dismissive, I suppose." (Ali, 369)

In this example, however, the dismissive nature of the teacher's contribution to the interaction was pinpointed as a result of the teacher's anger.

In the following extract, a teacher is talking about the way that the emotion within communications was interpreted by individual children.

"I had the situation between two students. It was a very minor situation and I turned round to the whole class because I was getting fed up. I was like 'I

have spoken to you about social media so many times. You're not old enough, and you're' - I gave them a lecture. But the problem was because it had happened ... between these two and I had them in front of me and I was talking to the whole class, it was at lunchtime. The girl in the situation, she's so hypersensitive at the moment ... she took it that I was just shouting at her."
(Drew, 291)

In the above account, the teacher's angry emotional behaviour was felt to upset one child disproportionately. This was in part accounted for by the teacher as the child being particularly sensitive, thus distancing the teacher from the 'mistake' that the child had made in thinking that the teacher's anger was directed at her.

At times, teachers explicitly described their feelings to the children.

"I know that definitely I can become visibly irritated. [...] because I have given them warnings. 'I'm following this behaviour system, and you're still doing it. Actually, now I am irritated with you.', and personally make that very clear that is how I feel." (Reagan, 273)

This teacher was being very clear within their interaction with the child about their emotional state and what had caused it. Another teacher described differences in projection of teacher emotions, and the impact they believe that it had upon children.

"I suppose it does, um depend as well as how the teacher interacts with the children and how they maybe handle things and tackles things. So if you've got a teacher who maybe shouts when they're cross at you, and then they are frustrated and it comes across and it's very much like it feels like an attack to the child. If they've then got a teacher who ... makes it clear when they're cross with them, but then comes across with it being a conversation, I

suppose they would react very differently to which teacher is that is being like that with them.” (Ali, 326)

This teacher was including the personality of the teacher and the way in which their emotions manifest, resulting in differences in the quality of interactions, which in turn had an impact on the child’s emotional state.

“I think that obviously the liking thing helps because then they’re more engaged with you as a person and I think that also if they like you they’re more open to you and your feelings and you can be more open to them.”
(Drew, 419)

In addition, the quality of interactions was impacted by the degree to which there was a positive relationship with a child. Liking increases emotional openness, which was then reciprocated, in this teacher’s opinion. This can be negative as well as positive, as illustrated by the following example.

“In fact, I’ve seen children respond more negatively towards that because they feel like ‘Wait a minute, you’re just angry at us.’” (Drew, 85)

This teacher was referring to the emotional message being attended to more than the intended communication about appropriate behaviour.

6.3.1.6 Outside influences on teacher feelings

All five of the teachers commented on external influences on teacher emotions and behaviour. Two teachers expressed doubts that external events that had impacted on their emotional state would have an effect on children in school.

“I think I honestly believe that teachers step across their threshold and you could be having a horrendous time personally but something happens when we come into school, and we often say it to each other that it’s a better place for us to be because it gives you something else” (Chris, 253)

“Yeah, definitely.” (Kelly, 256)

“You become something that perhaps you’re not outside of school just for that short time because you have that responsibility.” (Chris, 257)

These teachers discussed the contextual nature of their emotional state and asserted that emotions connected with situations originating outside school, are left behind when they came to work. In contrast, another teacher held the view that it would be a natural phenomenon to bring feelings into the school environment.

“I’ve been quite lucky that I’ve never had particularly personal things happening that might be very upsetting or that might make me very angry whilst I’ve been teaching, so it’s not necessarily then been brought into the classroom, but I think that’s a natural human thing, though, that if someone’s ... like in a bad mood or upset or worried about something that it could change their teaching.” (Ali, 131)

In discussing bringing emotions into the classroom, this teacher was distancing themselves from the negative emotions in this context. In contrast, the excerpt below indicated that this teacher was aware that stress and pressure do have a direct impact on teacher emotion, and so on the children that they teach.

“So, I mean ... I mean if I’m feeling ... stressed and pressured about the job or whatever I don’t think my teaching’s as good as when I feel on top of everything [shakes head]” (Drew, 373)

This pressure of working in school was echoed by others.

“So if I’d had a, if I’d had I don’t know, if maybe I’ve been told off by the head and I’m in a bad mood about it, actually it’s not their fault.” (Reagan, 226)

This teacher was concerned that they might be bringing emotions that have an impact on their class, whilst being aware that the children were not the cause of their negative emotional state.

6.3.1.7 Perception of emotion informs relationships.

Teachers noted that children interpreted some of their emotional behaviour and actions, correctly or incorrectly, in terms of how much they were liked, and who the teacher may favour.

“So [...] I do think some children so perceive that [...] I’ve had classes who have known definitely that they weren’t, weren’t in with this teacher and have said, ‘Oh no, so and so is her favourite.’ [...] I think the children definitely do know. They definitely do pick up on it. Not necessarily correctly, but [...] they absolutely [nods] have a view.” (Reagan, 586)

This teacher believed that there was a difference in the emotional warmth offered to different children within the class by the teacher, and that children were able to identify this, and discussed it in terms of favouritism or dislike. The teacher gave a specific example, linking the number of times they told a child off with their interpretation of the teacher’s emotions towards them.

“So, I’ve had quite open, frank conversations with his Mum all year about this behaviour um and he really believes ... he’s been home and said to his Mum,

‘She hates me. She hates me. She’s had me out again. She’s told me off again’” (Reagan, 570)

This child has shared with his mother their belief that the teacher hated him after being reprimanded, and this had been reported to the teacher.

It was noticeable that most teacher contributions to this code involved considering the impact of negative emotions and emotional displays on the children that they teach. This was partially because it appeared that teachers were interpreting ‘emotions’ as negative, and partly due to the nature of the triggering questions created by the co-researchers from the semi-structured questionnaire.

6.3.2 Impact of teacher emotion on teaching and learning

“I think it’s good to change your mood because that’s what they’re going to be like in the out outer world. They’re not always going to be around happy people.” (Kelly, 230)

As with the previous section, teachers did not differentiate between genuine emotions and using emotional displays as teaching tools, but all acknowledged that teacher emotion had an impact on both teaching and learning.

6.3.2.1 Teacher mood impacts child engagement

The extent to which children engage with the teacher and with their lessons was discussed. Curriculum delivery was thought to be enhanced when teachers were in a positive emotional state.

“If they’re {other teachers} are feeling really positive about things, or if they’re feeling that they’ve got that good rapport with their children then it’s going to drive us to teach more well.” (Ali, 424)

“I think it probably increases the engagement of the lesson, because you’re not just as ‘nu nu nu’ [flips hand to indicate talking], you know, boring, tone deaf. You haven’t got children fiddling unnecessarily, they’re engaged.”

(Reagan, 122)

“I think, yeah, I think it has an um impact on how they interact with what they’re being taught and what how they’re engaging in the lessons. Um Definitely.” (Drew, 427)

“The enthusiasm. And that has an overall impact on motivation.” (Chris, 223)

“I know with my children if I try to push them in the lesson, they will push themselves. If I step back because I was feeling sad or angry or something was worrying or stressing me out and I was more reserved, I think the children would then become more reserved in terms of pushing themselves.” (Ali, 163)

Teachers appeared comfortable with the notion that when they were in good moods, their lessons were better than when they were feeling more negative. Another illustration focused on children mirroring teachers’ emotional behaviour.

“If you’ve got a teacher who’s at the front and I suppose doesn’t feel inspired in what they are teaching then the children aren’t going to be inspired to learn what you’re trying to teach them.” (Ali, 435)

The energy and emotional state that this reflects, were, this teacher felt, reflected back at them by the children. The content and confidence with which lessons were delivered were also believed to be affected by the teacher's mood.

“So, if I teach something, and I'm feeling really comfortable and confident and happy [...] there's such a difference in the lesson in the sense ... I don't say it's massive, I wouldn't say it's massive. It's probably subtle but I notice it. Um, where they feel more confident about the work. Whereas if I ... if I'm not as happy or if I may not ... I don't teach it with as much conviction.” (Drew, 377)

Another teacher discussed the impact of their frustration on lessons.

“If I become frustrated, though, it's then going to affect the lesson, it's then going to affect the kids wanting to work with me.” (Ali, 273)

This teacher believed that if they displayed frustration, the children would not be motivated to work with them, with consequences for lesson quality.

One teacher talked about the importance of humour to break tensions and restore or maintain motivation for learning.

“But I think especially in Year Six. It is such a tense year, because it's such an important year, that you need to be able to laugh with your children so that they've got that chance to alleviate that stress. To break that tension sometimes, when it all gets a bit like 'Work hard, everyone' [...] And then they might say something ... funny and it does make you laugh.” (Ali, 493)

The above example is one demonstrating the collegiate nature of the teacher/ class relationship, where the agent for the changing of the tempo or mood can come from teacher or pupils.

Sometimes teachers were sure that their children picked up the underlying emotion.

“I know that I can look back at the end of the day and think ‘Do you know what? That lesson wasn’t as good as it could have been, and it was because of my mood. {shakes head} definitely. Definitely.” (Drew, 124)

“And do you think kids pick up on that?” (Int, 129)

“Definitely. [...] They’re so perceptive.” (Drew, 130)

This teacher was not only concerned that their lessons were not strong, and attributed this to their emotional state, but also acknowledged that the children were also perceptive to these changes and their cause.

6.3.2.2 Impact of teacher fatigue

Two teachers offered contrasting views on fatigue.

“Next day, feeling a little bit tired they kept going ‘Miss, can I show you my work?’ and I said ‘Not yet, I’m just working with this child. [...] I think my positivity changes, then I can be stern sometimes if I’m a bit grumpy.” (Kelly, 651)

In the above excerpt, the teacher was talking about fatigue making them ‘grumpy’, with the impact that had on teaching.

“Your energy um affects how you teach?” (Int, 631)

“Yeah, definitely. If you are tired, I would be more than likely sat on my chair talking to a group of pupils [...] But I wouldn’t change my mannerisms as in how I deal with behaviour and things, it’s just I think my body gives up.”

(Chris, 632)

In contrast, the second teacher, interviewed with the first, did not think that tiredness had any impact on mood – it was simply a physical phenomenon for this teacher.

6.3.2.3 Impact of stress.

Teachers referred to stress as an emotion and noted the impact it had on teaching and learning.

Concern was expressed that when the teacher felt stressed or upset in some way, this had an impact on the quality of curriculum delivery, and of the children’s response to that curriculum.

“If I’m feeling stressed and pressured about the job or whatever, I don’t think my teaching’s as good as when I feel on top of everything [shakes head]. Because I simply have no confidence in what I’m doing, and I think the children, one hundred percent, pick up on that. because you can see them sometimes, I don’t know. It’s just all the responses they give. They ... they are more uncertain.” (Drew,373)

This teacher gave another example of the impact of stress on their teaching and the children’s learning.

“You know, a couple of days ago when I was writing reports and stressed out completely, I was just like ... I don’t think you know it was the same kind of

energy in the lesson. And also, I don't think the way I taught it was the same, because I was just like ... explaining it, but perhaps not as much as I went into today, I don't know." (Drew, 393)

In the following extract, the teacher drew on knowledge of the impact of stress in other teachers.

"I know from friends who are teachers that a lot of them have said that when they have been feeling stressed or unsupported that they then felt that it affected the teaching that they maybe didn't push their children as much, or they didn't make the lessons as inspiring because they were giving up, if you understand that?" (Ali, 428)

"So it has a direct impact on children's learning?" (Int, 432)

"Yeah. Yeah. And then it affects the children's learning." (Ali, 433)

This teacher appeared to believe that teacher stress had a direct impact on children's learning.

Two teachers discussed stressful afternoons in the classroom.

"You have lunchtime, and you have a 'To Do' list, where you want to get some stuff done. You don't get it done, so you go back to the classroom 'Oh, I haven't got all of that done.'" (Kelly, 596)

"Yeah" (Chris, 599)

"So you're a little bit stressed. You haven't got a TA [teaching assistant]"
(Kelly, 600)

"In the afternoon." (Chris, 601)

“Always in the afternoons. I’m a little bit ‘Quick, get this done. Quick, get that done.” (Kelly, 602)

“So do the children [...] behave differently in the afternoon from the morning, in your class, do you think?” (Int, 605)

“I think so.” (Kelly, 605)

“Their energy levels are definitely different.” (Chris, 607)

“Yeah, I think they come low energy” (Kelly, 608)

“Yeah” (Chris, 609)

“And go to ridiculously high energy, whereas I’m the other way.” (Kelly, 610)

These teachers were relating the children’s energy levels to their stressed state in the afternoon session in the classroom. They stop short of attributing the children’s emotional states to the energy levels that they noted.

6.3.2.4 Impact of negative emotions

Two of the five teachers interviewed commented on the impact of unhappiness and negative emotions on teaching and learning.

“I think teachers who is struggling or not happy in anything, any aspects of their life, they’re going to be a lot less responsive to the children and their needs. And I think children pick that up because they know. They don’t get the reactions they would expect if ... Do you know what I mean?” (Drew, 67)

“They’re sort of going through the motions maybe of being the teacher ... rather than ... that more personal interaction with the children, maybe.” (Ali, 139)

In the two quotes above, the teachers were relating mood to commitment to teaching and quality of interaction with children, both of which impact on children’s learning.

“You know, I think a teacher who is really unhappy will try and do everything they can, they know they need to do as a teacher because they may have been in the [...] business a long time, but actually they don’t do it like they would do if they were happy and really engaged themselves, engaged in the learning that happening.” (Drew, 113)

“If I’m not as happy, or if I I may not ... I don’t teach it with as much conviction.” (Drew, 381)

On reflection, the teachers above recognised that when their mood is not good, their teaching differs. Both of their comments implied that feelings of sadness result in less effective teacher engagement with the curriculum.

“They might think ‘Well, she doesn’t seem interested in me today so ... why should I bother with my work?’, sort of thing.” (Ali, 161)

The final quote in this section reflected the teacher’s belief that children mirror the motivational state of their teachers. Teachers in a low or negative mood did not project the level of motivational positivism that they could when in a more positive mood.

6.3.3 Impact of teacher emotion on behaviour management

Three teachers, during interview, had a lot to say about behaviour management, although much was about systems and the school context that has not been included here.

The relationship between teacher emotion and behaviour management is the focus of the current category.

6.3.3.1 Teacher emotion has no impact on behaviour management

Teachers stated their belief that their emotional state had no influence over how they manage behaviour.

“It’s just the delivery of it. Say if a child if I was in a worsser mood for example, I’d still have to say, ‘I’m going to have to give you a warning in a minute.’ [...] so, it’s um so they’re still got the same chance but I think it’s my tone or my delivery or [...] how I’m going to employ the behaviour sanction.” (Reagan, 37)

“There might be times when you have said something and it sounded harsher than you meant it to, like it sounded snappier than you meant it to, but the sanction’s the same but I can see how some children might think ‘Oh, my teacher’s in a bad mood because they said that.’” (Ali, 95)

These teachers acknowledged that the delivery and employment of the sanction may differ, although the process did not, and the behaviour policy was thus adhered to, no matter what the emotional state of the teacher.

“Regardless of what mood we’re in we always follow the behaviour [...] policy.” (Kelly, 129)

“So even if we’re in a good mood we show them that we’re not happy with that, in the same way that if we’re in a bad mood we would still do the same sanctions for behaviour as well.” (Ali, 78)

There was general agreement that being consistent with sanctions was expected and essential, although there may be some individual differences which might be impacted by mood. One teacher was proud of the consistency in their school.

“It’s consistent and it’s one of the things that I know in our school especially that we have been praised for in that consistency if we’re in a good mood or a bad mood the behaviour sanctions are followed through and it’s the same sort of rules as well.” (Ali, 86)

6.3.3.2 Teacher emotion impacts delivery of sanctions

However, four teachers believed that there were some differences in the delivery of sanctions that were related to teacher mood.

“I think we try very hard to be consistent, but we are human beings, aren’t we?” (Reagan, 17)

One teacher was clear that although any sanctions would be applied fairly, the way sanction delivery was experienced by the children may be impacted by the teacher’s mood.

“I think the difference would be in the delivery of how that’s done. It might be shorter and sharper. [laughs]” (Reagan, 57)

Two teachers discussed their view of the interaction between their emotions and behaviour management.

“Regardless of what mood we’re in, we always follow the Behaviour -” (Kelly, 129)

“Yeah” (Chris, 130)

“- Policy. Nothing would be sort of let go, but ... I suppose the way that you might tell them off if I’m in a ... happier mood it might just not be as stern ... I suppose that all just [...] is [looks at Chris] the only difference.” (Kelly, 131)

These teachers stated that the manner in which they followed the behaviour policy was different, depending on the mood they were in, although they believed that the application of the policy was not impacted by their emotional state.

“I I can imagine that some teachers are, if you if you’re in a bad mood maybe sound, I don’t know, a bit snappier than normal if they’re doing something.” (Ali, 84)

“Naturally if you’re feeling negative, you’re per perhaps going to deal with something in a negative way whereas if you’re feeling positive you’ve got the energy to do it in a positive way.” (Reagan, 688)

One teacher talked about the barriers that they believed overtly angry behaviour can have on children being reprimanded within the behaviour management guidelines.

“I think if you ... come across as being angry or if you come across that way ... I think the children retract more, and they don’t quite engage with why you’re maybe having to speak to them.” (Ali, 249)

This teacher was concerned about the repercussions of the manner in which the behaviour policy was applied.

“So it might be a ‘Come one, that’s a warning now, mate’ mor you know, ‘Don’t make me give you a warning’. A bit more friendly and jokey perhaps if I’m in a really good mood.” (Ali, 31)

In the example above, the teacher hinted that they might have given a warning about an official warning if in a good mood, although they believe that the giving of sanctions was not dependent upon teacher emotion or mood.

6.3.3.3 Tolerance of child behaviour

Teachers believed that their tolerance of child behaviour may be affected by their moods.

“Um, when I’m in a good mood um, and I can, I can be a little sterner perhaps about the same behaviour if I’m not feeling one hundred percent, or in the best of moods.” (Reagan, 14)

Three teachers felt that their tolerance varied with mood.

“Me personally [touches their chest], I, I think it does... I notice things more when I’m in a bit of ... a ... funny mood.” (Kelly, 183)

“If a teacher’s in um [...] that kind of aggressive mood where they’re on it” (Drew, 80)

“There’s a big difference for me if I’m in a good or bad mood.” (Kelly, 195)

In this short extract, two teachers talked about their tolerance of children behaviour.

“Or you’ll be quite slow and [...] you won’t take [laughs] behaviour. You’ll take behaviour. The little things that wind you up.” (Kelly, 59)

“Yeah. You might be a bit more short tempered than you normally would be.”

(Chris, 61)

These teachers were sure that their mood could have an impact on their tolerance levels within the classroom.

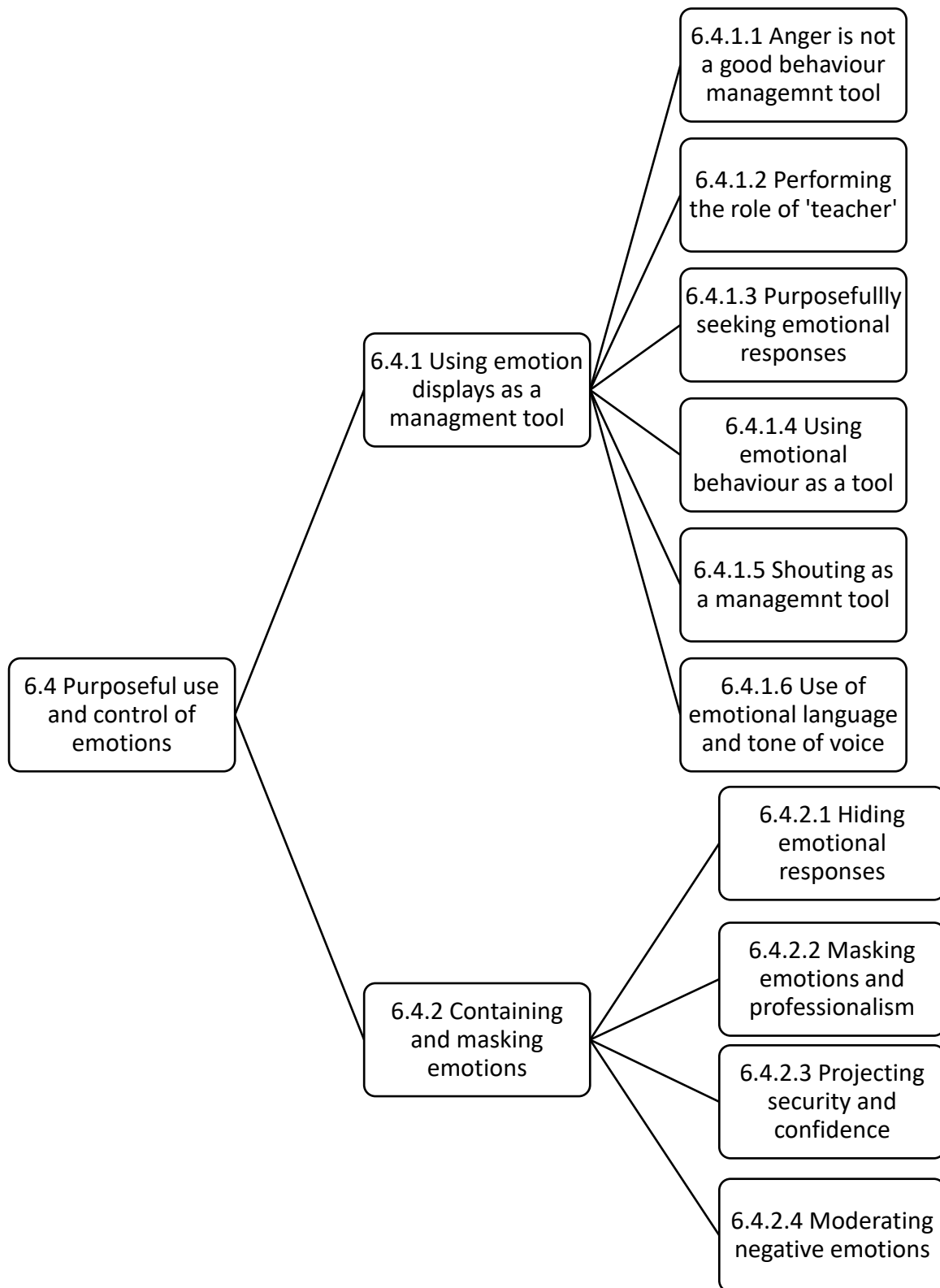
6.4 Purposeful use and control of emotions

Teachers consciously used emotion displays to enhance communication with children and also hide their true feelings during the school day (emotional labour).

There are two main focused codes in this category. These are using emotion displays as a management tool (6.4.1) and containing and masking emotions (6.4.2).

Figure 15 overleaf shows the focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Purposeful use and control of emotions”

Figure 15: Focused and axial codes contributing to the category “Purposeful use and control of emotions”



6.4.1 Using emotion displays as a management tool

Teachers felt that for much of the day they were using performance, including performing emotional responses, to enhance their persona as teachers within the classroom. This was considered a matter of professionalism.

6.4.1.1 Anger is not a good behaviour management tool.

Two of the teachers talked about their use of emotion as a purposeful communication, to give emphasis to their words or actions.

One teacher commented on emotional communications when disciplining children.

“There’s a difference between anger and discipline. Disappointment” (Chris, 321)

This teacher went on to discuss the impact of displays of anger and disappointment when a child is angry with their colleague, who was interviewed alongside them.

“I don’t think angry is a right thing to ... do for a child” (Kelly, 336)

“No, no.” (Chris, 337)

“I don’t think it would affect them as much as being disappointed” (Kelly, 338)

“It’s just aggressive, isn’t it?” (Chris, 339)

They pursued this theme in the following extract.

“I also think ‘angry’ would fuel other emotions in the child that they don’t [shakes head] they might not be able to handle at that time, because if they hit someone, punched someone, then you’re angry with them, what you’re going

to do is fuel them even more, whereas if you let the disappointment, it's like has a calm effect to them on them as well. So I think it works better.” (Kelly, 351)

“Reflective, almost, isn't it?” (Chris, 356)

“Yeah. [nods at Chris]” (Kelly, 357)

“A bit more reflective.” (Chris, 358)

“Yeah, brings them down quicker.” (Kelly, 359)

These teachers purposefully demonstrated that they were disappointed with the angry child in order to both help them control their anger, and to support them in reflecting on the incident which precipitated their feelings.

One of the difficulties teachers reported on is conveying anger and disapproval when they were not feeling that emotion.

“I don't know that it does make me cross, really. It's just that those are the words you use and I don't know whether the children really believe that you're cross when you say you're cross.” (Reagan, 491)

Because they were not really feeling angry, they did not feel that the children had any belief in the emotional that they were trying to project.

There was a sense in which these extracts reflect a view that teacher emotions were controlled in the classroom and used to make points to children, rather than something which was experienced by the teacher themselves.

6.4.1.2 Performing the role of 'teacher'.

Four teachers talked about teaching as a series of performances, some of which were more successful than others. There was a sense of children as the participatory audience to these performances.

"I do think teachers, we are actors." (Reagan, 130)

"So, I like to perform. I get up and perform." (Chris, 540)

"Of course, you act!" (Ali, 170)

Teachers saw performance as a means of engaging children in their teaching.

"So, you're engaging them because you're obviously being a bit of a character of whatever you're putting on." (Reagan, 127)

There was an acknowledgement that the quality of the performance was, in part, determined by the mood that they were in.

"I mean, we come into the classroom – sorry – and we act a part. It's just how well we act it that day would depend I guess on our mood." (Reagan, 132)

During discussion, another teacher felt that performing could change their mood.

"I don't know if I do perform, in that ... I perform when I'm happy, which is interesting, isn't it?" (Chris, 372)

"Yeah." (Kelly, 373)

"I perform to be happy." (Chris, 374)

This teacher was describing performing to be happy and in doing so contributed to a positive classroom climate.

6.4.1.3 Purposefully seeking emotional responses.

Teachers commented that they use emotional presentation together with behavioural sanctions to elicit emotions in children.

“They don’t enjoy the consequence so we’ve got varying degrees of consequences and whatever the degree they [shakes their head] wouldn’t ... be happy with themselves.” (Chris, 139)

This teacher saw using consequences in order to elicit emotional responses and underscore their disapproval and deter the children from repeating their actions. The object appeared to be to make the child feel upset or remorseful. In contrast, another teacher commented on the reciprocal nature of emotional and behavioural communication.

“I think that your behaviour [points to self] always is reflected back at you.”
(Reagan, 82)

I suggest that the teacher was arguing that their behaviour, including emotional behaviour, was mirrored by the children in the class.

Teachers found it easier to consider the impact of their behaviour on the children’s emotions, and the importance of dealing with children individually.

“You can tell from their reaction because they will, you know, they do the whole look down or they agree. Sometimes they might get upset, but not because you are shouting at them, but because they realise that it’s quite serious.” (Ali, 310)

This teacher was purposefully seeking to elicit emotional responses from the children in order to satisfy themselves that they had understood that the teacher was displeased with them.

“If you knew a child was just having an off day, you’d perhaps just be a bit more ... like want to get to the bottom of the reason um take them aside, maybe a bit of one-to-one time.” (Chris, 108)

“I was quite stern with a child, but then I was able to drop that [...] and turn to the rest of the class [...] and almost, my shoulders went down, if you know that kind of effect, because it wasn’t the consequence they should have to face.” (Chris, 427)

“It’s also very easy to be very nurturing again to say to them ‘But you’re going to move on, this is how we’ll go on and that.’” (Ali, 314)

Teachers used the emotional responses of the children as tools, although most did not include reference to their own emotions in their communication. They were consciously using their knowledge of the children’s emotional responses to inform their professional practice.

6.4.1.4 Using emotional behaviour as a tool.

The following series of quotes originated from the interview with the pair of teachers, Kelly and Chris. Kelly addressed emotions in the context of communication on several occasions.

“Disappointment is [...] the only thing that I use [...] I wouldn’t ever use being angry.” (Kelly, 322)

This was a clear reference to the presentation of emotion as part of communication with children. This teacher was referring to use of an emotional response as a teaching tool. They had mixed feelings about feigning anger.

"I think they know when I'm faking being angry [speaks very quietly]" (Chris, 314)

"I don't think I've ever actually been angry with a child." (Kelly, 315)

"I've never been fake angry." (Chris, 316)

"[Laughs aloud]" I would, yeah. I would." (Kelly, 317)

The above excerpt is full of contradictions as the teachers considered the issue of faking emotion. This may be attributed to differences between teacher language and that of the children, as teachers thought in terms of 'acting a role' rather than 'fake' presentation.

They both commented on body language.

"I think it's good that you change your body language. It means that you're serious. If you weren't changing it, if you weren't being stern and negative, they wouldn't listen." (Kelly, 435)

This teacher believed that body language communicates emotion and consciously used it to reinforce negativity in order to gain the attention of children and convey a sense of importance about the message they are delivering.

"Um, you would normally present a different, so our consequences are it's a verbal warning, a yellow card, a red card, and the red card is obviously the most severe. Then obviously the way you deal with those and probably the use of your body language and your voice according to that [...] would

probably be different each time as well. You wouldn't be as calm as you would on a warning as you would on a red card or ... not calm, but ... you know." (Chris, 168)

This teacher was putting use of emotional communication through body language in the context of delivery of sanctions of varying degrees of seriousness.

6.4.1.5 Shouting as a management tool

Four of the teachers commented on the topic of shouting and its use as a management tool. All were agreed that shouting was at most, a very rare occurrence.

"I would only raise my voice." (Kelly, 270)

"Like I hardly ever shout, and I probably I haven't shouted at all here [referring to the school]." (Drew, 228)

This emphasised the rarity of the shout in the classroom.

"But raise my voice as in um, 'Please be silent', that sort of stuff. I wouldn't be shouting at them in sentences. It would just be a quick ... that sort of thing. [...] Sharp and rapid to get their response, then back to calm and talk about why." (Kelly, 272)

In the excerpt above, the teacher was concerned to convey the use of short periods of shouting to gain attention, rather than as a display of emotion. Although they then contrasted it with the concept that the opposite of shouting is 'calm,' no matter what the duration.

This teacher explained why they do not shout.

“I can’t imagine it’s very comfortable for them. I can’t imagine they feel very happy about it. Yeah. I can imagine it makes them feel a little bit sad maybe a little embarrassed, maybe tearful, and I’m not a shouter. I don’t tend to shout at children because [...] of those reasons.” (Reagan, 371)

This teacher was very aware of the negative emotional impact of shouting at children and avoided shouting because of this. One teacher reflected on their behaviour in the classroom after incidents had occurred.

“Personally, I don’t think that I like turn into a raging dragon and start shouting at my children. Um ... In fact, they might have an entirely different view.” (Ali, 243)

This teacher was acknowledging that, although they did not feel as if they were shouting, the children in their class may experience it as such. Thus, the difference in perspective of teacher emotional behaviour was recognised by this teacher.

6.4.1.6 Use of emotional language and tone of voice.

This teacher gave an example of when they felt that it was appropriate to disclose their emotional response to a situation.

“If a child’s crying because of something another child’s done, um I don’t think emotionally in terms of upsetting me. [...] You know, feeling it emotionally.”
(Reagan, 482)

“So, it’s different for you.” (Int, 486)

“It’s different, but it does make me irritated or cross, and I will say that, ‘Actually, it’s made me really cross that you have thought it’s okay to say that and this is the response you’ve got. You need to get this right.’” (Reagan, 487)

Although the teacher had an emotional response to an act of unkindness, they did not mirror the upset feelings of the child, but instead felt cross with the child who caused the upset. By naming their emotion and explaining the cause, the teacher set the situation up for teaching more appropriate behaviour.

Teachers talked about adopting a level of ‘seriousness’ when they spoke to children.

“I was quite stern with a child.” (Chris, 426)

“Sometimes it might be that I come across as more serious depending on what it is that we’re needing to talk about.” (Ali, 242)

There was no acknowledgement that they were conscious of any emotional content in this communication, either in the teacher’s delivery or in the way in which the communication may be interpreted by the child.

In the following extract, the teacher illustrated their belief in the importance of consistent language.

“I would never change the way I speak to a child. The words I would use to speak to a child. [...] I would only raise my voice.” (Kelly, 267)

So, although the tone of voice would change, the linguistic content would not. In contrast with the first quote in this section, it was not clear from the above quote, whether the teacher would use explicit language to communicate an emotional response to events.

One teacher felt that they would use humour to intervene in unwanted behaviours and inject a humorous tone to their voice.

“I know I can be a bit jokey about correcting children’s behaviour.” (Reagan, 11)

6.4.2 Containing and masking emotions

Teachers felt that their own emotions had no place within the classroom and spoke about times when they made efforts to purposefully hide what they were feeling. This could be for a variety of reasons, for example, when their internal emotional state did not match the emotional messaging that they were trying to convey, or when something had happened outside school and they did not feel it appropriate that children should know. The language that the children used was that of ‘faking’ emotions, and so any questions that were asked about this topic were phrased in that manner. Emotions in this context largely focused on negative feelings.

6.4.2.1 Hiding emotional responses

Teachers considered it professional to conceal their feelings from the children in their class.

“I know that personal experience when people I know who are upset by something, they obviously try to hide it from their kids.” (Ali, 37)

Being asked about ‘fake’ emotions caused one teacher to contemplate whether children can ever detect that their teacher is projecting an emotion that they are not feeling.

“Like the teacher’s faking being happy when they’re sad... maybe if it’s like they can tell their teachers like we were talking earlier ... Like if they’re smiling and stuff but their voices doesn’t sound ... happy, or they don’t seem to have ... the eye connections sort of thing, maybe then they could pick up, although you’re pretending to be happy but maybe you’re not happy.” (Ali, 172)

This teacher was reflecting on the information that the children in the co-researcher group had generated this discussion topic and so considered that there must be a reason for their curiosity. They considered the question in terms of perhaps how children might know that their emotional presentation did not reflect their true feelings.

They found it easier to talk about the other side of the coin - concealing their feelings. One teacher doubted whether it was possible to hide their emotions.

“You can’t hide your emotions, but I think we’re in a position whereas if if we’re at the point where we knew it was going to affect, I I do honestly believe we wouldn’t be in that position in the first place.” (Chris, 577)

This teacher, whilst saying that they could not hide emotions, pointed out that they would ensure that they were not in a position for any of their emotions to have a detrimental impact on their class. Another felt that their face gave their feelings away.

“I really show my emotions in my facial expressions. And people see it. [...] I can’t hide it. I can’t [shakes their head and laughs]. I’m absolutely terrible at that kind of thing.” (Drew, 236)

This teacher asserted that their own emotional state was obvious from their facial expressions, and they could not hide how they were feeling. This teacher went on to say that they did not believe it generally possible to hide emotions.

“And I think everybody is I think a lot of people are the same. I think those people that think they can hide it but really you don’t. Because there’s so many clues, tell-tale clues about how someone feels, whether it’s your facial expression or whether it’s your body language, whether it’s generally what you say, you know.” (Drew, 245)

Sometimes, teacher’s feelings contradicted the emotion that they were trying to convey, and they felt they had to try to cover their true feelings.

“I think we have to hide our reactions to um well, for example, say say somebody says something a bit inappropriate that you might actually find funny, and in a different situation you might actually burst out loud with laughter, actually it’s completely inappropriate in the classroom. With these children, you’ve, you’ve got to be able to hide it.” (Reagan, 276)

“In terms of being angry, I suppose, if I’m thinking of like when the teacher maybe telling somebody off and they try not to laugh, [...] because sometimes the children do that and you know you’ve got to say ‘You can’t do that.’, but at the same time it might be something that is quite funny but you’ve got to say ‘Stop.’ And you might be saying ‘Stop’ and trying not to smile or something as you’re saying it.” (Ali, 181)

This was one of only a very few times that teachers talked about positive emotions, even if it was in the context of trying to conceal them from their children.

6.4.2.2 Masking emotions and professionalism

Three of the teachers had comments to make in relation to this axial code. One teacher spoke more than the others about relating mood and professionalism.

“I think sometimes managing behaviour does affect your mood. It may I mean it could make you embarrassed if a child has said something and you’ve got to be able to hide that embarrassment because it might mean you, it depends on the behaviour.” (Reagan, 284)

“You have to take control of situations so if you I I actually think that we, we, we do have to hide how we feel, but I definitely think behaviour does affect our moods in certain ways [nods].” (Reagan, 302)

“I would imagine in some people do react differently to some children to others umm, but again you’ve got to, the masking it again, I mean they might be dare I say it a child in your class who you just really don’t like. Um, you know. But you can’t ever, ever, ever show anybody that. You have to ... you have to treat them and they’re exactly entitled to be treated and respected in the same way as the other children have to be so that has to be ...” (Reagan, 521)

Hiding emotions from children was considered a matter of professionalism.

“I think they can pick up on us, and we can pick up on them. But I think we’re just better at hiding it.” (Kelly, 448)

“Professional.” (Chris, 451)

“Because our performance [...] I think it would have to, yeah, I would say that I’m pretty comp, I think I’m pretty consistent throughout all my lessons.” (Kelly, 545)

These two teachers appeared to believe that they were better at hiding their emotions than their children are, and so feel that they could identify emotional responses and communications of the children in their care, without the children being able to reciprocate.

One teacher talked about how tiring it was to hide their emotions from the children they teach.

“It’s a bit of an effort for me. I I other people may manage it better but for me it’s a big effort. And it’s really sort of physically uncomfortable one, but um...”
(Reagan, 341)

“Do you find it tiring?” (Int, 345)

“It’s really tiring. I think, I think all of this is tiring. I think this is part our tiredness. I think this isn’t necessarily about us as teachers, but [...] it is hard work. It is hard work trying to keep that consistent picture of that calm safe person who is also going to move your learning forward and send you out in that big wide world as a fully rounded individual that, it is very tiring.” (Reagan, 346)

This teacher was describing the fatigue associated with emotional labour. In mentioning that it was not necessarily about them as teachers, they were suggesting that there was a personal emotional toll.

6.4.2.3 Projecting security and confidence

Teachers talked about the need to hide emotions in order to promote the emotional health and wellbeing of their children.

“I just feel as as much as we can hide stuff as possible as we can because actually it’s not our responsibility to put our emotions and feelings on to them. So, if I’d had, I don’t know, if maybe I’ve been told off by the head and I’m in a bad mood about it actually it’s not their fault. It’s not anything they need to be worrying about so it should be hidden, but I don’t know whether or not they would know it was being. I don’t know.” (Reagan, 226)

One teacher discussed the impact of a behavioural incident and its aftermath, when the teacher was left with residual anger.

“But part of me is to try not to let that affect the rest of my lessons or what I’m doing, so that it doesn’t benefit the rest of the class, sort of thing. It’s more, I think, of having that support network in place so if you do have one of those afternoons where it’s like ‘Oh, so and so was doing this and this and this’ It’s that save it, contain it, and then talk to people after school about it.” (Ali, 261)

Talking about containing emotions after a behavioural incident, another teacher commented.

“It’s like, I suppose, you going back to the ‘do you pretend, do you, do you act up when you change your mood?’ I certainly did this morning, but I would hope then that that wouldn’t have an impact on the rest of the class.” (Chris, 439)

The teacher purposefully acted to change their emotional presentation, in order to protect the rest of their class from any residual negative emotion.

“I think even in when you’re in a very bad mood or you’re feeling particularly stressed or something’s just happened or I, I do think we try very hard to cover that up and there must be a reason for that. It must be it’s either, the reasons for that is either because we don’t want [...] their learning to be impacted by that or it’s because it’s none of their business. [laughs] Because they are children and it’s ... do you see what I mean? I don’t know.”

(Reagan, 133)

In the above extract, the teacher was not only seeking to protect the class from their emotions, but also to protect themselves from unwanted and irrelevant attention.

They expressed their view that their personal emotional state was private.

Another teacher commented on the difference between emotions experienced at home and those experienced at school.

“So, if it’s like something’s put me in a bad mood with my partner, I’m obviously going to tell him because with my family I would tell them, and you don’t really hold back in the same way as in the classroom, because you aware that you’ve got, you know, thirty-two children who are looking to you, and you sort of have to ... guard them and guard yourself by not letting something like that affect what you are doing. And that comes with experience, like.” (Ali, 283)

This teacher believed that experience of teaching was a key factor in being able to manage emotions appropriately within the classroom.

Sometimes teacher feelings were generated through external events. One teacher described having to manage their fear, generated by previous experiences, whilst on a school trip.

“You do have to make the children believe and even on my school trip. I’m terrified of seagulls.” (Reagan, 323)

“Are you?” (Int, 324)

“Yeah. So I’ve got to pretend that seagulls are fine. ... I do tell them ‘I’m terrified of those things’ but obviously I can’t behave like a wimp and start screaming and flurrying round because the children need to feel that they have somebody there who can ultimately they’re keeping them safe, both emotionally and physically.” (Reagan, 325)

This masking of emotions was deemed necessary by the teacher in order to promote the children’s safety. The teacher revealed their fears to the children but did this in a way that they hoped would not cause panic, but rather reassured the children.

Two of the teachers began by talking about not bringing troubles to school with them.

“You can cut of a part [...] of the negativity [...] because this is a different environment.” (Kelly, 465)

“It is. And you have a responsibility. You know we are the carer for that child, for thirty children while they are here. You know, for five hours a day and I, as a parent, I’m often quite reflective on how I would like my children taught”
(Chris, 470)

“To be supported.” (Kelly, 473)

“And how they are looked after, so I think that also helps you to be quite aware of how you should be behaving.” (Chris, 474)

These teachers reflected on how they would like their own children to be cared for and use that to support their emotional regulation.

“To reserve it and to sort of lock it away inside and to move on within the lesson, but then, after school or when I get a chance, that’s when I might talk to my teacher partner Liz, that might be when I go to another teacher, or line manager, and just go ‘ARGH!’ [waves both arms] ‘This has happened to me today’, and offload.” (Ali, 267)

One teacher talked about the role of their support system in the school in managing their ability to maintain a calm demeanour.

6.4.2.4 Moderating negative emotions

This teacher talked about moderating their response, according to their assessment of the child. This was particularly the case when the teacher was in a bad mood.

“There is a bit of control, but I think it’s also about assessing whether they’re robust enough to take it at that point. [...] So just because I’m in a bad mood it doesn’t mean I can inflict that as another child. I need to perhaps modify and and look at their robustness or their emotional state before handling something that could be delicate or you know.” (Reagan, 666)

Another teacher described monitoring and moderating their own interactions according to their mood.

“If someone’s in a bad mood they and you have to like be more aware of how you come across sort of thing, so you have to be aware of how your voice might sound like. There might be times when you have said something and it sounded harsher than you meant it to, like it sounded snappier than you meant it to.” (Ali, 93)

The teacher went on to explain monitoring and modifying their emotional state further.

“So I do check myself I think, before I would sort of go steamrolling in [laughs]. I think I would check myself because I think naturally if you’re feeling negative you’re per perhaps going to deal with something in a negative way whereas if you’re feeling positive you’ve got the energy to do it in a positive way.” (Reagan, 688)

This teacher was concerned that individual variations in personality had an impact on the individual teacher’s ability to moderate their emotional presentation.

“I think it depends on ... um what the teacher’s personality is like as a teaching style, and also how they respond or react to their own emotions and stuff or whether they are a teacher who’s able to contain it no matter what and just stays like that.” (Ali, 322)

6.5 Chapter summary

Teachers became reflexive when discussing children’s perspectives of teacher emotions, for example examining their assumptions that children were not capable of recognising emotion in teachers. At other times, the teachers gave examples, of

times when children had responded to teachers consciously, using emotional presentation in their professional role of teacher. It appeared that often the concepts they were discussing in the interviews had not previously been considered in any depth and it felt as if they were exploring children's emotional competence in relation to teacher's emotional communication within the interview itself for the first time.

CHAPTER SEVEN – DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to ascertain what children knew about teacher emotions, and perhaps more importantly, how teacher emotions impacted on children's lives in school. Through interview, and analysis using a GT methodology, my co-researchers and I explored the understanding and experiences of 14 children and 5 teachers. This exploration was guided by two research questions. In my view, it made sense to address the secondary research question first, that is, "What do children know about their teacher's emotions?". This aimed to explore the nature and extent of children's knowledge about teacher emotions, and also asked teachers what they believed about children's knowledge of teacher emotions. The secondary question was required to set the primary question in context. Children and teachers were invited to discuss "What impact do teacher emotions have on children in school?".

This research has generated a total of 89 axial codes across the two participant groups (including those axial codes common to both groups) with additional insights from participants' and co-researchers' contributions. Readers may be forgiven for wondering what the implication or overall message might be for educational practice and the welfare of children and their teachers. In this chapter I will draw out the salient points and link them to previous research, in order to set the scene for considering the implications of this research.

The chapter begins with discussion of the approach taken by teachers and children during interview (7.2). The secondary research question: "What do children know

about teacher emotions?” (7.3) is then discussed, followed by exploration of the impact that teacher emotions have on children in school (7.4), emotional labour and emotional work (7.5), and children’s agency within the emotional climate of the classroom (7.6). The chapter concludes with a section on working with children (7.7).

7.2 Approaches of teachers and child participants to interviews

Before directly addressing the research questions, I believe that it would be beneficial to spend some time examining the differences and similarities in this small-scale research between the approach of the child participants and teacher participants to the interviews carried out to provide data. (See appendix F for short segments of transcripts from both children’s and teacher’s interviews).

Table 5: Similarities and differences in children and teachers approach to being interviewed.

Area	Similarities	Differences	
		Children	Teachers
Approach to the interview questions	There are questions that need to be addressed	Positivist approach – believing an inherent ‘truth’ in the topic and ‘factual’ questions	Relativist, disbelieving approach. Origins of questions and questions themselves scrutinised for motive
Participant behaviour during interview		Open to discussing what they knew about teachers – sharing experiences, both hearsay and direct experience.	Measured, thoughtful response, apparent awareness of implications of what might be said.

		No apparent reservations (trusting).	Increasingly less reservation as interview progressed.
'Journey' through the interview	Interest in topic of research.	Opportunities to bring interesting information to share with researcher.	Process of absorbing novel information and considering implications as the interview progressed.
Style of interaction with the interviewer	Comfortable, no sign of distress. Confirmed confidentiality before sharing some personal memories.	Short responses, personal use of vocabulary, greater use of visual demonstrations of emotion to facilitate their communication. Use of humour	Instructional tone or questioning. Professional stance, long responses with unsolicited clarifications. In 'professional teacher mode'.

The most marked difference between the children and the teachers was their response to the subject of the visibility of teacher emotions. Whereas children approached this as a given, ready to share their knowledge and experience, the teachers interviewed struggled to comprehend the central premise of the research.

All five of the teacher participants approached the interviews with confidence about their intentional emotional communications. However, they were challenged by the notion that children might be able to identify and interpret subtle emotional cues that related to their true emotions, perhaps because they had not reflected on their unintended emotional communications, and the topic was new to them.

In their description of relationships with parents, von Salisch (2001) notes that "children are requested by their parents to conform to culturally prescribed rules and conventions about the experience and the display of emotions." (p.312). In schools, the teacher's role is similar to parents in that respect. Children's relationships with

their teachers are asymmetric, and teacher's understanding of the emotional knowledge of the children that they teach may be constrained by their role as teachers. Although teachers may 'know' the children, they do not share their appraisals, as they make judgements arising from their own experiences and motivation (Lazarus, 1991b; Saarni, 2000). The teachers in this research did not appear to have insight into how their children's appraisals of the same environmental factors and events differed from their own. Thus, if the teacher was concealing their emotions, then they did not appreciate that the children's appraisal of that 'concealed' emotion in context may have resulted in knowledge of how that teacher was really feeling. Lennox, a co-researcher, observed that "the teachers don't really tend to think about that the children will think about how they are feeling."

This resulted in a significant difference in the rhythm of the interviews. Whereas children answered questions and volunteered information, albeit in shorter utterances, the teachers hesitated and questioned the motives behind some of the interview question prompts, speculating on how much the question reflected the child co-researcher's understanding of emotions that teachers had not hitherto considered. Their reflections and occasional rejections of children's understanding of teacher emotions contributed to the apparent contradictions in the data and formulations arising from the teacher interviews. This process was commented on by Imani (co-researcher) who, after reading a section of a teacher transcript, said, "The teacher doesn't realise that she changes mood but when she was talking, she realised that she does change her mood."

Teachers have a professional identity and expectations of the nature of their role. For instance, at a fundamental level, teachers are in schools to teach, and children are there to learn. For many teachers, the measure of teacher success is that the

children learn what their teacher has taught them, and we might speculate that in the pressured dynamic of the modern classroom, consideration of other learning that takes place is minimal. The current research set out to explore the impact of teacher emotions from the perspective of children, with children co-researchers constructing a set of questions that reflected their knowledge of teacher emotions as it was at the beginning of the research. It is possible that teachers, through simply listening to the questions that were asked gained insight into skills and competencies of which they had been hitherto unaware, and this caused some unease. Furthermore, the co-researchers biased the interview schedule towards discussion of negative affect, and were comfortable and curious about the experiences of others in relation to negative teacher emotions. Whilst the children interviewed appeared to share the co-researchers view, for teachers the disclosure of negative emotions and associated behaviours carried the risk not only of impacting on their personal identity as professionals, but also raised the possibility of being seen in a negative light by others. In short, the teachers had more to lose from their participation.

As illustrated in the examples of axial codes in the findings section, teachers were able to speak for longer on each subject, give coherent examples and clarify, without solicitation, any points that they made. Children in contrast, although eager to speak, were more direct in their responses to prompts and their verbal contributions were often shorter. This might be expected as we could consider that the two groups echoed their roles within the school, with the teachers interacting with the researcher as 'instructors', whilst children remained in their role as pupils, giving direct responses to questions and building on their replies with encouragement.

7.3 What do children know about teacher emotions?

In this section, I will consider the findings of this research in relation to children's knowledge of teacher emotions.

7.3.1 Discerning teacher emotion

Children were able to demonstrate general knowledge about emotions, as found in previous studies. Both children and teachers acknowledged that the majority of time, their classrooms were positive places with a good classroom emotional climate and where the teacher was happy (Keller et al., 2014). Both children and teachers noticed details regarding changes in facial expression according to emotional state and more general mood (Widen, 2016). Through this process they both were able to discern emotion and predict direction of change of emotional state, using more detail than has been provided for in studies which use static photographs or actors (Kang et al., 2017), for example, citing flushes and changed skin colour, and linking facial expressions with the context in which they occur, such as particular breathing patterns, body posture, energy levels and voice and language content to inform them. This research supports evidence derived from other studies that children as young as nine are able to identify a number of emotions using a combination of interpersonal and environmental cues, with particular reference being made to facial expression, in dynamic situations (Fong et al., 2020) and where emotion expression could be subtle (Kang et al., 2017). In short, children aged between 9- and 11-years-old demonstrated an astonishing ability to discern emotions using simultaneous and acute observations of their teacher. Frenzel and colleagues (2016), when developing the Teacher Emotion Scales, considered joy, anxiety and

anger as the key emotions, both because they judged those emotions to be prevalent in schools, and they are relatively easy to discern through facial expression (Widen, 2016). In another study (Becker et al., 2014), these discrete emotions were specifically chosen for those reasons, because students were being asked to identify their teacher's emotions. I think this is, in part, as result of adults *taking* the child's perspective (Nilsson et al., 2015), rather than *seeking* the child's perspective, and making assumptions about the child's world view and capabilities. Teachers in the current research also tended to try to take the child's perspective when considering the questions that my co-researchers had constructed for use in the semi-structured interviews, in terms of what those questions told the teachers about children's knowledge of emotions, before they considered the evidence from their own practice that may support their reflections. Thus, they reflected that they did experience periods of time when they were, for example, less tolerant, visibly irritated, or verbally more 'snappy' in their interactions, and that this may be reflected in their facial expressions. The teachers mused that children might perhaps notice these changes and draw conclusions about the teacher's emotional state (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003), noting that, within the context of school, children are encouraged to watch and attend to their teacher and are capable of picking up on differences in behaviour and instructional approach. However, throughout the interviews, the view that individual teacher's emotions were hidden or controlled and that the children only knew what the teachers wanted them to know was repeatedly expressed. In addition, teachers believed there was a hierarchy of learning about emotions, whereby children needed to develop awareness, and learn, about their own emotions, and followed by those of their peers, before they could speculate about the emotions of their teachers. This was posited by one teacher who also asserted,

without any appearance of dissonance, that their one-year-old daughter could read her emotions with great accuracy.

Teachers did notice that children responded behaviourally to teacher's different emotional states, illustrating this with examples of children seeking reassurance from a teacher feeling anxious and lacking confidence, or of them teaching jolly and energetic children when the teachers felt happy. This may be interpreted as children mirroring the teachers' emotional state (Frenzel, Becker-Kurz, Pekrun, Goetz, & Lüdtke, 2018b) but their behaviour did not in all cases support this view, for example, when children were reported as being quiet, compliant and attempting to please, when the teacher was upset following an incident which occurred outside of school. Examples such as the latter were explained by the children as them recognising their teacher as being upset and intervening with purpose to change their teacher's emotional state.

7.3.2 Discerning insincere emotion displays

Children also had a lot to say about faked emotions, discernible from genuine emotional expressions by their shorter durations, lack of depth of expression and rapidity of recovery. Examples were given of teachers displaying anger during interactions with one child and immediately turning to another with evident warmth, leading children to the conclusion that the negative affect had been insincere. Wu and Schulz (2019) found that children in middle childhood could understand social contextual cues regarding displayed emotions as opposed to genuine emotions in terms of the desires of the person perceiving those emotions. The children in this research also demonstrated that they can also understand the intent of the

protagonist in displaying the emotion (in this case, anger) in order to communicate or reinforce verbal communication with the person at whom this emotional communication is directed without necessarily experiencing the emotion that they are conveying. In contrast, teachers who the children considered as being genuinely angry were cited as displaying anger which tailed off gradually (Scherer, 2000). In these circumstances, the children could discern a measure of anger still present in their teacher's voices and facial expressions and general body language, if the teacher attempted to praise another child. I found it fascinating that the children in this research were able to articulate these differences with confidence, understanding not only the communication of the displayed emotion but also the complexities of their teacher's inner feelings.

7.3.3 Memory, and the intensity and valence of emotions

The current research collected data through interview, and so was reliant on interviewee's interpretations of remembered information and incidents in their lives. The children viewed their teachers as happy for the majority of the time. This was consistent with Keller and colleague's (2014) study where teachers reported feeling joy in ninety nine percent of lessons. Children demonstrated that they recalled incidents of high valence and intensity emotion, both positive and negative, particularly when there was personal involvement or relevance (Davidson et al., 2001) with no difficulty. Although these incidents were, of course, self-selected and did not arise from a prompted request to recall a specific incident known to the interviewer. Recounting these exceptional emotional events tended to be detailed, whereas other examples of emotional events of less intensity or valence were given

with less detail, and accounts tended to be shorter. Although it is probable that incidents of high emotional intensity and valence were subsequently discussed by the children with parents, carers or peers following the incidents, for example as a topic of note to be shared about the child's day, or through carer's and peers need to debrief and support the child experiencing the incident and help them to make sense of it. As such, incidents of this nature may have been recalled and retold several times since the experiences occurred. Nevertheless, the children demonstrated the relative importance of high valence and high intensity events, which are remembered over long periods of time and colour the child's experience of particular teachers. One such example was when a child reported their distress when a teacher destroyed the child's 'good work' sticker – an incident which had occurred when they were in Reception class five years earlier.

7.3.4 Attribution of teacher emotions

Children in the current research were able to attribute emotions to particular emotion events and could allocate causality. For example, children's behaviour was observed to directly influence teacher mood and emotion (Carton & Fruchart, 2014; Tsouloupas, Carson, Matthews, Grawitch, & Barber, 2010). The teachers interviewed in this research agreed with these observations and commented that they found children talking particularly annoying. They also talked of managing behaviour, which they considered to give rise to emotions, such as fear, anger, anxiety (when faced with challenging situations) and pride (when successful). One spoke of feelings of low efficacy when behaviour interventions did not work as

planned, and guilt if they realised that a child had been told off by them for something they did not do.

The children were able to predict the progress of emotional episodes using iterative appraisal of their emotional environment, including most importantly the emotional incident in relation to themselves as individuals and to their classmates, for example, whether the emotion incident was winding down or still escalating. The children demonstrated the ability to appraise complex emotional situations with success, for example, understanding the pressures experienced by the teacher from internal and external sources (including family issues and workload), in the context of the teacher's physiological state (such as fatigue or hunger), and the behaviour of the class group or of individual children, to inform their attributions of teacher emotion. These attributions may or may not have been accurate, a point that the teachers interviewed raised on more than one occasion. However, the children interviewed sought reasons for their teacher's emotional displays and underlying mood state and acted according to the conclusions they had drawn. I found their rationale to be logical and illustrated with recalled evidence. For example, when teachers reacted precipitously to high noise levels in their classrooms on a Friday afternoon, this was attributed to a combination of factors, such as pressures of work as they tried to complete their marking, fatigue at the end of the week, and the children's noisy behaviour. These factors, the children believed, had some bearing on their teacher's emotional state. It was interesting that these somewhat complex explanations of their teacher's emotional state were given without much reflection – in that the children appeared to consider it 'obvious'. The children could also predict the likely emotional response of their teacher to rising noise levels in the classroom at the end of the day when their teacher was engaged in deskwork.

Children in the current research were able to articulate their judgements of the reasonableness of their teacher's angry responses to incidents, for example, involved them weighing up their view of the reasonableness of the behaviour of other children, the magnitude of the teacher response, what other factors might have influenced the teacher's underlying state. They were able to articulate similar trains of thought in the attribution of positive emotions. For example, meeting their curriculum targets was perceived to bring their teachers' pleasure, and on an individual level, production of work judged to be good by the teacher after visible effort by the children was also considered to be a source of teacher positive affect. Children voiced the belief that teachers really care about learning and when children do well, their teacher was happy. In this way the children demonstrated an understanding of the importance of goals in emotion (Lazarus, 1991a), and in the motivations of teachers to successfully deliver the curriculum.

7.3.5 Children's emotional knowledge through the Johari Window

It is useful to consider teacher and children's knowledge about teachers' emotions by utilising the framework of the Johari window, as it is "a useful heuristic for understanding and developing aspects of interpersonal communications" (Lowe, 2020). I think a brief outline of this tool would be helpful at this point. The Johari window, was developed by Joseph Luft and Harrison Ingham in the 1950's (Luft, 1969). It was originally used as a means of helping individuals and organisations towards insights about interpersonal communications, through self-awareness and understanding by providing individuals and groups the opportunity to examine how they view themselves, and how others view them (Saxena, 2015). The window, set

with four panes in two-by-two formation, focuses on knowledge about a person, or group of people, and has two dimensions -self and other, and known and not known. In Figure 16 below, 'self' are the teachers in this research, whilst 'other' are the children. In summary, Lowes (2020) explains that:

“Information that is known by both the self and others will be in the Arena, the open area. Information which is known by the self but not by others will be in the hidden area, often known as the Façade. Information that is known to others, but not the self, is in the Blind spot, and the Unknown area contains information which is known neither to the self nor others, and which may, ultimately, be unknowable.” (p.5)

Although widely used as a training tool, in counselling, and as a tool for self-improvement, there are a limited number of published studies relating to the Johari window. One exception in education was Flecknoe (2005). They used Johari's window to consider changes in behaviour that was required of teachers in order to raise pupil achievement. Flecknoe remarked that there was data “not necessarily known to the teacher, in the hidden area of the Johari Window.” (p. 436). I believe this to be equally true for the emotional content of the work of teachers, and in Figure 16 below, I have used information gained from analysis of the data from the current research to create a Johari window that illustrates the participants' perceptions of their knowledge about teacher emotions in the primary classroom from the perspectives of teacher ('self') and children ('other').

Figure 16: Johari Window showing knowledge about teacher emotions

	Known by self (Teacher)	Unknown by self (Teacher)
Known by others (Children)	<p>Open The emotional component of communication used intentionally to maintain or promote an effective classroom climate.</p>	<p>Blind spot Extent to which children observe and draw conclusions about the nature and extent of emotion information emanating from the teacher. Extent to which children understand differences between external and internal emotion. Extent to which children intervene to change or maintain teacher emotional state.</p>
Unknown by others (Children)	<p>Façade (Hidden) Personal information and the impact this has on teacher emotions. Teacher emotions that are deliberately and successfully concealed from children.</p>	<p>Unknown Subconscious emotional processes.</p>

The depiction of the Johari window as having four equally sized ‘windowpanes’ is misleading, as often the four areas are of different sizes, which may not be equally weighted. The importance, or size, of the ‘panes’ changes as awareness and openness develop. For example, in interpersonal terms, the open area expands as the level of trust increases and more personal information is shared. Within a primary classroom, however, the individual teacher may feel restricted in sharing personal information of an emotional nature by both the culture of the organisation and their own understanding of professional boundaries.

In Figure 16 above, the open area contains what teachers know about their emotional selves, and which they are aware is known to the children in their class. The hidden area, or ‘façade’ represents, as the name suggests, emotions which are

not known to the children, and will not be, unless they are disclosed by the teacher. There is usually an inhibiting factor which stops a teacher from disclosing, for example, emotional content which is not appropriate to share with children. Flecknoe (2005) found in his study that “There is evidence of a wider range of behaviours, discriminated by the extent to which the teachers erected secure, formal barriers between themselves and the pupil, or were vulnerable to pupil knowledge.” (p 436). In this case, the current research found that, in respect of emotional behaviours and feelings, those barriers were not as secure as the teachers imagined. The blind spot deals with aspects of teachers’ emotions of which they are not consciously aware, but that the children in this research claimed to know. This includes information that teachers assume they know about their emotional presentation, but which the children perceive in a different way. For example, teachers’ beliefs about the extent to which they are able to conceal their emotions may differ from children’s ability to perceive the emotions which lie under the teachers’ façade. One of the co-researchers remarked, as they looked at a portion of a teacher transcript, that “This teacher seems to know where, like, the pupils know what she’s thinking but she doesn’t like know properly why that they can observe what she’s feeling” (co-researcher Rowan). Finally, the unknown area represents those aspects which are concealed from both the teachers themselves and from the children. Because the data provided in this research was all derived from asking for the perceptions and experiences of representatives of these two groups, this area remains hidden to the research. However, we may infer that subconscious emotional processes and emotions which are both concealed and misinterpreted may be located in the unknown area. It may be useful in this case to consider the Johari Window panes to be less clear-cut than depicted. For example, things that are

unknown to the children and the researchers in this research may simply be well masked by the façade.

There is evidence that children think about and are aware of their teacher's emotions, and that they have knowledge that teachers do not expect of them, such as the ability to discriminate between some 'fake' and genuine emotional presentations. They are also able to attribute their teachers emotional state using reasoning, context and prior knowledge and experience, and to use that knowledge to inform their responses, dependent on their age and maturity (Garner, 2010; Saarni, 1999). This may happen at a level that they children themselves are unaware of "I don't really sit there and work out the feelings, you [...] just kind of know when they are feeling something." (co-researcher Frankie).

Although both children and teachers included examples of positive emotions and their consequences, the children in particular wanted to talk about negative or 'bad' feelings, such as anger, sadness and anxiety. On reflection, I think this was in part due to a bias created by the nature of the question prompts given by the co-researchers, and partially perhaps because children are seldom given permission to talk about negative experiences relating to their teachers. Thus the current research focuses more on difficulties encountered than it does on the positives of the school context which appear to form the majority of the children's experiences in school and is explored in Andersen's (2012) study.

7.4 What impact do teacher emotions have on children in school?

Both children and teachers agreed that teacher emotions do have an impact on the children in their classes. The following are the five main areas of impact that were identified through analysis of the data provided by the child participants.

- Teacher emotions have consequences for children's emotions (7.4.1)
- Teacher emotions influences teaching (7.4.2)
- Teacher emotions has consequences for children's learning (7.4.3)
- Teacher emotions influence their management of behaviour (7.4.4)
- Impact on relationships with children (7.4.5)

Whilst teachers largely agreed that these were areas in which their emotions could have an influence, the data provided by them suggested a difference in emphasis and perceived importance. Their views will be included in the discussion of each of the above areas of impact.

7.4.1 Teacher emotions have consequences for children's emotions

Some of the children were able to use their own empathy to inform them about how their teachers might be feeling, with one child simply explaining the transmission of emotions (Bakker & Schaufeli, 2000) through contagion, by saying that they could feel all of their teacher's feelings, or empathy, for example as when the children found the perceived sadness of their teachers made them feel sad themselves.

Teachers also acknowledged that emotions crossed over (Hartel & Page, 2009) in a positive way, in that they felt that children raised teacher affect, and that there was a

lot of happiness in the classroom because of this transmission of emotion from child to teacher and teacher to child (Frenzel et al., 2009).

Children reported that the whole class was influenced by their teachers' emotions.

Most described their class as a mainly happy place, citing a happy teacher, and happy children. However, at times when their teacher is sad or discontented (or angry) children felt that they also experienced those emotions (Becker et al., 2014).

For example, an angry teacher put the class on edge, whilst teacher sadness resulted in the children feeling worried and concerned. In addition, if the child liked their teacher, this increased their levels of concern and upset. General negative teacher affect was said to make children feel sad or angry. One child commented that this is the case even when teachers seek to conceal their sadness. Teachers acknowledged the children's behaviours, and their conceptualisation was based on mirroring of behaviours without inclusion of any aspect of children understanding emotions. Thus teachers were aware that their own angry presentation and distancing behaviour had a direct impact on children's behaviour, for example, resulting in quietness and withdrawal of engagement. In contrast, the teacher's experience of positive affect was that it energised the children, and it was this enthusiastic behaviour that gave rise to children's energetic engagement to the curriculum. Both views have merit, although I found the reluctance of teachers in this research to acknowledge that their emotional state might be directly transmitted to children intriguing. I speculate that there may be a subconscious self-protection at play, whereby they preserve their belief that their inner feelings are unknown by the children unless they consciously choose to share them.

The emotional impact that teacher's emotions have on individual children was marked. For the majority of the time, children were happy and enjoyed their lessons,

able to tell teachers jokes and get on with their work effectively. They described incidents when their teacher made them feel special, for example, through close physical contact or positive interactions. However, it is the negative impact on children's emotions that children focused on during their interviews. Children recounted emotional responses to teacher negative affect including feelings of unease, hypervigilance, anxiety and fear, and desire to escape the situation. At its extreme, one child explained that when one teacher was due to teach their class, the child did not want to go to school. Their recollections of certain teachers were dominated by the child's memory of experiencing or observing a single significant incident of anger to which the child had responded with emotion, for example by crying, struggling to suppress their tears, high levels of anxiety, shock, fear or anger. The children interviewed had observed other children being severely told off, and noted that while some children would or did not care, most would become upset. When their teacher displayed anger, responses such as withdrawing and trying to avoid teacher attention, heightened vigilance, startle responses and feelings of lack of safety were all described. One child expressed the desire to explain to one teaching assistant that they made children feel afraid, but that they were too afraid to initiate or engage in that conversation, which as they reflected on this, made them feel sad. When a teacher was angry, there was a concern that children did not always know what had caused that anger and at whom it was directed. That uncertainty served to heighten anxiety. Children described several situations where an angry teacher appeared to be looking at them, which caused anxiety and frantic mental searching for a reason why they might be in trouble as the teacher approached, only for the teacher to focus on a child somewhere behind them, when their emotion evolved into relief.

7.4.2 Teacher emotions influence teaching

Children notice that their teacher's mood or emotional state has an impact on their teaching. Firstly, they noticed that teachers who they thought were angry tended to set up work conditions that challenged the children, such as what the children thought of as large amounts of work to be completed in limited time. They also noted that the quality of the actual teaching was affected by their teacher's emotional state. Children explained that when their teacher was in a low mood, they "won't really explain much" (Stevie), and they also noted a difference in energy levels, enthusiasm and pace, Robin noting "she like does it a bit slower like". Some lessons were described as 'boring', and this was attributed variously to negative emotions, such as anxiety, sadness and anger. Sometimes, they felt that this was intentional, as when their teacher was in a good mood, they felt that they were given fun learning activities, but that boring or restricted learning activities were given when their teacher was cross with them, or angry for some other reason, "you won't get to do anything fun" (Sasha). Teachers were a little more circumspect in their reporting of negative changes of teaching with emotion but appeared to agree in part with the children "...if someone's ... like in a bad mood or upset or worried about something that it could change their teaching." (Ali). However, the degree of energy felt by the teacher, loosely associated with their feelings, was felt to be a significant factor "The enthusiasm. And that has an overall impact on motivation." (Chris).

Teachers that children identified as angry were said to leave children to themselves and sit at their desks, physically distant from the children, but watching them. This was reported to have a double impact, as not only were the children less sure of the work that was required of them and they expressed feelings of anxiety or panic about

their ability to do the work, but they were also inhibited from asking for support from either their teacher or their peers, for fear of the teacher focussing upon them.

7.4.3 Teacher emotions has consequences for children's learning

Children talked about the impact that teacher emotion had on their ability to learn. The ability to focus and fully engage with learning activities was impaired when their teacher was in a less positive state. At those times, children noted being distracted by anger and shouting, and the learning implications of their own emotional state in response to that of their teachers. For example, the anxiety that Tony described which led to them feeling "I need to keep looking behind me..." and impeded their ability to concentrate. Some children, however, found that the teachers angry presentation resulted in motivation to put their heads down and work to keep the teacher from telling them off, but this was not always the case, as Robin observed "it can help us but if it distracts us then it's not good as it can go either way."

When the children identified their teacher as sad, they reported this sadness as causing distraction from learning, resulting from their concern for their teacher's well-being. Ali, a teacher, interpreted this as a mirroring of teacher behaviour. "If I step back because I was feeling sad or angry or something was worrying or stressing me out and I was more reserved, I think the children would then become more reserved in terms of pushing themselves." They did not consider any emotional interpretations, even in the context of an interview which primarily focused on children's understandings of emotions. We may consider the implication that although teachers easily recognise their own emotions and can link that to some behaviours, they do not so easily acknowledge that the emotionally driven

component of their behaviour is observed by children who are able to articulate their experiences of the consequences of teacher emotions.

Children reported that they experienced harsher criticism when their teacher was in a bad mood, and this impacted both confidence and motivation. When their teacher was in a good mood, they reported, feedback was experienced as helpful or positive.

Teachers tended to be perceived as being generally more helpful and interested in the children's learning when they were feeling positive. Teachers supported these observations and reported that they made conscious efforts to project a positive affect. They related their positive affect to energy and passion of curriculum delivery and acknowledged that when less happy within themselves there could be less pace to lessons and that they were conscious of being less energetic and enthusiastic in their delivery of the curriculum. A teacher in a negative mood was described by the children as more withdrawn, less inclined to explain, and more likely to criticise the child for not listening when they struggled to understand. Teachers acknowledged that when they were not happy they thought they were probably less responsive and perhaps dismissive to their children's needs. The children reported that a single incident could have a profound influence about how they felt about individual academic subjects. Criticism which they were not expecting and did not perceive as fair appeared to be the most damaging. This damage was seen when the child had made an effort and had assessed their work to good, for example, the child who spent a lot of time drawing a wolf which their peers admired, only to be told by a member of staff that her drawing was poor. That particular example, resulted in the child spending a playtime in tears, being comforted by their peers, and subsequently being reluctant to draw.

It is important to note that the children in the current research recognised that their teacher's emotions had a direct impact on their learning. This has been subject of research from the teacher's perspective, and has resulted in work focusing on classroom climate (Sabol & Pianta, 2012; Wilson et al., 2007), and particularly classroom emotional climate (Evans et al., 2009; Yan et al., 2011). Calm and happy teachers were said by the children to enhance their enjoyment of school and allowed children to concentrate and be productive. Teachers displaying anger were reported by children to have differing impacts on children's learning.

The combination of all of these observations indicates that children's perception and experiences of teacher emotion does have an impact on their learning.

7.4.4 Teacher emotions influence their management of behaviour

The schools attended by the child participants had behaviour policies whereby sanctions and rewards were explicitly stated and understood by the children and were intended to be consistent across the whole institution, and the teachers asserted that this was the case. However, although agreeing that teachers mostly followed the behaviour sanctions laid down by the school's behaviour policy, children observed some important differences in the application of sanctions according to teacher emotional state. In relation to this topic, children explained their thinking and emotional experiences in terms of teachers being 'happy' or 'angry'.

Teachers in positive emotional states were observed to be more relaxed about imposing sanctions, for example, as well as tolerating more low-level disruptive behaviour (such as talking). A contented or happy teacher gave warnings outside the official 'warning' system, meaning that five or six warnings of disruptive

behaviour may be given before the child received a formal warning as part of the sanction system. Happy teachers were also reported to give children opportunities to redeem themselves more readily, so focusing on work, for example, might cancel out a written warning. Several of the children expressed their belief that teachers do not like giving sanctions unless they are in a negative emotional state. The children noted that it was part of the role of 'teacher' to have to tell children off.

A teacher with negative affect, on the other hand, was observed to pick up on minor infringements of the school's behaviour policy and, in a bad mood, was thought to be actively looking for opportunities to sanction children. The children observed that an angry teacher would progress children through school sanctions rapidly, in comparison to when that teacher was observed to be feeling more positive.

Teachers, while maintaining that they were consistent in applying sanctions when appropriate, did acknowledge that the manner in which they delivered the sanctions might vary with their emotional state. However, they were aware of the need to suppress negative emotions, for example, expressing concerns that approaching sanctions with negative affect was likely to result in the withdrawal of the child being reprimanded, so that, the teachers reported, they were less open to hearing the reasons for the sanction.

Examples were also given by the children where teachers added their own sanctions to the school's sequence, such as increasing the number of minutes of free time that could be taken from the children and adding within class sanctions. Teachers, in contrast, recalled more positive examples whereby they were flexible in the application of sanctions and more tolerant of misbehaviour.

Teachers with positive affect were also considered to review evidence and listen to children when resolving arguments or wrong-doings and were considered to exhibit a greater degree of fairness in their judgements related to incidents. When in a negative emotional state, children noted that teachers were more likely to make swift and seemingly arbitrary decisions, for example, punishing both antagonist and victim equally. From an adult perspective, this appears to be a strategy to dismiss the complainants and possibly to encourage greater reliance on their own ability to resolve social issues. The children perceived this as unfair and related the teacher's behaviour to the teachers underlying emotional state.

7.4.5 Impact on teacher relationships with children

Children are ready to enjoy school, and for the most part they described their teachers as “normally happy” and the school a place with regular laughter “Even our Headteacher likes laughs” (Andy), and warm relationships. Teachers, too, enjoyed the children's company “They always make me laugh” (Drew)

Within this however, children could detect differences in the way that teachers related to children within the class and interpreted these differences as indicators of the emotional warmth in the relationships between teachers and individual children. Typically, they described favoured children as those their teacher paid most attention to, that could raise a smile, and with whom they were especially lenient “Like she's always happy when she sees her...” (Riley). Protestations by the teacher that they liked all children equally were, in the children's view, not supported by evidence “You can tell because they kind of like put a difference attitude towards them as the rest of the class ...” (Blake). Children interpreted some teacher's behaviour as evidence of

their active dislike of some children, and most had experience to draw upon “This hasn’t happened yet in Year 6, but it has happened.” (Robin). Teacher behaviours such as actively ignoring them or not listening when addressed by them, or conversely watching them under the assumption that they will misbehave, were interpreted as dislike of the individual. Teachers hypothesised this teacher withdrawal as a consequence of a passing mood, for example, “...active listening doesn’t happen when you’re in a bad place ...” (Drew) and “it might be that they seem more dismissive, I suppose” (Ali). However, one of the teachers noted that they knew of a teacher whose liking of children was related to how they related to each child’s parents. The teacher participant reporting this differential in relationships within the classroom expressed sadness in the knowledge that they also had observed a lack of fairness in treatment of children which, they considered, would have an impact on those children’s experience of school.

One child speculated that some teachers might be averse to telling children off because of the impact it has on relationships “...if you tell them off it feels like [...] it feels you ... you don’t have like a relationship with that like teacher anymore.” (Andy). This was echoed by one of the teachers, who noted that if a teacher raised their voice to a child the “when the teacher’s trying to do the nurturing side of it, it can make it quite hard for a child to believe ...” (Ali). Teachers had a belief that children varied in their ability to ‘correctly’ process the emotion within communications which resulted in children erroneously interpreting teacher behaviours as emotion, and of taking personally teacher emotional displays which were not directed specifically toward them.

7.5. Teacher's emotional labour and emotional work

The children in this research were able to discern times when teachers were engaged in emotional labour, such as when their teacher was engaging in surface acting (Hochschild, 1983) and faking emotions, for example when the children believed their head teacher's positive presentation was extreme. The children interviewed acknowledged that this headteacher probably did feel happy, but not as happy as they appeared, and therefore they concluded that the head teacher had falsely exaggerated their emotional state (Taxer & Frenzel, 2015). The role of emotional labour in creating, or augmenting, positive emotions to forward the primary aims of the school were understood by the children, even though not articulated in these terms. They knew that their teacher laughed at their jokes, even when the joke was not good, as it kept the class happy. Children also noted that teachers used smiles to enthuse children that is, as a motivational tool that "makes you excited for school", and to "have wads of enthusiasm". They also observed that teachers used smiles to indicate pleasure when the children did "something good", when they were not happy. It was acknowledged by the children that even though they were aware that some of the positive communications were not genuine, they still enjoyed them, understood the meaning behind the emotional display, and asserted that it could boost their confidence in learning. They also acknowledged that these teacher communications could misfire, for example when fake enthusiastic pleasure and encouragement by the teacher did not match with the child's assessment of their own performance. When this happened, the children intimated that, although they understood why the teacher had responded to their attempts with positive emotions, the child felt less confident in their own ability than when their assessment and the teacher's response with regard to their academic achievements

had greater congruence. In the worst scenarios, it could damage the child's trust in the judgment of their teacher, and thus possibly impact the level of support received by the teacher's interventions.

Other attributions for faked positive emotions included protecting children from the teacher's private feelings of sadness, or to protect the teacher from children's curiosity about their private business. Teachers agreed with this, as their sense of professionalism included concealing their personal business from their students, including issues that made them sad or experience other negative emotions.

Children also recognised times when teachers suppressed their emotions. One reason that was given for teachers suppressing negative affect is that teachers are not allowed to say what they feel, for example, in those circumstances when they dislike a child. This reflects an awareness of the social conventions and institutional expectations of behaviour, that teachers are expected to be able to regulate their emotional response to children (Hochschild, 1983). Consistent with this finding, Newberry and Davis (2008) noted that in some circumstances teachers create emotional distance and draw on their professionalism to manage potential conflict. However, the findings of the current research supports Babad's (1990) findings, which suggest that students are aware of their teachers' negative affect despite attempts to conceal and suppress negative emotions.

Children also had a rationale for why teachers express fake anger, in most cases angry displays were believed to communicate that children needed to change their behaviour, or that their behaviour had been unacceptable in the context of the school or the classroom.

Finally, most children had been taught strategies in management of strong emotions, such as anger, such as deep breathing. They were able to recognise the use of these emotion regulation strategies by their teachers, and listed management of anger including taking deep breaths, and walking out of the room, as well as clenching teeth in attempt to suppress their anger (These attempts at suppression of anger were recognised by children, who described teachers with red faces who were breathing deeply and staring into space). Teacher's emotional behaviours were observed by children, who monitored their immediate environment in school with particular reference to their teacher. They communicated that they had sufficient emotional understanding to enable them a measure of prediction about their teacher's likely subsequent behaviour. Their understanding of the causes, severity and likely course of their teacher's emotional presentation showed awareness of the implications for themselves and their peers.

7.6 Children's agency within the emotional climate of the classroom.

Children interviewed in the current research believe that their teachers do not know how much the children know about them, including their teachers' inner feelings and their ability to identify and evaluate their teachers' emotional displays for both authenticity and the intended communication. There was a sense that the children believed that their teachers, and indeed all teachers, underestimated children's ability to gauge and understand the attribution of their teacher's emotions and immediate local emotional climate. Some, but not all, of the children interviewed during this research were able to describe use of such knowledge.

All children agreed that it was important to 'learn' each teacher as quickly as possible when they were new to the class, in order to be able to predict their moods, and which behaviours may provoke an emotional response from that teacher. Examples were given of children either initiating or observing other children telling of jokes under different circumstances, to assess where the margins of acceptability for humour lay in with that particular teacher. Children also observed how their new teacher responded to various behaviours, such as working hard or chatting with a neighbouring child. The ability to attribute the emotions of others enables the individual to predict, further their understanding of causality, and at an appropriate developmental level, to make decisions about intervention or protective action in response to their teacher's emotional state or emotional events in their classroom (Garner, 2010; Saarni, 2000).

All children involved in this research believed that there were some strategies that they could use to ameliorate their teacher's negative affect and improve their teacher's emotional presentation. Working hard, being kind, and engaging in 'good' behaviour were identified as ways of improving teacher affect or keeping them happy and were often utilised. In this way, children were aware that they had some agency with regard to the emotional atmosphere in the classroom. One child observed that they thought their teacher sometimes pretended to feel better to please the children and as an acknowledgement or reward for their efforts.

Some of the interventions that children described demonstrated an understanding of their teacher's emotional presentations that could only come with learning about their teacher. For example, knowing that one teacher, when in a 'down' (unhappy) state would feel better if the children were able to engage them in a conversation about their previous music career. This indicates that children are attentive to, and able to

use, the personal information that they gain through their relationship with their teacher to intervene to change their emotional state. This is, of course, to the advantage of both teacher and child alike and illustrates the determination of some children to make the classroom work, and to encourage a positive classroom emotional climate. Occasionally, supporting their teacher may simply take the form of direct encouragement "Put some umph into it!" to increase the energy and flow of the lesson. There was a real sense of shared community and responsibility in the classroom, as they discussed the interventions that they were involved in. The children interviewed were perhaps not those who would misuse their knowledge, but all had observed children who perceived their teacher's emotional weakness, for example, playing up and misbehaving if they determined that their teacher was upset, or choosing to act to provoke an emotional response (laughter or anger) from their teacher.

At a personal level, children were appraising their teacher's mood and were deciding, for example, whether it would be appropriate to approach them for support, using their emotional state as a guide, as well as the behaviour of other children and their predictions about the teacher's likely response to them. This included a sense of children taking responsibility for one another, i.e., identifying a child in the class who could not tell how their teacher was feeling and sometimes physically intervening to prevent that child from an unwise interaction with their teacher.

In terms of emotional labour, children both observed and engaged in modifying their emotional presentation. One example of this was hiding their emotional reaction from teachers when their teacher shouted, by going to the toilets to have a cry because they did not want the teacher to know that they were upset. The children's motivation for regulating their emotional responses was that they did not

want their peers or the teacher to see them weaken. Examples were also given of attempting to moderate feelings of anger toward their teacher when they have been perceived to act unfairly towards them.

Children also spoke of the need to accommodate their teacher when the whole class was under pressure, for example when there was some appraisal of the class by an external agency. At these times, there was a vested interest in presenting a united front of best behaviour and dedication to work, reinforcing the notion that the children are proactive in working to maintain a positive and constructive classroom climate.

In summary, children worked to maintain the positive affect of teachers, and purposefully worked to divert teachers from negative emotions as part of this. They evaluated the need for interventions, which they carried out in a purposeful way with predicted results, such as teacher at least trying to present a positive emotional display whilst feeling sad. Children demonstrated their understanding of their own agency in these circumstances, and their determination to use that agency so that their teacher and class operated in a positive and constructive way.

7.7 Working with children

This research has been about working directly with children and hearing their voices as participants (Charmaz, 2008), and as partners in research, or co-researchers (Kellett, 2005), in an area about which little is known but much assumed. In this section, I reflect on the engagement of children within the research.

7.7.1 Participant representation

Engagement of children to participate in the research was not without bias, although this was unavoidable for three reasons.

First, the selection of participating schools was filtered by several local authority advisors, with varying agendas, and I am unsure of how typical these schools were in relation to the local authority as a whole, or indeed to the wider geographical area.

Second, the sensitivity of the subject matter raised issues related to child protection, in that children judged to be vulnerable were appropriately excluded from the research. The schools themselves were responsible for screening child participants prior to their engagement.

Third, I discovered, in a conversation with the headteacher of the school that hosted the co-researchers, which took place long after their involvement had concluded, that they had used their responsibility towards the safeguarding of their students to add another layer into the selection of children participating in the research. The teachers and headteacher had met, and following their meeting, had encouraged some children and discouraged others, on the basis of their evaluation of the advantages for the individual children in participation. For example, choosing one quiet child because their twin dominated them and teachers felt they would benefit from something special, another child who exhibited challenging behaviour, who they felt needed to experience positive time out of the classroom when they were doing something special and had some responsibility, and a third child who was selectively mute and did not speak to adults in school. They explained that they had also included some children considered bright and articulate so that this research together with the whole group would be constructive. It is to the credit of the

children, as individuals and the whole group, that during our time together I was not aware of this. However, it is an example of how selections of students within a school environment is not as transparent as may first appear, and I now wonder whether the children participating in the data collection interviews were subject to similar additional selection criteria. Had I not made contact with this headteacher in a different context I would have remained unaware of their intervention.

7.7.2 Degree of participation

My objective in working with children was to engage on an equitable level, and this was successful to a degree.

I believe that children should be directly involved in researching their own lives (Kellett, 2005; Kellett et al., 2004), and this was the motivation for engaging with co-researchers of the age of the child interviewees. On reflection, I believe that the degree of participation of children in this research varied, with the child participants being informed and participating in adult led activity (data gathering interviews), in which they understood the purpose, the decision-making process, and in which they had a role. This is represented by the fourth rung on Hart's (Hart, 1992) Ladder of Participation. This 'Ladder' has eight rungs. I estimate that I worked with the co-researchers at a level equivalent to the sixth rung, that is, with me initiating and sharing decisions with co-researchers, but where the activities were all adult led. However, Reddy and Ratna (2002), acknowledge that the ability to work equitably with children varies dependent upon the roles they have at any given time. In the current research this was the case given the aims of the research, my role as primary researcher, the situation at various stages of the research, and the children

that I was with. These factors would all have contributed to the shifts in the power relationship involved in decision making (Kirby & Gibbs, 2006).

My co-researchers agreed with this summary. In a meeting reviewing and concluding their involvement (and the end of their final year in primary school) Lennox commented what they had learned about research: "I thought it would be easy to find out their emotions, but it wasn't." However, Frankie commented that the research would have been better if I had "Let teachers be talked to by children", and Jude reinforced this view, pointing out that "We are really nosy. We know what to ask. We're good at it". Ash summed up with "You could have, like, trusted us more". I understood this to mean that co-researchers believed that I had missed opportunities to work effectively with them because of my own anxieties about their ability to engage in such activities as data collection, or make decisions about the direction of the research (Kellett et al., 2004). The design of the research had been submitted to the university alongside ethics requirements, and school's agreement to participate was conditional on myself interviewing.

On the whole, the co-researchers were positive about their participation in this research, with Jude commenting "It's been really really fun not just because we've been missing lessons but because we really want to know and it's been fun finding out what everybody thinks." Sam concurred, with "This is funnest thing I've ever done in school".

Working with children has enabled them to share their knowledge of teachers' emotions, and to illustrate that knowledge with examples which combine to construct a compelling narrative.

CHAPTER EIGHT – CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Conclusions

At a time when teachers are doing their best to make the child's environment as safe as possible in order for them enjoy school and to learn, there are three facets of the impact of teachers' emotions that need to be kept in mind: Firstly, children's capacity for understanding the emotional state of their teacher has been underestimated by the teachers themselves. Primary school children's awareness of the emotions of teachers is detailed and their observations acute. Secondly, their teacher's emotional state and emotional behaviour has a long-lasting impact on the children's emotional well-being, as children remember both positive and negative emotional interactions of high valence and intensity over a long period of time, and this colours their memory of their time with that teacher. Thirdly, children see their classroom as a place where all members of the class community share responsibility for the emotional climate. Some of the children that I worked with demonstrated their ability to predict and make proactive decisions about their teacher's emotional state, either protecting themselves and others or acting to change their teacher's emotional state. Teachers, manage their emotions as best they can in the emotionally close primary classroom environment (Hargreaves, 2001), and for the majority of the time, their emotional interactions with children are positive, with both children and teachers experiencing their classroom environment with enjoyment (Hagenauer et al., 2015; Keller et al., 2014). However, there are times when teacher's emotions are more negative and less well managed, and it is those times that children remembered and shared as influencing their emotional states, the quality of teaching and their ability

to learn, and the speed and range of sanctions applied within the schools' behaviour policies.

8.2 Limitations of this research

This research involved a small number of children and teachers, drawn from a largely homogeneous population, and from a relatively small area of the country. This means that there are obvious limitations in the ability to generalise findings from this research. All fourteen of the children who participated in providing data were self-selected, and there is a possibility that their gatekeepers made an initial selection (as with the co-researcher group – see section 7.7.1 of this thesis) before the research began. Their emotional competencies are likely to have been more developed than some of their peers, and to be more aware of the emotions of others and had motivations and interests of their own to participate in this research. The same can be said of the teachers who gave their time for interview. Given the difficulties in recruitment from the teacher population, it is highly likely that those few who did agree to participate through interview had a professional curiosity and a level of skill and confidence in the area of emotion that were perhaps not shared by other colleagues and which allowed them to address some challenging questions about their own emotions and emotional behaviour. However, the purpose of this research was not to provide normative data, but rather to explore the area of teacher emotions and their impact in terms that were most salient for the children themselves. Social constructionism holds to a relativist ontology, and each child and teacher who was involved in the interviews provided data from their unique

perspective (Charmaz, 2006), and those perspectives are naturally biased by those individuals' life experience and outlook.

8.3 Critical reflections

I have learned a great deal as I progressed with this research, for example, about the subject of emotions, children's participation, qualitative research methods and in particular, using GT principles and methods. It is inevitable that research conducted by someone who is on a PhD learning journey will have more challenges than those who are more practised and experienced at research. For example, the time taken in analysing the data, combined with personal difficulties, has slowed the completion of this thesis, although I believe that the relevance of the findings has not been impacted by these delays. Another example is in the facilitation of the co-researcher group. If this research were to be repeated, I would be more confident in the design, and would change it to accommodate more active participation of the children and opportunities to lead the research (Kellett et al., 2004). The adult researcher's role would move to one of facilitator, safeguarding support, and research assistant, working with the goal to help the child researchers achieve success, both to their own satisfaction and to the extent that their work is accessible to a wider audience. I suspect this is easier when researching less sensitive subjects, and when the pressure on the adult researcher of achieving a post-graduate degree is removed. This alone would, I believe, have narrowed the inevitable power imbalance that has existed in this research due to the lessening of my need to direct in order to achieve completion of the research. There are some areas that were impacted by my confidence, for example, my anxiety about safeguarding, confidentiality and

anonymity resulted in me taking control of pseudonyms after one child in the co-researcher group announced that they would use their brother's name. On reflection I would have liked to have spent more time discussing this issue with the participants, and would welcome pseudonyms of the children's' choice (Lahman et al., 2015). Although this issue may be considered minor, it is symbolic of the asymmetry in responsibility and power between me, as an adult researcher, and the co-researcher children. The concerns of others relating to exploration of this sensitive subject also had an impact on this research. The local authority, although agreeing to host the research, placed restrictions on who would interview whom, and limited access to schools and participants, despite maintaining an interest in the topic and progress of the research. I also wonder about the extent to which teacher reluctance to participate was driven by concerns about the subject matter.

8.4 Implications of this research

Implication from the findings of this research arise in the nature and knowledge of children's emotional competence in primary school. The children involved in this research were highly perceptive individuals who understood more about teachers' emotions than was realised by the teachers. This has implications for teacher training, including teacher awareness of their own emotion and its impact upon children within the classroom environment, emotional labour, and teacher awareness of children's understanding of emotions and their emotional competence. The revelations that even young children in middle childhood continually make appraisals of the emotions within their environment, and particularly those of their teacher is of

direct relevance to all educationalists and has implications for teaching styles, and classroom management.

This research will be of direct and practical relevance to educational psychologists, teachers and other support services in education when considering evaluation and intervention within the classroom where there is emotion content, particularly with regard to the emotional interactions between teachers and children. This research has, in part, demonstrated that children have a high investment in supporting their teacher's emotional state, and in maintaining the good functioning of their classrooms – this degree of children's awareness of their teachers' emotions and their sense of agency have not hitherto been acknowledged. Children showed that they were able to act on their observations and emotional knowledge to facilitate the smooth running of the classroom, and the maintenance of a constructive classroom emotional climate (Evans et al., 2009).

The UK Government has published guidance for teaching about mental wellbeing (<https://www.gov.uk/guidance/teaching-about-mental-wellbeing>) which could, I believe, form the basis of professional development which could usefully be expanded to include applicable knowledge about children's developing emotional competence, and our understanding of children as social actors and not simply passive observers and recipients of teaching. In addition, there is a need to extend such guidance to support teachers in their wellbeing, and schools in becoming and maintaining a positive school emotional climate, to the benefit of both teachers and the children that they teach. This will include active consideration of reducing teacher stress and supporting their ability to regulate strong emotions. The Anna Freud Centre, part of the Tavistock and Portman NHS Trust, has a free, evidence-based framework for schools and colleges, aimed at supporting schools to embed good mental health across the whole school community ([Mental Health Resource for Schools & Colleges | Anna Freud Centre](#)) which educational staff and support services such as educational psychology will find useful.

Studies have emphasised the need to directly support children in developing emotional competences and children's emotional regulation in particular, with a view to positively influencing learning and achievement (Pekrun, 2006; Reyes et al., 2012; Valiente, Swanson, & Eisenberg, 2012). These programmes will be more effective if the emotional needs of those teaching and working with the children are also addressed. Teacher well-being and emotional fragilities are recognised by the children that they teach. The current research has demonstrated that children are aware of the direct impact that teacher emotions have on their own emotions, their ability to learn, and the way in which challenging behaviour is addressed.

The emphasis on concentrated listening to what children have to say has resulted in a rich exploration of their views of their own life experiences within the school context. In doing so it reinforces the work of schools, educational psychologists and other educationalists in allocating time to ensure that children are able to communicate and contribute to matters directly effecting them including sensitive topics that might challenge adult perceptions.

This research also has implications for future research, offering a model of working together with children and exploring topics which may be viewed as sensitive. This is discussed further in the following section.

8.5 Future research

This research highlights the importance of exploring the emotional interplay between adults and children in educational contexts in more depth, including the impact of childrens learning, whilst taking cultural context into consideration. This research

provides an initial exploration of the nature of children's perception of teachers' emotion and emotional behaviour, as well as their understanding of the implications of that emotional behaviour upon them. From this, we can generate hypotheses for applied research, and design research to explore individual themes that have arisen in further detail. This may include situation specific emotional experiences, for example playground time, less or more structured elements of the curriculum, or studies focusing on child experiences related to time of day and various curricular activities. A focused study exploring children's experiences of positive teacher emotions would serve to redress the balance of this research, where the children and teachers chose to largely focus on the palette of negative emotions.

This has implications for future teacher training and practice. Examples of this might include development of information packs and interventions that utilise the findings of this research for teachers.

This research also, I believe, serves two other important functions for future researchers. Firstly, it provides a template for those seeking to research in similar areas to present to local authorities as evidence that researching topics perceived as 'sensitive' can take place without harm to those contributing or to the wider educational community.

Secondly, this research demonstrates that the active involvement of children in researching their own lives can contribute to the richness of our knowledge about children and the methods used for researching with children can be replicated in further research.

8.6 Recommendations

The findings of this research support the recommendation that schools and local authorities should ensure that all teachers, and indeed adults working within educational settings, to recognise the emotional competencies of the children in their schools, alongside the children's ability to collaborate in creating and supporting a positive emotional environment. In this endeavour, there are children who are perceptive, knowledgeable, energetic and eager to participate. Utilising their skills and enthusiasm can only be to the advantage of those who teach them.

Children have important things to tell us about their experiences in the environments in which we place them. In schools, focusing on learning and achievement can only advance by a limited amount until the contributions of children with regard to their emotional experiences in the classroom are truly heard and given equal status to those of adults. This will involve acceptance of the children's' communications at an appropriate developmental level. Raising the participation of children takes courage, commitment, and time, and adults must experience the process of increasing participation in order to understand, experience and reap the benefits.

The implications for both initial teacher training and ongoing training should be explored, in the context of supporting the wellbeing of teachers and perhaps highlighting the role of children in offering peer support to each other and to adults in their educational environment, at a level appropriate to their age and ability.

Children have shown that they can engage with research and have a natural curiosity to explore topics of interest (Davies & Lewis, 2013; Kellett et al., 2004). I recommend that children should be offered greater opportunities to participate as

researchers, and that it should be standard practice to include children in all studies which have direct relevance to them.

The last word should belong to the co-researchers, who formed the backbone of this research. While talking about engaging in future research, they expressed unreserved enthusiasm, with one caveat, expressed by Taylor:

“There should be more biscuits.”

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Articles 12 and 13 of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989)

Article 12 of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989) states:

1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.
2. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.

Article 13 states:

1. The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice.
2. The exercise of this right may be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:
 - (a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others; or
 - (b) For the protection of national security or of public order (*ordre public*), or of public health or morals.

Appendix B: Search criteria and results

This review began with a search of the literature relating to children's perceptions of their teacher's emotions. Across the years that I have been engaged in this research, I have periodically searched for publications that addressed this topic. I am disappointed to have found only two: Andersen et al (2012), which directly explored children's views and understandings of their teacher's emotions, and Lewis, (2001), which, I stumbled upon incidentally, and found that in the process of exploring children's responsibility and classroom discipline, the study contains observations made by children about their teachers' expressions of anger.

This has led me to ask two questions:

- Have my searches been comprehensive?
- Is this an area that has academic relevance?

Having taken advice from the university's subject librarian, and repeated the research process, I believe that my difficulties in locating relevant literature was reflective of the lack of publication in this field, rather than a lack of diligence on my part. In response to my second query, I believe, based on over 30 years experience as an educational psychologist, that the emotional life of the teacher, as experienced by them in their classrooms, is a relevant area of study, and is particularly relevant to the consumers of education (i.e. the pupils) for whom the history of consultation has been weak, **and hose** voices are rarely formally heard.

I therefore deconstructed the research topic to four elements:

- Children's perspectives of teacher emotions
- Children's emotional knowledge and competence (at the age of those involved in this research)
- The impact of teacher emotions in school
- Classroom climate and teacher emotions

Inclusion criteria were as follows:

- Studies published within the last 20 years
- Studies focussed on schools and school students (ie, pre-school, college and higher education studies were excluded)
- Studies were limited to Western education, as at this time, the similarities between these and education in the United Kingdom, where the current research took place, are more similar than other education systems. One exception was the Lavy and Eshet (2018) study, based in Israel, in schools educating in western style.

Children’s perspectives of teacher emotions

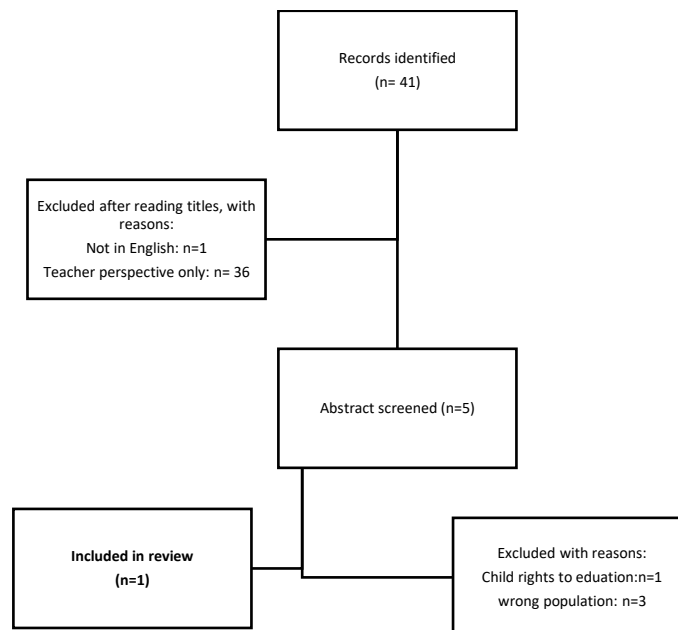
Search terms applied;

TITLE = (child* perspective” OR “pupil* perspective” OR “student* perspective”) AND
 TITLE = (“teacher* emotion*” OR teacher feeling*) AND ALL FIELDS = (mood* OR
 emotion* OR feeling* OR affect*)

Database	Number of papers returned by search
All data bases via Shibboleth:	4
PsycInfo/PsycArticles:	6
Microsoft academic:	36
Total	46

A one paper appeared in all searches, and another 4 times (entered onto the same database with the date written in different styles), and once these repetitions were removed, 41 papers remained.

Flowchart illustrating study selection process



Children’s emotional knowledge and competence

Search terms applied

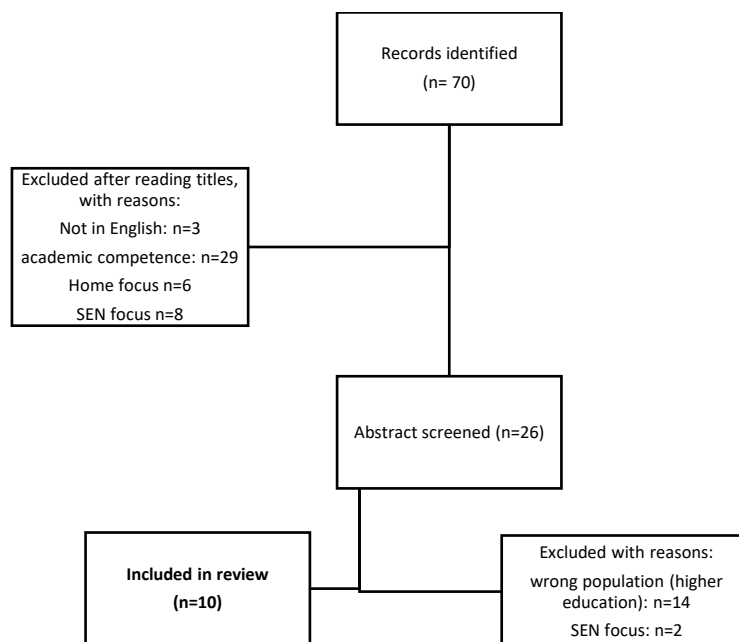
TITLE = (emotion* knowledge OR understanding OR competence) AND ALL
 FIELDS = (“9 year* old*”) AND ALL FIELDS = (school)

A subsequent searches were carried out replacing “9 year* old*” with “10 year* old*”, “11 year* old**” and “middle childhood”. These terms were selected cover children in the last two years in primary school – the age group engaged in this research.

Database	Number of papers returned by search
All data bases via Shibboleth:	2
PsycInfo/PsycArticles:	7
Microsoft academic:	63
Total	72

Two papers each appeared twice in the searches, and once these repetitions were removed, 70 papers remained.

Flowchart illustrating study selection process



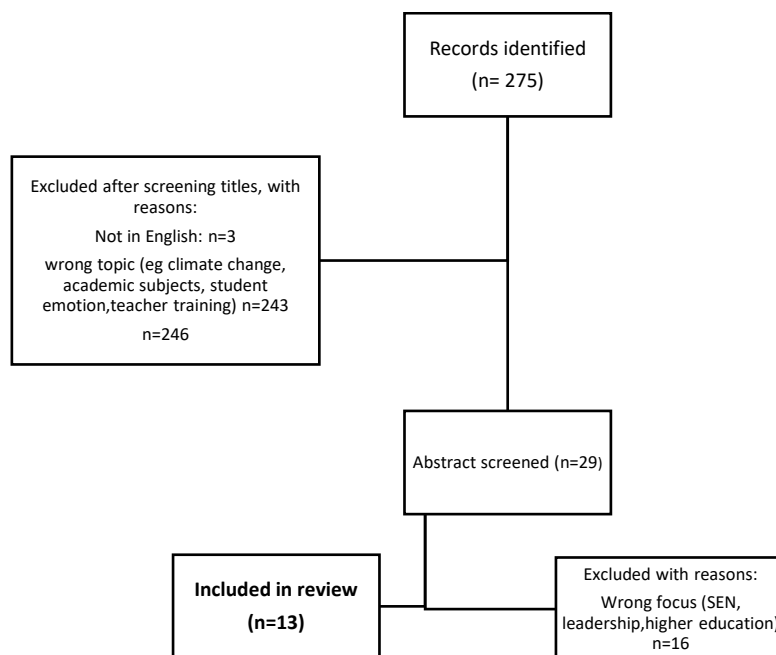
Impact of teacher emotions in school

Search terms applied

TITLE = (teacher AND emotion* OR feeling* OR affect* OR mood*) AND TITLE = (impact OR effect OR consequences) AND ALL FIELDS = (school)

Database	Number of papers returned by search
Shibboleth:	56
PsycInfo/PsycArticles:	188
Microsoft academic:	31
Total	275

Flowchart illustrating study selection process:



Classroom climate and teacher emotions

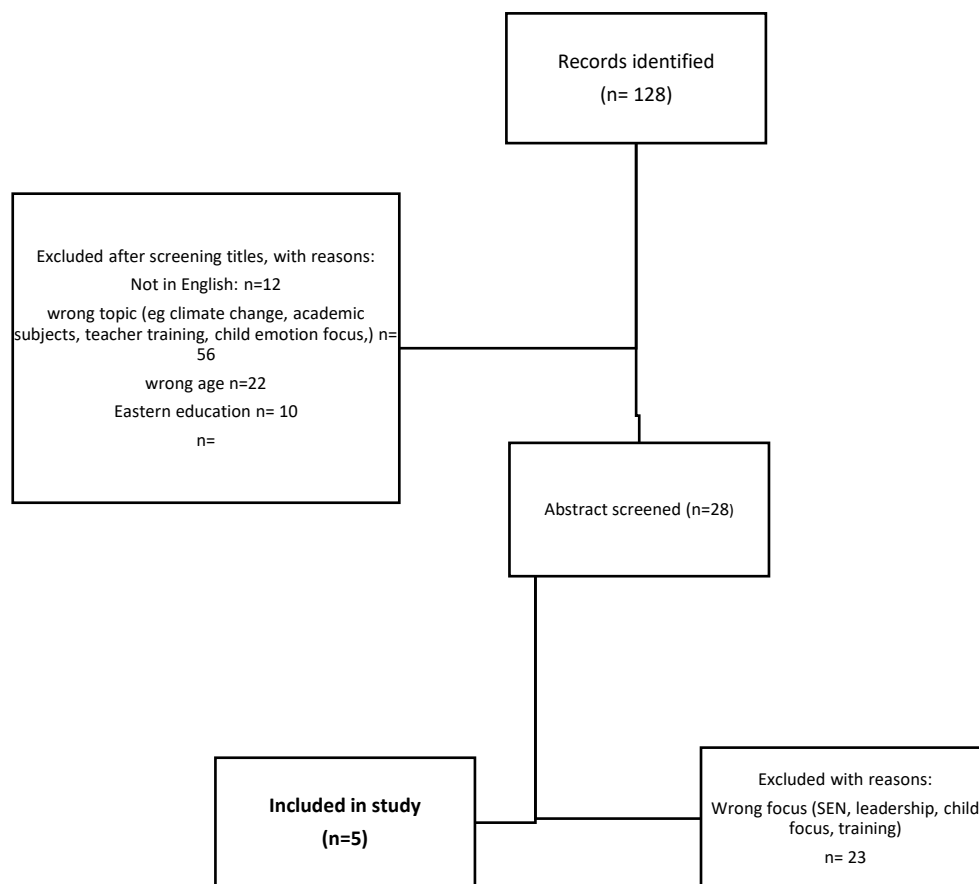
Search terms applied

TITLE = (teacher AND emotions OR feeling* OR affect* OR mood*) AND TITLE = (class* climate) AND ALL FIELDS (school)

Database	Number of papers returned by search
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Shibboleth:	63
PsycInfo/PsycArticles:	15
Microsoft academic:	31
Google Scholar	19
Total	128

Flowchart illustrating study selection process



Summary:

The literature review included papers as follows:

- Children’s perspectives of teacher emotions

3 studies

- Children’s emotional knowledge and competence **10 studies**
- The impact of teacher emotions in school **12 studies**
- Classroom climate and teacher emotions **4 studies**

In addition, to contextualise the review, reference was made to further papers located through following up references from the bibliography of studies, and to those which were incidentally found outside of this systematic process.

Appendix C: Information and consent forms

The following letters were printed on the university's headed paper, the logo of which cannot be replicated within this document. The information and consent forms that were sent out to parents/carers, children and teachers all have similar content, with amendments to provide child-friendly language in relevant letters. Below are examples of information sent to: the parents/carers of the co-researcher group (C.A); the children who were interviewed (C.B); and, the teacher participants (C.C).

Parent and carer's information and consent for the co-researcher group member participation

Parent and Carer's information about the co-researcher group participation

University of East London
Stratford Campus, Water Lane,
Stratford E15 4LZ

University Research Ethics Committee

If you have any queries regarding the conduct of the programme in which you are being asked to participate, please contact:

Catherine Fieulleateau, Research Integrity and Ethics Manager, Graduate School, EB 1.43

**University of East London, Docklands Campus, London E16 2RD
(Telephone: 020 8223 6683, Email: researchethics@uel.ac.uk).**

The Principal Investigator(s)

Professor Irvine Gersch
School of Psychology, Arthur Edwards Building, Stratford Campus
Water Lane, Stratford. E15 4LZ
(Telephone: 020 8223 4412, Email: i.gersch@uel.ac.uk)

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with the information that you need to consider in deciding whether to give permission to allow your child to participate in this study.

Project Title

Teachers Mood and Emotions from the Perspective of 9 to 11 year olds: An Exploration into the Understanding of Communication of Teachers Feelings in Primary Schools

Project Description

My name is Ceris Edwards and I am an Educational Psychologist. I am studying for a PhD at the University of East London. In my research, I am looking at the way that children understand their teacher's moods and emotions, and what impact, if any, their understanding has on the way that they behave and learn in school.

The study has three elements:

- A co-researcher and discussion group of approximately ten Year Five children, who will help me to think about how to carry out the research, will monitor how the research project is going, and will consider some of the findings with me.
- Interviews with a number of children in Year Five on the topic of teacher's moods and emotions.
- Interviews with a number of teachers who teach Year Five and Six pupils, on the topic of children's understanding of teacher moods and emotions.

Through this approach, I will gather data which I hope will add to understanding of the extent to which the emotional aspects of teacher child relationships shape children's school experience.

Your child's school has agreed to host the co-researcher and discussion group of year five and six children.

Your child's teacher understands what the study entails and is happy for the study to go ahead.

What does the study involve?

Up to ten Year Five pupils would take part in the research from your child's school. Their participation will begin in September 2015 and may extend to June 2017, including a final session to review the process in the summer term of 2017, when they will be in Year 6.

In all, these pupils will meet in a group up to six times across the school year. This group is very important because research of this nature should be done with children steering it, rather than being conducted from an adult perspective.

1. Initially, children and their parents/carers would meet with me and the class teacher to discuss the research, and how they can help. Your daughter/son should also understand that they are free to withdraw from the study at any time at no consequence to themselves. You might also choose to withdraw your child from participating further in the study. Consent forms would then need to be signed by you and your son or daughter.
2. The children would be taught basics of qualitative research and be asked to work with me in thinking about how to research the area of children's understanding of their teacher's emotions, including the language I might use to describe those emotions, and materials that might help children to explore the issues.

3. All sessions will take place in your child's school, at times when they have the least impact on the delivery of the curriculum as a whole. The exact location in the school, and the timing of the sessions, will be determined by the headteacher in discussion with the class-teacher and me at a later date.
4. Once I have conducted some interviews with other children in schools in a different part of the county, I will anonymize the data and share it with the children in the co-researcher group for discussion, and their further thoughts about the research.
5. This process will be repeated before and after the interviews with teachers, who will come from a third part of the county.
6. Each individual child will be given a journal in which they can record any thought they have about this topic, in any way that they wish. At points during the study, I will ask if they will give their permission for me to make copies of journal entries.
7. At the end of the research, I would like to meet with the group once more to share the results of the research and gain their perspective on it. In this final session, I would also like them to complete a brief feedback form about the impact of the research process on their learning, and how the process might be improved in the future.
8. Finally, I will write a letter individually to everyone in the co-researcher group, thanking them for their involvement and outlining the research findings, to which they will have contributed. This letter will not form any part of the data used for the research.

Confidentiality

At the beginning of each group session, we will discuss confidentiality of the group and negotiate a set of ground rules for the sessions. I will video record the sessions, as this will enable me to ensure that I can identify who is speaking, and that their thoughts are recorded accurately. Once I have made anonymized transcripts of the discussion, the video recording will be deleted.

The transcripts will be password protected and kept for the duration of 6 years. My university supervisors and examiners will be able to read extracts from the anonymized transcripts. Short extracts from the transcripts, and extracts from journals where your child has given permission for me to reproduce them, may be used to illustrate my thesis.

When I write about this research, I will not use their names, and I will also make sure that nobody can work out who said what. The children's responses will not be linked to their name, school or any personal details.

The three groups involved in the study will all come from different geographical areas in the county, to reduce the likelihood of them knowing each other.

What the group says will be kept confidential. The only time I would break confidentiality would be if they tell me something that means either themselves or somebody else is in danger.

Disclaimer

It is important that both you and your child understand that they are not obliged to take part in this study and are free to withdraw at any time during the process. Should your child choose to withdraw from the programme you may do so without disadvantage to yourself and without any obligation to give a reason.

Project Title

Teachers Mood and Emotions from the Perspective of 9 to 11 year olds: An Exploration into the Understanding of Communication of Teachers Feelings in Primary Schools

This is the consent form that you need to fill in if you are happy for your child to take part in this research.

Child's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

I have looked at the information sheet about this research and I understand what it is about:

Yes **No** (I would like more information about it) **Please circle response**

I am happy for my child to participate in this research project:

Yes **No**

I understand and accept that my child's responses will be temporarily recorded:

Yes **No**

Parent/Carer's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

Parent/Carer's Signature

.....
Investigator's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)
CERIS EDWARDS
.....

Investigator's Signature
.....

Date:

Information and consent for children to participate in interviews

Pupil's information (Participants)

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

The purpose of this letter is to give you the information that you need to decide if you would like to be part of this research.

My name is Ceris Edwards and I am an Educational Psychologist. I am studying for a PhD at the University of East London. In my research, I want to learn about the way that children understand their teacher's moods and emotions, and what difference it makes to children in school.

There are three parts to my study:

- Talking with, and interviewing a number of children in Year Five about teacher's moods and emotions. Some of these discussion will be one to one, or together with a friend, or as part of a small group.
- Sharing my research with a discussion group of approximately ten Year Five children, who will help me to think about how to carry out the research, will monitor how the research project is going, and will consider some of the findings with me.
- Talking with, and interviewing a number of teachers who teach Year Five and Six pupils, to get their view on how children might understand the teacher's emotions and moods.

Your school has agreed to be involved in this study, and will support me in talking with and interviewing a number of children in Year Five.

Your teacher understands what the study entails and is happy for the study to go ahead.

What does the study involve?

9. Up to ten Year Five pupils from your school would take part in the research.
10. If you would like to take part, you will need to sign a consent form. You would be free to change your mind and leave the study at any time once it begins.
11. You would be asked to take part in a discussion about teacher's moods and emotions. You can choose to discuss this on your own, or with a friend, or in a small group. Everyone who joins in with any discussion must have filled in a consent form.
12. These discussions will take place in your school, and your teacher will arrange a good time with me, so that you don't miss your lessons.
13. Whatever you say will be kept confidential. The only time I would have to speak to anyone else would be if you tell me something that means you or someone else is in danger.
14. I will be recording the discussion we have, with a video if there is more than one person taking part with me. This is so that I can ensure that I can remember who is saying things, and that I record what you say accurately. When I have finished the session, I will copy out what was said and then destroy the video or auditory recording.
15. I will then write to you, to thank you for talking to me, and will outline how helpful you have been in this research. If you wanted to, you could of course share this letter with your parents or carers, and your teachers.
16. Once I have done some interviews I will talk to the children who are helping me with my research to get their thoughts. These children will be in a school in a different part of the county and will not be able to find out your name, or the name of your school.

Confidentiality

When I have talked to everybody, I will write about what I have found out. I won't use anyone's real name and I'll make sure that no one can work out what you have said.

Once I have copied out what was said during our discussion, and destroyed the recordings, my written records will be kept on my computer and will be password protected so that they are safe. My university teacher will be able to read parts of the discussions, but will not know the names of anyone.

Project Title

Teachers Mood and Emotions from the Perspective of 9 to 11 year olds: An Exploration into the Understanding of Communication of Teachers Feelings in Primary Schools

This is the consent form that you need to fill in if you would like to take part in this research.

Child's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

I understand what this research is about:

Yes **No** (I would like more information about it) **Please circle response**

I would like to take part in discussions. I will tell Ceris or my teacher when I have decided if I would like to talk on my own, with a friend, or in a small group:

Yes **No**

I am happy for Ceris to record what I say so that she can remember what I tell her:

Yes **No**

Child's Signature

.....

Investigator's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

Investigator's Signature

.....

Date:

Information and consent for teachers

Teacher's information sheet

University of East London
Stratford Campus, Water Lane,
Stratford E15 4LZ

University Research Ethics Committee

If you have any queries regarding the conduct of the programme in which you are being asked to participate, please contact:

Catherine Fieulleateau, Research Integrity and Ethics Manager, Graduate School, EB 1.43
University of East London, Docklands Campus, London E16 2RD
(Telephone: 020 8223 6683, Email: researchethics@uel.ac.uk).

The Principal Investigator(s)

Professor Irvine Gersch
School of Psychology, Arthur Edwards Building, Stratford Campus
Water Lane, Stratford. E15 4LZ
(Telephone: 020 8223 4412, Email: i.gersch@uel.ac.uk)

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with the information that you need to consider in deciding whether you would like to participate in this study.

Project Title

Teachers Mood and Emotions from the Perspective of 9 to 11 year olds: An Exploration into the Understanding of Communication of Teachers Feelings in Primary Schools

Project Description

My name is Ceris Edwards and I am an Educational Psychologist. I am studying for a PhD at the University of East London. In my research, I am looking at the way that children understand their teacher's moods and emotions, and what impact, if any, their understanding has on the way that they behave and learn in school.

The study has three elements:

- A consultation and discussion group of approximately ten Year Five children, who will help me to think about how to carry out the research, will monitor how the research project is going, and will consider some of the findings with me.
- Interviews with a number of children in Year Five on the topic of teacher's moods and emotions.

- Interviews with a number of teachers who teach Year Five and Six pupils, on the topic of children's understanding of teacher moods and emotions.

Through this approach, I will gather data which I hope will add to understanding of the extent to which the emotional aspects of teacher child relationships shape children's school experience.

What does the study involve?

17. Up to ten Teachers of Years Five or Six will be interviewed to ascertain their views on children's understanding of teacher mood and emotion, and any impact it may have upon the children.
18. If you choose to participate, you will need to complete a consent form.
19. I will be happy to arrange an interview of no more than an hour in duration, at a time and location of your choice.
20. I will be audio recording our discussions to ensure that I have accurately recorded your thoughts.
21. Once I have conducted some interviews with teachers, I will anonymize the data and share it with the children in my research consultation group for discussion. These children will be from a different part of the county from the area in which I am recruiting teachers for the study.
22. I will write to you, thanking you for your participation. At the end of the study, I would be pleased to share my findings with you, and will write to you about that in due course.

Confidentiality

Our discussion will be confidential, within the safeguarding policy of your school.

Once I have made anonymized transcripts of the discussion, recording will be deleted.

The transcripts will be password protected and kept for the duration of 6 years. My university supervisors and examiners will be able to read extracts from the anonymized transcriptions and feedback forms. Short extracts from the transcriptions, may be used to illustrate my thesis.

When I write about this research, I will not use names, and I will also make sure that nobody can work out who said what. Neither teacher's nor children's responses will be linked to their name, school or any other personal details.

The three groups involved in the study will all come from different geographical areas in the county, to reduce the likelihood of them knowing each other.

Disclaimer

It is important that you understand that you are not obliged to take part in this study, and are free to withdraw at any time during the process without disadvantage to yourself and without any obligation to give a reason.

Project Title

Teachers Mood and Emotions from the Perspective of 9 to 11 year olds: An Exploration into the Understanding of Communication of Teachers Feelings in Primary Schools

This is the consent form that you need to fill in if you are happy to take part in this research.

Participant's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

I have looked at the information sheet about this research and I understand what it is about:

Yes **No** (I would like more information about it) **Please circle response**

I would like to participate in this research project:

Yes **No**

I understand and accept that my responses will be temporarily recorded:

Yes **No**

Participant's Signature

.....

Investigator's Name (BLOCK CAPITALS)

.....

Investigator's Signature

.....

Date:

Appendix D: Questions for consideration in the interview schedule

Pupil questions:

1. Teachers don't often cry in the classroom and yet I guess that children know when their teachers are sad. What else do you pick up?
2. If you are a bit naughty and the teacher is in a good mood, what happens? What happens if the teacher is in a bad mood and you are a bit naughty? How is it different?
3. Does teachers' behaviour change when they are in different moods? What sort of impact does that have? What effect does it have on you?
4. How do you tell when teachers are faking being angry? Or faking being happy? Do you sometimes see fake smiles?
5. If I looked at you, do you think I'd be able to tell what you were feeling? If you looked at a teacher would you be able to tell what they were feeling?
6. When they are managing behaviour, do you think it might affect the mood of the teacher? Or do you think sometimes it doesn't make any difference at all?
7. What feelings do you have when the teachers shouts at you?
8. And when they are in a bad mood, does it make you feel like that?
9. Do you get different reactions from different teachers?
10. What is it that you see the teacher doing that makes you think, "Oh, he's angry", or perhaps doesn't like someone?
11. Do you make your teacher laugh? Is that when she is generally happy?
12. In what ways do you think feelings affect the way teachers teach?
13. What is it about the teacher that makes you think they don't like somebody?

Teacher questions:

Questions 14 and 15 were added after Reagan, the first teacher, had been interviewed.

1. Teachers don't often cry in the classroom and yet children know when their teachers are sad. What do you think they pick up?
2. When children are a bit naughty and you are in a good mood, what happens? What happens if you are in a bad mood and the children are a bit naughty? How is it different?
3. Does your behaviour change when you are in different moods? What sort of impact does that have? What effect does it have on you?
4. Do you think that children can tell when teachers are faking being angry? Or faking being happy?
5. If I looked at you, do you think I'd be able to tell what you were feeling? Do you think that children can tell how teachers are feeling from the way that they look? (How?)
6. When you are managing behaviour, does it affect your mood?
7. What feelings do you think children have when their teacher shouts at them?
8. When teachers are in a bad mood, do you think that children pick up the emotion?
9. Do children get different emotional reactions from different teachers?
10. What is it that you do that might make children think, "Oh, she's angry"?
11. Do your children make you laugh? How do you think that is perceived by children?

12. In what ways do you think feelings affect the way teachers teach?
13. What is it that children pick up that makes them think that teachers don't like somebody?
14. When you tell a child off, do you feel guilty or was it the right choice? Does it depend on the child?
15. Do you think you know what a child is thinking and what mood they are in? Or what they think of you?

Appendix E: Thank you letter to the co-researcher group members

The original letters were printed on the university's headed paper, the logo of which cannot be replicated within this document

Dear [child's name],

Thank you for helping me with my research, studying "Teachers Mood and Emotions from the Perspective of 9 to 11 year olds: An Exploration into the Understanding of Communication of Teachers Feelings in Primary Schools".

Since November 2016 we have met in a group six times. In that time, you have made valuable contributions in the following areas:

- The nature of emotions.
- How teachers and adults in school show their emotions.
- The impact teacher's emotions have on children's learning and happiness at school.
- Important questions to ask other children and teachers about teacher's emotions
- Comments and thoughts on children's answers to some of the questions asked
- Comments and thoughts on teacher's answers to one of the questions asked
- Thinking about how the research needs to be different – should we ask other questions?
- Considering the role of children in the research and how they could take part in collecting data
- Participated in data collection by interviewing [name], the Headteacher of your school
- Offered suggestions about what would have made the research better
- Offered suggestions about how to use this research

Your commitment to regular attendance and your interest in this research has really helped me to understand how important children's experiences of the adults helping them in school are. You have, as part of the group guiding me and sharing this research, made sure that I included children properly and didn't just look at things from an adult's point of view.

Now that I have finished collecting the data, I can share some of the things that we have found.

Children are very observant and can tell when teachers are hiding emotions such as feeling sad.

Children learn how different teachers respond in different ways when they are feeling an emotion, such as happy or angry

Teachers behavior can give away how they are feeling, for example, the way that they walk or use their arms

Teachers don't fully understand how observant the children that they teach are

Teachers are confident that they can hide their emotions from children, and say that how they are feeling inside has nothing to do with the way that they teach.

Some teachers know that their children are sensitive to the moods and emotions of everyone in their class, including the teachers.

I have really enjoyed working together with you and the co-researcher group.

Very best wishes for the future

Ceris

[Note: this was followed by a short, personalized and handwritten message for each child]

Appendix F: Segments of transcripts

Segment of transcript of two children being interviewed together:

Int: What's the what's the difference between a fake smile and a real smile?

Blake: Well, fake smiles kind of like

Riley: They kind of like [raises her voice a tone higher] "Now children, we're going to do really well today, aren't we."

Blake: It's kind of like a fake smile's not like you can't really tell they're happy because it's kind of smaller.

Riley: It's kind of like

Blake: Than like [gives a broad smile] and if it's a real smile you'd be like really happy, you have like wads of enthusiastic feelings

Riley: Enthusiasm

Blake: Enthusiasm, and you'll just be really happy that you smile and you can tell but if you're like faking a smile

Riley: because then you'd be able to like stop that smile straight away like (.) Like for example if like Miss I could tell that Mr Y was laughing for real because his face turned red and he was laughing for ages, but if he had like a fake laugh he would be able to stop that laugh like straight away like hee hee hee [stops and pretends to write]

Blake: Yeah like like that [clicks her fingers]

Riley: So it's it's something about how much people keep going

Blake: Yeah like

Int: How much control they've got over that emotion

Riley: They can choose which

Blake: Yeah like me, Mrs X um whenever like we do my maths, Mrs X smiles like "You can do it" and it's kind of like we know we can do it.

Riley: Yeah, stop telling me

Blake: We know she's like she is like fake smiling which kind of like

Riley: And when a teacher like comes to talk

Blake: Makes us

Riley: to her she's like "Oh yeah, hi" [big smile] like she's like she stops that smile and she's like "Oh yeah yeah I do really good."

Blake: And like in my

Int: Okay

Blake: Maths like if we got something wrong Mrs X is like "That's really good" but you

Riley: "At least you tried." [high patronising voice]

Blake: Could tell she was fake smiling but she would be happy about it that you tried but she's kind of like fake smiling

Int: Um. Do you think that fake smiling is about trying to teach you?

Blake: Like trying to encourage us

Int: Yeah

Blake: but

Riley: It doesn't encourage me

Segment of transcript of a child being interviewed on their own:

Int: So I'm I'm quite interested in how you how you know, for example, if a teacher's really happy or if they're just faking the happiness

Alex: Well um one of the teachers I've had um it was um she didn't look um (.) um he didn't look quite well but then he was like "Oh I'm fine. I'm fine" and then but he still didn't look (.) as much as he was.

Int: Um so he was kind of just saying like "Everything's all right" and like

Alex: Yeah

Int: And so he was trying to pull out smiles and things?

Alex: Yeah

Int: So how did you know that they weren't genuine smiles? What was the difference?

Alex: Well um He looked kind of like dull and grey in the face

Int: Right.

Alex: And he's normally then um if we're um like good and we get like five or under warnings in a day um he normally puts some music but

Int: Right

Alex: But we did get five and under warnings. He did put music on but it was a bit quieter than normal

Int: Right

Alex: Because he um and (.) he wasn't really moving around much

Int: Okay

Alex: he was more like all over the front and like walking and pointing at people and then (.)

Int: Okay. Not moving

Alex: it was just like sitting on the seat and

Int: Okay

Alex: Doing like that

Segment of transcript of a teacher's interview

Int: Okay. Yeah. [looks at questions]. We've got this one about (.) Um Faking emotions

Ali: [laughs]

Int: This is so Year 5. Do you think that children can tell when teachers are faking being angry? Or faking being happy?

Ali: Of course! You act.

Int: Do you think children can tell when you're acting out an emotion?

Ali: Um (.) I suppose if it's some (.) whether they mean like the teacher's faking being happy when they're sad (.) maybe if it's like they can tell their teachers like we were talking earlier (.) Like if they're smiling and stuff but their voice doesn't sound (.) happy, or they don't seem to have (.) the eye connections sort of thing, maybe then they could pick up although you're pretending to be happy but maybe you're not happy

Int: Right, right.

Ali: In terms of being angry I suppose if I'm thinking of like when the teacher maybe telling somebody off and they try not to laugh

Int: Yes

Ali: Because sometimes the children do that and you know you've got to say "You can't do that" but at the same time it might be something that is quite funny but you've got to say "Stop!" and you might be saying "Stop" and trying not to smile or something as you're saying it.

Appendix G: Sample of final analysis

Examples of Open Codes	1st level Axial codes	2nd Level Axial codes	Refocused coding
Helping people with autism makes teachers smile.	Children doing things to make teacher happy	Being kind or helpful to alter teacher emotions	Interventions by children
Can change teacher mood by being kind.			
Children respond to teacher sadness by offers of help.			
Child cheers teachers up by acting stupid.	Engaging with the teacher to lift their mood		
Children write letters for sad teacher.			
Children draw pictures for sad teacher.			
Children write poems for sad teacher.	Children have to keep emotions in	Children managing their own emotions	
Children have to keep emotions in with teachers.			
Important for child to keep emotions in or they get shouted at.			
Child cannot express emotions with unhappy teachers.			
Children hiding emotions from teachers			
Hide emotions from teacher so not told off			
Stifle laughter			
Child hiding happy when teacher is grumpy			
Children fake emotions act happy when sad.			The mismatch between emotions inside and the outside appearance
Feeling sad but on outside really happy.			
Child approaching confession projecting happy mood.			
Hiding sadness over bereavement.			
Could be sad on the inside and fun on outside.			

Good day if not told off	Children managing their relationships with teachers		
Teacher likes funny notes and poems			
Trying to do your best			
Children don't want to say no to teachers.			
Children don't want to upset teachers.			
Children managing behaviour get breaks.			
Child will know teachers limits			
Differences in teacher behaviour depend what child is doing.			
Children whose teachers are anxious may do what they like.	Children take advantage of teacher's emotional state	Children trying to keep their teacher happy	Interventions by children
Children whose teachers are anxious may behave badly			
When teachers are sad children misbehave.			
Being set up to be laughed at.	Children using humour		
Sometimes children try to make teacher laugh.			
Children breaking tension with jokes.			
Making judgements about what might make teacher laugh			
Teacher always laughed at children's jokes.			
Telling stories to make teacher laugh			
Trying to handle teacher anger by doing things differently	Modelling good learning behaviour to please teacher		
Child change in behaviour changes things.			
Silent children re-entering results in calm teacher			
Child in a good mood not talking gets teacher in a good mood.			
Childrens respect gives teacher good mood.			
Can change teacher mood by being helpful or working hard.			
Working really hard makes teachers happy.			
Child tries very hard for critical teacher.			
If children work hard teacher changes to happy			