Emotional Labour in the Classroom: Lessons from a History of the British Education System

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Abstract
Research and policy in education often draws on language accentuating opposing ideological principles, claiming definitions of "good" versus "poor" teaching strategies. These unhelpful dichotomies are legitimised through surveillance and evaluation strategies because pressures from economic and social policies promote competitive, audit cultures. New Zealand education policies are largely modelled on the British system; Britain is arguably positioned at the extreme of a continuum of marketised, commercial models. However, when the importance of integral emotional processes of learning are diminished through neoliberal, managerialist strategies which favour quantitative outcomes, there are negative consequences for students and teachers. By definition, developments of culturally-sensitive pedagogies centre on the emotions of teaching and learning. New Zealand policymakers could therefore benefit from studying the history of emotions in British classrooms to gain insights which could lead to improved outcomes on macro and micro levels.

Introduction
Education systems worldwide are increasingly under pressure from neoliberal, New-Right economic policies that incentivise marketised, commercial models of teaching and learning. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, education has been weighed down by the language of ideological pressures that emphasise false dichotomies claiming to define "deep" versus "shallow" learning, through "good-" versus "poor-" quality education. Such dichotomies have been theorized in terms of (for example) teaching strategies which are either openly progressive or didactic and utilitarian.[1] The interpretation and conceptualisations of these ideologies through language, generate tensions which intensify pressures on teachers and in turn their students. This is because processes that surround learning are complex, and rather than externally measureable, the intrinsic emotions involved are frequently individualised, concealed experiences with long-term consequences.[2]

Although heavily influenced by, and modelled on, the forces driving these unhelpful binaries, New Zealand's education sectors are younger and less well-developed as corporate, consumer-led institutions, when compared to the reductionist, audit cultures embedded in US and UK education systems.[3] Government inspectorate agencies like the Education Review Office (ERO) or the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) do not overtly demand in-depth micro-level reports and analysis from the institutions they oversee in terms of (for example) student achievements and retention statistics. Longitudinal research by Thrupp & White illuminates how National Standards are beginning to be implemented and how subsequent ERO judgements of schools are not impartial—and in some cases highly subjective—outputs of a process which involves being drafted and amended in a dialogue between reviewers and stakeholders.[4] This contrasts sharply in comparison with the tight constructs of UK's Ofsted inspections, where outcomes are delivered without any consultation or consideration of potential consequences.[5]

The extreme levels of transparency and accountability evident in the UK, and the subsequent intensity of demands on workload, results in stress and burn-out for many teachers and tragically sometimes contributes to suicides.[6] And the embedded nature of these policies within British psyches is unlikely to be unravelled. But it is not inevitable that the damaging symptoms

of marketisation evidenced elsewhere will be reproduced in New Zealand's education institutions. Whilst I partly agree with Neilsen that Europe can look to New Zealand for some good current examples of social inclusion policies, it is also the case that studying phases of cultural histories can provide new sociological insights.[7] Because New Zealand's economy is relatively stable with developed mechanisms for measuring strategic outcomes, policymakers have a unique opportunity to learn from a socio-political history of education systems worldwide. More specifically, I argue because of the negative impact of surveillance and evaluation upon the performativity of teachers and students, within the British education sector, an examination of a history of the emotions in the classroom is essential to provide a balanced contextual viewpoint. This is because, globally, the crucial role played by emotions within the processes of teaching and learning is being eroded by the policies that surround and legitimise these strategies.[8]

In this theoretical article which draws on an interpretative lens, I begin by summarising the context of the increasingly marketised environment of education. I explain why conceptual tools from Pierre Bourdieu can offer ways of deconstructing the artificial binary definitions wrapped-up within these debates. The concept of emotional labour as a way of understanding the performativity of teaching with a student-centred approach is explored. These theoretical ideas provide ways of deepening our understanding of the emotions in the classroom and global developments over time. Following this, I present a sociological overview of educational movements in Britain and New Zealand, by focussing on an analysis of the emotional elements. Within this context, I provide two symbolic examples of arguably opposing ideological perspectives in education, namely the authoritarian utilitarian approach and the influence of progressivism. I conclude with ways that negative symptoms of performativity evident in Britain's education system could be avoided in New Zealand, in favour of a more balanced approach, emphasising an emotionally-aware, culturally-sensitive education system.

Bourdieu's Concept of Habitus

Terminologies surrounding educational policies (from Britain in particular) have historically been dominated by arbitrary, binary definitions that are unhelpful to teachers and students. From vocational to academic, utilitarian to progressivist, and discipline divisions by gender, the subtext to these dichotomies is intrinsically connected to a management of the emotions by teachers or students (or both). Such definitions become embedded in policy and become legitimised with little – if any – input from the teachers and students represented by them. One way of transcending these binary concepts is to understand the emotions of teaching and learning as existing on a continuum. The conceptual tools of Pierre Bourdieu can help bring meaning to these ideas.[9] Space limits my exploration of these, so I focus here on his concepts of *habitus* and *dispositions*, which later in this article provide examples of my interpretations.

According to Bourdieu, *habitus* is what we each bring to every situation and relationship. It is the past choices, experiences, hopes and expectations interacting together to provide the opportunity for action (or non-action). Habitus can take many forms: for example, a teacher's professional skills, or the emotional resilience teachers and students might develop over time.[10] Understanding my own *professional habitus* brings value and meaning to reflections of my teaching and learning (and to my perspectives as an author), through helping me recognize the context of choices made, as well as what shapes these choices. A myriad of phenomena combine to form my *professional habitus*. My background, gender, age, past and current experiences bring unique significance to the processes involved in the interactions I have with my peers, colleagues, students and research participants.[11] Other aspects of my *professional habitus* may include my fears and aspirations, real and imagined (or a combination of both), and my cultural contexts. In other words, consideration of the physical, cognitive and emotional

contexts of individuals' lived experiences is crucial for a deeper understanding of behaviours over time, and therefore our learning journeys.

Bourdieu explained how a *habitus* may lead an individual to interpret and respond to an attitude, accent or body language in a particular way, which he calls a *disposition*. This concept of the disposition is potentially important in a study of the history of the emotions in the classroom, because it crosses the boundaries of embodied behaviours (or, as I explain below, 'emotional labour'), simultaneously conscious and unconscious. For instance, our dispositions may un/intentionally influence student/teacher interactions and therefore risk reproducing socially embedded prejudices and prevent them from going unchallenged.[12] Bourdieu argued how a critical analysis of educational language and practice can raise awareness of these prejudices and instead uphold values which prevent discriminatory practices and reduce inequalities. It is therefore important to encourage teachers and students to explore the significance of *habitus* and dispositions positioned within them and how these change over time.

In a classroom, each student brings their own elements of *habitus*, for example social and linguistic, which in turn impacts upon the teacher's emotions and interactions with them and vice versa. The socio-cultural approach I propose here moves beyond the quantitative measurements which can cause emotional (and physical) harm and instead develops a deeper understanding of the complexities of contextualising teaching and learning.[13] By developing strategies which draw and reflect on past experiences and knowledge, teachers can be innovative and thus recognise uncertainty as a potential experimental learning space.[14] It is crucial that teachers acknowledge and act upon these interactions between physical, social, cultural, spiritual and emotional aspects of learning.[15] However, as I explain, often these important factors and the passion for learning upon which they are founded, can become diminished, because of competitive market forces within educational systems that emphasise quantitative outputs rather than longer-term qualitative outcomes.

In New Zealand, an attempt to address an holistic approach is conceptualised by *Te Whare Tapa Whā*, a contemporary Māori paradigm originally used for Māori-focused healthcare initiatives.[16] *Te Whare Tapa Whā* is often symbolised by the four sides of the marae or community meeting-house, which represent the complex, interrelated influences upon individuals. The four elements are: *te taha wairua*, the spiritual aspects; *te taha hinengaro*, the psychological or emotional aspects; *te taha tinana*, the physical body; and *te taha whanau*, the family, extended family and wider community. No building has stability without all four walls; in the paradigm, the importance of each element is represented by the lived environment. Proponents of the paradigm argue that for successful learning and well-being, balance is required, and any breakdown in this stability may result in negative consequences for the individual and their wider community. This holistic perspective is reflected in learning theories worldwide and remains highly relevant when deconstructing assumptions about government and institutionally-prescribed evaluations of learning. In particular, it highlights the complex, long-term, interconnected factors of teaching and learning. The potential implications of using the concepts of *habitus* and dispositions in trying to understand the processes of emotions in teaching and learning are profound. For example, a student's attitude towards learning may not be apparent to the teacher, and yet may have a significant impact on the learning. Hence, when we consider that there is not an easily distinguishable line separating the explicit from the hidden, it is valuable to find ways to illuminate these, such as exploring shared experiences and beliefs. Despite attempts, arguably in both New Zealand and Britain, there is little evidence

that holistic perspectives are genuinely and widely embraced into pedagogical policies as I explain later in this article.[17]

Nevertheless, research suggests that those perceived as successful teachers are those who draw on holistic perspectives to improvise in their classrooms, bringing new meanings to educational theory and making it their own.[18] In this way, teaching practice or *professional habitus* becomes performance-based evidence for an emotional responsiveness. Adding new ideas, trying out approaches with different students and in different contexts begins to ritualise the process of reflexivity; it is these emotional processes that are the essence of continuously learning teaching. But even with acknowledgement of these complexities, there remains an absence of meaningful debate in relation to the definitions of good teaching and best practice.[19] Instead of being questioned, these definitions are often taken for granted, both within and outside institutions. Because these terms are used extensively in governmental rhetoric and - particularly in the UK context - within judgemental managerial reports, we need new ways of understanding teaching and learning processes alongside socio-historical studies of the emotions.

Bourdieu's writings encourage us to see how social structures are not static, fixed, or isolated, but—like metaphors —- can co-exist and interact with each other and with objectives. In contrast to reductionist viewpoints of what represents good or poor teaching and learning that are the cause of such controversy, stress and anxiety for teachers, Bourdieu (1991) provides a fluid, culturally-nuanced understanding. The caring and intuitive nature of teaching means that emotions and identities are intrinsically connected with our socio-culturally-constructed learning-selves.[20] Uncomfortable or risky feelings such as despair or shame maybe viewed as dangerous, but these are valuable emotions in understanding teaching and learning and therefore should not be deflected or contained for fear of unknowns.[21] Therefore, I argue that the concept of *habitus* allows affectivity, often distanced from everyday teaching, to become transparent, so that learning is thereby enhanced. This is an important consideration in New Zealand, because a teaching approach that avoids potential emotional anxieties has been argued to contribute to Māori underachievement.[22] It has been claimed, for example, that a culturally-sensitive (rather than discipline-specific) strategy can serve to further embed individuals' tacit knowledge, rather than develop abstract, critical thinking skills.[23] Thus, if we take this debate into an historical context, we can see how no single approach to learning theory is appropriate for all. What matters is a contextualised pedagogy; what has been termed a learning cultures approach.[24]

I have commented elsewhere how educational language in New Zealand surrounding what may (or may not) be perceived as 'good teaching' or 'best practice' seems less weighted-down with rhetoric compared to the UK education system.[25] This is argued by Thrupp to be because debates in New Zealand are still in a developmental stage.[26] For instance, there has been some considerable resistance to the New Zealand Ministry of Education's implementation of a marketised approach such as institutional Self-Assessment Reports (SARs) so ubiquitous in Britain. This could be attributed to how accountability of this nature - and its potential consequences - contradicts Māori philosophy of a more holistic, shared approach to learning [*ako*] which, as I explain later, includes the emotional processes involved.[27]

Emotional Labour in the Classroom

In *The Managed Heart*, Arlie Hochschild described service-sector work as a particular type of performance which involved emotional labour.[28] In contrast to traditional manual labour, Hochschild claimed employees were doubly exploited: not only forced to repeat specific phrases that (their employers believed) their customers wanted to hear, they also had to

genuinely mean them.[29] By creating or controlling emotional responses to customers, employers generated a staff more believably authentic in their interactions, and thereby able to demonstrate a personalised, caring image of the organisation supplying the service. Many years before, an earlier social constructionist, Erving Goffman (1959) had usefully illustrated his dramatological theory in describing how at times an actor becomes his own audience.[30] This is especially the case when an employee performs what he calls deep acting, a performance in which the inner self is corrupted and responds with an emotional interaction which is culturally appropriate and/or expected. These ways of understanding emotional labour are highly relevant for both students and teachers who, in different ways, perform aspects of their role for a specific outcome and sometimes a specific audience.[31]

The value, transferability and limitations of Hochschild's concept of emotional labour has—and continues to be—extensively debated in the thirty years since its publication. Inevitably, this has promoted its use in research analysis outside the service sector, including classrooms. Indeed, the concept is particularly valuable in analysing the emotional labour of teachers.[32] In British education sectors, teachers' performativity and evaluation intensified during political tensions during the 1990s. Twenty-five years of managerial quality-assurance surveillance systems in state education sectors provides substantial evidence of how these policies are severely damaging to teachers' well-being and to education more widely.[33] Because of the deeply-embedded nature of these policies and their long-term outcomes, educational policy-makers in New Zealand could learn valuable lessons from studying these changing phases of the emotions in the British context.

For the past ten years, research has repeatedly confirmed how levels of stress and anxiety in the UK teaching professions are the highest of any comparable job, with many teachers being subjected to long hours, reduced holidays, low salaries and poor working conditions.[34] Perhaps understandably, staff turnover is high, with many teachers leaving after the first year.[35] Research suggests this is because teachers often feel they do not have enough space to exercise pedagogic judgement.[36] The perceived unending bureaucracy of department meetings, lesson observations, Ofsted inspections and agendas of senior management teams, all add to the on-going stressors and potential burnout.[37] Significantly, taken in the context of the wider accountability agenda within education systems, the pressure of liability and litigation drives the need for quantitative evidence, even though that evidence may be meaningless (and/or strategically manipulated). Indeed, the stress and anxiety reported by teachers goes alongside the ongoing contemporary struggles against the de-professionalisation of teaching.[38] This has contributed to a workplace described as dehumanising and that for many educationalists has a negative impact on morale as 'tick-box exercises' increase.

With these debates in mind, factors surrounding controls of the emotions or individuals' emotional labour are crucial to our understandings of effective learning, however that phrase may be interpreted. However, explorations of teachers' emotions have been largely absent from these debates.[39] But arguably this kind of performativity in education is always present, because there is sometimes little distinction between the public and private lives of both teachers and students.[40] These emotional exchanges are ways that we all progress in life, for example making small-talk with the cashier in the shop. Indeed, as others have pointed out, it is perhaps *more* (morally) acceptable to be paid for carrying out this emotional labour, when most of our lives we may perform these interactions for free.[41]

Anecdotal evidence suggests New Zealand teaching professions are also suffering from low morale as a result of high levels of stress, anxiety and workplace pressures including bullying

and harassment.[42] However, empirical research to support this assertion is rather sparse. Although is it unlikely that any education system is without complex difficulties, it is troubling that New Zealand policies are heavily influenced by, and in many cases modelled on, those UK strategies which are the cause of such emotional angst. Considering the source of the adoption of New Zealand policies comes from past colonization, this inevitably carries claims that there has been little meaningful consideration for the world-views of Māori and other cultures. It is therefore crucial that new ways are found to deconstruct policies based on these Western terminologies, so that any analysis of education can include the multifaceted emotional issues of teaching and learning, including the languages through which it is interpreted.

Emotions in the Classroom

A study of the history of emotions in the classroom provides a plethora of literature about psychological learning-theory and children's emotional responses to diverse teaching strategies.[43] Educationalists present various learning theories that support the important role of emotions during processes of teaching and learning. For example, some research into classroom emotions centres on students learning emotional literacy skills and measuring their learning styles or "emotional intelligence."[44] Contradicting this approach, others believe there is too much emphasis on the emotions of students, risking an overly-therapeutic approach.[45] Underlying these debates and investigations are assumptions about opposing definitions of effective education and how these are played-out. For example, the ideological belief in the wider benefits of learning—the idea that education serves a public good—does not sit easily with convictions that students (and/or parents) are consumers with free-choice in the market.[46] Furthermore, economic pressures intensify these tensions through published outcomes of competitive evaluation policies.

One of the many drivers of this marketised environment within which educational systems must now compete are results of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) published Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA).[47] Global rating and measurement systems such as PISA play a major part in the analysis of the perceived quality and effectiveness of education statistical analysis of rankings presented through league tables.[48] Published triennially, the PISA results consist of data from standardised tests conducted on selected groups of 15 year-old students in over 70 countries, including Britain and New Zealand. One of the ongoing concerns of New Zealand's Ministry of Education (MoE), is how performance in these league tables has declined since 2009.[49] Locating countries with different cultural contexts in terms of high/low academic achievers from this ongoing assessment is highly controversial. Nevertheless, many educationalists argue it is a valuable tool *in conjunction* with other statistics.[50] But what of the more subtle, complex aspects of teaching and learning that may not be easily measureable?

Like the more micro-level aspects of quality-control measurements in classrooms such as lesson-observations and short-term achievement statistics, these kinds of entirely quantitative data seem to be over-reliant upon arbitrary outcomes when emotional, social, historical and cultural contexts could add valuable significance to these findings.[51] Indeed, Harris & Zhao argue that the data itself is flawed because (reflecting controversies from the UK "eleven-plus" system) the test questions are biased in the way they are presented and assessed.[52] Thus the publishing methods of external, global measurements of educational systems form the engine that drives the need for institutions to compete in an international marketplace. Yet ironically, rather than raising awareness of and addressing educational disparities, these same measurements may be contributing to a polarised landscape of social inequalities.[53] Fundamental to this marketised environment is an acceptance that the aspiration towards (to use a phrase from the UK Government's rhetoric) "continuous improvement" is a universal

good. However, it is worthwhile problematizing this phrase. As O'Leary points out, "continuous improvement" is often defined as distance travelled when examining statistics which are manipulated, arbitrary or ambiguous.[54] This exposes more problems in the debate by reducing the sense of control that teachers' feel over how their practice is defined and measured. This deprofessionalisation is argued to be the main contributing factor of stress and anxiety that some teachers suffer, which inevitably impacts upon students' learning.[55]

The complex pressures from many different historical, economic and managerial factors have meant quality assurance measurements in many education systems must be seen to be ever-more transparent and objective. However, in the UK, it appears the definition of the elusive objectivity (as opposed to subjectivity?) is rarely problematized within the concept of professionalism on a practical level.[56] Nor (it is noted) is it critiqued in institutions' own documentation.[57] Perhaps as a result of the increased commercialisation and marketization of education, together with staff recruited from commercial sectors, it appears that objectivity is perceived to be accomplished through being emotionally detached or dispassionate. As Lupton argues throughout her book, often this is because emotion is viewed by some as the antithesis of logic, whilst cultural issues also impact upon how educational performance is perceived and interpreted.[58] Bearing in the mind negative consequences of the UK accountability pressures, it would seem beneficial for the policies of New Zealand's ERO to retain current flexibility. There are positive benefits for all stakeholders if a dialogue exists within judgements of teaching and learning quality.

Some countries may not have the resources or national capital with which to respond to the PISA judgements.[59] Media may report a country's progress, but restrictions in freedom of speech, and/or media bias may distort this data. Similarly, the limitations in availability of quality research institutions in some countries can restrict policy developments which may otherwise have been strategic in enhancing educational equality and outcomes. It is also important to note how, from some perspectives, "continuous improvement" is not widely accepted because of cultural differences in *how* success is perceived. For instance, as Cox argues, in Australasian culture the concept of "continuous improvement" may not be viewed as aspirational or achievable in many careers because of the way it conflicts with what gets called the 'Tall Poppy" syndrome.[60] This phenomenon of Tall Poppy Syndrome makes it difficult for individuals - students and teachers - to be outstanding in their field and accept acknowledgements of achievements, without risk of unsettling others.[61]

The conflicts generated by the needs of management to submit to pressures from economic and political quarters may therefore create tensions with the creative aspects of teaching that remain invisible to quantitative measurements, aspects that a study of the emotions in the classroom help reveal. But how did these tensions evolve and what relevance do they have for New Zealand educationalists today?

Summary of Educational Movements and the Emotions

The industrialisation of Europe in the 1800s created shortages in factory workforces forcing some parents to compromise the educational and emotional needs of their children in order to survive.[62] Prior to this era, child labour was still prevalent but went widely unseen and/or unaccounted for in agricultural toil or home-based workshops. Literacy rates were low and increasingly employers and governments began to place more emphasis on the importance of education for competing in economic markets. In Britain, for instance, concerns about dangerous health and safety risks led to the Factory Act of 1844, which introduced basic workers' rights and prohibited children under the age of nine years of age from being

employed.[63] The effect of this social change in raising awareness of the importance of human happiness through reduced exploitation was significant. In Britain, new schools were established and education became compulsory for all children up to the age of ten in 1880, and if they had not already, other European countries soon followed suit.[64] Similarly, in New Zealand, the Education Act of 1877 made it mandatory for children aged between seven and fourteen to attend school; the country's first state secondary school opened in Nelson 1856.[65] Even if this legislation had limited success in some European countries, it did succeed in ensuring a substantial reduction in child labour over time, improving literacy and numeracy skills in the general population. It also began to define teachers' identities and professionalism through their delivery of (in that era) mainly gender-specific subjects.[66]

During these early stages of modern educational institutions, teaching was strongly focused on the control of emotion, rigid formality and physical punishments.[67] Images from this period often depict children seated in rows with the teacher at the front dictating what would be memorised, which contrasts sharply with the open-plan group-learning environments popular in modern classrooms. Understandably, historians like Philippe Aries who analysed artistic representations of childhood, argued that it wasn't until the late 1800s that childhood was fully understood as a concept; until then, children were viewed as miniature adults who had already learnt societal expectations of emotional control.[68] Christian benefactors were a major source of funding for some schools and therefore teaching styles often supported governors' beliefs. Indeed, in some cases, in New Zealand and elsewhere, these potential tensions from conflicts of interest remain a challenge today.[69] The philosophies underwriting these establishments asserted that, rather than naively innocent, children were innately evil due to the inheritance of Original Sin. Thus characteristics of goodness were viewed as more valuable social attributes than aspects of intelligence.[70] The English novelist Charles Dickens lived during this century (1812-1870). As Edwards points out, Charles Dickens' characters are very effective at portraying the author's objection to these aspects of nineteenth-century education, including the artificial restraint of the emotional aspects of learning:[71]

> "Bitzer" said Thomas Gradgrind, "Your definition of a horse."
> "Quadruped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the Spring; in marshy countries sheds hoofs too. Hoofs hard, but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth." Thus (and much more) Bitzer.
> "Now girl number twenty." said Mr Gradgrind. 'You know what a horse is." [72]

In this quote, Dickens illustrates how rote-learned facts gained credibility in the classroom at this time, in contrast to any personal articulation of emotional experiences of (in this case) a horse. The context, *habitus* or indeed the level of *understanding* is not deemed important by the teacher (who notably in this example prefers to identify the girl-student with a number, rather than remember her name). Both teachers and students were evaluated with a technicist approach rather than a contextualised world-view. The lack of humanity in the classroom was a method aimed at maintaining social control of the working-class.

Similarly, in the New Zealand context, Pākehā settlers were criticised for initiating education policies without consideration for Māori philosophies. Attempts such as Durie's metaphor of four walls (mentioned above), which aim to draw parallels between different cultural perspectives, have been argued to be inadequate and reductionist.[73] Indeed, as Bourdieu points-out, definitions cannot always be simplified to Western world-views; the Māori language allows for diverse interpretations including the historical evolution of phrases through etymology, cosmogony, spirituality and biology. For instance, the word *ako* is interpreted as

both learning and teaching. And factors that surround *ako* incorporate complex definitions.[74] The term *te taha tinana*, [the physical body] includes organs such as the *hinengaro* [spleen] which as well as performing its biological function, is also believed to be the centre of an individual's emotions and memories. The relationships between definitions like this are required to fully contextualise learning.[75] Furthermore, the historical trauma of colonization needs to be taken into account and addressed by research into Māori wellbeing.[76] The critiques of these perspectives lie outside the scope of this article; however, what is important here, is how these *different ways of knowing* do not comprise unhelpful binary divisions between biological and emotional. These natural, organic aspects of lived experiences are unified and interrelated, not only within individuals but through ancestral biographies. In short, these interpretations embrace a wider reading of the concept of *habitus* that is integral to lifelong-learning.

The history of emotions in education continues to be dominated by Western language which sets up opposing dichotomous debates like emotional/physical. Indeed, these tensions could be argued to be inevitable when the realities of teaching and learning hinge on the complex emotional processes involved within the contexts of social interactions.[77] As I mentioned, a symbolic example of one such polarised debate is seen in defining an approach to teaching and learning as either progressive or utilitarian. In 1929, New Zealand's Department of Education published a new *Syllabus of Instruction for Public Schools* (commonly referred to as the Red Book). Rather than a strict criteria for teaching instruction, however, it embraced the approach of the fashionable progressive movement with liberal guidelines for teachers to interpret in a way that they felt suited the needs of their students.[78] This conflicted with the views of some educational inspectors who, trained in a more formal manner, placed value on scientific testing. Importantly, these controversies continue to be reflected in tensions within modern-day education systems: for instance the pressures of consumerism and student-centredness are often presented as in opposition to teachers' philosophy or institutional standards. Students who enrol but do not complete a specific course for example, are defined as 'failed' and yet, their learning journey may have been enriched by the short-term experience that later empowered them to succeed in other initiatives. These challenges are often entwined within the perceived responsiveness of the education system to economic demands which inevitably have repeated phases of historical significance. In contrast to the earlier era then, developments during the Twentieth century advanced towards a consumerist model of individualisation. For instance, during the 1960s in Europe, the emotional expression of students was viewed as positive and integral to his/her moral and academic development, alongside teachers enjoying high levels of autonomy and trust.[79]

Therefore over time, in the background to an ethos of controlling mechanisms evident in some educational systems, conceptualisations of new ways of thinking about learning repeatedly emerged and retreated. For example, constructivists such as Rousseau (1712-78), argued for a philosophy of *general will*, or the freedom of children who were innately good (as opposed to inherently evil), to construct meanings through lengthy and complex phases during their development. Much later, Piaget (1896-1980) (who in the 1920's was Director of the Rousseau Institute in Switzerland), articulated seminal observations of children's development in which he argued that students' contexts are foundational in a scaffolded approach to learning.[80] Similarly, since the 1920's, Maria Montessori (who presented her research to Piaget during his time at the Institute) has remained a prominent progressivist name in international schooling. Like Rousseau she challenged the view that children were evil whilst promoting curiosity and creativity in learning.[81]

In contrast, then, to the miserable environments described by Dickens, progressivism in education grew from a general social movement which opposed utilitarian views like social Darwinism. Education was seen as the key for social equality *only* when enforced artificial constraint of affect in the classroom was rejected. Instead, the language of this ideology emphasised the need for full consideration of the emotional welfare of individuals, through an informal spontaneity and expressiveness in learning processes with teacher as *facilitator*. In New Zealand, educationalists such as Sylvia Ashton-Warner promoted an organic approach to pedagogy, drawing on her interpretation of psychoanalytical ideas.[82] Any authoritarian approach was avoided in favour of student-centred initiatives within the social interactions fundamental to a democratic community of learning. However, both Piaget and Montessori's theories are argued to be lacking in attention to the emotional aspects of learning, concentrating too narrowly on cognitive aspects. Paradoxically, although claiming to be free from the didactic aspects of earlier behaviourists, these educationalists were nonetheless utilising methods that were also criticised as being tightly structured.[83]

As debates about teaching philosophies proceeded, global recognition of the importance of education for social and economic advantage grew. So also did the laws of minimum school-leaving age; in both Britain and New Zealand it was raised to fifteen years by the end of WWII. The global economic crisis of the 1970s raised awareness of the need for education to be more responsive to the changing demands of commercial industry which meant cognitive *and* emotional skills were needed. As I explained earlier, Hochschild highlighted how consumers (in this context, students) were not just buying products, but experiences too, services that could manipulate the emotions of individuals interacting together for a specific result.

This fundamental change heightened debate regarding the perceived divide between academic and vocational learning (and the careers these might eventually lead to). These debates led to many institutions—in British and New Zealand contexts—being encouraged to focus on specialist provision, rather than equally academic and vocational. British sociologists understood these debates through an analysis of class, in that lack of access to specific types of learning further embedded social inequalities.[84] The free-market ethos was seen by governments to be the answer to some of these dilemmas, for instance by promoting student loans for post-compulsory education. However, some educationalists argue that markets legitimise forms of practice that diminish the wider benefits of learning through decreasing the autonomy of institutions, de-professionalising staff.[85] The OECD PISA league tables described earlier are a clear example of this, because in New Zealand where there has been recent implementation of National Standards with increased emphasis on students' quantifiable curriculum outcomes, data suggest a polarisation of educational achievement, rather than improvements to equality over time.[86] Likewise, the recent controversial proposal in the UK to change all state schools to the status of Academies, thereby making them independent of state controls, presents increased tensions between marketised forces, teachers' values and students' needs.[87] Because of contradictory claims about their effectiveness, many educationalists are understandably fearful of New Zealand policymakers entering a potential "slippery slope" by escalating the numbers of equivalent Charter Schools.[88]

During the 1980s in Europe, the power of local authorities began to be reduced in the sphere of education. The New Zealand Government had started to develop a flexible national curriculum in the 1960s, but in Europe these already had a long history and were therefore lengthier documents with in-depth criteria. Indeed, evaluation of teachers had been overseen by UK Government inspectorates since 1926; and in contrast to the New Zealand inspections, these audits (even then) placed high emphasis on quality control/assurance strategies and later,

consumer choice. This was the beginning of transformation towards a new systems-approach to education marketisation: New Public Management (NPM) and accountability. Importantly, the past adoption of the progressivist movement was judged by some educationalists to have failed a generation through allowing too much freedom in playfulness and thereby not addressing the basics: literacy and numeracy.[89] Surveillance and evaluation became highly critical and punitive. The performativity inherent in an education system focused on measurement of outcomes becomes a specific type of emotional labour for teachers, because subsequently these become presented in arbitrary statistics against Key Performance Indicators (KPIs). Focusing on the affectivity of students' learning and utilising psychological theory to maximise personalised learning experiences is argued by some to be therapeutic rather than cognitive in nature.[90] This change of paradigm requires teachers to have skills with a different emphasis; interpreting and responding to students' individual needs through emotional labour.

In view of the theoretical and historical points I have raised, New Zealand educationalists are presented with opportunities to create new interpretations of the language used to communicate the intrinsic emotional processes within teaching and learning. The potential emotional and physical harm to students and teachers evidenced in the research cited here from British institutions can be avoided. Importantly, this includes circumventing the inevitable continuing journey towards an increasingly marketised, commercial education system in favour of a more balanced approach. Natural, organic aspects of lived experiences are inter-connected within individuals and ancestral biographies. The concept of *habitus* promotes wider interpretations of contextualised learning that are integral to developing educational policies.

Conclusion

In this article, I have presented a brief sociological examination of an interpretation of comparisons between a history of emotions in British and New Zealand classrooms. I have illustrated examples of how, over past centuries, dichotomies in language have often overshadowed understandings of complexities in processes of teaching and learning. Conversely, using theoretical concepts like Bourdieu's *habitus* can allow a more holistic, meaningful interpretation which is reflected in diverse New Zealand contexts, including Māori world-views. From the teaching philosophies of utilitarianism and progressivism to the perceived value of academic over vocational learning, binary definitions continue to provide notions of the value of certain educational institutions over others, emphasised by the significance of achievement league tables or decile points. As I have highlighted, numerous learning theories support the important role of emotions within teaching and learning. Conceptual tools from Bourdieu provide insights into these processes and are relevant in diverse settings.[91]

Ongoing economic pressures worldwide generate tensions for teaching staff, who now exist in a pressurised global marketplace of varied educational providers. The focus of emotional control in the classroom has evolved from students being forced to restrain their emotions, to one where students are *encouraged* to articulate their emotions; which the teachers must now respond to, through their own emotional labour to ensure quality learning outcomes. The complexities of this emotional labour in an increasingly culturally-diverse New Zealand classroom deserves further investigation, because these pressures have emotional consequences. Inevitably tensions sometimes result in conflict which challenges teachers' commitment to students and inhibits learning. As I have highlighted, research suggests emotional suffering is likely to emerge from pressurised environments, which in turn erodes teamworking and therefore has a negative impact on professional and personal identities, health and well-being. New Zealand educationalists therefore have an opportunity to learn from these developments, to avoid emphasis on the performativity, surveillance and evaluation of teaching

and learning that is defined by arbitrary dichotomies. Illuminated by these insights, a more culturally-nuanced approach to educational policies could be further developed.

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