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Emotional Labor in School Administration: Opinions and Experiences of Turkish School Administrators¹

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Abstract

This paper seeks to examine the views and experiences of school administrators about the emotional labor that they exhibit in the school environment. The study group consists of a total of 30 school administrators. The qualitative method was used and a basic qualitative research design was adopted. The data were gathered through a semi-structured interview form and analyzed through content analysis. The results showed that there were feeling rules in school administration, and the emotions of school administrators are shaped mainly by informal rules such as personal characteristics and professional ethics rather than formal rules. It was determined that school administrators do not reflect their negative feelings, such as anger, sadness, and fear in the school environment and act to display the appropriate emotion (surface acting). In addition, it was understood that as a requirement of being an administrator, they force themselves to feel certain emotions to treat everyone equally and create a positive school climate (deep acting). School administrators indicated that the effort to manage their emotions in their relations with people in the school environment caused negative results such as burnout, weariness, unhappiness, stress, tension, nervousness, headache, regret, insomnia, tension, and restlessness. On the other hand, school administrators expressed that exhibiting emotional labor also had positive results. These include positive communication and school climate, happiness, psychological relaxation, getting to know people better, success, gaining people's trust, being more cautious and foresighted, being accepted, mature and the feeling of being a good person. Regarding the results, the concept of emotional labor and related skills can be integrated to the pre-service and in-service training of school administrators. Also some recommendations are made for the process of the school administrator selection process.

Keywords: emotions in school administration, emotional labor, school administrator

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Introduction

School administrators challenge many difficult cases in a rutin school day. An accident, a discipline problem, an urgent document to reply, a conflict between teachers, and etc. These difficulties may get angry or worry them but they have to manage their emotions, stay calm and behave as a model educator both for students, teachers, parents, and other people they face. They interact with various segments of the society. Beyond interacting, they must establish a positive communication with the people around them, understand and guide them. At the same time, they are responsible for achieving the goals of the school. They are expected to both ensure the effectiveness of the school and be good at human relations. School administrators need to have many competencies and skills to manage this process successfully. Being able to control and regulate their own emotions and displaying the appropriate emotion at the appropriate time are among these skills.

Effective communication skills are important in the success of school administrators (Bursalioglu, 2021). Emotions are at the center of school administration (Hauseman, 2021; Wang, Pollock, & Hauseman, 2022). The emotions and behaviors of school administrators significantly affect teachers and students (Yamamoto, Gardiner, & Tenuto, 2014). Therefore, they should be well-equipped about displaying their emotions appropriately (Toremén & Cankaya, 2008). It can be said that one of the key variables of effective communication is the emotions. School administrators should be able to create a positive communication environment that will keep everyone benefiting from the education together. They need to display the appropriate emotion in all kinds of situations such as disciplinary problems with students, problems of teachers, demands of parents, time pressure in bureaucratic work, demands, and pressures of senior administrators. School administrators should be able to stay calm in such situations, not get angry, be sympathetic to the teacher's problems, and share the parent's anxiety. They must either feel or pretend to feel all these, or force her/himself to feel and display these feelings. In this paper, these efforts that school administrators are expected to show to display appropriate emotions while doing their jobs are conceptualized as "emotional labor in school administration".

Since Hochschild's (1979, 1983) pioneering work on emotion management and emotional labor in the work environment, many researchers (e.g., Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Sutton, 2004; Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini & Holz, 2001) have addressed the concept of emotional labor in theoretical and empirical studies. In these studies, emotional labor was conceptualized as "managing emotions in the workplace" and "regulating emotional expressions" and was described as an important part of work life.

There are a huge body of research about emotional labor in teaching profession both in Türkiye and abroad (Argon, 2015; Akin, 2011; Akin, 2021; Akin, Aydin, Erdogan & Demirkasimoglu, 2014; Basim, Begenirbas & Can-Yalcin, 2013; Brennan, 2006; Chang, 2009; Ghanizadeh & Royaei, 2015; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Liao, Luo, Tsai & Chen, 2020; Pervaiz, Ali & Asif, 2019; Philipp & Schupbach, 2010; Sutton, 2004; Taxer & Frenzel, 2015; Truta, 2014; Yilmaz, Altinkurt, Guner & Sen, 2015; Zheng, Yin & Wang, 2018). Emotional labor literature on teachers concluded that managing emotions is crucial in order to establish good relations with students and others teachers interact but also have some negative consequences like burnout.

On the other hand, studies on the emotional labor in school administration are quite limited. Maxwell & Riley (2017) found that principals, like teachers, also suffer from burnout

because of surface acting (either faking or hiding their emotions). Wang et al. (2022) revealed that time pressure in schools adds an extra strain on the already difficult job of principals about managing emotions. Park and Datnow (2022) examined the importance of emotions during the process of implementing the school change and revealed that principals have difficulties about managing both their own and others' emotions. Yamamoto et al. (2014) explored how school leaders manage their emotions during critical incidents and their findings indicated that emotions are at the core of the process of handling these incidents. The studies in Türkiye (Carikci, 2018; Goc, 2017; Savas, 2012) have explored the relationships between emotional labor and emotional intelligence, job satisfaction, and conflict management. Both quantitative studies made in Türkiye and abroad are far from giving detailed picture of the phenomenon of "emotional labor in school administration" because of the nature the quantitative method. Also, limited qualitative studies are focused on very specific topics like time pressure and critical incidents.

The question how the school administrators experience emotional labor and how they make sense of this process is unanswered yet. There seems to be a gap in the literature to reflect whether school administrators have rules that guide their emotions in their relations with various groups in schools, how they go about displaying appropriate emotions, how they experience emotional labor, and what results they encountered at the end of this process. For this reason, this research is conducted to clarify that in which situations and how school principals perform emotional labor based on their own views. To reach this aim the paper seeks answers to the questions below:

1. Are there formal or informal rules that guide the emotional behavior of school administrators in their relations with students, parents and colleagues? If so, what are these rules?
2. Are school administrators always able to display the expected emotions in their relations with people (student, teacher, parent, etc.) in the working environment? What are the situations in which they are not able to display the expected emotions?
3. What do school administrators do within the scope of surface acting behaviors?
4. What do school administrators do within the scope of deep acting behaviors?
5. What are the positive and negative consequences for school administrators of the effort to manage their emotions in their relations with people in the school?

Conceptual Framework

The Concept of Emotional Labor

Sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild, who introduced the concept of emotional labor to the literature in her article "Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure" published in 1979, preferred the terms "emotion work" and "emotion management" which are close to emotional labor. Later, Hochschild conceptually used emotional labor for the first time in 1983 in her book "The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling". Hochschild (1983, p. 7) used the concept of emotional labor to express the management of emotions in order to create clearly observable facial and body movements. Emotional labor requires a person to display or suppress her/his emotions in order to form strong social relationships by leaving accurate impressions in the minds of others. Only then can the person feel peaceful and safe in her/his environment. This kind of labor requires coordination of mind and emotion. Although

physical and emotional labor are two different concepts, they are similar in terms of the price paid for doing a job.

According to Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), emotional labor is the transformation of one's emotions into observable behaviors. Newman, Gay, and Mastracci (2009) define emotional labor as the effort to understand and empathize with the feelings of the other person in order to carry out the work correctly, and the ability to plan and implement this effort. Morris and Feldman's (1996) definition is the form of effort, planning and control required to show the emotion the organization expects from the staff when interacting with people. According to Guy and Newman (2004), in order to be successful on displaying emotional labor, staff must be aware of and manage their own emotions, motivate themselves, recognize the emotions of others, and display the emotions expected from them. Taxel and Frenzel (2015) state that the concept of emotional labor largely focuses on regulating the expression of desired positive emotions. Looking at this concept from a different angle, James (1989) expressed emotional labor as an effort to cope with the emotions of others, and stated that it facilitates and regulates the expression of emotions in the public sphere.

Three dimensions of emotional labor are mentioned in the literature: surface acting, deep acting and genuine emotions. In fact, Hochschild (1979, 1983) stated in her studies that emotional labor consists of two dimensions: surface and deep acting. Later, Ashfort and Humphrey (1993) stated that real emotions can also be displayed in the workplace and this requires an emotional effort. In this research Hochschild's two-dimensional original conceptual framework was adopted.

Surface Acting

While doing their jobs, as a requirement of emotional labor staff sometimes suppress their emotions and sometimes try to feel an emotion they do not feel. Emotional labor requires emotional sensitivity and flexibility regarding both one's own feelings and those of the client (Jin & Guy, 2009). Surface acting behavior is defined as behaving like the individual does not feel or feeling an emotion that s/he does not feel in the work environment (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), showing the expected emotions by controlling their own emotions (Grandey, 2003), physically expressing an emotion that one does not actually feel (Salami, 2007). Situation of a salesperson who must constantly smile and appear dynamic, even if her/ his real emotion is anger, sadness, or disappointment can be given as an example.

Deep Acting

Deep acting behavior means trying to feel sincerely the emotions that the person should show according to the current situation. The staff does not act here as in the surface acting behavior, s/he tries to feel the emotion s/he expresses (Ashford & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Hochschild, 1983; Salami, 2007). Deep acting behavior is defined as the individual's changing her/his true feelings to conform to the emotional norms of the organization. Such a change may result from cognitive processes and deliberate efforts or spontaneous empathy (Lazanyi, 2010). According to Grandey (2003), those who work in this dimension of emotional labor try to display more expected positive emotions. Staff in the organization are expected to show positive emotions such as being

smiling and friendly. Showing these emotions through deep acting behaviors can be expressed as the effort of the staff to awaken positive emotions in themselves.

Emotional Labor in Education

Education is directly related to human being, therefore it is an area where emotional labor is relatively intense (Aydin, 2016; Bellas, 1999). When educators establish social relationships, they perform emotional labor by regulating, hiding or suppressing their own emotions in order to display the emotion appropriate to the situation (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Educators' display of their emotions in accordance with the expectations of the school ensures establishing and maintaining healthy relationships in order to achieve the purpose of education (Akin, 2021). Since educators are in constant interaction with students, parents and other people, they need emotional labor a lot (Truta, 2014).

Relationships with people, empathy and cooperation are essential skills sought in teachers. It is claimed that teachers who can regulate their emotions in accordance with the situation can make better decisions on events in the classroom (Ghanizadeh & Royaei, 2015). Educators consider emotional regulation to be a means of achieving higher goals. They believe that displaying their emotions in a more moderate way will help them achieve the image of an effective and ideal educator (Sutton, 2004). For example, a teacher may display a positive expression to attract students' attention to the lesson, or a negative expression to keep classroom discipline and maintain her/his authority (Wrobel, 2013). Increasing teachers' awareness of the importance of controlling their emotions in the classroom and displaying appropriate emotions is seen as an important step that will increase the quality of education (Zhang & Zhu, 2008). Therefore, it can be said that emotions should be regulated, managed, and controlled for an effective educational environment.

Emotional Labor in School Administration

Good managers have self-awareness. They can manage their own emotions and the emotions of their staff. Therefore, good management requires active emotional labor. Managers must first be able to manage their own emotional expressions to manage the moods of the staff (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011). It can be claimed that success in leadership is related to emotional labor and especially leaders in the service sector are expected to display more emotional labor (Iszatt-White, 2009).

The school administrator, expected to be the leader of the school, has also to manage her/his relations with teachers, students, parents, and other people at the same time (Maxwell & Riley, 2017). School administrators must cope with many demands such as meeting various needs in the school, ensuring the achievement of educational goals, communicating positively with in and outside of the school and fulfilling teachers' emotional expectations (Berkovich & Eyal, 2020). All these expectations are emotionally exhausting (Chen, Berkovich, & Eyal, 2021) and there is increasing pressure on school administrators to act as 'emotional leaders' (Bush, 2018). For this reason, school administrators' ability to manage emotions and feelings becomes one of the key elements of moving a school forward (Leithwood, Harris, & Hopkins, 2020). Furthermore, emotional labor in school administration enables school administrators to be aware of and manage both their own and others' emotions (Toprak and Karakus, 2020). In this process, in order to develop healthy relationships with the people in contact, s/he should

be able to control her/his emotions and regulate it appropriately when necessary. In other words, s/he has to labor emotionally. Although the intense physical and mental labor that school administrators spend is frequently mentioned, the effort they spend to display appropriate emotion is often overlooked.

In summary, emotional labor is a key factor effecting school leadership (Zheng, Shi, & Liu, 2020). School administrators deal with their own and others' emotions in an ordinary school day and are doing an emotionally intense work. They suffer from this process of handling with emotions and faces some direct consequences on their wellbeing and even health (Heffernan, MacDonald, & Longmuir, 2022). Recent research addresses the importance of principals' emotions and offers education and training on emotional intelligence in order to reduce surface acting and thus burnout (e.g., Silbaugh, Barker, & Arkhode, 2023).

Our research aims to add new bricks to the current literature on school principals' emotional labor by clarifying how they define the feeling rules in school leadership, experience deep and surface acting, and benefit/suffer from this process based on their own views.

Method

Research Design

This research was carried out with a qualitative method in order to describe the views of school administrators on the emotional labor they experience in a holistic, realistic and in-depth manner (Yildirim & Simsek, 2016). It is more possible to reach the "real world" (see Robson & McCartan, 2015) of the participants via flexible research designs. Qualitative method was preferred to be more flexible and for example add or remove some questions during interviews. Also qualitative method allowed us to determine the number of the participants being in charge of controlling the data. The study was designed as basic qualitative research which enables us to understand "(1) how people interpret their experiences, (2) how they construct their worlds, and (3) what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 24).

Participants

The study group of the research consists of a total of 30 school administrators who were selected according to the maximum variation sampling technique from school administrators working in a Central Black Sea Region province of Türkiye. According to Yildirim and Simsek (2016), the aim of maximum variation is to try to find out whether there is any common or shared phenomenon among the different situations and to reveal the various dimensions of the problem (p. 119). To ensure maximum variety, data were collected from both primary, secondary, and high school administrators, including principals and vice principals. Also, participants were varied in terms of gender, education, age, and seniority.

Interview Form

In data collection, an interview form developed by the researchers by examining previous studies on the topic (Akin, 2011; Akin et al., 2014; Brennan, 2006; Chang, 2009; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006) was used. There are five questions in total in the interview form

consisting of semi-structured questions prepared in accordance with the standardized open-ended question technique (Yildirim & Simsek, 2016). In order to ensure the content validity of the draft interview form consisting of five questions, the opinions of five faculty members studying in the fields of educational administration and qualitative research were taken. The form was finalized in line with the opinions of the experts. Questions were asked to the school administrators about the emotional labor they exhibited in various aspects in the interview form in parallel with the research questions. Two sample questions are as follows:

- Are there any formal or informal rules that guide your emotional behavior in your relationships with students, parents, and colleagues? If so, what are they?
- Do you ever pretend to display appropriate emotions in your relationships in the school setting? Can you give examples of these situations? (For example; pretending to be sad even though you are not upset, or pretending to be happy when you are not)

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected through face-to-face interviews with school administrators in 2020-2021 academic year. Each interview lasted an average of 40 minutes. In order to prevent loss of information during the interview, audio recordings were taken with the permission of the participants, and the recordings were transcribed and deciphered. Thematic analysis process was adopted in the analysis of the research data. Practically we want to learn are there real factors shaping principals' emotions and are principals able to obey these feeling rules in our research context. Also current literature put forth the dimensions and some consequences of emotional labor. During this process, predefined themes were used which were determined to researchers practical aims and the existing literature. We have both practical and theoretical basis to define our themes. These themes were; (1) factors guiding emotional behavior, (2) ability to display expected emotions, (3) pretending (surface acting), (4) deep acting, and (5) consequences of performing emotional labor. The data, in the first stage of the analysis were examined and divided into meaningful sections, and it was determined what each section meant conceptually. These sections, which form a meaningful whole in themselves, are coded. Then the codes were brought together and analyzed. Common aspects between the codes were found and categorized and sub-themes were created. The generated code and sub-themes were described and interpreted under the pre-structured themes within the scope of the research questions. The findings were supported by direct quotations. While coding the participants, the school level and duty they worked were taken as basis. Below are the examples of these anonymous encodings:

- Principals working in primary school PP1, PP2, PP3,...
- Principals working in secondary school PS1, PS2, PS3,...
- Vice principals working in high schools, VPH1, VPH2, VPH3,...

Strategies Used to Ensure Validity and Reliability

All research is concerned with producing valid and reliable information within the scope of ethical principles (Yildirim & Simsek, 2016). In qualitative research, the concepts of consistency, credibility, transferability and confirmability are used instead of validity and reliability (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). In this study, for *consistency*, the content and face validity of the data collection instrument was tried to be provided by expert views. In this context,

opinions were received from five faculty members who have a doctoral degree in educational administration and have experience in qualitative research. In addition, all processes such as the research design, data, analysis and reporting of the results were carried out by the researchers by mutual control during the research. The answers given by the school administrators to the open-ended questions were also analyzed in a coordinated manner by the researchers. The analysis were constantly checked mutually with the same understanding, and the consistency of the analysis results was tried to be ensured by agreeing on the common codes and sub-themes. In addition to these, Miles and Huberman's (1994) 'Confidence Level = Consensus / Consensus + Disagreement' formula was used. While the number of agreed themes, sub-themes and codes was 90, the number of those who could not reach consensus was 11. As a result of the calculation, the reliability of the research was found to be 89% ($90 / 90+11= 0.89$). The researchers repeated the analysis process by re-examining the data together for the codes and sub-themes they could not reach a consensus on, and finalized the analysis. In order to ensure *credibility*, data was collected by obtaining in-depth information and described in detail at the reporting stage. To ensure *transferability* in the research, the information of the study group, the steps related to data collection and analysis are explained in detail. To ensure *confirmability*, two of the participants were asked to read the research findings and results, and questions were asked about whether the data analysis reflected the facts they wanted to express.

Ethical Issues

Ethical principals were strictly followed through the whole process. Research and publication Before data collection, ethical approval was obtained from the XXX University XXX Ethics Committee (University and ethics committee information will be added after peer review process). In addition, application permission was obtained from the relevant provincial directorate of national education, and then interviews were started.

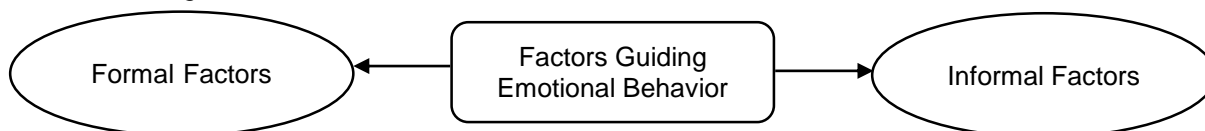
Findings

Factors Guiding Emotional Behavior

Within the scope of the first research question, school administrators were asked for their opinions on whether there are rules that guide their emotional behavior in their relations with people in the school environment. Answers to this question analyzed and summarized in figure 1.

Figure 1

Factors Guiding Emotional Behavior



As seen on figure 1, first theme was determined as Factors Guiding Emotional Behavior. Under this theme, formal and informal feeling rules in the job of school administrators were examined. Analysis showed that the factors direct the emotional behavior of school

administrators were grouped under the sub-themes of (i) formal factors and (ii) informal factors. Formal factors are about feeling rules determined by regulations. Informal factors means the feeling rules advocated by social or ethical norms.

Formal Factors

School administrators stated that they had to limit or hide their emotions in the work environment. They pointed to formal factors as an important reason for this situation. One of the vice principals expressed her/his views on this subject as:

Regulations, directives and circulars in the school environment limit my feelings. For example; treating all students equally... I do not separate my own child from other children. I don't show him excessive affection at school. If my child is involved in an incident, I do not favor him (VPS4).

Another administrator stated that the protocol rules guide her/his feelings with the following words:

I obey the protocol rules in my relations with my superiors. Even if I don't like the person, I respect her/his position (PP5).

Informal Factors

On the other hand, most of the principals and vice principals stated that informal factors rather than formal factors direct their emotions. For example, an administrator (VPH5) expressed her/his views in this direction as follows:

Informally, an administrator should always be the one who is moderate and calm. S/he should not live and display her/his emotions at extreme points. I believe in it, and I act like it.

Some of the administrators said that they developed rules according to themselves and this happened over time, through experience. One of the informal factors that directs emotions is professional ethics. The following statements of an administrator show that some factors such as professional belief also affect how emotions are displayed (VPP2):

I believe that what is called education is about love. I think that teachers who do not love and show compassion to students do not do their job well.

According to another view, although the school administrator has a negative feeling during any situation, s/he should be able to maintain her/his calmness and suppress her/his negative emotions as a requirement of being an administrator. Two striking statements exemplifying the views of the administrators who say that their emotional behavior is guided by their conscience rather than the legislation are as follows:

I am more sincere towards the children of broken families. I'm behaving a little beyond what I should be. A person can sometimes be torn between legislation and conscience (VPH3).

Legislation in education does not cover everything. Invisible rituals are actually more dominant (VPH2).

It was observed that a significant part of the administrators stated that being friendly, moderate and calm, and acting naturally and sincerely is the most important requirement in

school administration. In addition, according to them, an administrator should remain calm, smile and behave sincerely even if s/he gets angry. A participant who defended this view said,

I think rationally during an event instead of giving sudden reactions. I don't show my all emotions. If there is a mistake and I made it, I also know how to apologize for that. I would do this even if it was a preschooler in front of me (VPP3).

Another administrator (VPS3) emphasized that the administrator should act equally and fairly by saying,

I treat all my colleagues equally and fairly. I show my love to the teachers I love outside of school. I treat them the way I treat others. When the student I like makes a mistake, I get angry with her/him as I am with the others. If a task is given, I will give it to the person who does the job best.

Another administrator said that being friendly is a requirement of the school administration and said

I don't come to school with a sullen face. I forget my troubles at school. No matter what I live, there is no sullen face. I always smile (VPP5).

It can be concluded that there are formal feeling rules shaped by regulations but school administrators mostly manage their emotions according to informal rules such as professional ethics.

Ability to Display Expected Emotions

Secondly, the school administrators were asked for their opinions on whether they could always display the emotions expected of them in their relations. The opinions of school administrators were grouped under four sub-themes and given in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Ability to Display Expected Emotions

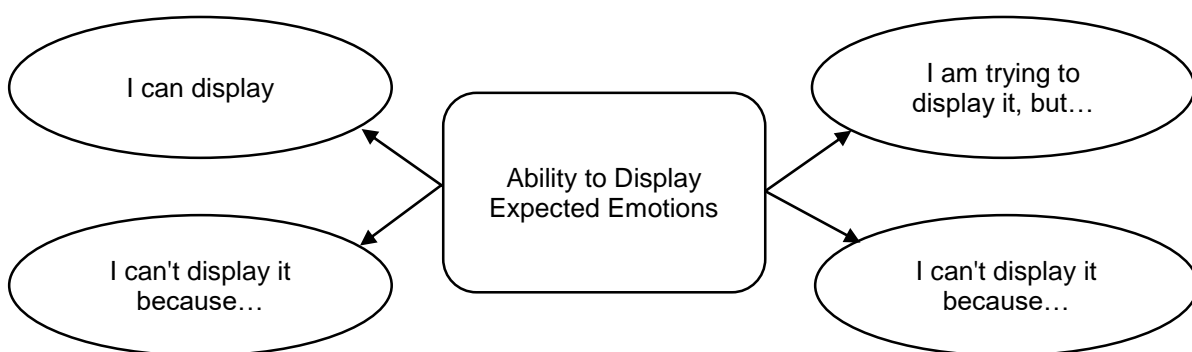


Figure 2 summarizes the second theme: Ability to display expected emotions, that examines administrators' ability to manage their emotions according to feeling rules which they stated at the first question. Four sub-themes emerged from their answers: (i) I can display, (ii) I am trying to display it, but..., (iii) I can't display it because... and, (iv) I don't display it because...

I Can Display

A significant number of school administrators stated that they were able to display the emotions expected from them. One of the participants expressed her/his opinion in this direction,

For example, the teacher routinely goes to classes late. S/he is worried about that I will get angry when s/he sees me. But I warn her/him with soft words. I'm not angry, I'm smiling (VPP5).

Participants stated that they put themselves into the shoes of the people in front of them and they empathize. For example, one participant expressed her/his views in this regard as

Student's absenteeism is high, parents came to school for this reason. First I listen to the parent, I understand her/him. I would definitely put myself in the parents' shoes. Why was the child absent? His parents live in the village. In order for his father to come to the city centre, someone must take care of the animals in the barn. These children are villager. Either the student is going to harvest or the student whose mother has cancer is waiting for her. In such cases, I put myself in that parent's shoes. I understand her/his feeling. I will do whatever I have to do as my own child. I look at the sincerity of the parent. I express my feelings. By paying attention to the tone without offending or spilling... I would behave like this, whether the person in front of me is a student, a parent or a member of the Ministry (PH5).

I Am Trying To Display It, But...

On the other hand, some of the school principals and vice principals indicated that they tried to display the emotions expected from them, but they had difficulties. An administrator exemplifies these views as

They expect more than I can do. Everyone wants us to take shape in their own way. For example; the student did not come to school, the absenteeism expired. The parent came to school about this. We made several warning calls before, but they were never there. Then s/he came and ask, 'What should we do, sir? Help us!' I get angry about it, but most of the time I hide it and stay calm (VPH3).

Some of the participants stated that they could not display the expected emotions, along with their reasons. It was observed that one of the administrators thought that s/he would not know what people's expectations would be, so s/he could not show the expected emotions, while another had the idea that no one could show the expected emotions. One participant, who stated that because of her/his character s/he could not show the emotions that people expected, said:

I think that I cannot express the emotions that people expect from me clearly and transparently. It's partly about culture and partly about character. I can't show my love to people enthusiastically. I'm not pushing, either. This is my character (VPP1).

I Can't Display It Because...

Some of the participants explained that they did not deliberately display the emotions expected from them and explained the reason for this. An administrator who said that s/he was realistic and therefore did not display every desired emotion expressed her/his words as follows:

No. I'm not the type to say what anyone wants to hear from me. I'm not an educator who says what parents want to hear. I'm realistic. I don't offend anyone. In private schools, they usually say what parents want to hear. This is not possible for me. It's against my principles. I tell the truth what it is, I express how I feel (VPP4).

I Don't Display It Because...

It was observed that some administrators think that it will not be possible for them to display all the expected emotions, and that no one can even do this. A school administrator, who believes that s/he is abused when s/he always displays the expected emotions, said,

One of the teachers at school is always late for school. We ignored the first time. But he did second, and third. When the repetitions increase, I show my anger. I think goodwill is always open to abuse (VPS5).

Another administrator, who had the same thoughts, said,

There may be unfair requests. For example, one of my colleagues arrives late and makes it a habit. He keeps asking me to ignore it. I can't do it (PH3).

Another participant said,

I do not display. For example, the student knows that I love her/him and s/he wants me to ignore some of her/his behaviors. I'm not ignoring this in order to treat everyone equally. I do not fulfill the student's expectations (VPH1).

and stated that s/he did not display in the name of equality.

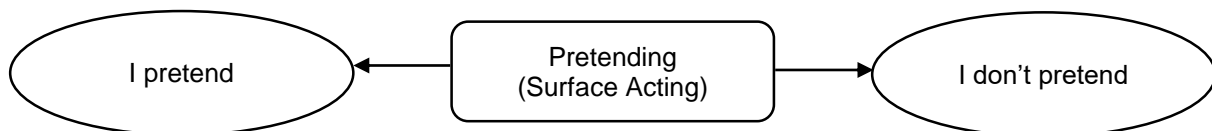
Results in this theme show that some of the principals can obey the feeling rules and display the expected emotions at the expense forcing themselves. Also, it is understood that, some principals can not behave in line with the expectations even if they want while some others do this deliberately.

Pretending (Surface Acting)

Within the scope of the research questions, the school administrators were asked for their opinions about whether they acted or pretend in order to display appropriate emotions in their relations. Two sub-themes appeared and given in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Pretending (Surface Acting)



As seen on Figure 3, some school administrators fake or hide their emotions and pretend as they feel the expected emotions. On the other hand there are administrators who say they always show what they really feel. Two sub-themes obtained from this theme: (i) I pretend and (ii) I don't pretend.

I Pretend

Majority of the principals and vice principals participating in the research stated that they act within the boundaries of the school as a requirement of being an administrator. They defended that an administrator should not bring her/his sadness and personal problems to the school environment. One participant, who stated that the educator is an actor, said,

The teacher is an actor. I act to cheer up people. I also pretend not to show my sadness both to the students and to my colleagues (VPP4).

Another participant, who had the same opinion, supported her/his view with the following example:

I don't like football. I don't know the current player names. I pretend to be interested in. It would be unreasonable to say that football is a vain business in the presence of football fans. I can't make fun of people's values, I have no right (PP4).

The participants, who stated that they acted as a requirement of management, expressed that they concealed their sadness, anger and personal problems in the school environment, they kept a smile on their faces and they tried to remain calm in every situation. The following statements of one of the participants can be given as an example:

For example, a teacher comes to the room with a fury and s/he is very angry. If I talk to her/him with an anger, it will put things in a deadlock. That's why I'm acting. I'm listening to her/him. I actually don't have time. I'm shaking my head. I calm her/him down. Then I express my solution suggestions and send her/him (PP2).

The expression of one of the school administrators, who said that s/he usually felt the need to play a role in his relations with the parents, is as follows:

For example, the parents come with a lot of requests. According to them, they have normal requests and rights. However, there are dozens of students' and their parents, it is not possible for me to do all of them. They come and talk about their problems, while I pretend to listen and do my job at the same time. Although I do not think so, I say that they are right and I make suggestions for the situation (VPS1).

One of the participants, who said s/he acts for increasing the success of the students, stated her/his opinion:

I play many roles from morning to evening in order to increase the desired behaviors of the students and reduce their undesired behaviors. I scare students. Sometimes 'You are actually a very smart kid!' I say. Actually s/he is not. 'What a ladylike girl you are.' I say. I play a role in order to increase the desired behaviors of the students (VPP1).

I Don't Pretend

School administrators, who said that they did not act to display the appropriate emotions, stated that acting was not sincere and realistic. It was observed that these participants indicated that they displayed the emotions they felt and they did not pretend. One of the school administrators said,

No, I don't pretend to be. I don't like that behavior. I feel as if I am a fraud. If I'm sad, I'm sad, if I'm happy, I'm happy (PP5).

stating that s/he does not play a role in her/his relations with people. Another participant, who had the same opinion, said that s/he thought it was hypocrisy to display an

emotion he did not feel. A school administrator who stated that s/he did not play a role in her/his relations with people in the school environment said,

I always display the emotion I feel. This also applies to my relationships with my superiors. I have nothing to do with politics and trade unions. If something is wrong, I will say it anywhere (PS1).

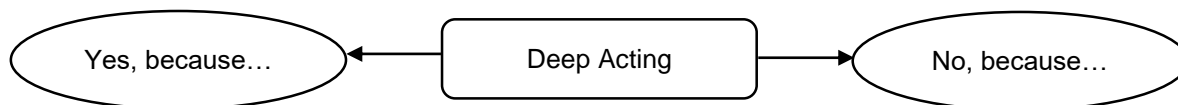
To summarize, all the administrators, pretending or not pretending, have advocated their views as fair and thought that ethically their position is right.

Deep Acting

Within the scope of another question of the research, the school administrators were asked their opinions about whether they tried to feel the emotion they should feel at that moment in their relations with people in the school environment, whether they forced themselves to feel the appropriate emotion or not. Answers to this question have been analyzed under the predefined theme called deep acting which means one forces herself/himself to feel expected emotions innerly. Also, content analysis results put forth two sub-themes which can be seen on Figure 4.

Figure 4

Deep Acting



As seen on Figure 4, administrators answers emerged two sub-themes: (i) Yes, because... and (ii) no, because...

Yes, Because...

The vast majority of the school administrators expressed that they tried to feel the appropriate emotions. School administrators generally stated that they try to love students equally. One of the participants with this view said,

There are very successful students. I love them very much, but I keep this love secret so as not to separate them from other students. We must treat all students equally (VPS1).

A school principal, who argues that being positive about everything, expressed that s/he forced herself/himself to love people with these statements:

Yes, I am trying to love someone especially I do not love. I believe that I have to go ten steps to the person who takes one step. I try to see the positive in the negative. Especially with students. Even if s/he is very naughty, 'S/he is a child, s/he can do it.' I say, I try to love every child (PP2).

One of the school administrators, who believes that they should empathize with people as a requirement of management in the school environment, expressed this opinion with these statements:

I definitely do not pretend to be. If there's an event, I'll get into it. I never listen to someone standing up. We sit down, we will get a cup of tea. I try to understand the person in front of me. I try to experience the same thing with her/him (PH5).

One of the school administrators, who thought that they should display the appropriate emotion for the school climate, said,

Yes, we are a family at school. I love people with their faults. A teacher may have had a personal fault with me. Maybe I don't have relationship with her/him outside, but I try to love that person so as not to affect the climate of the school (PS4).

The statements of a vice principal who thinks that s/he should be calm as an administrator at the time of an unexpected situation in the school environment were as follows:

Yes, it does. Before I started working here, I worked at the district boarding school for years. I encountered arguments, theft, and many health problems in student dormitories. At first I was panicking, I was afraid. But even though I was afraid, I didn't show it. I tried to overcome my fear. As experience increases, people change as well (VPP5).

No, Because...

On the other hand, some of the school administrators stated that they do not try to feel an emotion that they do not feel. One of the administrators, who said that s/he did not force herself/himself to feel an emotion even though s/he didn't feel like it, said,

No. I don't try to force an emotion I don't feel. But I act (PP4).

while another said,

No. I don't force myself. I don't try to feel an emotion that I don't feel emotionally (VPS3).

One of the school administrators, who stated that s/he only did her/his job at school and did not force herself/himself, said,

I do my job at school. I care about whether people are doing their job. If I don't love someone for personal reasons, I don't force myself to love her/him. I can't, even if I try (VPS2).

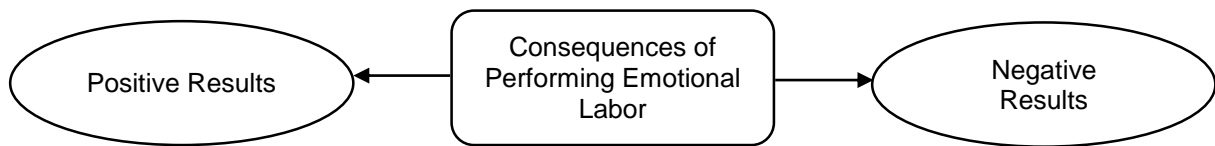
while another said,

I do whatever is necessary for my job. I don't go out of my way. I don't push myself too hard. I try not to offend anyone (VPH3).

Findings on deep acting shows that majority of the administrators try to feel the expected emotions in the school environment. On the other hand, it is understood that some administrators do not prefer to force themselves saying I simply do my job.

Consequences of Performing Emotional Labor

Lastly, in line with the research questions, school administrators were asked about their opinions on the positive and negative consequences of their efforts to manage their emotions in their relations with people in the school environment. Content analysis results produced both positive and negative results as abstracted in Figure 5.

Figure 5*Consequences of Performing Emotional Labor*

As seen on Figure 5, principals both suffer and benefit from performing emotional labor in their relations in the school environment.

Positive Results

An important part of the participants indicated that emotional labor had positive results. One of the participants, who said that s/he has positive communication with people because s/he can manage her/his emotions in the school environment, and thinks that this contributes to the positive school climate, expressed her/his opinion with the following statements:

I have good relations with the people around me. I have a feeling of being a good person. Since I am open to communication, people can tell their problems without hesitation and ask me for something (PP1).

School administrators stated that being able to manage their emotions is beneficial in terms of

maintaining the continuity of the organizational climate (VPP1)

and

preparing a positive environment (VPS2)

A school administrator who said that s/he preferred to be soft-spoken and formal at school and that s/he could manage her/his emotions, stated that s/he could provide

positive communication (VPH5)

at school. As the participants managed their emotions, they matured, they were more cautious and foresighted; therefore, they stated that they got to know people better, gained their trust and were accepted. One of the school principals who had these views said,

I am cautious. I can take precaution. Anticipation is an important feature in administration (PH2).

while another said,

It has matured me a lot. No more hatred. Emotionally, I am stronger than before (PH3).

Some of the school administrators think that they have a feeling of psychological relief, happiness, success and being a good person over time because they manage their emotions. One of the school administrators who had these views said,

It gives me psychological relief because I behave well. I am solving problems. I feel happy. I am happy and peaceful because I am altruistic (PS2).

Negative Results

On the other hand, the participants stated that displaying emotional labor also had negative results for them. While talking about the negative results, the majority of the participants stated that they were psychologically tired and worn out, while some of them stated that they were physically tired. A participant with this view expressed her/his opinion as

I get tired psychologically. I feel worn out. People often come with problems. S/he doesn't come to help or to ask how I am (PP1).

Another participant said,

I get very tired when I go home. I feel as if I'm beaten. At the end of the day, I have a headache, there is a joyless situation at home. For example, there is an organization, I have to do the work of my friend who does not do her/his duty. At that time, I can't get angry. I can't react. Because I suppress my anger, I get tired both physically and emotionally (VPH3).

It has been observed that some administrators say that they are unhappy because they have to manage their emotions and sometimes hide their real emotions as a requirement of being an administrator. The administrators, who could not express their feelings comfortably in the school environment, said that this situation caused them stress, tension, anger, discomfort and regret. One participant said,

"If I restrain my emotions, it turns out to be anger towards my own family after a while. I cannot show my own children the understanding and tolerance I show to other people's children (VPP5).

and another participant said,

I always feel under pressure. I am not comfortable psychologically. This wears me out over time (PH4).

One of the administrators stated that s/he is not seen as an authority because s/he manages her/his emotions with the following statements:

I think my words are ignored by my colleagues because I don't act like a prescriptive administrator towards anyone. This is psychologically tiring for me (VPS10).

Some participants stated that when they go home in the evening, they have a headache, their blood pressure rises, and they suffer from insomnia. One of the school administrators expressed this opinion as

My blood pressure rises due to stress. I have a headache when I come home. I have fatigue, weakness, depressed mood (PS2).

while another said,

The feeling of unhappiness, regret and anger fills my whole heart. I can't relieve my feelings. This upsets me a lot (VPP1).

A school principal who said that s/he sometimes could not express her/his real feelings and suppressed them since the school principal was consulted as the solution authority in a negative incident in the school, said,

This can cause you to be unable to sleep for a while when you lay your head on the pillow (PH2).

It can be concluded that emotional labor effects school administrators both positively and negatively. Positive consequences are generally about creating a positive communication and

school environment. On the other hand they suffer from this process both psychologically and physically.

Conclusion, Discussion and Implications

This research was conducted to clarify the phenomenon of “emotional labor in school administration” based on school administrators’ opinions and experiences. It is observed that the emotional behaviors of the school administrators are mostly driven by informal factors such as personal characteristics and professional ethics. Administrators stated that being friendly, moderate and calm, and acting naturally and sincerely are the most important requirements in school administration. In addition, according to them, an administrator should smile and behave sincerely even if s/he gets angry. Also, official rules such as laws and regulations are the factors that limits their emotions. Administrators who say that official factors direct their emotions, state that they suppress their own emotions, hide them or show emotions they do not feel within the framework of these rules. As O’Conner (2008) stated, although teaching (also principalship) is closely related to emotions, standards or education policies do not address and organize this part of the work. So, prominence of informal factors may be related to this absence of formal feeling rules about principalship. Unlike Hochschild's (1983) flight attendant who have to smile even if s/he is not in a good mood, there are no concrete laws or work protocols regulating the social relations and emotion display rules of school principals in Türkiye. Stated official rules by the participants are not directly related to emotions but we understood that some principals interpret some of their duties such as “establishing a positive school climate” in this manner.

School administrators in USA use several emotion regulation strategies to cope with their emotionally demanding work and behave in line with expectations (Hauseman, 2021). Chinese school administrators adopt a paternalistic leadership style in order to display appropriate emotions and develop positive relationships in the school environment. Management is largely a job done through relationships. Relationships between administrators and staff require emotional bonding. A successful school administrator facilitates and supports mutually beneficial relationships with students, teachers and other education stakeholders of the school community. They do this by displaying high levels of trust, empathy, and emotional labor. School administrators believe in the power of listening and dialogue (Qian & Walker, 2021). Our results also show that school administrators can often display the emotions expected from them in their relations with people in the school environment, but most of them make a significant effort to do so. An important part of these emotional efforts are realized by putting themselves in the place of the people they communicate with and empathizing with them.

Canadian principals in Quebec are experiencing anger because of their staffs’ complaints and getting anxious when they see the situations are going worst. They are generally inhibiting themselves in such emotionally forcing times (Poirel & Yvon, 2014). According to the results of a study conducted in Israel, school administrators tend to suppress their emotions in order to ensure harmony among staff or at school in general. These school administrators emphasize that they engage in surface acting behavior due to cultural norms that make it impossible to express negative emotions (Arar & Oplatka, 2018). According to our findings, the majority of school administrators use surface acting strategy. They stated that they generally did not reflect the negative emotions they felt such as anger, sadness, fear, and they acted to display the appropriate emotion for the situation. On the contrary, it was observed

that when they were faced with a discipline problem in a joyful moment, they acted if they needed to display negative emotions. School administrators also acted to bring students desired behaviors, to motivate teachers and other staff, and to appease an angry parent or anyone. Similar findings were also found in previous studies (Arar & Oplatka, 2018; Yamamoto, Gardiner & Tenuto, 2014). Goleman, Boyatzis, and McKee (2002) describe the administrator as an emotional guide for other stakeholders and emphasize that s/he has a great role in the formation of the emotional climate in the organization. Therefore, it can be concluded that school administrators suppress their emotions or display emotions they do not feel in their relations with students, staff or parents in order to provide and maintain a positive school climate.

One of the reason was lack of time that administrators justified their behavior of surface acting. Supporting our results, Wang et al. (2022) found that "time demands, such as the fast work pace, long work hours and lack of time, all work in concert to increase the likelihood of emotionally draining situations" and make the job more difficult and so stressful.

School administrators display deep acting behavior, in other words, they try to feel an emotion that they do not actually feel, and they force themselves to feel it. Emphasizing concepts such as equality, empathy, positive school climate, respect, authority, being unprejudiced, and being positive, the participants stated that they display deep acting behavior as a requirement of being an administrator. Similarly, Akin (2011) found that when teachers are trying to develop positive attitudes towards students with disciplinary problems or when they are unhappy or nervous, they display deep acting behaviors in order to be nice to their students as a requirement of being a teacher. Kiral (2016), reported that administrators often display deep acting behavior. In the aforementioned study, it is argued that the administrators with deep acting behavior are more effective than the administrators who use surface acting behavior or do not use emotional labor at all. In previous studies (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Gardner, Fischer & Hunt, 2009) it has been suggested that the best way for people to manage their emotions is deep acting behavior. In these studies, the positive effect of deep acting behavior on both personal and organizational success is mentioned.

It can be claimed that the school administrator's attempt to feel these emotions sincerely in order to be able to display her/his emotions in harmony with social and organizational expectations is first of all an indicator of sincerity and quite valuable. As emphasized by the participants, the effort to transform their emotions into the way they should be "as a requirement of being a school administrator" can also be associated with managerial ethics. It can be thought that emotional labor displayed as a requirement of professional ethics and moral behavior will not have negative results caused by surface acting. Costakis, Gruhlke, and Su (2020) stated that emotional labor should not be evaluated positively or negatively, but may result in negative job outcomes (such as low job satisfaction, burnout, and intention to leave) depending on the emotional regulation strategy. In their study, a positive relationship was found between deep acting behavior and job satisfaction. Especially in jobs that require direct contact with service users, it is argued that deep acting behavior is required against surface acting behavior in order to improve job results.

Results indicate that school principals mostly experienced negative consequences such as psychological and physical fatigue, weariness, unhappiness, stress, tension, nervousness, headache, regret, insomnia, blood pressure, and discomfort. Not surprisingly, it is observed that these negative consequences are experienced more frequently by the school administrators who generally use the surface acting behavior. Maxwell and Riley (2017)

reported that surface acting is decreasing wellbeing and job satisfaction of school principals. Our results added a new brick to the literature, clarifying the specific feelings of school administrators in this process of performing emotional labor and experiencing decreased levels of wellbeing and job satisfaction.

School administrators listed the positive results of their emotional labor as follows: Positive communication and school climate, happiness, psychological relief, getting to know people better, success, gaining people's trust, being more cautious and foresighted, being accepted, maturity, the feeling of being a good person. When examined the positive and negative results together, it can be evaluated that the negative consequences are mostly related to the individual herself/himself while positive consequences are mostly related to the social relations in the school. So, it can be claimed that school administrators are personally suffering from the negative consequences of emotional labor to create a positive school climate.

Suggestions for Policy Makers

School administrators are in a key position for schools to achieve their goals and success. They are at the forefront of those who will establish the network of relations and communication environment necessary to create a positive organizational culture and school climate. However, as it is known, there is no school for school administrators in Türkiye (Bursalioglu, 2021), also teacher candidates who are also administrator candidates are not given adequate training on the management of human relations at school during their teacher education. Integrating the subject of emotional labor into the curriculum in education faculties can be an effective step in this direction. The awareness to be gained in this regard can provide to less negative psychological results by creating the understanding that the effort of school administrator to display their emotions appropriately is part of her/his duties. A similar effect can be created by giving in-service training on emotional labor to school administrators who are currently working.

Some school administrators stated that trying to display appropriate emotions in order to establish positive human relations in the school environment is not suitable for their personality and character. However, displaying appropriate emotions in certain situations while managing human relations at school is not a choice but a necessity. Therefore, when choosing school administrators, candidates who can empathize, cope with stress, control their emotions and make an effort to display the appropriate emotion in spesific situations can be preferred. In order to make such a selection, challenging scenarios can be created for candidates and asked how they will behave in such situations and how they will solve these problems. The responses received can be evaluated in the decision process in the selection of school administrators.

In this study, it was determined that the effort to manage their emotions in the school environment caused many negative results in school administrators. It can be said that one of the important reasons for this is that they have to pretend to feel the emotions they do not feel or they force themselves to feel it. Undoubtedly, it is the most ideal to create an organizational culture and school climate where school administrators can act with more real feelings. However, the realities of the school environment show that there will always be crises, conflicts and problems (see Yamamoto, Gardiner, & Tenuto, 2014). Hence, in such situations, both surface acting and deep acting will be necessary in order to maintain communication with

people in the most appropriate way. Psychological support and guidance service options can be offered to school administrators, especially in order to cope with the negative consequences of surface acting.

Some Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Our results demonstrated that school administrators face several negative psychological and physical consequences because of displaying emotional labor. Further research should examine in which specific situations they feel inadequate, how they experience this process specifically, and especially what they do to rehabilitate themselves if they do so.

The data of this research includes school administrators working in schools affiliated to the Ministry of National Education in a province located in the Central Black Sea Region. It can be suggested that further studies in this field should be carried out in different regions of Türkiye. Thus, the literature in this field can be developed by determining how school administrators experience emotional labor in different regions and schools, and what similarities and differences exist.

The qualitative method was adopted in this study. Although the qualitative method allows in-depth data collection and a more detailed examination of the subject, it is a fact that it has some limitations. One of these limitations concerns the generalizability of the results. Further research with mixed method can be suggested for both to be able to examine the emotional labor experiences of school administrators in detail and to be able to draw and interpret more generalizable conclusions.

Contribution Rate of the Researchers

Contribution rate for the first author is approximately 55% while this rate is 45% for the second author.

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Statement of Conflict of Interest

There are no any conflict of interest.

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