



## Gendered emotion management and teacher outcomes in secondary school teaching: A review



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### HIGHLIGHTS

- Studies reporting gender differences identified different emotion management strategies used by males and females.
- Very few studies report the significance of school-type to teachers' emotion management strategies and outcomes.
- Studies are dominated by self-report methods for identifying teacher's emotion management.
- Appreciation of the fit between emotion management strategies, teacher identity and educational setting is required.

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### ABSTRACT

This systematic search and review of international literature (1979–2017) finds links between emotion management and gender (in 1/2 the studies), and teaching attrition outcomes (1/3). Results contextualise these connections, suggesting female teachers use deep acting strategies, though experience more emotional exhaustion and unpleasant emotions. Male teachers practice distancing and surface acting, and experience depersonalisation, but also success in controlling disruptions and stimulating subject interest. Studies are limited by self-reported data and omission of school context, but highlight important teacher organisational identifications, suggesting future research use observational methods for understanding emotion management as an embedded, interactionist phenomenon.

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### Contents

1. Introduction .....	129
1.1. Conceptual framework .....	129
1.2. Social forces shaping teacher emotion management and burnout in the literature .....	130
2. Methodology and methods .....	131
2.1. Study eligibility and search strategies .....	131
2.2. Study selection and data extraction .....	132
3. Results .....	132
3.1. Emotion management, gender, and school type .....	136
3.1.1. Quantitative studies .....	136
3.1.2. Qualitative studies .....	137
3.2. Teacher outcomes, gender and school type .....	137

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3.2.1. Quantitative studies .....	138
3.2.2. Qualitative and mixed methods studies .....	138
4. Discussion .....	139
4.1. Key findings .....	139
4.2. Teaching identity and organisational culture in secondary schooling .....	139
4.3. Interactionist emotion management .....	140
4.4. Implications for theory and practice .....	140
4.5. Limitations .....	141
5. Conclusion .....	141
Acknowledgements .....	141
Supplementary data .....	141
Search Terms .....	141
Data Extraction Tool .....	141
References .....	142

## 1. Introduction

High rates of attrition in teaching, combined with an under-supply of specialist teachers in secondary schools, continue to pose serious challenges around the world (Hong, 2012; Sutchter, Darling-Hammond, & Carver-Thomas, 2016; Weldon, 2015). Gender, emotion and burnout feature prominently in the teacher attrition literature. One meta-analysis suggests women are 1.3 times more likely to leave the profession than men (Borman & Dowling, 2008). A recent review shows teaching is imbued with emotion and involves a high degree of emotion management (Uitto, Jokikokko, & Estola, 2015). That is, it requires ongoing effort to modify one's own and others' emotions to display emotions perceived as appropriate to the context (Hochschild, 1983). Within teaching, burnout has been found to be a predictor of attrition (Hughes, 2001), and much empirical work correlates teacher burnout with the high emotion management demands of teaching (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Näring, Vlerick, & Van de Ven, 2012; Schutz & Zembylas, 2009). Conversely, teachers who manage emotions effectively tend to thrive in the profession (Oplatka, 2009; Prosser, Tuckey, & Wendt, 2013). Understanding the gendered and emotional dimensions of attrition is challenging because gender, emotions, and emotion management are complex phenomena. Classroom context is relevant to emotion management dynamics: several studies suggest that teachers' emotional experiences and practices differ according to the age of the students (Hargreaves, 2000), and the school type: public, private, mixed-educational or single-sex (Akin, Aydin, & Erdoğan, 2014; Martino & Frank, 2006).

In this review, we synthesise and analyse empirical studies examining the interplay between gender, emotion management, school type, and teacher outcomes: known pre-cursors to attrition, such as burnout and teacher wellbeing. Identity is a focus, given the intimate link between teachers' identities, emotions and emotion management (Shapiro, 2010; Zembylas, 2003). We limit our scope to secondary school teaching given the lower levels of burnout amongst primary school teachers (Jones & Youngs, 2012); the supply issues of specialist secondary school teachers (Sutchter et al., 2016); and findings that attrition is higher among secondary school teachers in private schools (Ingersoll, 2001; Macdonald, 1999). We conduct a "systematic search and review" of relevant studies: an approach which combines the comprehensive search strategies employed in a systematic review with the informed analysis and conceptual advancement goals of a critical review, and offers a more inclusive scope for reviewing key literature than alternative methods, such as meta-analyses (Grant & Booth, 2009, p. 102). Existing reviews document the emotional dimensions of teaching (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003; Uitto et al., 2015), along with the

relationship between teacher burnout and teacher self-efficacy in relation to classroom management (Aloe, Amo, & Shanahan, 2014). Despite studies suggesting the significance of gender and school type (Blackmore, 1996; Borman & Dowling, 2008), no existing reviews were found which attended to the different ways secondary school teachers manage emotions and teacher outcomes across genders and school types. In the section that follows, we draw on sociological and organisational psychology scholarship to expound the intersecting concepts of emotion, emotion management, burnout, identity, and gender, before positioning our research questions within the broader literature on the social forces underpinning emotion management and burnout in teaching.

### 1.1. Conceptual framework

Emotions are conceptualised in various ways across the fields of psychology and sociology (Olson, McKenzie & Patulny, 2017). Psychodynamic approaches define emotions as physiological and behavioural responses implicated in the cognitive and evaluative processes which cause us to feel and prompt us to act (Frijda, 2000; Zembylas, 2007). More than an internal process, symbolic interactionist conceptualisations depict emotions as embodied, socially defined, culturally constrained, and relational; they are shared with, and managed for, others (Burkitt, 2014; Illouz, 2008; Williams & Bendelow, 1998). Conceptualisations of emotion management and burnout can similarly be divided along these disciplinary lines, though their histories intersect. In this review, we use the term *emotion management* inclusively to refer to all concepts concerned with efforts to modify one's own and/or others' emotions, but we acknowledge differences between those with (social) interactionist and internal (psychodynamic) foci.

Emotion management, as originally theorised (Hochschild, 1979, 1983), emphasises the interactionist nature of actions taken to modify emotions. Emotional expectations—referred to as *feeling rules* based in *emotional cultures*—are considered as being relative to one's gender, status, and identity position. Superficial efforts to mask one's feelings, called *surface acting*, are distinguished from sustained efforts to alter how one experiences emotion over time, called *deep acting* (Hochschild, 1983, 1990). Emotion management performed as part of one's paid work, termed *emotional labour*, is differentiated from *emotion work*, the same actions done in the context of one's private life (Hochschild, 1990). Some scholars continue to distinguish between the two (Kimura, 2010); others depict these performances as overlapping, with the organisational expectations guiding emotional labour also informing the emotional cultures guiding emotion management performed at home (Lois, 2006; Wharton & Erickson, 1995).

Although Hochschild's symbolic interactionist theory of emotion management continues to have broad scholarly purchase (Olson et al., 2017), elements of her theory have been re-imagined by scholars within organisational psychology. These psychodynamic concepts of emotion management, such as *emotion regulation* and *emotional intelligence*, centre on the internal processes involved in emotion modification (Zembylas, 2007). The first concept, emotion regulation, conceptualises the internal strategies used to modify emotions, distinguishing between strategies used to modify one's situation (Gross, 2002) or inner feelings by re-evaluating a situation before an emotional sensation manifests (Grandey, 2000), and strategies used after emotions are generated (Gross, 1998, 2002). The second concept, emotional intelligence, refers to one's capacity to recognise and generate emotions, and to use this ability to foster one's own and others' emotional and intellectual development (Mayer & Salovey, 1997). Measures of emotional intelligence often appraise, among other things, an individual's ability to regulate moods and manage emotions (see Lleo, 2017).

Scholarship on emotion management and burnout intersect, combining interactionist and psychodynamic conceptualisations. Although Hochschild (1983) described burnout as an important consequence of emotion management, conceptualisations of burnout most commonly draw on differing versions of Maslach and Jackson's (1981) Burnout Inventory, which includes three dimensions: emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and reduced accomplishment. Emotional exhaustion relates to heightened feelings of stress, fatigue, and depleted emotional energy. Depersonalisation is characterised by negativity and acting towards others in a less caring way. Reduced accomplishment is concerned with reduced productivity, motivation, and an inability to deal with job requirements (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996). Numerous studies link emotion management, especially surface acting, with burnout (Jeung, Kim, & Chang, 2018; Zapf, 2002). Long-term surface acting has been found to lead to emotional dissonance, exhaustion (Näring, Briet, & Brouwers, 2006), and burnout (Korczynski, 2003).

Identity conflict is also implicated in burnout (Lois, 2006; Wharton, 2009), further illustrating the intersecting psychodynamic and interactionist histories of the literature on emotion management and burnout. In nursing, for example, Huyhn, Alderson and Thompson's (2008) systematic review highlights the importance of identifying with one's professional role to preventing burnout. Understanding this connection requires an appreciation of the social complexity of identities, and the centrality of emotion to professional identities (Lee & Yin, 2011; Zembylas, 2003). Interactionist conceptualisations emphasise identities as individual and cultural projects involving emotionally informed individual reflection on perceived socio-cultural role expectations and others' responses, real or imagined (Collins, 1994; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998). Identities are also multiple and dynamic, with one individual holding many meaningful roles (Holland et al., 1998) which may vary in potency and over time (Nias, 1989). In her book on the topic, Nias (1989) found teachers who do not strongly identify as teachers tend to leave the profession. Problems can also occur when identities, and their concordant feeling rules, come into conflict (Shapiro, 2010). In Lois' (2006) study of home schooling mothers, for example, mothers experienced role strain, prompting them to burnout and withdraw from their home-schooling teacher identity. The emotion-neutral behaviour management strategies they adopted—based on their perceptions of the emotional management required to be good teachers—directly conflicted with their stronger identities as caring mothers. Furthermore, Lois (2006) found identity and burnout to be gendered; the depersonalisation element of burnout—which entails acting towards others in a less caring way—is more

culturally available to men than women.

Gender plays a critical role in setting rules regarding *allowable* public expressions of emotion. It is not a universal construct, but instead can be understood as an experience and performance based in cultural and historical expectations (Connell, 2012; Goffman, 1959). In research emerging from the UK, US, and Australia, experience and display of emotions have been found to differ by sex, due to factors such as social position (Lively, 2012; Simon & Nath, 2004), and the greater involvement of women in care work (Olson & Connor, 2015; O'Brien, 2008). Public displays of anger and aggression by males are often seen as legitimate; similar displays by females are often cast as inappropriate and unfeminine (Holmes, 2004; Simon & Lively, 2010). Gendered expectations, however, may vary cross-culturally (Akin et al., 2014; Connell, 2012).

The brief review of the concepts of emotion, emotion management, and burnout offered here illustrates the intersecting psychodynamic and interactionist complexity of these phenomena, with gendered cultural ideologies shaping identities, emotional expectations, and thus, emotion management. In the following section, we examine how these concepts are employed within the scholarship on teaching—a term we use to encompass all activities performed in educational settings for the purpose of learning. We adopt this broad definition of teaching following Frelin and Grannäs (2015, p. 58), who highlight the importance of any work done inside and outside of classrooms by pre-service teachers, principals, and teachers to “facilitate the education of young people.”

## 1.2. Social forces shaping teacher emotion management and burnout in the literature

Over the past two decades, teaching scholarship has experienced an “emotional turn” (Rosiek & Beghetto, 2009, p. 178), with numerous studies explicating the emotional dimensions of teaching (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). A key reason that teaching is imbued with emotions is because teachers are said to identify strongly with the teacher role (Nias, 1996). Zembylas (2003, p. 214), in turn, emphasises “the situatedness of teachers' emotions” in grasping the “multiplicities and the complexities of teacher identity [ies].” Much of this scholarship conceptualises emotion management as central to teaching (Uitto et al., 2015). Like the broader literature on emotion management, conceptualisations can be divided along psychodynamic and interactionist disciplinary lines (Zembylas, 2007). Many social positions and social forces are thought to guide emotion management in educational contexts (Akin et al., 2014; Yin & Lee, 2012), but gender and school type may be particularly important.

Gender has been a long-standing focus within the literature on emotion management and teaching. Gendered feeling rules mean that male and female teachers are held to differing emotion management expectations, which in turn may restrict, by gender, the strategies culturally available to teachers (Blackmore, 2004; Greenglass, Burke, & Konarski, 1998; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998). However, and perhaps reflecting the cultural relativity of gendered feeling rules, other studies suggest that there are no gendered differences in how teachers manage emotions (Hargreaves, 1998; Timms, Graham, & Cottrell, 2007).

The broader educational context may also matter to teachers' emotion management. Teachers' emotions vary in their intensity and effect across teaching levels and school types. Studies suggest teaching in primary schools is more emotionally intensive (Hargreaves, 2000; Stephanou & Oikonomou, 2018). However, primary school teachers display fewer precursors to burnout than secondary school teachers (Jones & Youngs, 2012; Yilmaz, Altinkurt, Guner, & Sen, 2015), underscoring the value in

examining secondary school teachers' emotion management. Expectations regarding how emotions should be managed can also vary by employment sector (Hochschild, 1983, 1990) and school type, with the financial (e.g., marketised or public) and hierarchical (e.g., flat or steep) orientation of a school said to inform teachers' emotion management (Blackmore, 1996). A Turkish study, for example, suggests that teachers in private schools are more likely to display genuine emotions than teachers in public schools (Akin et al., 2014). The gendered culture of same-sex schools may also guide feeling rules, with strong masculinity norms in all-boys schools encouraging a higher degree of surface acting and the hiding of vulnerable feelings amongst male teachers and students (Martino & Frank, 2006). Thus, school type may be important to emotion management; a school's pedagogic demands and culture may affect which emotional expressions are desired and allowable.

This literature suggests that gendered emotion cultures and secondary school type (private, public, same-sex, mixed-educational) are likely candidates in shaping teachers' emotions and emotion management. Many studies, however, lack a focus on the social, cultural, and contextual forces shaping teachers' emotions and emotion management (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Critical and systematic examination of these social forces may go some way to explaining gendered rates of attrition within the teaching profession (Borman & Dowling, 2008).

There is also a lack of clarity on the effects of emotion management on teaching outcomes. Studies show that teachers who regulate certain emotions (e.g., anger) are more effective at teaching than those who act without restraint (Oplatka, 2009). Teachers who are able to employ effective emotion management strategies may be more likely to flourish within the teaching profession (Newberry, 2010; Prosser et al., 2013). Numerous other studies show that, among secondary teachers (Kinman, Wray, & Strange, 2011; Näring, Briët, & Brouwers, 2006) and broader samples of teachers (Hakanen, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2006), emotion management can also prompt negative outcomes, such as emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, burnout and, eventually, a desire to leave the profession (Burke & Greenglass, 1996; Hughes, 2001).

Further contradictions can be found in the literature on the dynamic relationship between emotion management and burnout. Keller, Chang, Becker, Goetz, and Frenzel (2014) found that experiencing and suppressing anger was common among secondary teachers, and linked to higher levels of emotional exhaustion. Brotheridge and Grandey (2002), however, argue that burnout is not a result of negative emotions, but a consequence of failing to manage negative feelings through deep acting strategies. In short, the relationship between emotions, emotion management, burnout, and gendered teacher outcomes within secondary teaching remains contested, and the broad range of interdisciplinary literature on the subject has not yet been comprehensively reviewed. Thus, we designed our review around the following two research questions:

1. What differences are evident in how secondary teachers manage emotions across different genders and/or school types?
2. What differences are evident in secondary teacher outcomes, especially outcomes linked to emotion management, across different genders and/or school types?

These questions are aimed at better understanding the social, gendered, and contextual forces shaping teachers' emotions and emotion management practices, and clarifying how social and contextual factors intersect with differences in emotion management and teacher outcomes.

## 2. Methodology and methods

To address our research questions, we conducted a systematic search and review. This approach aims to advance conceptualisation within a field by drawing on the researchers' critical engagement with findings from a comprehensive search of the literature (Grant & Booth, 2009).

It overcomes a limitation in scope common to systematic reviews—especially meta-analyses (Yaffe, Montgomery, Hopewell, & Shepard, 2012) that focus on a narrow range of techniques (typically quantitative randomised controls trials)—by including qualitative and quantitative studies employing various methodologies. It values reviewers' contributions to review processes (Grant & Booth, 2009), which in our case is informed by a team of scholars with experience in secondary school teaching and expertise in education research, emotions, and sociology.

For this review, we systematically searched for, then identified, integrated, and analysed multiple types of peer-reviewed empirical studies (quantitative, mixed methods, qualitative) to arrive at directions for conceptual advancement. Next, we describe the methods underpinning this review, including criteria for the inclusion of original studies and search strategies, data extraction processes and tools.

### 2.1. Study eligibility and search strategies

To be included in this review, studies were required to answer one or both of the research questions (in part or full) related to the interactions between gender, emotion management, school type, and teacher outcomes linked with attrition. In determining eligibility, we defined our terms as follows. As most studies use assigned biological rather than social distinctions in referring to gender differences (Connell, 2012), for the purpose of this review *gender* refers to the performance of one's sex, based on social expectations (Goffman, 1959), and genders are specified here as self-nominated by participants in the original studies.

To ensure studies with intersecting theoretical concepts were not excluded, *emotion management* is defined inclusively in this review as the interpersonal work done by teachers to manage one's own and others' emotions. Thus, concepts meeting these criteria emerge from the interactionist and psychodynamic traditions described above (Zembylas, 2007), including (but not limited to): *emotional labour*, *emotion work*, *emotion regulation*, and *emotional intelligence*.

*Teaching* refers to activities performed in secondary school educational settings for the purpose of learning. As defined by the International Standard Classification of Education (UNESCO, 2012), secondary schooling follows the primary school level, and typically includes students aged 10–18. Recall that secondary school settings were prioritised based on research showing burnout rates to be higher among secondary, compared to primary, teachers (Yilmaz et al., 2015). Thus, studies were included if they incorporated secondary teachers, but excluded if they solely focused on primary teachers.

*School type*, in this review, refers to the dominant funding source of the school (e.g., public, private) and gender makeup of the student body (e.g., mixed-educational, single-sex) (Pahlke, Hyde, & Allison, 2014).

*Teacher outcomes* relate to precursors to attrition, including (but not limited to) burnout, emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, reduced personal accomplishment, intention to leave the profession, job satisfaction, alienation, isolation, depression, anxiety, wellbeing, and mental health (Buchanan et al., 2013; Hughes, 2001). Included primary studies used quantitative, qualitative, or mixed-methods, and were published in English between 1979—the

publication year of the first article on emotion management (i.e., Hochschild, 1979)—and May 2017.

A comprehensive and systematic search strategy was developed based on the key concepts of emotion management and teaching in secondary schools (see Appendix A). Other concepts—gender, school type, and teacher outcomes—were excluded from the search strategy and applied during the study selection process to maximise the scope of the search. Subject terms, truncation symbols, and Boolean operators were modified slightly to adhere to the unique functions associated with each of the databases searched. Between March 2016 and June 2017, 12 databases were searched: Informit's A + Education; EBSCOhost's ERIC; Education Source; PsychINFO; Psychology and Behavioural Sciences Collection; Elsevier's SCOPUS; Thomson Reuter's Web of Science; and ProQuest's Sociological Abstracts, Education Journals, Psychology Database, Sociology Database, and Social Science Database. We also reviewed reference lists of included articles to identify further studies meeting the inclusion criteria.

## 2.2. Study selection and data extraction

Initial searches resulted in 2964 potentially relevant studies (see Fig. 1). Two authors independently applied the inclusion criteria to database hits by first reviewing each study's title and abstract. There was 97.5% agreement ( $\kappa = 0.808$ ) regarding potentially relevant studies. A third author independently resolved any disagreements. This resulted in 178 studies possibly meeting the selection criteria; nine articles were excluded at this point because they were not available in English. Full-text versions of these studies were subsequently read independently and reviewed for inclusion by at least two authors. There was 79% agreement between first and second reviewers ( $\kappa = 0.766$ ). Disagreements about inclusion often reflected our broad definition of emotion management. For example, Dowling's (2008) study of gendered emotional geographies in pre-service teaching initially appeared relevant. However, the study was excluded because of its focus on emotional experiences, not emotion management. All disagreements were reviewed by a third author, who made the final decision on the study's inclusion. At this stage, 12 additional articles were identified as potentially relevant through reference list searches. Due to the varied methods of the included studies and the lack of consensus regarding definitions of quality across differing research paradigms (Dixon-Woods, 2011) critical appraisal tools were not used to

inform study inclusion. Instead, studies were excluded if they were: not available in English; not journal articles, but magazine articles or book chapters ( $n = 4$ ); not peer-reviewed empirical studies ( $n = 15$ ); or if they did not address, in part or in full, our research questions ( $n = 119$ ).

Using a tailor-made data-extraction tool (see Appendix B) we extracted data on study outcomes, limitations and conclusions. Drawing on Cooke, Smith and Booth's (2012) guidelines, we also extracted information on: (a) sample size and characteristics, including teacher gender and school types (grade level, public or private, mixed-educational or single-sex); (b) the conceptualisation of emotion management employed in the study; and (c) how the study addressed one or both of the research questions. The tailored tool fostered extraction of data shaped to our research questions, while also allowing inclusion of other potentially relevant study outcomes (e.g., culture, identity, teaching experience). It is important to note that the focus of a systematic search and review methodology is to prioritise breadth and conceptual advancement (Grant & Booth, 2009). A meta-analysis of quantitative results was therefore neither feasible nor appropriate, given the range of scales, methods and operational definitions employed in the studies we reviewed, as this would have required the exclusion of critical evidence from many important studies.

## 3. Results

Table 1 provides an overview of the 43 studies that answered one or both of the research questions, including 11 qualitative studies, two mixed-methods studies, and 30 quantitative studies. Collectively, these studies draw participants from 22 countries and five continents. Most often, participants included more female than male secondary teachers—two included more male teachers (Hinds, Jones, Gau, Forrester, & Bigland, 2015; van Uden, Ritzen, & Pieters, 2014) and seven samples were gender-balanced (García-Ros, Fuentes, & Fernández, 2015; Greenglass et al., 1998; Gutiérrez-Moret, Ibanez-Martinez, Aguilar-Moya, & Vidal-Infer, 2016; Mattern & Bauer, 2014; McIntyre, 2010; Shukla & Trivedi, 2008; Wu, 2004). Participants' teaching experience varied from student teachers (Borrachero, Brígido, Mellado, Costillo, & Mellado, 2014; Gutiérrez-Moret, Ibáñez-Martinez, Aguilar-Moya, & Vidal-Infer, 2016), to early career teachers (Jakhelln, 2011; Loh & Liew, 2016) to teachers with ten or more years of experience (Brackett, Palomera, Mojsa-Kaja, & Salovey, 2010; García-Ros et al., 2015;

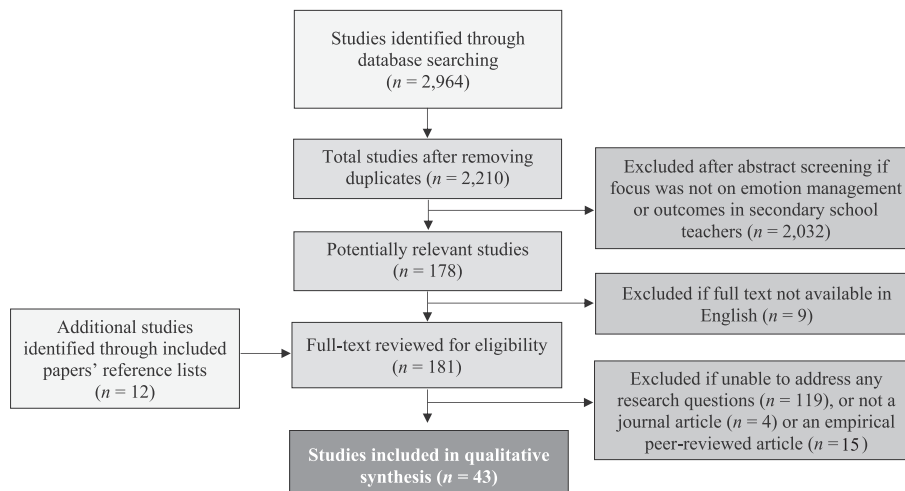


Fig. 1. Study selection process diagram.

**Table 1**  
Overview of included studies.

Study	Sample Size	Sample Description <sup>a</sup>	School Type	Phenomena of Interest	Methods	Relevant Findings	Research Question (s)
Alnabhan (2008)	N = 222 teachers; 176 female	High school teachers in Jordan	Public schools (presumed)	Emotional intelligence	Quantitative: scale	No significant gender differences found related to emotion regulation.	1
Berg and Cornell (2016)	N = 9134 teachers	Middle school teachers in urban, rural and suburban USA	Public schools	Aggression towards teachers Teacher distress	Quantitative: survey	Female teachers were more likely to report feeling distressed in responses to aggression from students.	2
Bizumic et al. (2009)	N = 113 staff; 87 female, 3 not specified	Secondary (grades 7–10) school staff in Australia: 86 teachers, 27 support staff	Co-ed schools (presumed); no other information provided	Social identity Well-being	Quantitative: scales	Gender was not found to play a significant role in predicting staff mental health/wellbeing.	2
Blackmore (2004)	Not disclosed	Female leaders in primary and secondary Australian schools	Public schools	Emotional labour	Qualitative: case study, interviews, focus groups, observations	Female principals may manage their emotions, especially anger, differently to male principals.	1
Borrachero et al. (2014)	N = 178; 125 female	Spanish post-graduate education students	Not applicable	Emotions Gender Science teaching	Quantitative: questionnaire	Female science teachers (in training) report experiencing negative emotions more often and are at greater risk of experiencing job stress.	2
Brackett et al. (2010)	N = 123; 74 female	Secondary (grades 6–12) teachers in England	Public, mixed-education (presumed)	Affect Burnout Emotion regulation ability Job satisfaction Principal support	Quantitative: questionnaire	Gender was not significantly related to emotion regulation ability, job satisfaction, negative affect or burnout.	1, 2
Caires et al., 2010, 2012	N = 224 student teachers; 187 female	Portuguese student teachers on placements in urban, semi-urban and rural schools in their final year of study	No information provided	Emotions Physical impact Socialisation Socio emotional adjustment	Quantitative: inventory of experiences and perceptions of teaching practice (IEPTP)	Female student teachers reported more socioemotional difficulties; but experienced more satisfaction. Male student teachers scored higher on the emotional and physical impacts of teaching.	2
Chan (2004)	N = 158 teachers; 92 female; 1 not specified	Secondary teachers in Hong Kong	Public schools (presumed)	Emotional intelligence Self-efficacy	Quantitative: questionnaire	Gender was not significantly related to emotional intelligence or self-efficacy.	1
Chang (2013)	N = 492 teachers; 391 female	Elementary, middle school and high school teachers in the USA in their first four years of teaching	Public schools (presumed)	Burnout Coping Emotional appraisal Emotion intensity Emotion regulation Proactive coping	Quantitative: survey	Female teachers tend to adopt cognitive reappraisal strategies and report more emotional exhaustion and more intense unpleasant emotions from encountered episodes; male teachers tend to use suppression emotion regulation strategies.	1, 2
García-Ros et al. (2015)	N = 103 teachers; 55 female	Secondary school teachers in Spain	Vocational schools	Teacher interpersonal self-efficacy	Quantitative: teacher interpersonal self-efficacy scale (TISES)	Gender was not found to be significantly related to interpersonal self-efficacy.	2
Goroshit and Hen (2016)	N = 543; 424 female	Elementary, junior-high and high school teachers in urban and rural Israel	No information provided	Emotional self-efficacy in teachers Teacher empathy Teacher self-efficacy	Quantitative: self-report questionnaires	Female teachers were found to have higher empathy and emotional self-efficacy, which includes emotion regulation.	1
Greenglass et al. (1998)	N = 833; 407 female	Elementary, junior and senior high	Mixed-education (presumed)	Burnout Emotional	Quantitative: questionnaire	Male teachers scored higher on	2

(continued on next page)

Table 1 (continued)

Study	Sample Size	Sample Description <sup>a</sup>	School Type	Phenomena of Interest	Methods	Relevant Findings	Research Question (s)
		school teachers in urban Canada		exhaustion Stress		depersonalisation and bureaucratic interference; female teachers had significantly higher levels of co-worker support.	
Gutiérrez-Moret et al. (2016)	N = 155 postgraduate students of teaching; 59 female	Masters students from the same university in Spain.	N/A	Emotional intelligence	Quantitative: scale	Female postgraduate teaching students scored higher in emotional intelligence and in emotion management.	1
Hargreaves (1998)	N = 32; gender ratio not specified	Teachers of grades 7 & 8 in Canada	Public schools (presumed)	Emotional labour Emotions	Qualitative: interviews	No gender differences were found in how male and female teachers talked about their emotions.	1
Harvey et al. (2012)	N = 101; 73 female	Primary and secondary school teachers in New Zealand	No information provided	Emotional climate of the classroom	Quantitative: multidimensional scaling	Female teachers were more likely to make themselves emotionally available to students.	1
Hinds et al. (2015)	N = 529; 168 female	Middle and elementary (grades 5–9) school teachers in urban and rural USA	Mixed-educational public schools (presumed)	Burnout Experiential avoidance	Quantitative: 3 year randomised controlled trial of an intervention to increase wellbeing, measured using scales	No significant gender differences found regarding depression, stress related to student behaviours or experiential avoidance, though male teachers reported greater satisfaction with social support.	2
Jakhelln (2011)	N = 3; 2 female	Early career teachers in upper secondary schools in Norway	Public schools (presumed)	Emotions	Qualitative: case study, observations, email, interviews	Female teachers showed problems maintaining authority within classrooms and in conversations with older teachers; the male teacher disregarded his emotions.	1
Jones and Youngs (2012)	N = 42; 35 female	Elementary and middle school teachers with 1–3 years of experience in the USA	Public and mixed-educational (presumed)	Affective events theory Burnout Commitment	Quantitative: longitudinal surveys	Gender was not associated with burnout.	2
Kimura (2010)	N = 3; 2 female teachers	Year 7 social studies and English teachers in Japan, with 13–36 years of experience	Public and mixed-educational	Emotional labour	Qualitative: classroom observation, interviews	Female teachers showed annoyance in response to disruptive boys; male teachers more often expressed positive emotions.	1
Kinman et al. (2011)	N = 628; 465 female	Secondary school teachers in England	No information provided	Emotional exhaustion Emotional labour Workplace social support	Quantitative: survey	Gender explained 3% of the variance in personal accomplishment and job satisfaction measures, but did not explain variance in emotional exhaustion.	2
Küçükşüleymanoğlu (2011)	N = 67; 50 female	Special education teachers in Turkey	No information provided	Burnout	Mixed Quantitative: scale Qualitative: interviews	Male teachers scored higher on emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation.	2
Lee et al. (2016)	N = 189; 107 female	Secondary school (grades 5–12) language, natural science and social science teachers in Germany	No information provided	Emotion management Emotion regulation	Quantitative: questionnaire	Female teachers express more pride; male teachers more often use surface acting.	1
Lippke (2012)	N = 12; gender ratio not specified	Vocational education teachers of students from disadvantaged	Public (presumed) Mixed-educational	Emotional labour Student retention	Qualitative: interviews, observations	The emotional labour performed by vocational educational teachers includes	2

Table 1 (continued)

Study	Sample Size	Sample Description <sup>a</sup>	School Type	Phenomena of Interest	Methods	Relevant Findings	Research Question (s)
		backgrounds in Denmark				working with students experiencing trauma and working to keep students from dropping out. This may impact teacher outcomes.	
Llego (2017)	N = 113; 84 female	Science teachers in the Philippines	Public schools	Emotional intelligence	Quantitative: questionnaire	No significant gender differences found related to emotion regulation.	1
Loh & Liew, 2016	N = 10; 7 female	Secondary English language and literature teachers in elite and government schools in Singapore	Public and 'private' schools <sup>b</sup>	Emotional knowledge Emotional labour	Qualitative: interviews	Findings suggest that different school types may lead to different forms of emotional labour and outcomes.	2
Mattern and Bauer (2014)	N = 664; 366 female	Secondary mathematics teachers in Germany	Public, private and vocational schools	Teacher self-regulation Teacher wellbeing	Quantitative: survey, scales	Gender was not found to have an effect on self-regulation and emotional exhaustion or self-regulation and job satisfaction.	2
McIntyre (2010)	N = 20; 9 female	Long-serving teachers in disadvantaged areas in England	Public (presumed)	Attrition Emotion Identity in teaching Space	Qualitative: interviews	No gender differences were found in teacher identification with or commitment to the school where they work.	2
Mearns and Cain (2003)	N = 86; 65 female	Primary and secondary school teachers in urban and suburban USA	No information provided	Burnout Coping Negative mood regulation	Quantitative: questionnaire	Female teachers had higher scores on emotion-focused coping; male teachers had higher scores related to feelings of depersonalisation.	2
O'Connor (2008)	N = 3; 2 female	Secondary humanities teachers in urban Australia	Public and private schools	Caring work Emotion management Identity Professional identity Roles	Qualitative: interviews	Female teachers described their roles as involving more caring and emotion work; the male teacher described distancing himself emotionally from students while evoking positive emotions in class.	1
Sachs and Blackmore (1998)	N = 17; all female	Administrators of "difficult" primary and secondary schools in Australia	Public (presumed)	Emotional control Emotional labour	Qualitative: interviews	Female administrators described guilt related to juggling work and family commitments and gendered expectations that they manage their anger.	1
Salim et al. (2012)	N = 1200; 740 female	Primary and secondary school teachers in Malaysia	No information provided	Emotional intelligence Job satisfaction	Quantitative: survey	No significant gender differences found regarding job satisfaction or emotional intelligence.	2
Shen and Zhang (2012)	N = 54; 29 female	Head teachers of students in grades 7–12 in China	Public, mixed educational schools	Emotion regulation	Quantitative: questionnaire	No differences in gender were found in teacher emotion regulation (suppression or reappraisal) strategies.	1
Shukla & Trivedi, 2008	N = 320; 160 females	Secondary school teachers of arts and science, in India	Public (presumed)	Gender Teacher burnout	Quantitative: surveys	No statistically significant differences were found related to gender and burnout.	2
Song (2008)	N = 493; 319 female	Junior-high school teachers in average, city-level and district-level schools in China	Public (presumed)	Burnout Social support (practical and emotional)	Quantitative: scale	Gender was not found to have an effect on burnout.	2

(continued on next page)



Table 1 (continued)

Study	Sample Size	Sample Description <sup>a</sup>	School Type	Phenomena of Interest	Methods	Relevant Findings	Research Question (s)
Sutton (2004)	N = 30; 19 female	Middle school (aged 10–15) teachers in the USA	Public, mixed educational (presumed)	Emotion regulation	Qualitative: interviews	No gender differences were found in teachers' discussions of emotion and emotion regulation.	1
Taher et al. (2016)	N = 200; 137 female	Primary and secondary school teachers in Libya	Public (presumed)	Anxiety Depression Stress	Quantitative: questionnaire	No gender differences in teacher outcomes were found.	2
te Riele et al. (2017)	N = 33; gender ratio not specified	Secondary school (grades 7–12) teachers working in urban alternative schools in Australia	Public and private schools	Affective justice Emotional labour Ethics of care	Qualitative: case studies, document analysis, observations, interviews	In alternative schools genuine care work is required; 'pretending to care' does not work (p. 64).	1
Timms et al. (2007)	N = 298; 215 female	Teachers of all grades (preschool to year 12) in Australia	Independent (private) schools	Burnout Emotional labour Work-life balance	Mixed Survey with closed and open questions	No gender differences related to burnout or engagement were identified.	2
van Uden et al., 2014	N = 200; 82 female	Vocational and pre-vocational (secondary school) teachers in the Netherlands	Public (presumed)	Student engagement Teacher beliefs Teacher interpersonal behaviour	Quantitative: questionnaire	Students of female teachers were found to be less emotionally engaged in the subject.	1
Wu (2004)	N = 375; 189 female	Vocational high school teachers in Taiwan	No information provided	Emotional intelligence	Quantitative: scale	No gender differences found in emotion management, but difference found in self-awareness and empathy.	1
Yilmaz et al. (2015)	N = 410; 179 female	Elementary and high school teachers in Turkey	No information provided	Burnout Emotional labour	Quantitative: questionnaire	Male teachers reported using surface acting more often. No gender differences were found regarding burnout.	1, 2
Yin (2015)	N = 1281; 943 female	Primary and secondary school teachers in China	No information provided	Emotional intelligence Emotional job demands Teaching satisfaction	Quantitative: questionnaire	Male teachers were found to have significantly higher scores on surface acting. No gender differences were found regarding emotional intelligence or teaching satisfaction.	1, 2

<sup>a</sup> The educational setting was not explicit in all studies, but inferred. For instance, in-text reference to 'a year 7 open evening' in McIntyre's (2010, p. 609) study suggested secondary school teachers were included in the sample.

<sup>b</sup> Elite schools in Singapore, though publically funded, are similar to private schools in western countries. They attract students from middle- and upper-class families, have better programs and facilities, and principals have more autonomy in hiring practices (Koh, 2014).

Kimura, 2010; Kinman et al., 2011; McIntyre, 2010). In subsequent sections we present results organised by research question and method.

### 3.1. Emotion management, gender, and school type

We summarise here findings from the 22 studies relevant to our first research question: What differences are evident in how secondary teachers manage emotions across different genders and/or school types? Presented first are the 14 studies which employed quantitative methods (Alnabhan, 2008; Brackett et al., 2010; Chan, 2004; Chang, 2013; Goroshit & Hen, 2016; Gutiérrez-Moret et al., 2016; Harvey, Bimler, Evans, Kirkland, & Pechtel, 2012; Lee et al., 2016; Llego, 2017; Shen & Zhang, 2012; van Uden et al., 2014; Wu, 2004; Yilmaz et al., 2015; Yin, 2015), followed by the eight studies which used qualitative methods (Blackmore, 2004; Hargreaves, 1998; Jakhelln, 2011; Kimura, 2010; O'Connor, 2008; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998; Sutton, 2004; te Riele, Mills, Mcgregor, & Baroutsis, 2017).

#### 3.1.1. Quantitative studies

All of the quantitative studies employed various scales administered via questionnaire to examine a range of phenomena related to emotion management in teaching: emotional intelligence (Alnabhan, 2008; Chan, 2004; Gutiérrez-Moret et al., 2016; Llego, 2017; Wu, 2004; Yin, 2015), emotion regulation (Brackett et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2016; Shen & Zhang, 2012; Wu, 2004), emotional labour (Kimura, 2010; Yilmaz et al., 2015), emotional climate (Harvey et al., 2012), emotional self-efficacy (Goroshit & Hen, 2016), and teacher interpersonal behaviour (van Uden et al., 2014). Sample sizes ranged from 54 (Shen & Zhang, 2012) to over 1000 (Yin, 2015). Few included information on the types of schools where teachers were working (studies were included if they identified emotion management differences by gender and/or school type).

Regarding gender differences, the results were almost evenly split across quantitative studies—six indicated no gender differences in how teachers manage their emotions (Alnabhan, 2008; Brackett et al., 2010; Chan, 2004; Llego, 2017; Shen & Zhang, 2012; Wu, 2004). In studies indicating a gender difference, males were found to employ surface acting more often than females (Lee et al.,

2016; Yilmaz et al., 2015; Yin, 2015), suppress their emotions (Chang, 2013), and maintain their distance in relating to students (Harvey et al., 2012). Female teachers were more likely to make themselves emotionally available to students (Harvey et al., 2012), feel pride (Lee et al., 2016), and use deep acting emotion management strategies (Chang, 2013). Contradictorily, female teachers were found to “use emotions to help attain their goals” (Gutiérrez-Moret et al., 2016, p. 130), but to be less effective at increasing student interest in the subject material (van Uden et al., 2014). One study, which found no gender differences in emotion management, found gender differences in other markers of emotion: self-awareness and empathy (Wu, 2004). In addition to gender, Harvey et al. (2012) emphasised the importance of culture; Maori teachers were found to have a teacher *emotion profile* distinct from European-New Zealand teachers.

One limitation across quantitative studies is the overwhelming reliance on self-reported measures. The dualistic treatment of gender is another. Several authors argue that there is a need for further longitudinal (Chan, 2004) and qualitative research (van Uden et al., 2014; Yilmaz et al., 2015) to understand better why teachers differ in emotion management strategies.

Studies conclude that pre-service teachers need further education in emotional labour (Yin, 2015), emotional intelligence (Alnabhan, 2008; Wu, 2004), and the emotional dimensions of teaching and behaviour management in the classroom (Brackett et al., 2010; Chang, 2013; Gutiérrez-Moret et al., 2016).

### 3.1.2. Qualitative studies

All eight qualitative studies addressing the first research question employed interviews as a data collection method; half also used observational data. Qualitative studies investigated emotional labour (Blackmore, 2004; Hargreaves, 1998; Jakhelln, 2011; Kimura, 2010; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998; te Riele et al., 2017), emotion regulation (Sutton, 2004), emotional control (Sachs & Blackmore, 1998), identity, as defined by Zembylas (2003), and emotion management (O'Connor, 2008) in teaching. The number of participants included in the qualitative studies ranged from three (O'Connor, 2008; Jakhelln, 2011; Kimura, 2010) to 33 (te Riele et al., 2017). Like the quantitative studies, information on secondary school type was scarce (studies were included if they examined teacher emotion management by gender *and/or* school type). Based on available descriptions, most appear to be public mixed-educational schools; two studies clearly included teachers working in private schools (O'Connor, 2008; te Riele et al., 2017).

Qualitative studies emphasised the importance of emotions for teaching and teaching policies (Blackmore, 2004; Hargreaves, 1998). Findings indicated that secondary teachers manage emotions using a range of strategies: controlling anger and frustration by potentially replacing it with irritation or embarrassment; changing the situation; advising students when the teacher is unwell and needs special consideration; using self-talk and peer support; deep-breathing techniques; and surface acting (Kimura, 2010; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998; Sutton, 2004).

Though not all explicitly examined gender and emotion management, five qualitative studies portrayed emotion management as gendered. It is noteworthy that three of the qualitative studies using observational data depicted gender differences (Blackmore, 2004; Jakhelln, 2011; Kimura, 2010). Female teachers, especially women in leadership positions, described feeling compelled to manage their anger more than males in similar positions because it was thought to be culturally inappropriate for women to show anger for fear of being labelled a “nag” or “unfeminine” (Blackmore, 2004, p. 452; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998, p. 272). Although direct gender comparisons were not made, female teachers described—or were observed experiencing—difficulties in maintaining authority

in the classroom (Jakhelln, 2011), particularly with disruptive male students (Kimura, 2010). Researchers presented male teachers disregarding their emotions (Jakhelln, 2011) and maintaining their distance, but also working to evoke positive emotions in the classroom (Kimura, 2010; O'Connor, 2008). By comparison, O'Connor (2008) portrayed female secondary teachers conceptualising their professional roles as involving more care work, which some reported was difficult to separate from their private lives. Jakhelln (2011) found the greater emotional investment of female teachers in their teaching set them up for failure when they were unable to fulfil their ambitious teaching goals.

Although three qualitative studies considered the possible relevance of public or private school types to secondary teachers' emotion management, no studies examined differences across mixed-educational and single-sex school types. te Riele et al.'s (2017, p. 60) study, based in “alternative schools” for students who have “experienced educational and social disadvantage,” suggests that regardless of funding source, alternative school teachers share similar emotional experiences, such as anger at systemic injustices and emotion management requirements based in a self-generated sense of vocation. Kimura (2010) similarly emphasises identification as a teacher, but explains this as a cultural feature unique to Japanese teachers. Two studies of mainstream teaching environments found school type to be relevant. O'Connor (2008, p. 121) found that private schools explicitly expect teachers to perform care work for students as part of parents “getting value for money.” Blackmore (2004) suggested that organisational cultures, and thus, emotion management expectations, were in flux within public schools, due to waves of government reforms imposing new agendas and priorities.

The qualitative studies retained here had several limitations related to gender (Blackmore, 2004; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998). Half overlooked gender as an overt focus (Kimura, 2010; Hargreaves, 1998; Sutton, 2004; te Riele, 2017) and gender-normative assumptions were pervasive: none of the included studies problematised gender binaries or examined LGBTQIA+ identities. Qualitative studies suggested the need for future research to take into account culture and context, such as grade, country, rurality, funding source, and the particular cultural feeling rules of the workplace (Blackmore, 2004; Jakhelln, 2011; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998; Sutton, 2004).

### 3.2. Teacher outcomes, gender and school type

We summarise the findings here, by method, of the 25 included studies with results relevant to our second research question: What differences are evident in secondary teacher outcomes, especially outcomes linked to emotion management, across different genders and/or school types? Twenty studies employed quantitative methods (Berg & Cornell, 2016; Bizumic, Reynolds, Turner, Bromhead, & Subasic, 2009; Borrachero et al., 2014; Brackett et al., 2010; Caires, Almedia, & Vieira, 2012; Caires, Almeida, & Martins, 2010; Chang, 2013; García-Ros et al., 2015; Greenglass et al., 1998; Hinds, Jones, Gau, Forrester, & Biglan, 2015; Jones & Youngs, 2012; Kinman et al., 2011; Mattern & Bauer, 2014; Mearns & Cain, 2003; Salim, Nasir, Arip, & Mustafa, 2012; Song, 2008; Shukla & Trivedi, 2008; Taher, Samud, Hashemi, & Kabuoli, 2016; Yilmaz et al., 2015; Yin, 2015). Two employed mixed methods<sup>1</sup> (Küçüksüleymanoğlu, 2011; Timms et al., 2007). Three employed qualitative methods (Lippke, 2012; Loh & Liew, 2016; McIntyre, 2010).

<sup>1</sup> The quantitative results of these mixed methods studies are included in section 3.2.1; the qualitative findings are presented in 3.2.2.

### 3.2.1. Quantitative studies

Overwhelmingly, quantitative studies of secondary teacher outcomes measured emotion management in conjunction with Maslach and Jackson's (1981) concept of burnout, or a dimension of this concept, such as emotional exhaustion. A few studies included broader teacher outcomes, such as teaching satisfaction (Yin, 2015), teacher distress (Berg & Cornell, 2016), job satisfaction (Salim et al., 2012), and wellbeing (Bizumic et al., 2009). Studies employed various scales directly linked to the concepts employed, such as the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Greenglass et al., 1998) or the Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale (DASS-21) (Taher et al., 2016). One study used a randomised controlled trial design to determine the effectiveness of an intervention designed to increase teacher wellbeing (Hinds et al., 2015); most studies used cross-sectional data to examine associations between indicators of emotion management and burnout. Sample sizes ranged from under 50 (Jones & Youngs, 2012) to over 1000 (Berg & Cornell, 2016; Salim et al., 2012; Yin, 2015). School types—public, private, mixed-educational, or single-sex—were rarely disclosed. Some studies, however, were careful to sample teachers from schools based in urban, suburban, and rural settings (Berg & Cornell, 2016; Caires et al., 2010, 2012), compulsory and non-compulsory (García-Ros et al., 2015), and “higher” and “lower” track schools (Mattern & Bauer, 2014, p. 62).

Illustrating the complexity of the quantitative relationship between emotion management and teacher outcomes, emotional labour was linked with higher levels of personal accomplishment, although the association was weak (Kinman et al., 2011). However, the form of emotion management seems to matter, with deep acting and the expression of felt emotions positively predicting teaching satisfaction (Yin, 2015) and, consequently, being an unlikely predictor of burnout.

Recalling the three components of burnout—emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, and low personal accomplishment—most studies indicated that gender was not significant to these teacher outcomes. In 13 of the 22 studies, no statistically significant differences were found based on gender and the outcomes under investigation. In the remaining studies, men scored higher on depersonalisation (Greenglass et al., 1998; Küçükşüleymanoğlu, 2011; Mearns & Cain, 2003). Women, in comparison, were found to have more intensely unpleasant emotions (Chang, 2013), and more distress in response to student aggression (Berg & Cornell, 2016), but also higher levels of peer support (Greenglass et al., 1998). Results were also conflicting; Chang (2013) reported that women, while Küçükşüleymanoğlu (2011) found men, have higher levels of emotional exhaustion. Interestingly, one study found that male teachers (but not female teachers) reported a lower sense of personal accomplishment the longer they had been in their position (Greenglass et al., 1998). Three studies examined gender and emotional outcomes in pre-service science teachers. Borrachero et al. (2014) found female student teachers reported a greater disposition to experiencing negative emotions and job stress. Caires et al. (2010; 2012) found that male student teachers reported fewer socio-emotional difficulties associated with their placements than female student teachers, including issues with sleeping, eating, and stress. Kinman et al. (2011) concluded that there are statistically significant differences in secondary teacher outcomes based on gender, but gender only explained 3% of the variation in measures of personal accomplishment and job satisfaction in their study.

In addition to gender, other factors such as age, marital status, classroom management skills, and teaching experience were repeatedly identified as relevant to understanding emotion management and teacher outcomes in secondary schooling. Age was found to be significantly associated with stress and depression (Bizumic et al., 2009), but not linked to differences in emotion

management strategies (Brackett et al., 2010). Married teachers were found to use surface acting more often than unmarried teachers (Yilmaz et al., 2015), but to experience less exhaustion than single teachers (Küçükşüleymanoğlu, 2011). Classroom management skills were consistently and inversely associated with burnout (Chang, 2013; García-Ros et al., 2015; Hinds et al., 2015).

Results varied regarding the relationship between teaching experience and teacher outcomes. Two studies found that secondary school teaching experience is not significantly related to teacher outcomes, such as burnout (Brackett et al., 2010; García-Ros et al., 2015). Two more depict a linear relationship, with more experienced teachers more likely to experience burnout and decreased job satisfaction (Kinman et al., 2011; Song, 2008). Two further studies found a V-shaped rather than linear association between teaching experience and teacher outcomes, with teachers in the early and later, but not middle stages of their careers most at risk of burnout and decreased self-efficacy (Chang, 2013; Küçükşüleymanoğlu, 2011).

Included quantitative studies had a number of limitations. Cross-sectional data meant causal inferences were rarely possible, only correlations. No studies linked emotion management and teacher outcomes with actual teacher attrition data from schools. Conclusions were drawn from samples based in single geographic regions and results often relied on recall and self-reported measures. In one study, self-reported prospective emotions (the anticipated feelings of students studying to become teachers) were conflated with the emotional experiences of teaching (Borrachero et al., 2014).

### 3.2.2. Qualitative and mixed methods studies

Three qualitative and two mixed methods studies were relevant to our second research question. These studies used semi-structured interviews, surveys, and participant observation to understand emotional labour (Lippke, 2012; Loh & Liew, 2016; Timms et al., 2007), and teacher outcomes (McIntyre, 2010). Participant numbers ranged from ten (Loh & Liew, 2016) to 298 (Timms et al., 2007). Studies were often focused on specific teaching contexts: private independent (Timms et al., 2007); elite and government (Loh & Liew, 2016); special education (Küçükşüleymanoğlu, 2011); and vocational education (Lippke, 2012).

Regarding gender and teacher outcomes, two studies indicated no gender differences (McIntyre, 2010; Timms et al., 2007); one mixed method study found gender differences (see section 3.2.1; Küçükşüleymanoğlu, 2011). The remaining two did not overtly explore gender.

Findings regarding secondary school type and teacher outcomes emphasised the importance of identifying with the school where one works, and its aims (Loh & Liew, 2016; McIntyre, 2010). Only one study (Loh & Liew, 2016) compared teacher experiences across two school types: elite and government schools in Singapore. Loh and Liew (2016) found that in elite settings, exams dominated the curriculum. Teachers in these schools managed their emotions to reconcile teaching identities and philosophies which emphasised creativity with organisational cultures that insisted they teach to the test. In government schools, teachers performed emotion management to keep less academically competitive students engaged. These teachers identified with the performativity of this role, and were less constrained in incorporating their identities and principles into their work. McIntyre's (2010) investigation of teachers who remained in inner-city UK schools similarly emphasised identity and identification with the school. Teachers in these disadvantaged areas grew attached to their school; over time it became central to their identities. This is poignantly illustrated through the example of a teacher who recalled hearing the news of his wife's cancer diagnosis while at work and described this as

appropriate because all of the most important events in his life occurred at the school.

Other studies suggest that social disadvantage and time feature significantly in teacher outcomes. Lippke (2012) shows that vocational secondary teachers in Denmark help students to deal with personal traumas and thus, perform onerous emotional labour, which may have consequences for teachers' wellbeing. An Australian study found that although teachers in independent (private) schools identified with their work and often felt absorbed in it, the workload demands were a probable cause of attrition (Timms et al., 2007). The following quote from a female teacher at a private secondary school is illustrative: "we are expected to do so much marking and tutoring to support our 'fee-paying' students. I feel so disheartened—I love to teach and I desperately want to teach well, but I cannot meet the work expectations" (Timms et al., 2007, p. 583). Thus, although identification with one's work as a teacher is important, other work dimensions—and their impact on a teacher's other life domains—may temper this relationship.

#### 4. Discussion

This review offers a thorough overview and analysis of empirical studies examining emotion management and teacher outcomes across secondary school teachers of different genders working in different types of schools. At the outset, we sought to identify intersections in secondary teachers' emotion management strategies and teacher outcomes, differentiated by gender and school type. Due to the diversity of theoretical constructs adopted and the limited number of studies reporting on school type, closer examination of links between our two research questions was not possible. The critical review provided, however, offers important lines of inquiry. In this section, we summarise our key findings and provide suggestions for conceptual advancement and future research. Overall, we suggest that understanding emotion management, gender and teacher outcomes requires closer scrutiny of the fit between a teacher's identity and the school's organisational culture, contextual factors, and the theoretical tools employed.

##### 4.1. Key findings

No studies examined differences across single-sex and mixed-educational secondary schools; few examined differences in emotion management and teacher outcomes across public and private schools. Those that did indicated that organisational cultures differ, showing that private schools tended to expect greater time and care commitments from teachers (O'Connor, 2008; Timms et al., 2007). Some studies (that may be specific to Australia) found that public schools are undergoing waves of reforms (Blackmore, 2004). With organisational cultures in flux, these teachers are experiencing a sense of normlessness. One study explicitly examined teacher outcomes across government and elite schools (Loh & Liew, 2016), indicating that the match between a teacher's and school's definition of good teaching may matter to teachers' experiences, influencing their intention to stay in the job.

Over half of the included studies suggest that gender matters to teachers' emotion management. Eight of the 14 quantitative studies and five of the eight qualitative studies addressing our first research question suggested that there are gendered differences in how teachers manage their emotions. Compared to male teachers, female teachers experience more pride and distress (Berg & Cornell, 2016; Lee et al., 2016), possibly reflecting greater personal investment in their teacher identity (Jakhelln, 2011). Female teachers described expectations that they hide their anger or risk appearing unfeminine (Blackmore, 2004; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998). They were depicted as more likely to care for, and connect emotionally

with, students using deep acting (O'Connor, 2008; Yilmaz et al., 2015; Yin, 2015), but experienced higher levels of emotional exhaustion (Chang, 2013). Male teachers were found to more often keep their distance (Harvey et al., 2012; O'Connor, 2008), use suppression and surface acting strategies and experience depersonalisation (Lee et al., 2016; Mearns & Cain, 2003). Male teachers were depicted as more successful in controlling disruptive classroom behaviours and maintaining an emotional climate conducive to achieving teaching and learning goals (Kimura, 2010).

A third of the studies answering our second research question—eight of twenty quantitative, one of two mixed methods and none of the three qualitative studies—implicated gender in teacher outcomes. Emotion management, particularly deep acting, was associated with greater satisfaction in one's work and higher levels of personal accomplishment (Kinman et al., 2011; Yin, 2015). Given our findings that female teachers are more likely to deep act, it is surprising that female teachers (in studies reporting gendered outcomes) more often reported experiencing a range of negative outcomes: socio-emotional difficulties (Caires et al., 2010, 2012); more unpleasant emotions (Borrachero et al., 2014; Chang, 2013); more distress in response to student aggression (Berg & Cornell, 2016); and higher levels of emotional exhaustion (Chang, 2013). Less surprising is the tendency of male teachers—who are more likely to surface act—to experience depersonalisation (Greenglass et al., 1998; Mearns & Cain, 2003). Based on these review findings, we argue that understanding the complexity and contradictions in gendered experiences of emotion management and teacher outcomes requires appreciation of social forces beyond, but working through, individual teachers: organisational culture, (gendered) identity and capacity.

##### 4.2. Teaching identity and organisational culture in secondary schooling

We reflect here on findings related to organisational culture and teacher identity in the context of teacher's emotion management and outcomes. In line with the centrality of identity to Maslach and Jackson's (1981) conceptualisation of burnout and studies of emotional labour in nursing (Huynh, Alderson, & Thompson, 2008), several qualitative studies in this review suggest the importance of identifying with one's work to teachers' emotion management and outcomes. In McIntyre's (2010) and te Riele et al.'s (2017) studies, participants saw teaching as their primary identities, which may explain why these teachers thrived within their careers, despite the many challenges of teaching in alternative schools or disadvantaged areas. Strong emotional identification as a teacher, however, was less successful for the female teachers in O'Connor (2008) and Jakhelln's (2011) studies: care work aspects of teaching bled into other life domains and school-contexts unable to accommodate ambitious aims resulted in discord. Bizumic et al. (2009), echoing a theme from Loh and Liew's (2016) research (described above), found identification with the school where one works—rather than one's profession—to be a good predictor of wellbeing.

Based on our interpretation of these findings, we argue that identifying as a teacher—as defined by the school where one is employed—is implicated in emotion management and teacher outcomes. The fit between context, culture and individual teacher, one's temporal capacity to achieve the objectives aligned with that identity, complicate this relationship. Regarding the fit, where the goals and organisational culture match the teacher's personal and professional identity, the deep acting performed may complement naturally-felt emotions (Yin, 2015). In a school setting, where the goals and organisational culture do not match the teacher's identity, emotion management may fail and work to repel. O'Connor (2008) found this to be the case for a teacher who felt

disingenuous about working in a private school, who described an intention to leave the school as a consequence. Using Holland et al.'s (1998) concept of identity, this can be understood as a disconnect between one's self and embodied social practice. Similar to Maslach et al.'s (1996) depersonalisation, this can be conceptualised as a form of "emotional dissonance"—where a person's enduring feelings are contrary to what is expected of them—which has been found to cause alienation and distress (Wharton, 2009, p. 149).

Culture may also be implicated in this relationship. Despite research implicating culture in teachers' diverging emotional experience (Lee & Yin, 2011), no obvious patterns emerged in our comparison of studies by country of origin. Two studies, however, point to the potential relevance of ethnicity to the fit between individual teacher and teaching context. Kimura (2010) suggests some cultures are more likely to prioritise work over other identities. Harvey et al. (2012) identify cross-cultural variation in emotional expectations.

Time is also relevant. Teachers need sufficient time to fulfil goals associated with their personal and professional identities (Timms et al., 2007). Onerous work demands can prevent teachers from achieving what they and the organisation define as a "good job". This may be cause for further emotional dissonance when teachers attempt, but fail in emotion management efforts to overcome the distance between expectations and temporal realities. Research on the relationship between job demands (e.g., workload) and job resources (e.g., supervisory support, trust; Hakanen et al., 2006; Yin, Huang, & Wang, 2016) supports the prioritisation of temporal dimensions and context to burnout, but continued attention to the "situatedness" (Zembylas, 2003, p. 214) of teacher identities is needed to counter the tendency to "falsely universalize" emotion management in teaching (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 814).

Overall, our review suggests that teacher emotion management and teacher outcomes are mediated by complex social and identity factors in varied organisational cultures. Based on this review we propose questions for future research:

- a. Where secondary teachers identify with the definitions of good teaching espoused within their school, and have sufficient time to achieve goals aligned with this definition, how/does emotion management foster a teacher's commitment to their profession and school?
- b. Where there is discord between these definitions or insufficient time to achieve outcomes, how/does emotion management prompt alienation and burnout?

#### 4.3. Interactionist emotion management

Much of the scholarship included within this review conceptualises emotion management psychodynamically as an internal process, a part of a person's character or a skill that can be learnt (Mattern & Bauer, 2014; Zembylas, 2007). Variation in the results related to gender, and findings pointing to the importance of context suggest that psychodynamic concepts may be limited in understanding secondary teacher emotion management and teacher outcomes (Hargreaves, 2000). We argue that psychodynamic conceptualisations may overlook important interpersonal dimensions of emotion management that are likely central to a teacher's decision to continue in or leave the profession.

We argue that emotion management in teaching should be viewed as an interactionist and relational endeavour. Rather than investigating the form of an individual's emotion regulation in isolation, researchers should ask: Does this emotion management strategy authentically fit within this teacher's identity in this

teaching context? Will the strength of this individual's teacher identity and the time demands of the job propel them or prevent them from excelling in this teaching context?

An interactionist interpretation of emotion management as identity- and context-specific allows us to suggest answers to seemingly contradictory findings beyond our research questions—about the investment in roles outside of secondary teaching and its effects on managing emotions inside of teaching. Recall that married teachers were found to more often use surface acting than unmarried teachers (Yilmaz et al., 2015), but experience less emotional exhaustion than single teachers (Küçükşüleymanoğlu, 2011). An interactionist appreciation could suggest that married teachers are invested in other identities and thus, less emotionally invested in their teaching identities; their lower levels of emotional exhaustion may be a result of the relative weakness of their teacher identity.

Identifying too strongly as a *caring* teacher (Jakhelln, 2011; O'Connor, 2008) may also prevent a teacher from being an effective classroom manager. As with Lois' (2006) research into home schooling parents, incorporating identity(ies) into conceptualisations of teacher outcomes helps us speculate why teachers, who are able to deal with problematic behaviours effectively, have lower levels of burnout (García-Ros et al., 2015): perhaps it is because they identify less strongly as *caring* teachers.

Examination of identity and context may also clarify findings regarding the non-linear relationship between experience and teacher outcomes. Recall that both newer and senior teachers, but not those in the middle stages of their careers, were found to experience greater levels and indicators of burnout in two studies (Chang, 2013; Küçükşüleymanoğlu, 2011). This pattern may reflect early career teachers grappling with their professional identities and their fit within the teaching contexts. Ongoing reform and organisational change (Blackmore, 2004) may be implicated in the increased burnout in the latter years, with very experienced teachers whose personal and professional identities initially fit, feeling depleted because their identities no longer match the organisational culture.

#### 4.4. Implications for theory and practice

Based on our review, we offer directions for the research, theory and practice nexus. Future research should prioritise the examination of attrition, as well as pre-cursors to attrition. Context is also significant. Studies should include the gender make-up of student bodies, school funding sources and broader cultures. Methodologically, future study designs should move beyond a reliance on self-report methods, which can be vulnerable to over- and underestimation (Chan, 2004). Observational methods may be more adept at presenting gendered differences in secondary teachers' emotion management (Blackmore, 2004; Jakhelln, 2011; Kimura, 2010). Thus, researchers should prioritise methods with proven sensitivity to appreciating (gendered and intersecting) identities in context, such as classroom observation.

A more explicit focus on the interactionist elements of emotion management (Hochschild, 1983, 1990) would further shift theory and training away from individualistic approaches. Rather than an examination of an individual teacher's gender and response (deep or surface acting) to expectations alone, investigation of the surrounding organisational and emotional culture (Hargreaves, 2000) would serve to expand our lens to acknowledge the mediating role of the fit between setting and identity. This may also extend appreciation of school-based and socio-cultural influences on gendered emotional expectations.

Theoretical tools capable of extending the research agenda beyond psychodynamic conceptualisations of emotion

management are needed. This is important; the way emotion management is theorised has implications for teacher education and practice. Current individualistic conceptualisations implicate university-based curriculum reform as a solution, such as including coursework on the merits of certain emotion management strategies (Brackett et al., 2010; Gutiérrez-Moret et al., 2016; Yin, 2015). However, the analysis presented here suggests this subsequent teacher learning would focus too narrowly on the teacher's emotion management, ignoring the various definitions of what it means to be a teacher across different schools with different organisational cultures. Instead, we suggest that future teachers should be guided through the unequal emotional and identity terrain available to different teachers in diverse teaching contexts. As a start, prioritisation should be given to work-integrated learning activities which foster reflection on the interconnected concerns of one's personal definition of *good teaching*, the particular school's definition of *good teaching* and emotional culture, and the emotion management performed to bridge the divide. Further theory-informed research is needed to guide initial teacher education and professional learning.

Supplementing interactionist conceptualisations of emotion management with other theoretical tools may prove useful. Connell's (2012, p. 1677) "relational theory" could help to expand the currently limited appreciation of gender within this field. Relational theory replaces traditional binary treatment of genders with multidimensional conceptualisations of gender, as enmeshed in intersecting and embodied relations of power, emotion and class. In addition to Zembylas' (2003) work, Holland and colleague's (1998) theory of identity as practice, which casts identities as both individual and social projects, may also prove useful in more fully appreciating the interactionist nature of secondary teachers' identities as they author their own teaching identities under the constraints of unequal social terrain and pre-existing and competing notions of what it means to be a "good" teacher.

#### 4.5. Limitations

Though efforts were taken to exact a comprehensive search of the published literature, limitations are acknowledged. No relevant studies were identified for inclusion from South and Central America. Limiting the search strategy to studies published in English was necessary but may have prevented the inclusion of publications from some parts of the world. We acknowledge that our use of *emotion management* as an umbrella term for constructs including *emotional labour*, *emotion regulation*, and *emotional intelligence* places a burden of trust on our readers. However, including studies using these intersecting theoretical concepts fostered inclusivity and a more informed analysis.

## 5. Conclusion

This review sought to understand the complexity in gendered emotion management across different secondary school types and teaching outcomes. Studies were divided, but our review suggests that understanding the nexus between gender, emotion management and teacher outcomes in secondary school teaching requires an appreciation of the mediating influence of teacher identities and educational settings. Rather than asking *if* there are gendered differences in how teachers manage their emotions or experience outcomes, such as burnout, or asking what is *the* "right" approach to emotion management to prevent burnout, we argue for consideration of the settings, teacher identities and temporal constraints in which emotion management takes place. Emotion management is informed by, and entangled within, gendered identities available to secondary teachers and constrained by the

gendered cultures and settings in which teachers are employed. Whether emotion management bolsters or counters a teacher's wellbeing and intention to stay in their job or the profession, may depend on the fit of this emotion management within that teacher's identity—and the extent to which the job allows the teacher to fulfil the objectives linked to that identity. Thus, we urge scholars within this field to prioritise examination of context and fit: to conceptualise emotion management as culturally relative and context-bound, and thus, not equally accessible to all identities.

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## Appendix C. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2019.01.010>.

## Appendix A. Search Terms

Concept	Search terms
Emotion management	"emotion* management" OR "emotion* regulation" OR "emotion* work" OR "emotion* labour" OR "emotion* labor" OR "emotion* control" OR "emotion* expression" OR "emotion* response" OR "emotion* experience" OR "emotion* practice" OR "emotion* competence" OR "emotion* skills" OR "emotion* understanding*" OR "emotion* appraisal" OR "self regulation" OR "student teacher relationship" OR "teacher student relationship"
Teaching, secondary schools	(teach* AND (((secondary OR high OR middle OR senior OR junior high) AND school*)) OR "secondary schools")) OR "secondary school teachers"

## Appendix B. Data Extraction Tool

### Publication details

Principal author, date

Title

Journal

### Aims

Study purpose

Phenomenon of Interest (e.g., emotion management)

### Sample description

Sample size

N =

Gender

Grade level

School type (e.g., public or private, single or mixed-educational)

Other

### Study design

Methods (e.g., quantitative, qualitative or mixed)

Design

(continued on next page)

(continued)

Outcome measures (if relevant)

**Study contribution**

Key findings &amp; results

Discussion

Limitations

Overall conclusions

**Reviewer assessments**

Reviewer comments

Does study address one of our research questions?

How does study address one of our research questions?

Include?

**References**

References marked with an asterisk indicate studies included in the review.

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