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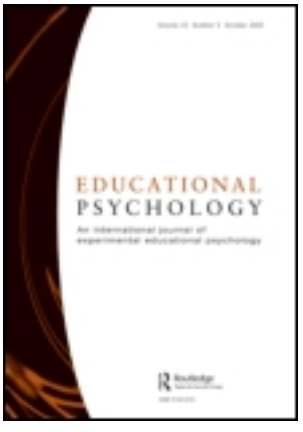

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Emotional labour, burnout and job satisfaction in UK teachers: the role of workplace social support

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Although teaching has been described as a profoundly emotional activity, little is known about the emotional demands faced by teachers or how this impacts on their well-being. This study examined relationships between 'emotional labour', burnout (emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and personal accomplishment) and job satisfaction in a sample of UK teachers. Also examined was whether workplace social support moderated any relationships found between emotional labour and strain. The relationship between job experience and emotional labour was also investigated. Six hundred and twenty-eight teachers working in secondary schools in the UK completed questionnaires. Significant associations were observed between emotional labour and all outcomes, with a positive relationship found between emotional labour and personal accomplishment. Some evidence was found that social support mitigates the negative impact of emotional demands on emotional exhaustion, feelings of personal accomplishment and job satisfaction. More experienced teachers reported higher levels of emotional labour. Findings highlight the need for teacher-training programmes to raise awareness of the emotional demands of teaching and consider ways to enhance emotion regulation skills in experienced as well as recently qualified staff.

Keywords: emotional labour; teacher well-being; burnout; social support

Introduction

A body of research indicates that teachers are more vulnerable to work-related stress, psychological distress and burnout than many other occupational groups (e.g. Johnson et al., 2005; Jones, Huxtable, Hodgson, & Price, 2003; Kyriacou, 2000). In order to develop more precisely targeted interventions to enhance well-being in the profession, insight is needed into the aspects of the teaching role that threaten psychological health and job satisfaction.

Studies conducted in the UK and other countries have highlighted a wide range of stressors that are commonly experienced by teachers. These encompass job-specific hazards, such as teaching preparation, large class sizes, poor pupil motivation and pupil misbehaviour (e.g. Clunies-Ross, Little, & Kienhuis, 2008; Hastings & Bham, 2003; Lewis, 1999; Maslach & Leiter, 1999) as well as more general stressors such as time pressures, administrative demands, lack of human and technical resources and a perceived imbalance between efforts and rewards (e.g. Burke &

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Greenglass, 1995; Byrne, 1991; Griva & Joekes, 2003; Kyriacou, 2001; Pithers & Soden, 1998; Travers & Cooper, 1996; Unterbrink et al., 2007; van Dick & Wagner, 2001).

Studies of various occupational groups have found the emotional demands intrinsic to many types of job to be a considerable source of strain (Zapf, 2002). Teaching has been described as a profoundly emotional activity (Fried, 1995); requiring the effective management of personal emotions and the ability to engender the desired emotional state in others. Teachers are expected to safeguard the emotional well-being of their pupils as well as their physical safety (Brennan, 2006; Hargreaves, 2000). They are also required to model successful emotional control at all times, treating pupils with warmth and compassion and suppressing any feelings of impatience or anger (Beatty, 2000). It has recently been argued that teachers are increasingly expected to manage their emotions in ways similar to service sector employees (Hebson, Earnshaw, & Marchington, 2007). Thus, the teaching role is likely to involve a considerable degree of 'emotional labour', defined as 'the effort, planning and control needed to express organisationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions' (Morris & Feldman, 1996, p. 987). The concept of emotional labour was first introduced by Hochschild (1983) based on her studies of cabin crew, but subsequent research has found emotional labour to be commonplace in a number of human service occupational groups and a considerable predictor of strain (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999). As yet, however, little is known about how the emotional labour involved in the teaching role may impact on the well-being of teachers. Most of what is known has been gleaned from reviews, commentaries and ethnographic studies (Brennan, 2006; Chang, 2009; Sutton, 2005; Winograd, 2003), or from small samples of teachers working in the post-compulsory sector (Ogbonna & Harris, 2004; Zhang & Zhu, 2008). A notable exception is a recent study conducted by Philipp and Schupbach (2010) with a sample of German teachers. Evidence was found that emotional labour was positively related to levels of emotional exhaustion. In order to extend knowledge of teacher stress and inform the development of effective interventions to enhance well-being in the profession, the present study examines relationships between emotional labour and burnout and job satisfaction.

Emotional labour, burnout and job satisfaction

Emotional labour is typically conceptualised as the degree of dissonance between emotions that are genuinely felt and those that the job requires to be expressed or suppressed (Zapf et al., 1999). There is evidence that emotional labour can impair employee well-being, as psychological effort is frequently required to 'regulate' emotions in order to comply with organisational or professional expectations (Grandey, 2000). Particularly strong relationships have been found between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion (e.g. Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Mikolajczak, Menil, & Luminet, 2007). Emotional exhaustion is a credible reaction to sustained demands for emotional regulation, but relationships with the other two dimensions of burnout (depersonalisation and reduced feelings of personal accomplishment) are also plausible in the teaching profession. Sustained emotional labour may lead to teachers depersonalising their pupils, resulting in less sympathetic and more cynical attitudes towards them. A review of the literature implies that associations between emotional labour and feelings of personal

accomplishment might be less clear cut. It could be argued that attempting to manage an emotionally demanding job over time might erode feelings of personal accomplishment and enhance negativity towards the self and the job (Grandey, 2000), but studies of other 'caring' professions suggest that such feelings might actually be heightened (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). As teachers are a high-risk group for burnout (Brouwers & Tomic, 2000; Schaufeli & Enzman, 1998), insight into the role played by emotional labour in the burnout process can only enhance understanding of teacher well-being.

Studies that have examined relationships between emotional labour and job satisfaction have yielded mixed findings. Some have found that emotional labour impairs job satisfaction as it may stifle the expression of true emotions and also deplete emotional resources (e.g. Abraham, 1998; Pugliesi, 1999; Zapf et al., 1999), whilst others conclude that the successful management of emotional demands can enhance feelings of satisfaction with the job role (Adelmann, 1995; Ashforth, & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Wharton, 1993). It has been suggested that the impact of emotional labour on job satisfaction depends upon the context in which it is performed (Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Rafaeli & Worline, 2001). There is some evidence that teachers see emotional labour as intrinsic to their work, and believe that well-developed emotional regulation skills are required for maximum professional effectiveness (Sutton, 2004). Positive relationships between emotional labour and job satisfaction in this occupational context might, therefore, be expected.

Social support, emotional labour and burnout

This study investigates the potential buffering role of workplace social support on any relationships found between emotional labour, burnout and job satisfaction. Research conducted in occupational settings has found perceptions of a supportive working climate to be linked with enhanced health status, job satisfaction as well as other positive outcomes (Jones & Bright, 2001). Two processes have been proposed to elucidate the beneficial effect of social support (Cohen & Wills, 1985). The direct effects model suggests that social support has a positive impact on well-being regardless of the amount of stress experienced. The moderator or buffer model postulates that social support is a resource that is most effective for people who are experiencing high levels of stress. There is evidence to support both theoretical models in predicting burnout and other affective outcomes, but some studies have failed to find evidence for the buffering effect (e.g. Beehr, Jex, Stacy, & Murray, 2000; Zellars & Perrewe, 2001).

A number of studies have found negative relationships between workplace social support and burnout in samples of teachers, thus supporting the main effects model (e.g. Greenglass, Burke, & Konarski, 1997). Other studies of teachers provide evidence that support can buffer the negative impact of work-related stressors (Chan, 2002; van Dick & Wagner, 2001). There are reasons to believe that social support at work is a theoretically plausible moderator of emotional labour and strain in occupational settings. Firstly, employees who experience more supportive interpersonal relationships at work may find fulfilling the emotional demands of their job role to be less onerous. Secondly, employees who feel more supported may report lower levels of emotional labour as the 'appropriate' emotional response arises more spontaneously. Thirdly, the ability to disclose emotional events and

'true' feelings in a supportive environment might help employees develop more successful coping strategies that protect them against health risks (Grandey, 2000).

As yet, few studies have examined the role played by social support in the emotional labour process. A study of customer service representatives conducted by Abraham (1998) reported an interaction between social support and emotional labour on levels of job satisfaction. Similarly, a more recent study by Duke, Goodman, Treadway, and Breland (2009) found that social support attenuated the negative impact of emotional labour on job satisfaction and performance in a sample of retail workers. As little is known about whether social support protects teachers from the negative impact of emotional labour, this study examines whether workplace support might help teachers manage the emotional demands of their work.

Emotional labour and job experience

As insight into the role played by teaching experience in the emotional labour process will help inform more precisely targeted interventions, this will be examined in the present study. Research conducted with service sector employees suggests that the longer an employee is required to perform emotion work, the more negative the consequences for well-being due to the gradual erosion of emotional resources (Deery, Iverson, & Walsh, 2002; Grandey, 2000). It has also been argued, however, that employees might become gradually 'desensitised' to the emotional demands of their work as they develop more effective coping strategies and utilise workplace social support more effectively (Bolton, 2000). Consequently, positive or negative relationships between emotional labour and job experience might be expected.

Aims of study

This study investigated relationships between emotional labour and burnout (emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and personal accomplishment) and job satisfaction in a sample of UK teachers. Associations between emotional labour and job experience are also examined. Finally, whether workplace social support moderates the relationship between emotional labour and strain is investigated.

Method

Participants

The target sample comprised 1500 teachers working in secondary schools across the South-East and Midlands of England. Teachers were accessed at their places of work and during training sessions. Six hundred and twenty-eight completed questionnaires were returned. Seventy-four per cent of respondents were female, with a mean age of 36 years (SD = 10.5). The number of years of teaching experience ranged from 1 to 39 with a mean of 12.97 years (SD = 11.4).

Measures

Emotional labour

This was measured by a five-item scale developed to assess emotional dissonance by Zapf et al. (1999). This scale examines how often respondents were required to

perform emotional labour on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = 'very rarely/never' to 5 = 'very often'. An example item is: 'How often do you have to display emotions that do not agree with your true feelings?' This measure has been used widely in a range of occupational groups including teachers (Philipp & Schupbach, 2010; Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini, & Holz, 2001). Mean scores were calculated across items with higher scores representing higher levels of emotional labour ($\alpha = 0.90$).

Burnout

The 22-item Maslach burnout inventory (Maslach & Jackson, 1986) was utilised. This measure assesses three related but independent aspects of burnout. The questions were adapted to apply to pupils rather than recipients of care. Example items from each subscale are 'I feel emotionally drained from my work' (emotional exhaustion), 'I've become more callous towards people since I took this job' (depersonalisation) and 'I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job' (personal accomplishment). Items are measured on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 = 'Never' to 7 = 'Every day'. This measure has been used widely in samples of teachers and the three-factor structure has been supported (see Byrne, 1991; Worley, Vassar, Wheeler, & Barnes, 2008). Mean scores were calculated across items with higher scores denoting higher levels of emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and personal accomplishment (Emotional exhaustion [nine items: $\alpha = 0.98$], depersonalisation [five items: $\alpha = 0.78$ and personal accomplishment [eight items: $\alpha = 0.91$]).

Job satisfaction

Warr, Cook, and Wall's (1979) 15-item measure was utilised. This global measure which assesses levels of satisfaction with extrinsic aspects of work (e.g. rate of pay and promotion opportunities), as well as intrinsic factors (e.g. variety, control and recognition). This is one of the most commonly used measures of job satisfaction and its unidimensionality has been confirmed (see Stride, Catley, & Wall, 2008; Warr, Cook, & Wall, 1979). Responses are invited on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 = 'I'm extremely dissatisfied' to 7 = 'I'm extremely satisfied'. Mean scores were calculated across items with higher scores representing more job satisfaction ($\alpha = 90$).

Social support

This was assessed by an eight-item measure developed by Ybema and Smulders (2002). The measure assesses levels of support from different sources at work on a five-point scale ranging from 1 = 'Not at all' to 5 = 'A great deal'. Items include 'To what extent can you count on your immediate manager to listen to you when you need to talk about problems at work?' and 'To what extent can you count on your colleagues to help you with a difficult task at work?' This measure has been used in a large scale study of the working population in the Netherlands that included teachers (Ybema & Smulders, 2002). Principal component factor analysis confirmed the unidimensionality of this scale with a single factor accounting for 79% of the variance. Mean scores were calculated across items, with higher scores represent higher levels of workplace social support ($\alpha = 92$).

Analysis

Zero order correlations were used to examine relationships between variables. Hierarchical regression analysis was utilised in order to examine whether workplace social support moderated the relationship between emotional labour and the three components of burnout (emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and personal accomplishment). Before conducting the regressions, residual plots were used to test normality, linearity and equality of variances, with no violations being found. The procedure recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986) for detecting moderating effects was followed. Interaction terms were computed as the product of the centred scores.

As differences between males and females have been found in the extent of emotional labour performed (Grandey, 2000), gender was entered in Step 1 of each regression to control for its potential effects. This step also controlled for job experience as this was significantly correlated with emotional labour and two of the three burnout dimensions (see results section below). Emotional labour and social support were entered simultaneously in Step 2, with the two-way interaction term emotional labour × social support introduced in Step 3. A significant moderation effect would be found if Step 3 accounted for additional variance in any of the outcome variables.

Results

Table 1 provides details of the mean scores and standard deviations for all study variables. Also shown are inter-correlations between emotional labour, the four strain outcomes (emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, personal accomplishment and job satisfaction), social support and job experience. Significant positive associations were observed between emotional labour and both emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation, and a negative association with job satisfaction. A weak positive relationship was found between emotional labour and feelings of personal accomplishment. Teachers who reported higher levels of workplace social support tended to report less emotional labour, emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation and more personal accomplishment and job satisfaction. Length of experience in the teaching role was positively related to emotional labour, in that teachers with longer

Table 1. Means, standard deviations and inter-correlations of variables.

	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Emotional labour	2.90 (0.90)	0.00						
Emotional exhaustion	3.78 (1.26)	0.44***	0.00					
Depersonalisation	2.26 (1.14)	0.44***	0.58***	0.00				
Personal accomplishment	3.93 (1.63)	0.10*	−0.11**	−0.07	0.00			
Job satisfaction	4.77 (0.93)	−0.37***	−0.55***	−0.36***	0.18***	0.00		
Workplace social support	3.83 (0.90)	−0.26***	−0.54***	−0.15***	0.10*	0.60***	0.00	
Job experience (years)	12.97 (11.36)	0.09*	0.02	0.03	0.36***	0.10*	−0.06	0.00

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ and $n = 608–620$.

service tended to perform more emotional labour, but this association was only weak. Teaching experience was positively related to feelings of personal accomplishment and job satisfaction, but no significant relationships with emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation were observed.

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to examine whether workplace social support colleagues moderated the relationship between emotional labour and the strain outcomes utilised in the study. Details of the regressions are provided in Table 2 (only significant regressions are shown). Findings suggest that workplace social support might, to some extent, protect teachers from the negative impact of emotional labour. Significant two-way interactions were found between emotional labour and support in predicting emotional exhaustion, feelings of personal accomplishment and job satisfaction. For emotional exhaustion, gender and job experience entered in Step 1 of the regression failed to account for variance. The main effects of emotional labour ($\beta = 0.43$, $p < 0.001$) and social support ($\beta = -0.15$, $p < 0.001$) entered in Step 2 of the regression explained 23% of variance in emotional exhaustion. The two-way interaction entered in Step 3 accounted for an additional 2% ($\beta = -0.92$, $p < 0.01$). In predicting personal accomplishment, gender explained 3% of the variance ($\beta = 0.18$, $p < 0.001$) and the main effects of emotional demands ($\beta = -0.43$, $p < 0.001$) and support ($\beta = 0.11$, $p < 0.01$) accounted for a further 21%. The two-way interaction explained an additional 1% ($\beta = 0.37$, $p < 0.05$). For job satisfaction, gender explained 3% of the variance ($\beta = -0.16$, $p < 0.001$) and the main effects of emotional demands ($\beta = -0.24$, $p < 0.001$) and support ($\beta = 0.55$, $p < 0.001$) accounted for a further 42%. When the two-way interaction was introduced in Step 3, a further 2% of variance in job satisfaction was accounted for ($\beta = 0.63$, $p < 0.01$).

Table 2. Hierarchical regressions showing emotional labour predicting outcome variables.

Predictors	Emotional exhaustion	Personal accomplishment	Job satisfaction
Gender	0.03	0.18***	−0.16***
Experience in job role	0.01	0.00	0.07
Step 1 R^2	0.00	−0.03***	0.03***
Gender	0.05	0.16***	−0.12***
Experience in job role	−0.05	0.05	0.18***
Emotional labour	0.43***	−0.42***	−0.24***
Social support	−0.15***	0.11**	0.55***
Step 2 R^2 change	0.23***	−0.21***	0.42***
Gender	0.05	0.17***	−0.12***
Experience in job role	−0.05	0.06	0.18***
Emotional labour	0.62***	−0.74***	−0.19**
Social support	−0.12**	0.16	0.63***
Emotional labour × social support	−0.92**	0.37*	
Step 3 R^2 change	0.02**	0.01*	0.02**
Total R^2	0.25	0.25	0.49

Notes: *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$.

Discussion

This study has extended knowledge of the type of stressors experienced by teachers and the potential impact on well-being. The findings provide empirical support for previous observations that emotional labour is a fundamental aspect of the teaching role that has potentially negative consequences for well-being (Hargreaves, 2000; Sutton, 2005). Evidence has also been provided that the emotional demands of teaching might have an adverse impact on job performance. Teachers who reported more emotional labour were not only more emotionally exhausted and less satisfied with their work, they were also more likely to depersonalise their pupils. It is possible that teachers develop less sympathetic and more cynical attitudes towards their pupils over time as a self-protective strategy. The finding that emotional labour was positively related to job experience would support this proposition. Longitudinal studies are required in order to further elucidate the role played by emotional labour in the development of burnout in teachers over time, together with the impact of different coping strategies. Some evidence has been provided that the impact of emotional labour may not be wholly negative for teachers. Several studies have found a negative association between sustained emotional labour and personal accomplishment that could be explained by increased feelings of negativity about the self and the job that are engendered by emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation (e.g. Pugliesi, 1999; Zapf et al., 1999). However, the present research found that teachers who performed more emotional labour tended to report *higher* rather than lower levels of personal accomplishment. In accordance with the findings of a study of human service professionals conducted by Brotheridge and Grandey (2002), this suggests that fulfilling the emotional demands of teaching might boost feelings of competence and satisfaction with achievement. It should be noted, however, that the relationship between emotional labour and personal accomplishment was not robust and the strong negative associations observed with job satisfaction contradicts this argument.

The findings of this study suggest that teachers who perform more emotional labour tend to experience lower levels of job satisfaction. Studies of service sector employees have found that emotional labour can reduce feelings of satisfaction with the job role by depleting emotional resources and engendering feelings of emotional inauthenticity (Abraham, 1998; Zapf et al., 1999). Nonetheless, as it has been suggested that teachers consider emotional labour to be an intrinsic part of their work (Sutton, 2004), positive associations between emotional labour and job satisfaction were anticipated. Further research is needed to examine the type of emotional demands that teachers see as intrinsic to the job role (and therefore potentially a source of satisfaction), and those that are perceived to be less legitimate.

Previous studies of teachers have highlighted the positive impact of a supportive working climate on well-being (Greenglass et al., 1997). Similarly, the present study found significant main effects of workplace social support on the three dimensions of burnout and on job satisfaction. This implies that enhancing social support from various sources will help teachers manage the emotional labour of the job more effectively, protect them from burnout, and engender job satisfaction. The inverse association between social support and depersonalisation also suggests that developing a supportive workplace environment is likely to enhance job performance by helping teachers manage feelings of estrangement from the job role.

In support of the buffering hypothesis (Cohen & Wills, 1985), evidence was also found that workplace social support might protect teachers against the negative

impact of emotional labour on well-being. The relationship between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion, personal accomplishment and job satisfaction tended to be attenuated by social support. Although workplace support is clearly a protective factor in helping teachers withstand the negative effects of emotional labour, an examination of the relative impact of different types of social support (such as informational, practical, appreciative and emotional: see Prins et al., 2007) received from different sources (such as colleagues, managers, administrators and parents) would help elucidate this process. For some time it has been argued that support is more likely to mitigate the effects of a stressor if the type of support received closely corresponds to the type of stressor (Cohen & Wills, 1985). The recently developed 'triple-match' principle (Chrisopoulos, Dollard, Winefield, & Dormann, 2010, p. 17) extends this proposition by maintaining that a closer match occurs when the job stressor, resource and type of strain are based on 'qualitatively similar dimensions'. Future research in educational settings might utilise this framework to examine the potential buffering effects of emotional support on the relationship between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion. The findings would have the potential to inform more precisely targeted interventions to help teachers manage the emotional labour process more effectively.

Interventions are clearly required to mitigate the negative impact of emotional labour in the teaching profession, and help teachers enhance their emotion management skills. Little is yet known, however, about the type of interventions that might be successful in achieving these aims in the context of teaching, but some suggestions can be made. The importance of helping employees develop firm emotional boundaries between work and home and utilise effective recovery strategies has been emphasised; indeed there is evidence that employees who are more adept at detaching emotionally from work have greater protection from the adverse impact of emotional labour (Sonnentag, Kuttler, & Fritz, 2009). Evidence is also accumulating that emotional intelligence is an important personal resource that helps employees cope successfully with emotion work, and helps build resilience to stress more generally (Giardini & Frese, 2006; Kinman & Grant, 2011; Mikolajczak et al., 2007). A study of teachers recently conducted by Brackett, Palomera, Mojsa-Kaja, Reyes, and Salovey (2010) suggested that those who are better able to regulate their own emotional states and those of others experience stronger feelings of personal accomplishment and more job satisfaction. These findings suggest that training to enhance emotional competence might be beneficial in helping teachers manage emotional labour and other types of stressor.

Further suggestions could be made based on studies of service sector employees. Mann (2004) recommends that policies and practices should be introduced to encourage the expression of emotion as a 'natural' part of the job. She further suggests that holistic programmes that encompass stress management interventions, debriefing and the encouragement of 'healthy catharsis' are likely to be beneficial. The extent to which interventions that have been developed in other professional contexts would be successful in helping teachers manage emotional labour is open to question. Interventions that encourage emotional expression may be particularly problematic in such environments. Hargreaves (2000, p. 813) has argued that successful emotion management in teaching tends to be perceived 'as largely a matter of personal disposition, moral commitment or private virtue', rather than a skill that can be enhanced. Moreover, it has been suggested that the ethic of emotional control within the profession might be so pervasive that teachers are reluctant to discuss their 'true' feelings

(Beatty, 2000). This may be particularly the case for teachers who are more experienced and who may fear a loss of credibility if they share what they consider to be 'inappropriate' emotions with colleagues. Nonetheless, the findings of the present study suggest that interventions designed to enhance social support from managers and colleagues might be particularly beneficial in minimising the negative impact of emotional labour on well-being. Enhancing teacher support networks to increase group cohesion and the provision of emotional mentoring might be useful. Studies have found reciprocal peer coaching, where pairs of teachers work together to reflect on practice and provide mutual support, can help teachers develop their knowledge, skills, attitudes and values (Zwart, Wubbels, Bergen, & Bulhuis, 2007). Peer coaching techniques might, therefore, be particularly appropriate in facilitating healthy catharsis and helping teachers develop more adaptive emotion management skills.

Although this study has extended knowledge of the emotional labour inherent in teaching and its potential impact, it has a number of limitations. Firstly, as the study is cross-sectional, the postulated relationships cannot be interpreted causally. It is plausible that teachers who experience burnout and job dissatisfaction might perceive more emotional demands arising from their work rather than vice versa. Longitudinal studies would validate the causality of the observed relationships. Secondly, the data obtained in this study were derived from self-report questionnaires. Although there is a fundamental difficulty in measuring emotion-related constructs more objectively, the risk of common method variance is acknowledged.

Thirdly, this study obtained assessments of emotional labour through retrospective, aggregated reports. Whilst such methods can highlight relationships between aspects of emotional labour and strain, little insight is gained into the type of situations that are considered to be particularly emotionally demanding. Daily diaries and experiential sampling methodology have the potential to capture specific work events that are considered emotionally demanding, the ways in which employees cope with such events, and the impact on well-being through time (Grandey, Tam, & Brauberger, 2002; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). As teachers are likely to develop their emotion regulation strategies through experience and the findings of the present study suggest that emotional labour intensifies through time, longitudinal studies are required to examine this unfolding process during the initial training of teachers and their subsequent career. The impact of emotional labour on pupils' progress and achievement might also be a fruitful topic for future study.

Teaching is likely to require a wide range of emotional regulation skills. Greater insight into the type of emotional demands perceived by teachers in different professional contexts is required, together with how these demands relate to strain and job performance. For example, emotional labour performed with pupils may require different regulation skills and have different outcomes than the type of emotion management required during interactions with parents, co-workers and managers. In particular, the findings of this study suggest that further insight is required into the conditions in which teachers use depersonalising strategies in response to emotional demands.

In order to enhance our understanding of the impact of emotional labour on well-being, insight into the role played by individual differences is required. Several dispositional factors have been associated with the emotional labour process. It has been argued that traits that increase the experience of negative emotions (such as negative affectivity and neuroticism) will enhance the adverse impact of emotional

labour, whereas a tendency to experience positive emotional states will attenuate it (Bono & Vey, 2005). The extent to which an employee identifies with the job role has also been found to moderate the association between emotional labour and strain (Grandey, 2000). Finally, previous research has found teacher burnout to be linked to person-related variables such as self-efficacy, locus of control (e.g. Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2010). Insight into the role these factors play in minimising or exacerbating relationships between emotional labour and strain would be of considerable interest and help inform interventions to enhance the well-being of teachers.

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