TRANSFORMING EDUCATION THROUGH
CRITICAL LEADERSHIP, POLICY AND PRACTICE

Leading under Pressure

Educational Leadership in Neoliberal Times

STEPHANIE CHITPIN
ROBERT E. WHITE

Leading Under Pressure

Transforming Education Through Critical Leadership, Policy and Practice

Series editors: Stephanie Chitpin, Sharon Kruse and Howard Stevenson

Transforming Education Through Critical Leadership, Policy and Practice is based on the belief that those in educational leadership and policy-constructing roles have an obligation to educate for a robust critical and democratic polity in which citizens can contribute to an open and socially just society. Advocating for a critical, socially just democracy goes beyond individual and procedural concerns characteristic of liberalism and seeks to raise and address fundamental questions pertaining to power, privilege and oppression. It recognizes that much of what has gone under the name of "transformational leadership" in education seeks to transform very little, but rather it serves to reproduce systems that generate structural inequalities based on class, gender, race, (dis)ability, and sexual orientation.

This series seeks to explore how genuinely transformative approaches to educational leadership, policy, and practice can disrupt the neoliberal hegemony that has dominated education systems globally for several decades, but which now looks increasingly vulnerable. The series will publish high-quality books, both of a theoretical and empirical nature, that explicitly address the challenges and critiques of the current neoliberal conditions, while steering leadership and policy discourse and practices away from neoliberal orthodoxy towards a more transformative perspective of education leadership. The series is particularly keen to "think beyond" traditional notions of educational leadership to include those who lead in educative ways – in social movements and civil society organizations as well as in educational institutions.

Leading Under Pressure: Educational Leadership in Neoliberal Times

EDITED BY

STEPHANIE CHITPIN

University of Ottawa, Canada

And

ROBERT E. WHITE

St. Francis Xavier University, Canada

United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2022

Reprints and permissions service
Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-80117-359-9 (Print)
ISBN: 978-1-80117-358-2 (Online)
ISBN: 978-1-80117-360-5 (Epub)

ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985
ISO 14001

INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

Table of Contents

About the Contributors

Erin Anderson, **PhD**, is an Assistant Professor of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies in the Morgridge College of Education at the University of Denver. Erin worked for five years as a research assistant and research associate for the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA). Her research focuses on policy and standards for principal preparation as well as planning, leading, and implementing continuous school improvement.

Douglas Archibald, **PhD**, is a white cisgender man. On his father's side he descends from Scottish settlers who came to Canada in the late eighteenth century. On his mother's side, much more recently, as she immigrated from England in 1958. He humbly helped write this chapter from a position of privilege. He has not faced discrimination or racism in his years growing up and in his adult life. His lens is of an Anglophone male teacher, school administrator, and university professor. He has taught mainly in inner-city schools of Boston, Massachusetts; Ottawa, Canada; and in the ethnically diverse suburbs of Toronto, Ontario. He currently teaches and supervises health professions educators at the University of Ottawa.

Lynn Bosetti is Professor of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies at the University of British Columbia. Her research and teaching has focused on faith, identity, and the common school, planning alternative futures for education, issues related to school choice, and charter schools. More recently, university leadership in the new economy. She has held SSHRC grants for projects related to Leadership in the New Economy and School Choice.

Stephanie Chitpin is a Full Professor of Leadership in the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, Canada. She is the recipient of the 2020 Research Excellence Award. Her research, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) and the Ontario Ministry of Education, Canada, is international in scope. Her research includes the analysis of the Objective Knowledge Growth Framework (OKGF), based on Sir Karl Popper's critical rationalism, as a new tool for understanding principals' decision-making. She is Series Editor of *Transforming Education Through Critical Leadership, Policy and Practice*. She has authored several books on leadership, and her most recent one is *Understanding Decision-Making in Educational Contexts: A Case Study approach*.

Scott Eacott, **PhD**, is a Professor in the School of Education and Research Fellow with the Gonski Institute for Education at UNSW Sydney and Adjunct Professor in the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Saskatchewan. He leads an interdisciplinary research program that seeks to develop tools for educators, schools, and systems to better understand the provision of schooling through relational theory. His distinctive relational approach that has led to invitations to run workshops and give talks in Norway, Canada, the United States, Indonesia, South Africa, Mexico, and throughout Australia.

Dean Fink is a former principal and superintendent in Ontario, Canada. He is a well-known international consultant and speaker and widely referenced author. He is the author of seven books on leadership and educational change. His most recent is *Trust and verify: The real keys to school improvement*.

Jeremy Hannay is the Head Teacher of Three Bridges Primary School, an award-winning, innovative primary school in London. His doctorate explored school climate, teacher self-efficacy, and teacher learning. He writes regularly about counterculture school leadership and supports schools in creating a happy, high-achieving ethos both across the United Kingdom and Europe.

Cameron Hauseman is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. His research interests are situated in K-12 school leadership and program evaluation, with a specific focus on the work and well-being of school principals.

Dr Troy Heffernan is a Senior Lecturer and Fulbright Scholar at the University of Manchester's Institute of Education. His current work explores vice-chancellors' approaches to management; the emotional labor involved in higher education leadership; the consequences of precarious employment; the implication of personal networks in academic promotion and hiring relating to gender, race, and minority groups; and understanding the repercussions of higher education's shift to business models and marketing practices.

Olfa Karoui is a PhD Candidate specializing in educational leadership at the University of Ottawa. Olfa's research aims at understanding the impact of food insecurity in schools and the decision-making processes of leaders working with marginalized populations. Olfa's work includes *A Canadian Move Towards Culturally Responsive Pedagogy* (with Dr Chitpin).

Amanda Larocque is a Health Director from the Gesgapegiag First Nation, located on the Gaspé Peninsula, Quebec – she is an Indigenous Mi'gmaq woman. She goes back three generations of Mi'gmaq descent on both her parents' side. Her grandmothers, grandfathers, great-grandmothers, and great-grandfathers were all Mi'gmaq from the sixth Signigtewa'gie and seventh Gespe'gewag'gi districts of the traditional Mi'gmaq territory covering the Gaspé Peninsula, Quebec, and part of the Atlantic New Brunswick areas. It is an honor for her to be invited to participate in this chapter, sharing perspectives, learnings, and experiences through an Indigenous lens.

Suzanne Lazenby is a former school principal and university lecturer, University of Melbourne in Australia. Suzanne's recent research resulting in the concept of Collective Principal Efficacy (CPE) has been published and presented internationally. She is currently a Director of Leading Educators Around the Planet (LEAP) facilitating internationalized professional development for senior school leaders.

Denice Lewis, **BSc, MBChB, MSc, CCFP,** is a family physician in Ottawa. She works at the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario providing family medicine focused medical care to children and youth with mental health needs, and the University of Ottawa's Department of Family Medicine where she holds the rank of Assistant Professor and positions of Curriculum Director and Academic Day Director. Denice comes by her interest in education as a daughter of parents who encouraged and supported intellectual curiosity and led by example. Her greatest educational inspiration is her mother – a dedicated career educator and champion of all students, but especially those who needed advocates in a system that didn't necessarily see their value or potential. Denice's postsecondary education includes an Honours Bachelor of Science in Kinesiology (University of Waterloo), a Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery (University of Liverpool), and a Master of Science in Experimental Medicine that focused on reflective learning in continuing professional development of family physicians (McGill University). She completed her postgraduate family medicine training at the University of Ottawa. Her academic area of interest is curriculum development and has led a grant funded project focused on socially accountable curriculum development in family medicine.

Teerawat Luanrit currently is the Principal of Buddhajakwittaya School, Bangkok. Teerawat also studies in the PhD program, majoring in educational administration at the University of Phayao, Thailand.

Dr Luke Macaulay is a Research Fellow at Deakin University's Center for Refugee Employment, Advocacy, Training, and Education (CREATE). As an interdisciplinary researcher, Luke has worked and published in a number of areas including: higher education, educational leadership, inclusive education, refugee and migration studies, and cultural studies through Bourdieusian lenses. Luke's current research explores cultural experiences of becoming an adult and the social/political belonging of refuge background youth.

Warren Marks, AOM, FACEL, FACE, Director LEAP (Leading Educators Around the Planet), is a former school principal and university lecturer (University of Melbourne). Warren has presented at various international conferences and has published in various educational leadership journals. Warren is currently Director of LEAP (Leading Educators Around the Planet), which is an international leadership development program for school leaders. Warren has been recognized for services to education by being awarded a Medal of the Order of Australia (OAM); Fellowship of Australian College of Educators; and Fellowship of Australian Council for Educational Leaders.

Nicholas Maxwell has devoted much of his working life to arguing that we need to bring about a revolution in universities so that they come to seek and promote wisdom, and do not just acquire knowledge. He has published 14 books on this theme and numerous papers. He taught Philosophy of Science at University College London, where he is now Emeritus Reader.

Felipe Munoz Rivera is an Industrial Engineer with a Master of Public Policy from the University of Chile and a doctoral candidate in Public Policy and Government at UNSW Sydney. He has extensive experience in the field of engineering education and previously worked as a Project Coordinator for the "New Engineering for 2030" program in the Public System Centre of Chile, University las Americas, cofinanced between Chilean economic development agency and the University of Chile. Currently, Felipe works as a Research Officer with Professor Eacott in the School of Education, UNSW Sydney.

Aline Raad is an architect, urban planner, and recent graduate of the Master of City Analytics from the City Futures Research Centre, School of Built Environments at UNSW Sydney.

Parisa Rezaiefar, **MD**, **CCFP**, is a Muslim-born, heterosexual cis-woman, parent, and recent settler as a refugee to Canada from Iran. She writes this chapter as an underrepresented physician in medicine because of her ethnic background, mother tongue, the poverty she has experienced, and being the first woman to attain a postsecondary degree in many generations of her family. She is a family physician in Ottawa and is currently an Assistant Professor and clinical teacher to family medicine residents and medical students.

Vorachet Saejea is a Research Assistant in Education for the Sustainable Development Center, Faculty of Education, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. Research interests of Vorachet include: professional development and collaboration within school community, especially approaches like professional learning community (PLC) and school as learning community (SLC).

Eisuke Saito is a Lecturer in the Faculty of Education, Monash University. Eisuke researches into school reform, collaborative learning, professional development and learning of teachers, identity of teachers, and social justice issues in education.

Nathalie Sirois is an experienced education professional who has worked locally and internationally at many levels in the education system, including as a teacher, a consultant, and a system leader. Her work is focused on developing socially just practices creating educational contexts built for human flourishing in all its diversity.

Maddie J. Venables, **PhD**, is a Franco-Ontarian from a small agriculture community of less than 10,000 residents. She is a white cisgender woman. She writes this chapter based on her experience living and learning as a francophone in a dominant English urban academic setting. She provides the lens of a graduate family medicine program coordinator, academic research advisor, and senior

research associate at the Department of Family Medicine at the University of Ottawa involved in medical education and innovation.

Christopher G. Vieler-Porter, PhD, started out teaching Drama, English, and Media Studies in Outer London and Hertfordshire secondary schools before moving into Local Authority Advisory work. He eventually led school improvement in a Local Authority before establishing his own consultancy and undertaking research at the University of Birmingham. He chaired the Association of LEA Advisory Officers for Multicultural Education (ALAOME) and served on a government advisory group looking at BAME underachievement.

Robert E. White has taught extensively in public school across Canada for over 20 years. Robert is a Senior Research Professor with the Faculty of Education at St Francis Xavier University and an Adjunct Professor in Education at the University of Toronto (OISE). Robert's research interests include educational administration and policy, postmodernity and globalization, qualitative research methodologies, and critical pedagogy. Robert is Associate Editor of the *International Journal of Leadership in Education* and Editor of the *International Studies in Educational Administration*. In 2013, he received the President's Research Award, granted by St. Francis Xavier University.

This page intentionally left blank

Preface

There is very little left to be said about the shambles that the world finds itself in at the beginning of 2022. This planet of ours has borne witness to all manner of cataclysms and catastrophes, many of them Biblical in proportion. We have seen raging forest fires and disastrous floods, not to mention volcanoes and earthquakes. Now, these calamities occur on a fairly regular basis around the globe and, in normal times, they are pretty much accepted as normal. However, what marks these times as abnormal is the frequency and severity of these natural occurrences, combined with shifting weather patterns and rising sea levels, to mention but a few issues that we are bearing witness to. It does not take a lot of pondering to recognize that things are not like they used to be.

However, this is not the entire picture. There is more. Equally as damaging as natural global calamities are those issues that humankind has been responsible for. In fact, even to the most cynical readers, humanity has played a part in the advent of many of these "natural" tragedies. So, what happens when we follow the all-too-obvious trail? Where does it lead? Many people believe that the fault lies with leadership. This may be true, at least in part – but there is more, much more. Who are our leaders? All of them are products of the society from which they emanate. This is but the beginning, and an obvious beginning at that.

As we may already know, the best leaders do not lead. If they are in leadership positions at all, they tend to lead by example, not by mandate. If truth be told, potentially good leaders are in notoriously short supply simply because the best leaders are too smart to take on this thankless task. As the old adage suggests, "Leaders need to be smart enough to play the game, but dumb enough to think it is worth it." So, for all of us who are dumb enough to think leading is worthwhile, many leaders around the world are products of a globalized, neoliberal society. We share more similarities than differences. But, why is this problematic? It is not problematic if leadership were aimed at positive societal change. However, so much leadership has become conscripted by neoliberal values. We see evidence everywhere. We see it in the university scandals where socialites have illegally enrolled their very average scions in top-tier universities through significant gifts and endowments or by claiming talents that these young hopefuls do not and never will possess. This is an example of the wealthy protecting the wealthy, at any cost – literally. And that is where it matters – cost becomes everything. Money makes the world turn. Neoliberalism has managed to infiltrate all levels of society, all within the past half century.

Taking a look at neoliberalism, it has been said that it is the unholy union of politics and commerce. Many seem to view this as a happy marriage, but it may not be the reality in every case. Some pundits claim that neoliberalism is a failed experiment because governance is local and commerce is transnational, while others point to the fact that national borders are becoming increasingly porous. It is almost as if a corrosive substance were at work, dissolving the very frameworks of society that we have come to know and value.

Neoliberal thought has even infiltrated the halls of education, and this is where the trail of breadcrumbs, or dollars, if you will, leads. Neoliberalism seems to have begun with Margaret Thatcher and was continued and promoted by people such as Ronald Regan. The basic thrust of educational neoliberalism is that it is outcomes based. Nothing matters but results. What counts as results are increasing "achievement" scores on standardized tests. However, any test is a proxy for what educators believe their students have learned. Any test score is a proxy for what educators believe that their students have demonstrated what they have learned.

Unfortunately, much like the gold reserves in the treasury, a dollar no longer represents a dollar's worth of gold, held in reserve. Education has similarly been hollowed out. Educators and politicians, who are increasingly making policy for educators, have come to believe that standardized test scores are the same as knowledge acquired, as if test scores actually measure knowledge as opposed to information. Herein lies the problem. To date, several generations have graduated from schools and universities with little knowledge, less wisdom, and high test scores. As noted by at least one pundit, the scores are going up but the students remain ill-equipped to take the reins of leadership. As these individuals take their place in society, as the heads of various companies, political organizations, or other institutions, they must rely on experiential knowledge, imperfect though that may be.

Simply put, educational policy is no longer being developed for educational purposes, but education is increasingly being manipulated as an experiment in social engineering. This is where our book begins. In an otherwise increasingly hostile political, commercial, and natural environment, there are some rays of hope. For example, teachers still know what it is that their students need and strive to provide that in spite of mandates that try to create consumers of us all. Educational leaders are caught on the horns of a dilemma – to follow and inscribe policies they do not agree with or to "go rogue" and do what they know is needed. *Leading under Pressure: Educational Leadership in Neoliberal Times*, we believe, is aptly titled, as there is significant pressure being placed on school leaders at any stage. And, the pressure comes from our neoliberal society that seeks outputs, outcomes, and results rather than engaging with processes, developmental and incremental learning, and the transmutation of knowledge into wisdom.

This book is divided into three sections, the first of which seeks to explore social contexts of educational leadership. The second section explores the experiences of a variety of educational leaders in various contexts, while the third section of this volume looks at some of the consequences, unintended and otherwise, of the neoliberal commodification of education.

The first chapter, written by Cameron Hauseman, explores those workplace conditions that contribute to the emotional labor common to educational leaders. This is followed by a call for equity, diversity, and inclusion (EDI) in the education of medical students, written by Amanda Larocque, Denice Lewis, Parisa Rezaiefar, Maddie J. Venables, and Doug Archibald. The third and final chapter of this section is written by Christopher G. Vieler-Porter and is concerned with the persistent issue of underrepresentation of race and ethnicity in leadership in neoliberal times.

The second section of this book is dedicated to educational leaders who strive to move the education project forward. This part of the volume begins with a study of the value of small schools. Scott Eacott, Felipe Munoz Rivera, and Aline Raad explore the value and necessity of the small school. The following chapter, written by Olfa Karoui, describes how the oft-taken-for-granted Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO) maintains a marginalizing stance with respect to some of society's most marginalized members, food-insecure students. Chapter Six, by Erin Anderson, analyzes how neoliberal policies perpetuate structural inequities in the day-to-day activities of schools by describing how district choice and accountability policies marginalize students of color in low socioeconomic positions. The final chapter of this section is written by Teerawat Luanrit, Eisuke Saito and Vorachet Saejea and explores how one school leader helped to avoid further collateral damage at his school, as the COVID-19 pandemic ravaged Thailand.

The third and final section of this book features a look into the foreseeable future. Dean Fink, Jeremy Hannay, Suzanne Lazenby, and Warren Marks illustrate current and future difficulties that will be experienced by educational leaders as they attempt to negotiate increasingly difficult policy initiatives while striving to offer the best possible education to their students, often at great personal cost. Nathalie Sirois follows with a chapter dedicated to exploring school leadership patterns in equity and social justice through the lens of adult development. The final chapter, by Troy Heffernan, speaks to leadership at the modern university and notes how universities around the globe are becoming more and more neoliberal in terms of policies, procedures, and practices.

The very success of the neoliberal juggernaut is summed up by Nicholas Maxwell in an epilogue that is dedicated to identifying how all of this went so terribly wrong. The problem, according to Maxwell, is that, since the Enlightenment, we have used science to accumulate knowledge devoid of wisdom. He advocates using the model of the scientific method to develop the social sciences to their full capacity but, this time around, the call is to not only accumulate knowledge, but to develop wisdom, as well, in order to attend to the very things that are currently plaguing society to its very core and that are showing the effects of this in climate patterns and geological anomalies.

At the very heart of this volume is the oft-times tacit acknowledgment that humanity has become its own worst enemy, developing plans and policies that benefit the few and leave the many to suffer in silenced silos of need. This must change if humanity, itself, is to be spared from its own destructiveness. We need a revolution, now, as we have passed the point of evolutionary change. Drastic

measures are needed. We must dismantle hierarchies of greed and selfishness in order to welcome a new dawn of equity, diversity, and inclusivity. There is a real need to lead education through these difficult times, to face the pressure to conform to systems that were built to fail and to vanquish harmful policies that marginalize people and result in a world that has become unsustainable, ecologically compromised, and spiritually vacuous. This volume merely scratches the surface of these and other important issues that face humanity, generally, and education specifically, in today's world.

Stephanie Chitpin
Robert E. White

Part I
Social Contexts

This page intentionally left blank

Chapter 1

Workplace Conditions That Contribute to Principals' Emotional Labor

Cameron Hauseman

Abstract

This chapter uses findings derived from interviews with 13 Ontario (Canada) secondary school principals to identify conditions that contribute to emotional labor, experienced in their work. Five workplace conditions that heighten participating principals' emotional labor emerged from the interviews, including advocating for students, work intensification, navigating their local policy context, managing workplace conflict and crises or tragedies in the school community. The findings suggest a need to clarify legislated expectations and responsibilities placed on principals to accurately reflect their work and counter the impact of work intensification. Principals could benefit from additional supports to deal with the impact(s) of work intensification, shepherding the school through crises or navigating shifting policy contexts and conflicts in the workplace. Rather than treating the symptoms that result from emotional labor, concrete efforts are needed to change the culture of the principalship in order to maximize the impact of leadership on student achievement.

Keywords: Principals; principals work; emotional aspects of leadership; emotional labor; managing emotions; workplace conditions

Introduction

Despite being a fundamental facet of effective school leadership practice, managing emotions and the emotional aspects of principals' work have been largely understudied (Berkovich & Eyal, 2019; Chen & Guo, 2020; Hauseman, 2020a; James et al., 2019; Yamamoto et al., 2014). While the role of emotion and affect in school leadership has emerged as an area of scholarly inquiry since the turn of the twentieth century, Beatty's (2000) proclamation that, "The emotional experience has not been explored in sufficient depth to date in educational

Leading under Pressure, 3–19

doi:10.1108/978-1-80117-358-220221002

administration research" (p. 331) still rings true. Likely, the work of school principals has always involved some amount of emotional labor. However, neoliberal reforms have heightened the emotional labor associated with the principalship as they experience work intensification (Hauseman, 2020b; Wang et al., 2018) and the need to navigate revised policy contexts (Berkovich & Eyal, 2015; Blackmore, 2004; Tschannen-Moran & Gareis, 2004). Furthermore, advocating for social justice (Pratt-Adams & Maguire, 2009; Ryan & Tuters, 2015; Theoharis, 2007; Wang, 2018; Zembylas, 2010) is another condition that can intensify the level of emotional labor associated with the principalship. These shifts in principals' work and subsequent increases in emotional labor are significant, as they are associated with burnout (Friedman, 2002; Kokkinos, 2007; Maxwell & Riley, 2017) as well as lower levels of job satisfaction and subjective wellbeing (Collie et al., 2020; Darmody & Smyth, 2016; Mahfouz, 2018; Maxwell & Riley, 2017). Using findings derived from interviews with 13 secondary school principals, this research identifies conditions that contribute to emotional labor experienced in their daily work.

Emotional Labor

Often an unacknowledged job demand, emotional labor refers to the ability to perceive emotions in others and to act in emotionally appropriate ways in the workplace (Hochschild, 1983; Maxwell & Riley, 2017). Whether an emotional action or reaction is appropriate for a given workplace is determined by established social norms that Hochschild (1983) describes as "feeling rules." According to Hochschild (1983), "feeling rules are what guide emotion work by establishing the sense of entitlement or obligation that governs emotional exchanges" (1983, p. 56). Feeling rules are social cues that encourage individuals to think about whether their emotions, and how they display those emotions, are socially acceptable for the situations they encounter. For example, while it is common for parents or guardians to lose their tempers when speaking with a school principal, there is an expectation that the principal will manage their emotions in an effort to stay calm in those heated moments (Hauseman, 2020a). Conversely, if the principal yelled back at the parent, they could face disciplinary consequences for lacking professionalism and breaching the feeling rules associated with their profession. While success in many professions, including the principalship, demands engaging in emotional labor, this is often absent from job descriptions and the legislative definitions of the role (Government of Manitoba, 2013; Ontario Ministry of Education, 1990).

Emotional labor occurs in jobs that involve the following components: (1) personal contact with members of the public, (2) producing a state of mind in others, and (3) supervisors monitor employee emotions (Hochschild, 1983). Principals' work involves engaging in all three of those job demands. Principals are also in a unique position as they are both expected to manage their own emotions as part of their daily work and monitor (and potentially be tasked with modifying) the emotions of everyone at the school site and potentially throughout

the school community (including staff, students, parents/guardians, etc.). Hochschild (1983) indicates that emotional labor can take the form of cognitive, bodily and expressive emotion work. Cognitive emotion work occurs when employees, such as principals, engage in efforts to change how they think about a situation in order to modify how they feel about it. When engaging in bodily emotion work, individuals attempt to change their physical state to promote desirable emotions. For example, principals could engage in bodily emotion work by going for a walk after a frustrating meeting or taking deep breaths to reduce feelings of anger or anxiety experienced throughout the workday. Finally, using gestures or changing one's facial expression, such as forcing a smile when feeling upset, are all examples of expressive emotional labor. In addition to these types of emotional labor, Hochschild (1983) also identified that people can perform emotional labor in the workplace by engaging in surface acting or deep acting.

When engaged in surface acting, one is essentially faking an emotion to adhere to the feeling rules associated with their profession. Many service-minded professions, such as education and healthcare, encourage employees to cover up "negative" emotions (e.g., anger, sadness, envy, etc.), in an effort to outwardly portray happiness, compassion and other "positive" emotions to stakeholders (Hauseman, 2020a; Maxwell & Riley, 2017). This is an unhealthy practice associated with higher levels of workplace stress (Crawford, 2007; Haver et al., 2013; Hochschild, 1983; Maxwell & Riley, 2017). Some people are so adept at surface acting that their real self is "an inner jewel that remains [their] unique possession no matter whose billboard is on [their] back or whose smile is on [their] face" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 34). The other way people perform emotional labor in their work is through deep acting. According to Haver et al. (2013), "Deep acting refers to the process of modifying inner feelings to express appropriate emotions" (p. 288). Deep acting is a part of everyday life as individuals are continually attempting to achieve a desired emotional state and engaging in activities that make them feel that way.

Impact of Emotional Labor on School Principals

Separating one's personal self, that has the permission to express their true feelings, from their professional self, whose emotions are constrained by feeling rules, can be a debilitating process (Hochschild, 1983). The high levels of emotional labor school principals experience as part of their daily work are associated with several undesirable outcomes. Many principals can find it difficult to cope with the emotional labor associated with their work (Grodzki, 2011; Pollock, 2014; Ray et al., 2020). Hiding emotions and engaging in surface acting are associated with negative outcomes, including higher levels of burnout (Friedman, 2002; Kokkinos, 2007; Maxwell & Riley, 2017), and lower levels of job satisfaction and subjective wellbeing than the general population (Darmody & Smyth, 2016; Maxwell & Riley, 2017). Further, the heavy emotional toll associated with their work may cause some principals to leave the profession (Friedman, 2002; Schmidt, 2010; Wallace, 2010). While much of the discussion surrounding

emotional labor appears negative, it is important to mention that experiencing some emotional labor in work is not all bad. For example, emotional labor is one factor preventing principals from reacting with anger or frustration at minor annoyances that may emerge throughout the workday.

Previously Identified Conditions Leading to Principals Experiencing Emotional Labor

Previous studies identified workplace conditions that can lead to principals experiencing emotional labor. For example, work intensification is cited as a workplace condition that amplifies the emotional content of contemporary principals' work, influences their ability to effectively manage their emotions and increases the emotional labor associated with their role (Berkovich & Eyal, 2015; Hauseman et al., 2017; Kokkinos, 2007, Pollock & Hauseman, 2019; Wang et al., 2018). Work intensification involves long work hours, combined with a simultaneous tightening of timelines and an increase in the complexity and volume of job demands (Hauseman et al., 2017). An international trend toward long work hours is a key example of the work intensification faced by contemporary school leaders. For example, UK headteachers report working 63.3 hours on a weekly basis (Department for Education, 2014), while the average principal in Canada and the United States work upwards of 50 hours each week (Lee & Hallinger, 2012; Pollock, 2014). Lee and Hallinger (2012) also found principals are working more than 45 hours per week in Singapore, Denmark, Germany, Belgium, and Scotland. These increases in the complexity and volume of principals' work can have a negative impact on both their wellbeing and ability to lead their schools effectively (Collie et al., 2020; Mahfouz, 2018). The literature also documents how engaging in social justice can result in principals experiencing challenges managing their emotions and becoming frustrated when they face resistance (Pratt-Adams & Maguire, 2009; Ryan & Tuters, 2015; Theoharis, 2007; Zembylas, 2010). Encountering barriers of resistance when advocating for social justice efforts is associated with principals experiencing negative emotions, including sadness, anxiety, and fear. Conversely, happiness, joy, and a sense of relief are some of the positive emotions experienced by principals when their social justice-based advocacy efforts are successful (Pratt-Adams & Maguire, 2009; Ryan & Tuters, 2015; Theoharis, 2007; Wang, 2018; Zembylas, 2010).

The policy context in which principals work may also influence the emotional labor associated with their work. Being compelled to implement and enforce policies that do not align with their educational philosophy can cause principals to suffer emotional distress and take less pride in their work (Berkovich & Eyal, 2015; Blackmore, 2004; Tschannen-Moran & Gareis, 2004). Finally, principals have described paying a high emotional toll for shepherding a school through crises, as they often place the needs of staff, students and the school community ahead of their own (Beatty, 2000; Berkovich & Eyal, 2015; Fein & Issacson, 2009). Crises and tragedies can incite and/or intensify, feelings of fear, anxiety,

and sadness experienced by the principals who are tasked with navigating these difficult situations.

Methodology

This study aims to illuminate the emotional nature of the work that school leaders engage in by identifying workplace conditions that contribute to the emotional labor experienced by contemporary principals. This section begins with a discussion of the sampling procedures used to recruit the 13 secondary school principals who participated in this research. Then I provide descriptions of the sample and the interviews used to collect data from participating principals. The section concludes with an account of the dual-stage process used to analyze the dataset.

Sampling Procedures

The main strategy used to recruit participants for this study involved purposeful sampling (Robson & McCartan, 2016; Springer, 2010). Three pieces of additional selection criteria guided participant recruitment. The first included ensuring that all potential participants were currently employed as Ontario secondary school principals. Second, participating principals needed at least five years of experience in the role, as it can take time to develop effective leadership practices (Leithwood, 2012). I also sought to ensure that the sample included a mix of male and female principals to respond to prior research highlighting how the emotional aspects of their work can create unique challenges for female principals (Beatty & Brew, 2004; Berkovich & Eyal, 2015; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998).

Description of the Sample

The 13 Ontario secondary school principals that participated in this research represent a broad range of geographic contexts and demographic characteristics. For example, the sample included secondary school principals employed in 10 different school districts. While three of the participating principals indicated they are employed in rural schools, nine mentioned that their schools are located in urban areas with high levels of population density. Only one of the participating principals described their school context as suburban. A total of five principals that participated in this research self-identified as female and eight self-identified as male. There is also some variation in participants' years of experience and level of education. Experience ranged from three to 21 years in the role, with 8.85 years being the average across the sample. In terms of level of education, eight participants had completed a master's degree when the interview occurred, while five had obtained a bachelor's degree. While the sample is comprised of individuals with varied experiences, ethnicity is one area where the sample lacks diversity, as 12 of the 13 participants self-identified as Caucasian. The lack of visible diversity

in the sample is a limitation of this research, even if it is representative of the larger principal population in Ontario (Pollock et al., 2015).

Interviews

Data collection involved conducting one interview with each of the 13 participating principals. Participants were provided with 11 open-ended questions prior to the interview. The questions focused on the conditions that incite emotional labor in principals' work, and how they manage their emotions on a daily basis. The interviews ranged in length from 22 minutes and 5 seconds to 43 minutes and 24 seconds. In order to protect the identities and anonymity of all participants, throughout this chapter, I am using pseudonyms in place of participants' real names.

Data Analysis

I utilized a dual-stage approach to conduct data analysis for this study. Open coding the interview data characterized the first stage of data analysis (Robson & McCartan, 2016). The open coding stage of the data analysis process involved reading the interview transcripts, then reviewing the interview data in an effort to identify emergent themes and develop initial categories. The second stage of data analysis utilized analytical coding to refine the initial codes developed during stage one and to draw inferences and conclusions from the dataset (Robson & McCartan, 2016).

Conditions That Contribute to Principals' Emotional Labor

As mentioned earlier, principals are much more likely to discuss negative emotional experiences in their work, rather than the feelings joy, hope, happiness and other positive emotions associated with the contemporary principalship. The principals in this study were no different, describing five types of conditions that contribute to the emotional labor experienced in their work. The first condition involves encountering barriers when advocating for students. Work intensification is another condition in their work that can incite emotional labor. Principals in this study also described experiencing emotional labor due to disagreements with policies or directives from district leadership or the provincial Ministry of Education. Conflict in the workplace and working with individuals who are upset, angry, or unprofessional also influences the emotional labor experienced as part of principals' work. Finally, managing difficult issues, such as tragedies at the school site, can also result in emotional labor for the principals participating in this study.