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# Inauthentic expressions of enthusiasm: Exploring the cost of emotional dissonance in teachers

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#### ABSTRACT

Research on teacher enthusiasm has, to date, neglected how expressing enthusiasm influences teachers, particularly if they do not enjoy teaching at sufficiently high levels. To address this issue, we investigated whether teachers express teaching enthusiasm and experience teaching-related enjoyment at varying levels, and if so, how these varying levels relate to teachers' occupational well-being. In a preliminary study, we investigated whether teachers' (N = 67) and students' (N = 1489) ratings of teacher's expressed enthusiasm corresponded with one another and found that teachers can accurately assess their own level of expressed enthusiasm. Next, in two samples of teachers ( $N_1 = 188$  and  $N_2 = 263$ ), using latent profile analyses we indeed found a latent group that was high in expressed teacher enthusiasm and comparably low in experienced teaching-related enjoyment. As expected, relative to the other groups in the samples, these groups had the most negative profiles with respect to their occupational well-being.

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#### 1. Introduction

There is a common lay belief that enthusiastic teachers enrich students' achievement and motivation. Research findings often reinforce this belief; for example teacher enthusiasm has been shown to be linked to enhanced teaching quality (Kunter, Frenzel, Nagy, Baumert, & Pekrun, 2011; Kunter et al., 2008) and being an effective teacher (Brophy & Good, 1986; Feldman, 2007; Long & Hoy, 2006; Marsh & Bailey, 1993). However, surprisingly few studies have investigated teacher enthusiasm from the teachers' perspective. Thus, it is unclear whether teaching with enthusiasm is as beneficial for teachers as it is for students, particularly if they do not enjoy teaching at sufficiently high levels.

There is increasing pressure to be an effective teacher now that teacher compensation and employment are frequently determined by student performance (Adnot, Dee, Katz, & Wyckoff, 2016; Chetty, Friedman, & Rockoff, 2014). Thus, teachers are often encouraged to — or even expected to — demonstrate enthusiasm during teaching (e.g., Cockburn, 2009; Gabrys-Barker, 2014; Mastin, 1963; Metcalfe & Game, 2006; Mitchell, 2013; Sanders, 1987). However, the task of

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http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.learninstruc.2017.07.008 0959-4752/© 2017 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved. teaching may often be rather unpleasant: Repeatedly presenting the same learning materials can be redundant, and the compulsory nature of school unavoidably brings about a lack of topic enthusiasm from the side of many students. As such, teachers may often find themselves in a situation where their true feelings contradict the expected level of displayed teaching enthusiasm. If they respond by faking their enthusiasm, this creates a discrepancy between the emotion that is expressed and the emotion that is actually experienced, which is referred to as emotional dissonance (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Such a conflict between the genuinely experienced emotion and the emotion displayed is believed to be a source of strain that threatens well-being (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Understanding the factors that contribute to increased stress levels in teachers is critical due to the high level of jobrelated stress associated with teaching (Johnson et al., 2005) and the high number of teachers leaving the profession (Aud et al., 2011; Ingersoll, 2002). Hence, the present study seeks to examine teacher stress that stems from the emotional dissonance caused by faking enthusiasm.

#### 1.1. Teacher enthusiasm

Historically, teacher enthusiasm has been conceptualized as an

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instructional strategy that encompasses verbal and non-verbal expressive behaviors (Brophy & Good, 1986; Collins, 1978; Marsh & Bailey, 1993; Murray, 1983; Patrick, Hisley, & Kempler, 2000; Ware & Williams, 1977). These verbal and non-verbal expressive behaviors include gestures, facial expressions, varied intonations, movement, use of humor, as well as verbal expressions of excitement and interest (Collins, 1978; Feldman, 2007; Marsh & Bailey, 1993: Murray, 1983). The aim of this research was to investigate how expressed teaching enthusiasm influences students' achievement, motivation, and interest. Thus, this conceptualization only considers whether enthusiasm is behaviorally expressed and does not consider the teachers' affective experiences. Researchers using this conceptualization of teacher enthusiasm have even trained teachers on how to behaviorally express enthusiasm as a means of influencing students (Bettencourt, Gillett, Gall, & Hull, 1983; Brigham, Scruggs, & Mastropieri, 1992; McKinney et al., 1983). This line of research does not consider whether teachers' enthusiasm is authentic or not (i.e., whether the displayed enthusiastic behaviors are accompanied by corresponding positive feelings).

More recently, researchers have begun conceptualizing teacher enthusiasm as a subjective affective experience of teaching-related enjoyment that manifests itself in certain behaviors (Frenzel, Goetz, Lüdtke, Pekrun, & Sutton, 2009; Keller, Goetz, Becker, Morger, & Hensley, 2014; Keller, Hoy, Goetz, & Frenzel, 2015; Kunter et al., 2008, 2011; Long & Hoy, 2006). This conceptualization emphasizes that there is a behavioral and an affective component to teacher enthusiasm. Despite this emphasis, researchers within this line of research in fact only operationalized the affective component of enthusiasm. For example, out of the five items Kunter et al. (2011); Kunter et al. (2013a,b) used to measure teacher enthusiasm, three included the word "enjoy" and none of the items assessed behaviors that depict teaching enthusiasm. Hence, within this line of research, it seems to be implicitly assumed that teachers' affective experience of teaching-related enjoyment automatically results in behaviorally expressed enthusiasm. As such, this line of research also does not consider inauthentic enthusiasm.

The key proposition of our current research was that inauthentic enthusiasm also exists among teachers. We propose that inauthentic enthusiasm should be characterized by high levels of expressed enthusiasm while teaching, coupled with comparably low levels of experienced enjoyment while teaching. To test this assumption, both the behavioral component of teacher enthusiasm (denoted hereafter as expressed teaching enthusiasm) and the affective component of teacher enthusiasm (denoted hereafter as experienced teaching-related enjoyment) needed to be separately and simultaneously investigated. In line with the historical perspective of teacher enthusiasm as an instructional strategy, we conceptualized the behavioral component as verbal and non-verbal expressions, such as gestures, facial expressions, varied intonations, movement, use of humor, as well as verbal expressions of excitement and interest (Collins, 1978; Feldman, 2007; Murray, 1983). In line with recent research on teacher enthusiasm as a predominantly affective phenomenon, we conceptualized the affective component as teaching-related enjoyment (Keller et al., 2015; Kunter, Baumert, et al., 2013; Kunter et al., 2008, 2011).

While expressed teaching enthusiasm and experienced teaching-related enjoyment likely often naturally co-occur, it is plausible that enthusiasm is expressed without experiencing enjoyment. We propose that when teacher enthusiasm is authentic, it includes relatively equal levels of the affective (i.e., experienced teaching-related enjoyment) and behavioral (i.e., expressed teaching enthusiasm) components. In turn, we proposed that when teacher enthusiasm is inauthentic, because it is being faked or amplified, there is an imbalance between the two components, with more teaching enthusiasm being expressed than

teaching-related enjoyment is experienced. Thus, we propose that the affective experience of teaching-related enjoyment and the expression of teaching enthusiasm can either naturally co-occur or vary in their levels within teachers.<sup>1</sup>

Teachers may express inauthentic enthusiasm because they believe this will help them be more effective teachers. Supporting this assumption, research has found that teachers do try to amplify their positive expressions in order to increase their teaching effectiveness (Sutton, 2004; Sutton, Mudrey-Camino, & Knight, 2009). Additionally, when directly asked, teachers report frequently faking their enthusiasm (Taxer & Frenzel, 2015). Teachers who fake their enthusiasm may believe that it is necessary to behave enthusiastically, regardless of their affective state, to increase their students' interest and motivation. Indeed, experimental research has found that teacher enthusiasm increases student interest and motivation (Bettencourt et al., 1983; Patrick et al., 2000). This implies that teachers who perceive their students as unmotivated might be more prone to fake or amplify their enthusiasm to try to increase their students' motivation.

#### 1.2. The cost of emotional dissonance

Although teacher enthusiasm is linked to positive outcomes for students (Frenzel, Goetz, Lüdtke, et al., 2009; Kunter et al., 2008, 2011; Patrick et al., 2000), we propose that teaching in an expressive manner can be harmful to teachers if they are not also experiencing a comparable level of teaching-related enjoyment. This proposition is based on research on emotional labor that indicates that expressing inauthentic emotions results in a state of emotional dissonance, which is a source of strain (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Kruml & Geddes, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996). This strain is evident in a lower occupational well-being among individuals who fake, amplify or hide their emotions (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011; Hülsheger, Lang, & Maier, 2010). Occupational well-being is a multifaceted construct that among teachers includes professional competence beliefs (e.g., teaching self-efficacy), affective experiences (e.g., emotions experienced while teaching, emotional exhaustion, and job satisfaction), and psychosomatic indicators (e.g., physical and mental health; van Horn, Taris, Schaufeli, & Schreurs, 2004).

The negative relationship between occupational well-being and expressing inauthentic emotions can be explained through three underlying mechanisms (cf. Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011). The first mechanism is felt inauthenticity, which is experienced when an expressed emotion is at odds with the experienced emotion. This inauthenticity is related to lower self-efficacy and increased emotional exhaustion (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002, 2003) as well as increased physiological activation and impaired cognitive performance (Robinson & Demaree, 2007). The second mechanism is suppressed negative emotions. While displaying positive expressions, any simultaneously experienced negative emotion are only masked. Leaving the experienced negative emotion intact prolongs the experience of the negative emotion (Gross & John, 2003). The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Within the present work, we concentrate on fake or amplified teacher enthusiasm, which is indicated through teachers verbally and non-verbally expressing teaching enthusiasm in the relative absence of experiencing teaching-related enjoyment. Conceptually, it is also possible for the affective component of teacher enthusiasm to be higher than the behavioral component. This would be suppressed teaching-related enjoyment. However, due to the display rules of teaching, we did not expect teachers to report habitually suppressing their teaching-related enjoyment in the classroom, and thus, do not address suppressed teacher enthusiasm within the present work. Hence, within the present work the term *inauthentic enthusiasm* is used only to refer to faked or amplified expressions of teacher enthusiasm.

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