



**Emotions in the classroom:
Teachers' perceptions and practice
of social and emotional education
in four countries**

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Signed Declaration.

I, Edurne Scott Loinaz, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract.

The central motive for conducting this research was to investigate how different countries (Greece, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom) treat social and emotional education (SEE) within pedagogical practice and policy to answer the following questions: How do teachers perceive and practice SEE? And how are government policies and/or programmes about SEE (if any exist) implemented? The study used a sequential QUAN-QUAL analysis with a comparative design, with 750 teachers in an initial quantitative phase participating in a questionnaire, and 22 teachers in the following qualitative phase participating in semi-structured interviews. Cross-cultural differences were found in the research sample regarding teachers' self-perceived role in socialising emotion: specifically, the teachers' beliefs about their role *in loco parentis*, the teachers' openness to emotional expression in the classroom, and the teachers' knowledge about the role of emotions and relationships to learning. More variation was found in these three variables internationally compared to intranationally, although demographics were found to statistically influence the results as well. Teacher training regarding SEE was found to have only been made available to a minority of teachers in all four countries. In terms of practice, SEE was more likely to be introduced into schools by teachers themselves (or a partnership between teachers and headteachers) rather than by educational policy. Furthermore, SEE provision was found more likely to be implicit (considered for every subject but not taught as its own subject), rather than explicit (having a dedicated time and curricula devoted to SEE). Recent recommendations by policy influencers to create cross-cultural frameworks of social and emotional competencies and life-skills programmes need to be questioned in light of the findings that SEE manifests in unique ways specific to each culture.

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Chapter One. Introduction.

What is the role of emotion in the classroom, and how do teachers talk to students about emotion? Is it treated as 'noise'? An annoyance? Okay in small amounts? Better suppressed until one gets home? Felt but not expressed? Do emotions happen to you whether you like it or not? Or do you create emotion yourself? How in control are we of emotions, and how do we stay in control? Given recent findings that culture influences the way adults socialise children's emotions (Friedlmeier, Corapci & Cole, 2011), how emotions are treated within pedagogical practices in different cultures is ripe for research. Unfortunately, however, scant work has been carried out on the topic. And why should it? A simple answer is because a lot depends on our emotional wellbeing, especially so when we are young: as recent longitudinal research like Layard et al. (2014) shows, the wellbeing of an individual as an adult is more dependant on their emotional health when they were a child, rather than on their academic attainment when younger, or their level of wealth when older. How schools develop social and emotional competencies in children and young people is thus of great importance.

And why study this subject cross-culturally? Put simply, because it is easy to take for granted our suppositions about emotions and how they are socialised within a single culture. As Feyerabend (1975) argues:

'How can we possibly examine something we are using all the time? How can we analyse the terms in which we habitually express our most simple and straightforward observations, and reveal their presuppositions? How can we discover the kind of world we presuppose when proceeding as we do? The answer is clear: we cannot discover it from the inside. We need an external standard of criticism, we need a set of alternative assumptions ... an entire alternative world' (31-32).

Or as the poet George Oppen more succinctly put it, 'Things explain each other, not themselves.' By choosing four countries (Greece,

Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom) that should be, theoretically, the most likely to socialise emotion differently (according to Hofstede's (1986) dimensions of cultural difference), the present research seeks to find what these differences look like, and to describe each context in-depth.

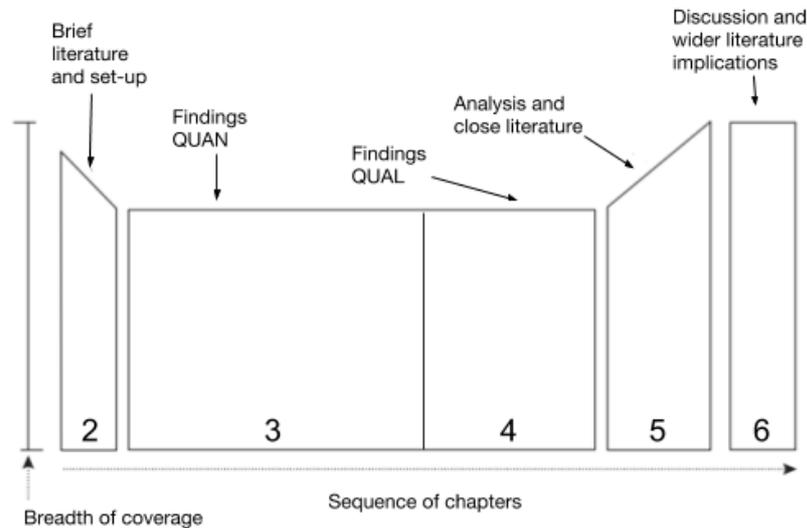
This research builds on teachers' opinions about a relatively new topic introduced into schools: Social and emotional education (SEE). SEE is the educational process by which students develop social and emotional competencies, both intrapersonal (e.g., developing feelings of self-worth, self-discipline, managing stress), and interpersonal (e.g., safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of others, negotiating and resolving conflict, appreciating diverse perspectives). In a way, SEE has taken emotions out from the 'hidden curriculum' and allowed teachers to target emotions more explicitly (and concomitantly, allow for the present research to exist). SEE is also commonly referred to as SEL (social and emotional learning), however, the latter term is more commonly used to describe the assessment of individual students' social and emotional competencies and the evaluation of programmes or interventions targeting these skills, not the process through which such knowledge and skills are acquired, hence the former term, social and emotional education, was more fitting for the present research.

The comparative field has yet to delve into the world of SEE. Most cross-cultural studies that currently exist have been about 'SEL' (testing students' social and emotional skills), not 'SEE' (the process through which such knowledge and social skills are acquired), which means that most rely on one crucial and problematic supposition: that social and emotional competencies are universal across cultures. Another issue with the existing SEL literature is that the teacher's self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser is rarely taken into account - teachers are just faceless variables in the study to test whether they influenced outcomes or not (e.g., can a teacher run an

in-school SEE programme to similar 'positive' outcomes as a psychologist). There are almost no studies on teachers' opinions regarding their role in SEE - that is, what they believe the purpose of SEE even is - let alone whether they think that teaching SEE is within their remit as teachers. The other set of SEE literature that exists has to do with policy, for example, research that cross-culturally compares policy frameworks and curricula relevant to SEE. These studies have been prone to take policy at face value, and often did not confirm what practice actually looks like in the classroom. The present research thus attempts to highlight the suppositions about emotions in each culture, the teachers' self-perceived role in socialising emotion, and the gaps that exist between policy and practice.

This study is a first look into social and emotional education from a comparative perspective in order to gather as many facts about the topic as possible: what teachers think the purpose of SEE is, how it is introduced into schools, how much time is spent on it, how it is taught, how satisfied teachers are with current SEE provision, what teachers think their role is in socialising emotion (and the boundaries between home and school), how teachers are trained for SEE, and most importantly, whether differences exist cross-culturally and even within cultures themselves - all issues which are unknowns in the literature to date, and which this thesis goes a long way toward changing. This is a first step, and there is of course a lot more work to be done in the future, especially in regards to the theoretical frameworks that are used to study cross-cultural differences in social and emotional education, the different variables that make up SEE provision, and the political influences that shape relevant programmes and what social and emotional competencies are prioritised therein. The author's hope is that this study can serve to highlight the basic features of SEE and serve as a foundation on which future research can be built.

Figure 1.1. Structure of the thesis



The thesis will be structured according to Dunleavy's (2003) 'opening out' model, which is summarised in Figure 1.1. After this introduction, Chapter Two serves as a brief literature review and setup, which is deliberately succinct, to highlight the specifications of the research questions, the theoretical framework that was used for case study selection, a summary of the most recent and relevant literature regarding cross-cultural social and emotional education research, and methodological considerations. This set up chapter is brief so that the reader can get to the findings of the study in a shorter space of time (given all the necessary relevant literature to contextualise the findings): Chapter Three which details the findings from the quantitative phase (a questionnaire with 750 respondents), and Chapter Four the qualitative phase (semi-structured interviews with 22 teachers). Chapter Five is a close literature review and applied analysis linking the findings of the preceding chapters with the existing literature, and showing how the present research corroborates with past findings. The thesis ends with Chapter Six which is dedicated to the implications of the findings, and discusses recommendations for future research, especially that more cross-cultural research is needed to better understand how SEE manifests in ways specific to each individual culture.

Chapter Two.

Brief literature setup and methodology.

This chapter is divided into four sections: definition of keywords, literature review, theory and methodology. The first section alongside defining the main concepts of the study (emotion and culture), begins by outlining the aims of the research and the research questions. The second section gives a brief summary of the most recent and relevant literature regarding cross-cultural social and emotional education research- this section is deliberately succinct as a close literature review will be presented in Chapter Five alongside the research findings. The third section briefly details the conceptual framework created for the research based from Hofstede's (1986) cultural dimension theory and the treatment of emotion in the classroom. And finally, the chapter finishes with a methodology section and the reasoning for the selection of the case study countries according to a comparative design.

2.1 Aims, research questions and definition of keywords

The purpose of this study is to identify and understand the role of culture in the creation and conception of social and emotional education and its effect on: teachers' emotional wellbeing; teacher's self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser and their confidence in promoting emotional competence; and the changing remits of educational institutions in fostering social and emotional skills in learners. The study started from five motivations:

1. To highlight the need for social and emotional education in schools, and the importance of teachers' roles as emotion socialisers;

2. To understand why some countries had social and emotional education as part of their compulsory curriculum and why others did not, and whether SEE curricula were similar from country to country;
3. To document what states of subjective experience SEE provisions seek to foster, cultivate and integrate into our societies;
4. To question the universal and deterministic concepts used in social and emotional education programmes, curricula, and policy, especially those that work from a 'deficit' or 'disorder' focus;
5. To help practitioners become more involved in debates about their role as emotion socialisers and significant adults in their students' lives, and about issues relating to SEE including culture, inequality and citizenship.

From these general aims, two specific research questions emerged:

1. How do teachers perceive and practice social and emotional education in different cultures?
2. How are government policies and/or programmes about social and emotional education (if any exist) implemented?

2.1.1. Definitions of key concepts: emotion and culture

Emotion

We are currently experiencing a paradigm shift in the understanding of emotion. Framed dialectically, there is currently an established camp (thesis), and an emergent camp (antithesis) whose definitions of emotion are fast becoming incompatible with each other. The following section will thus discuss the differences in the evaluative statements and suppositions that are presented as fact or agreed common sense by each of the camps, i.e., their 'assumed truths' (Carusi, 2010).

The established camp

The established camp, here defined as the mainstream or hegemonic discourse, has been labelled many different ways in the

literature: Cartesian logic, the cognitive revolution (Daus 2006), psychological methodology (Zembylas, 2007c), or the classical view of emotions (Feldman Barrett, 2017). Rather than place one more label on it, or choose one over the other, the present study sought to gather these related labels into one group (or 'camp'), and tried to analyse what 'assumed truths' they shared. These were found to be that: emotional competencies are universal; emotion and reason are separate; and social and emotional skills can be taught.

Assumed truth: Emotions are universal

This is the keystone of the established camp: that we all experience emotion (eg. sadness, happiness, anger, fear, disgust) in similar ways, and this makes humans of all cultures the same dating back to our hominin ancestors from the African savanna. As neuroscientist Feldman Barrett (2017) describes it, 'Our emotions, according to the classical view, are artifacts of evolution, having long ago been advantageous for survival, and are now a fixed component of our biological nature' (xi). In effect, the established camp uses a model of subjective passivity - emotions 'happen to you' whether you like it or not, and no matter who you are. However, despite how much our day-to-day lives are shaped by this supposition, there has yet to be any research demonstrating a consistent, physical fingerprint for even a single emotion (Feldman Barrett, *ibid*).

The assumed truth that emotions are universal has meant that a lot of SEL programmes currently being run in schools tend to treat emotional competencies universally, define social and emotional skills normatively, and have failed to take into account how emotion is socialised differently from culture to culture (which goes a long way to explaining the lack of cross-cultural research within the field of SEE also). For example, Garner et al. (2014) warned that Westernised views of SEE are dangerous in that they can operate in ways counter to the family and community of children from diverse cultural backgrounds. In their research they found cultural differences in

socialising emotion in second-generation immigrant children in America: for example, the discouragement of emotion-based communication in Asian-American children, or the propensity for relatively higher self-concepts in Latin-American children.

Assumed truth: Emotion and reason are separate

Be it Plato's philosopher King ruled by reason, the Cartesian definition of reason as Godly, or the 19th century's penchant for positivistic science, reason has been privileged above emotion for thousands of years. This classical belief continued into the cognitive revolution in psychology where, 'Affect was considered (in the cognitive paradigm) as noise, or 'error variance', an annoyance to be controlled, and at best as a potentially disruptive influence on normal (that is, affectless) cognition' (Daus 2006, 306). This privileging of reason had the concomitant result of branding emotion as:

'Irrational, uncontrollable, unfathomable, animalistic, unpredictable phenomena that have a life of their own, localized in a special, separate, primitive, nonconscious part of the brain, [which] overwhelm cognition, behavior and social life' (Ratner, 2007, 94).

The continued supposition that emotions are brute reflexes, means that the treatment of emotion as irrational still exists within the Western legal system where crimes of passion (i.e. emotion) are dealt with less severely than crimes showing premeditation (i.e. reason). *Ab irato*, meaning 'from an angry man', is even used in law to describe actions influenced by negative emotion.

This treatment of emotion and reason as separate still exists within education research also, as can be seen in a paper from two UK scholars discussing the role of educators' emotions in the 21st century:

'We have two fundamentally different ways of knowing and understanding, which interact to construct our mental life. First, there is the rational mind, characterised by the logical, deductive mode of comprehension, which is careful, analytic, reflective and frequently deliberate. Alongside this, however, is another system of knowing,

the emotional mind, which is powerful, impulsive, intuitive, holistic and fast - and often illogical.' (Day & Leitch, 2001, 406)

Goleman's (1995) book '*Emotional Intelligence*' had a large part in perpetuating the dichotomy between emotion and reason into the 21st century (Kristjansson, 2006). There are many techniques mentioned in Goleman's book dedicated to defusing, deflating and de-escalating affect since according to the author, 'Out-of-control emotions can make smart people stupid.' This supposition not only dichotomises emotion and reason, but defines emotional intelligence universally as the ideal subjectivity at the disposal of most middle-class, white, male professionals (Froyum, 2010): that is, showing little to no emotion, with the goal of both inner and outer control.

Assumed truth: You can 'teach' social and emotional skills.

Another keystone of the established camp is that emotional regulation is a skill that can be taught, measured and assessed. The World Health Organization's (1994) 'Life Skills framework' encouraged educational institutions to extend their remit to fostering mental wellbeing, and is an early example of this supposition in practice. It is the framing of emotional regulation as a skill that can be developed in schools that has led to the creation of multiple educational programmes working on specific social and emotional aptitudes, and in turn, to the many SEL programmes currently rolled out in schools today. A review of the evidence regarding whether social and emotional skills can be taught and/or enhanced by teachers was recently undertaken by the the Early Intervention Foundation (2015), which uncovered findings to support the effectiveness of universal social and emotional school based programmes led by teachers.

However, these 'emotional competence' approaches are not the only means of developing social and emotional skills as the established camp tends to purport. As Vadeboncoeur and Collie

(2013) argue, schools can 'develop approaches to social and emotional education that reduce the emphasis on behavioral skill sets and individual assessments and, instead, develop methods for linking social and emotional ideals with social practices in schools' (205). In other words, SEE provision can exist without placing the onus on the student to change, and focus on relationships and the school environment instead.

Emergent camp

The emergent camp is the antithesis of the established camp, and it is similarly referred to with many different labels: the interactionist methodology (Zembylas, 2007c), antipositivism (Denzin, 1984), social constructionist (Watson and Emery, 2010), the social-historical contextual approach (Hargreaves, 2000; Schutz & Deyoung, 2002; Zembylas, 2005; Carlone et al., 2006), and most recently, the theory of constructed emotion (Feldman Barrett, 2017) which is described as belonging to a broader scientific tradition called 'construction', which purports that:

'Your familiar emotion concepts are built-in only because you grew up in a particular social context where those emotion concepts are meaningful and useful, and your brain applies them outside your awareness to construct your experiences. Heart rate changes are inevitable; their emotional meaning is not. Other cultures can and do make other kinds of meaning from the same sensory input' (32-33).

The assumed truths of the emergent camp are that reason and emotion are not separate, that emotions are fundamental to learning and that emotions are not universal but dependant on culture.

Assumed truth: Reason and emotion are not separate

This assumed truth of the emergent camp is a negation of the hegemonic discourse, which arguably emerged after World War II when the established camp's idolisation of reason began to be challenged. The Frankfurt School's Theodor Adorno (1978), for

example, saw reason as creating, 'abstract, coherent, architectonic systems' (the main example being the Holocaust) and not promoting 'subjective, private reflection'. These insights allowed for humanistic psychologists like Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers - part of the new affective education movement - to start emphasising the experiential parts of the personality. Research that has stemmed from this tradition, especially in cognitive theories of emotion, have found that the emotion/reason dichotomy is false - that emotion is in fact permeated by reason (and vice versa) (Kristjanson, 2006; Blyth, 2017). Given this, any emotion, including negatively evaluating emotions – can in themselves be emotionally intelligent reactions to a certain state of affairs. As Kristjanson (2006) critiques the established camp's suppositions inherent in the writings of Daniel Goleman and his promotion of mindfulness:

'Our aim should not invariably be to cool down anger or extinguish it, but rather to experience it in the right proportion, at the right time ... Writings by Goleman contain even fewer condoning allusions to negatively evaluating or painful emotions. We are now told in no uncertain terms that "negative" emotions "powerfully disrupt work" and make people "less emotionally intelligent," and we are reminded of the Buddhist message that "afflictive" emotions, as opposed to "nourishing" ones, "tend to make one ill."' (48)

Studies of adult-child interactions from the emergent camp have been very careful not to demonise negatively-evaluating emotions for this reason. The suggestion is that anger is not always harmful and may even be useful (Gottman, Katz, Hooven, 2003, 254). Ginott (1965), for example, distinguished the difference between anger versus shame (such as, using global criticism versus specific criticism suggesting that the child is incompetent). Furthermore, The Center for Emotional Intelligence at Yale University has developed a classroom 'mood meter' to defend high-energy negative emotion as useful in school activities that require heightened awareness: debating or passionate expression promoting a cause, for example. Whilst low-energy negative emotion (like

sadness) allow for greater introspection and empathy (Center for Emotional Intelligence, 2015).

Assumed truth: Emotions are fundamental to learning

As neuroscientists Immordino-Yang & Damasio (2007) argue in their paper *'We Feel, Therefore We Learn'*:

'The neurobiological evidence suggests that the aspects of cognition that we recruit most heavily in schools, namely learning, attention, memory, decision making, and social functioning, are both profoundly affected by and subsumed within the processes of emotion' (3).

Brackett et al. (2013) state that it is thanks to these neuroscientific advances that emotion is starting to get the respect it deserves in education, studies which conclude that, 'Affective and cognitive processes are integrated (Dolan 2002); emotions focus attention (de Sousa 1987; Mayer & Salovey 1997; Compton 2003), drive decision making (Damasio 1994) and impact perception, motivation, critical thinking, and behaviour (Lazarus 1991, Mayer and Salovey 1997)' (371).

Assumed truth: Emotions are social experiences and thus dependant on culture

The most radical supposition from the emergent camp is that emotions are created in the moment, which Feldman Barrett (2017) has coined as the theory of constructed emotion. This theory posits that emotion emerges as:

'A combination of the physical properties of your body, a flexible brain that wires itself to whatever environment it develops in, and your culture and upbringing, which provide that environment ... They [emotions] are real in the same sense that money is real—that is, hardly an illusion, but a product of human agreement' (xii-xiii).

Feldman Barrett argues that it is our very description of emotion that creates emotionality, what she terms becoming an 'architect of one's own experience': if you know a word for a particular emotional experience it is fast to describe, almost automatic, similar to someone that has learnt to drive a car and does so with no strenuous effort. Feldman Barrett's work is cross-cultural in order to highlight

the relativity of emotional experience, and she in turn encourages other people to borrow emotional terms from other cultures to re-categorise their own emotional experiences, or even make up their own.

This supposition of the emergent camp treats emotion as lived experience within a specific social-historical context- in this case, the bureaucratised, commodified, mass-mediated reality of capitalism (Denzin, 1990). Authors like Hargreaves (2000) have written extensively about how the treatment of emotion from a social-historical context makes it possible to see when social and emotional education is being used to manipulate students and teachers alike; for example, Mussolini's education minister who believed schools that centered around SEE would create the ideal fascist citizens of the future - passionate attachments, without critical examination. As Wiborg & Moe (2016) succinctly put it, education can 'be a means of socializing citizens to democratic norms, but also of socializing them to authoritarian ideology and control' (1). For this reason the goal of studying emotion within a social-historical contextual approach is to properly describe what emotions are experienced within a specific context of time and space. In treating emotions as social experiences, a framework was proposed by Denzin (1990) to study emotion that is used in the current research:

1. Emotion must be studied as lived experience.
2. The essential features of emotion must be isolated and described.
3. Emotion must be understood as a process that turns on itself, elaborates itself, and has its own trajectory.
4. The phenomenological understanding and interpretation of emotion will not be causal. *It will be descriptive, interpretive and processual. Variables, factors and causal agents will not be sought.*
5. Any interpretation of emotion must be judged by (a) its ability to bring emotional experiences alive, and (b) its ability to produce understanding of the experiences that have been described.

6. The phenomenological interpretation of emotional experiences must be cultural and historical.

(Denzin, 1990, 86)

Culture

After finishing with one complicated keyword, we now turn to the next: culture. Just like the field of emotion, culture has different academic fields defining and re-defining what it means. Sociologists O'Sullivan et al. (1994) defined culture as being multi-discursive, 'This means you cannot import a fixed definition into any and every context and expect it to make sense. What you have to do is identify the discursive context itself' (68). Thus, the discursive context of the current research is that it compares the beliefs and perceptions of educators from different countries as to their opinions of specific educational practices, and their role as significant adults in their students' lives. It asks teachers to partake in subjective reflection and the effects of their experience, and concomitantly, to interpret and analyse the teachers' reflections as part of the research.

In this context culture is thus used in two different ways. Firstly, culture is studied at the level of nations- itself a methodological limitation that will be discussed at greater length below. Secondly, culture is defined as information (ideas, beliefs, values, skills, attitudes, knowledge) acquired from other individuals via social transmission mechanisms (e.g. teaching, imitation) (Mesoudi, 2011).

Ratner (2000) notes that cultural differences, however, cannot be treated as absolutes and are rather variations around common cultural themes, since without common action, culture cannot exist. It is possible to find humans describing these cultural themes even in the earliest written records of mankind.¹ However, studying culture

¹ "The notion that a population or a part thereof—one's own or another's—possesses collective mental characteristics is probably as old as the populations themselves. Tacitus, writing in 98 BC, addressed the character of ancient German tribes by describing the Chauca as noble and the Harii as "fierce in nature." In the 14th century, the great Muslim scholar Ibn Khaldûn—considered by some as the founder of sociology—dwelt at length in his book *Almuqaddima*

across countries as information transmitted via social transmission mechanisms is relatively new. The aim of such research is clearly expressed in Przeworski and Teune's (1970) *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*:

"We should go beyond statements such as "In the USA ... , but in France." In this case we treat names of nations as residues of undefined variance... When we find that societies differ with regard to a particular characteristic, we should try to specify what it is about these societies that causes this difference."

This attempt to explicitly define the variables of culture makes up a colossal body of work from multiple academic fields with wide-ranging methods and answers, so the first question to ask is: In what ways have researchers attempted to compare culture before? One means is by cultural dimensions, where cultures are compared by specific themes (or 'issues'). The first systematic review of studies of cultural difference using dimensions was by Inkeles and Levinson (1969), who proposed three 'cultural issues' that commonly differentiated groups: (1) Relation to authority; (2) Self-concept, and the definition of gender roles; and (3) Conflict resolution, which primarily relied on the expression versus inhibition of emotion. Some studies have used socio-economic factors instead of 'cultural issues' such as Inglehart (1997) which proposed comparing cultures by rich societies versus low-income societies, but in later work he too began to employ cultural themes to compare countries as well (specifically, traditional versus secular authorities, and survival versus self-expression) (Inglehart, 2000).

Inkeles and Levinson's (1969) work greatly influenced the Dutch comparative psychologist Geert Hofstede, and in his 1980 book '*Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*', Hofstede used a standardised questionnaire

(1377/1968) on the different mentalities of nomads and sedentary peoples. He argued that the mind in its original state is ready to absorb any influence, good or bad: "As Mohammed has said: 'Every child is born in a natural state. It is his parents who make him into a Jew, Christian or Zoroastrian.'" (Hofstede & Mcrae, 2004)

given to over 100,000 IBM workers in over 53 countries in the late 1970s to identify the variables that would predict the cultural differences in his dataset. He identified four variables in total and scored each country's cumulative answers as a position from 0-100 on each dimension. These four dimensions were Inkeles and Levinson's (1969) 'three issues', along with one more variable identified by Parsons and Shils (1951), 'self orientation versus collective orientation'. The descriptions for each of the variables are summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Hofstede's dimensions and related work in past comparative literature

Variable	Dimension	Hofstede (2001)
Relation to authority, Inkeles and Levinson (1969)	1. Power Distance (large versus small)	<p>The degree to which less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally. The fundamental issue here is how a society handles inequalities among people.</p> <p>Large power distance: Accept a hierarchical order in which everybody has a place and which needs no further justification.</p> <p>Low power distance: People strive to equalise the distribution of power and demand justification for inequalities of power.</p>
Self-concept, Inkeles and Levinson (1969)	2. Masculinity versus Femininity	<p>The degree of differentiation of gender and the division of emotional roles.</p> <p>Masculinity: Preference for competition, achievement, heroism, assertiveness and material rewards.</p> <p>Femininity: Preference for cooperation, modesty and quality of life.</p>
Conflict resolution, Inkeles and Levinson (1969)	3. Uncertainty Avoidance (strong versus weak)	<p>The degree to which members of a society feel uncomfortable with uncertainty and ambiguity.</p> <p>High UA: Rigid codes of belief and behaviour. Intolerance towards unorthodox behaviour and ideas. High expression of emotion, "It predicts the existence of many rules that people want others to follow but does not give us the average degree of personal rule orientation in a society." (Minkov, Hofstede, 2011, 15)</p> <p>Weak UA: Practice counts more than principles. Low expression of emotion.</p>

Table 2.1. Hofstede's dimensions and related work in past comparative literature (contd.)		
Variable	Dimension	Hofstede (2001)
Self versus collective orientation, Parsons and Shils (1951)	4. Individual versus Collective	The degree to which people's self-image is defined in terms of 'I' or 'we'. Individualism: Preference for a loosely-knit social framework; individuals are expected to take care of only themselves and their immediate families. Collectivism: Preference for a tightly-knit framework; individuals can expect their relatives or members of a particular ingroup to look after them.

After publishing his book, Hofstede spent the next 35 years advocating for the use of his cultural dimensions in cross-cultural research to predict the 'direction' of differences between cultures, and many researchers have followed his recommendations. Taras, Kirkman and Steel's (2010) '*A Three-Decade, Multilevel, Meta-Analytic Review of Hofstede's Cultural Value Dimensions*' found 598 studies that used Hofstede's framework representing over 200,000 participants and concluded that the dimensions remain theoretically relevant to the study of cultural differences. In fact, more recent systematic reviews on cultural differences, such as Nardon & Steers (2009), all have the same cultural dimensions identified by Inkeles & Levinson back in 1969 and Hofstede in 1980 (albeit with new labels): for example, relation to authority was coined in 2009 by Nardon & Steers as 'hierarchy versus equality', and self-concept (or Hofstede's masculinity versus femininity) was labelled 'mastery versus harmony'. Why culture has remained the same, Hofstede (2002) argues is because it is a relatively stable concept with 'centuries-old roots' (which will be discussed in further detail in the limitations section below).

Thus to summarise, the definition of culture, as a multi-discursive term, is here defined similarly to cultural evolution theory which allows for experimental studies to be pursued under

Mesoudi's (2011) three principles: (1) Cultural traits (beliefs, attitudes, skills, knowledge, etc.) vary across and within individuals and groups; (2) Not all cultural traits are equally likely to be preserved and copied due to competition for expression, attention or memory space, some ideas are more memorable or attractive than others, and some models are more likely to be copied; and, (3) Cultural traits are inherited or transmitted from model(s) to learner(s) via social learning. These three principles create the following premises about culture which are utilised in the present research:

- Social and emotional education is composed of cultural traits and thus varies across and within different groups;
- The cultural traits composing social and emotional education are deemed to be the most attractive, and have the most likely chance of being copied;
- Social and emotional skills are transmitted from teacher to learner via social learning.

2.2. Relevant literature

This section will outline SEE policy (by both governmental and non-governmental organisations) to contextualise how the goals of SEE have been shaped by powerful groups over the past 20 years, and what social and emotional competencies they deem worthy of targeting in SEE provision. This will be followed by the most recent relevant literature of cross-cultural social and emotional education research to date.

Relevant SEE policy and studies

Government policy and NGOs have been very influential in the definition of social and emotional competencies, as well as defining the remit of educational institutions in improving social and emotional skills (or as they are alternatively call them, 'life skills'). The timeline of relevant SEE policy is described below:

<p>1989: <i>The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 29: Goals of education)</i></p>	<p>Article 29 (1) (a) of the Rights of the Child states that 'State Parties agree that the Education of the child shall be directed to: The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential.' This is the first piece of international policy to highlight the need for education to take into account the personality and other mental abilities of the child. Other sections of the Article, such as (e) 'The development of respect for the natural environment,' are cited in some nations' SEE guidelines as an emotional competency - especially in Scandinavian countries.</p>
<p>1994: <i>World Health Organization, Life Skills framework</i></p>	<p>WHO's mental health division was the first to propose a definition of what social and emotional competencies are, as well as the first to propose a legitimate remit for educational institutions in fostering mental health. The skills in the 1994 Life Skills Framework were divided into five areas: (1) decision making and problem solving, (2) creative and critical thinking, (3) effective communication and interpersonal relationship skills, (4) self-awareness and empathy, and (5) coping with emotions and stress. The <i>Life Skills framework</i> was the first to present social and emotional competencies as skills that could be learnt in a particular order, with subsequent years in education building on the skills of earlier lessons. For the skill of 'coping with emotions', for example, Level One was the recognition of the expression of different emotions, Level Two was understanding how emotions affect the way we behave, and Level Three was coping with emotional distress. The WHO model shifted from intervention to prevention, kickstarting the whole-school programmes that would become a keystone of SEE provision. It also framed these skills instrumentally: having a value in the labour force.</p>
<p>1997: <i>CASEL's framework for SEL competencies</i></p>	<p>The 'Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning' created a framework for SEL competencies in 1997 consisting of 22 skills in five groups: Self-Awareness, Self-Regulation, Self-Monitoring, Empathy and Social Skills. Since then, CASEL commissioned other research to refine this framework, including Payton et al.'s (2000) '<i>Social and Emotional Learning: A Framework for Promoting Mental Health and Reducing Risk Behavior in Children and Youth</i>,' and Zins et al.'s (2004) '<i>The Scientific Base Linking Social and Emotional Learning to School Success</i>'. CASEL's social and emotional education movement was the first to describe social and emotional difficulties as barriers to learning. The framework of SEL skills proposed by CASEL has changed slightly since the original - it is now divided into five groups, with 20 overall skills.</p>

<p>1999: <i>UNESCO, Learning the Treasure Within</i></p>	<p>The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's paper was the first to highlight the social and emotional skills that young adults need to function in the workplace, what was termed 'learning to do'. This includes the competence to work in teams and to navigate through both formal and informal work experiences. Other categories included 'learning to live together', and 'learning to be', otherwise referred to as 'locus of control, where a person is able to act with greater autonomy, judgment and personal responsibility.</p>
<p>2006: <i>European Parliament, Key Competencies (2006/962/EC)</i></p>	<p>Emotion as a skill is mentioned in the Cultural Awareness and Expression section where it is defined as 'the ability to relate one's own creative and expressive points of view to the opinions of others and to identify and realise social and economic opportunities in cultural activity.' It is important to note that the European Parliament's recommendations emphasise UNESCO's 'learning to do' above all other categories - in other words, emotional and social competency is treated as a means to success (in the labour market or in greater society), rather than as a benefit in itself.</p>
<p>2015: <i>OECD Skills Studies 'The power of social and emotional skills'</i></p>	<p>The report did not use any of the previous frameworks or research to compare social and emotional competencies and instead created three new categories: achieving goals, working with others, and managing emotions. As it ran a cross-cultural comparison study, it will be discussed more in depth in the literature review below.</p>

A lot of the policy and reports discussed above can be categorised under The Global Mental Health (GMH) movement which has been one of the most influential drivers of social and emotional education worldwide. In the present, the GMH movement has brought to the public attention that 25% of the world population will be affected by a mental disorder at one point of their lives (Bemme & D'souza, 2014), half of which start before the age of 14 (Kessler et al., 2005), and that only 1% of mental health budgets are spent on prevention (WHO, 2013). Though the global mental health movement was criticised in the literature due to its claim of universality - that is, that they do not take local culture and definitions of wellbeing into account - others defend GMH initiatives as they have tried to link mental health to poverty, inequality and maternal health. For example, Bemme & D'souza (2014) claim that the GMH movement is

deliberately creating a discontinuity with psychiatry's institutional and conceptual infrastructure as most of their calls to action are articulated with almost no mention of psychiatry:

'Psychiatry is seen [by the GMH movement] as overly specialized and reliant on experts, and ultimately of limited use in low-resource settings where trained human resources are sparse ... it [the GMH movement] has decidedly black-boxed academic psychiatry's central questions such as exact disease causation and classification, focusing instead on the language of providing 'access to care' (866).

The global mental health movement posits that for children who have a high risk of developing a mental health issue, their teacher will be the first and sometimes only adult that has the opportunity to recognise and meet their social and emotional needs – their first, and sometimes only, access to care. The suggestion from the public health perspective is not to promote the notion of teachers taking on the role of therapist, but rather to highlight that teachers are effective actors in improving mental health (Rae, 2015). In one study conducted by the Australian scholars Barrett and Turner (2001), for example, teachers were found to be as effective as trained psychologists running in-school psychosocial interventions for children and adolescents diagnosed with anxiety. This finding was also the case in the only cross-cultural systematic review of social and emotional education programmes (Sklad et al., 2014), where it was found that students did not develop substantially fewer social skills in SEL programmes run by teachers, and the involvement of psychosocial professionals in the delivery of interventions did not improve their effectiveness. This is the increasingly popular remit for schools that was first put forward by WHO's *Life Skills Framework*: that teachers are not to classify or fix mental health problems but rather 'identify social and individual characteristics of subjective wellbeing that are seen to be measurable, build upon individual and communal assets in creating well-being and promote universal prevention or 'emotional inoculation' (Rae, 2015).

The impacts of SEE on students' wellbeing make up the majority of the literature on SEE (and as they concentrate on individual children's competencies they usually use the keyword 'social and emotional learning' (SEL)). In two systematic reviews - one based on UK SEL programmes (Early Intervention Foundation, 2015), the other reviewing SEL programmes in over 10 countries (Sklad et al, 2012) - emotional wellbeing outcomes that were tested included a greater sense of self-efficacy and self-worth, happiness and reduced anxiety levels. What the UK review highlighted was that programmes that focused on positive competencies and emotional wellbeing as opposed to prevention of emotional and mental health problems were more likely to have positive outcomes.

Controlling for other factors, longitudinal studies by the Early Intervention Foundation (2015) show that specific emotional skills are able to predict with accuracy other life outcomes: Self-control and self-regulation can predict mental health, life satisfaction, wellbeing, qualifications, income and labour market outcomes, measures of physical health, obesity, smoking, crime and mortality. Other studies have gone so far as to say that specific social and emotional aptitudes correlate to subjective wellbeing indicators not only longitudinally but cross-culturally also: Spector et al.'s (2001) study, for instance, found that an individual's 'locus of control' correlates with subjective wellbeing across cultures.

This claim of universality from the SEE-evidence base, however, is problematic since it not only risks eliminating the need for studies about complex social realities, but it disregards more social dimensions of health (Bemme & D'souza, 2014), as well as cultural differences (Garner, Mahatmya, Brown and Vesely, 2014).

Cross-cultural social and emotional education research

Of the scant work that has been carried out cross-culturally on SEE the majority of it has concentrated on evaluating SEL

programmes in schools. Sklad et al. (2012) was an effect study of SEL on various outcomes, which found overall beneficial effects cross-culturally on seven major outcomes: social skills, antisocial behaviour, substance abuse, positive self-image, academic achievement, mental health, and prosocial behaviour. The meta-analytical review involved 75 studies in eight countries that reported the effects of universal, school-based SEL programmes. The main findings of the study were that SEL programmes may be beneficial to children from various national and cultural contexts around the globe, and that teachers can deliver SEL programmes without compromising their effectiveness (i.e. students did not develop fewer skills during programmes which were delivered solely by teachers, compared to those that involved psychosocial professionals).

Sklad et al.'s (2012) findings, however, were not corroborated by Wigelsworth et al. (2016), and in their own meta-review of the transferability of skills in SEL programmes cross-culturally found that there was no impact when programmes were transferred internationally. Why this was the case could possibly be explained by an earlier study: Garner, Mahatmya, Brown and Vesely (2014) studied the desirable outcomes that could be promoted by SEL programmes among culturally and ethnically diverse children within one classroom. The authors warned that cultures differ in the way they talk about and conceptualise emotions, and therefore how they are experienced and expressed. Therefore, SEE must make appropriate cultural adaptations to enhance its effectiveness for all children.

Studies about SEE cross-culturally have all been funded by powerful groups that have influenced SEE: CASEL (Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning), Fundacion Botin and the OECD. *The Handbook of Social and Emotional Learning: Research and Practice* (Domitrovich et al., 2015) by CASEL, dedicated a

chapter to culture and its influence on social and emotional education, concluding that SEE competencies have universal utility across cultures. The authors suggested that a 'common language and framework be closely integrated with the global efforts to develop common metrics to measure and monitor progress,' (582) and that the SEE agenda be made a part of the international 'Learning for All' movement. The need for teacher training was highlighted as being particularly important:

'It is clear that little attention is given currently to the cultivation and promotion of pre-service teachers' own social and emotional competence and well-being. This is problematic if we want to advance the science and practice of SEL, particularly with regard to the effective implementation of SEL programs' (416).

The Handbook had several issues: it was not up-to-date regarding SEE policy initiatives (for example, stating that the Labour-developed SEAL was being implemented by the current government in the majority of UK schools, when the Coalition party had abandoned the programme five years before the book's publication); it did not clarify why some countries were taken into account in the chapters and others were not (and thus could not account for its selection bias); and finally, it suggested that common metrics were needed between countries for SEE to measure and monitor progress, yet failed to highlight a single difference between social and emotional competencies between cultures.

The second recurring study regarding SEE is Fundacion Botin's '*Emotional and Social Education. International Analysis*' series which showed how SEE policy and curricula are being implemented in various countries. Fundacion Botin have so far released four issues: 2008, 2011, 2013 and 2015, each year detailing a new group of countries. Unfortunately, the earlier volumes are already quite outdated as is clearly evident by certain quotes of the first version: 'In 2007 GDP per capita in Spain is five points higher than the EU average ... this supports forecasts that place Spain

ahead of Germany by 2010' (154). The other problem with the research is that each case study country is written by a researcher or practitioner based in that country meaning that there is no unifying framework in which the countries are compared to each other, no overarching methodology, and because it is involved in showcasing 'best practice' in each country, it rarely takes social, political and economic circumstances into account in its discussion of SEE.

The last cross-cultural study regarding SEE is the OECD Skills Studies '*The power of social and emotional skills*' (2015) which compared the SEE competencies and frameworks in individual countries belonging to the OECD. The report ended with the recommendation that social and emotional skills should be identified by researchers that can be 'reliably measured and are cross-culturally and cross-linguistically robust.' The report did not use any frameworks from past policy or research to compare social and emotional competencies between the OECD countries and instead created three new categories: achieving goals, working with others, and managing emotions. The report used this framework to compare whether each country belonging to the OECD developed these particular competencies in its curriculum, which caused some misleading if not erroneous information, considering how general the categories were: for example, some countries were highlighted as having a curriculum devoted to particular social and emotional skills even though this only identified policymakers' wishes. The reason for this is also due to the report using highly abstract skills that seem universally relevant (e.g. achieving goals, working with others, managing emotions).

Regardless, all the studies discussed above rarely concentrate on one of the most important actors within SEE provision: the teachers themselves. Zembylas & Schutz (2009) in their book '*Advances in Teacher Emotion Research: The Impact on Teachers' Lives*' highlighted this gap in the literature:

'How might teachers' display and experience of emotions lead to meaningful differences and similarities across cultural boundaries? How do cultural dimensions influence the emotion displays of teachers in varied countries? This sort of research will enable the establishment of an international database about emotion management and emotional rules in teaching and its effects on a wide variety of aspects in the school's life' (69).

Research involving teachers' perceptions of SEE has so far been carried out mono-culturally: in Greece (Triliva and Poulou, 2006; Poulou, 2017a), in Australia (Djambazova-Popordanoska, 2016), and in Turkey (Esen-Aygun & Sahin-Taskin, 2017). The Greek and Turkish studies concentrated on teachers' definitions of social and emotional education - and both found the concepts to be highly influenced by the Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL) model. Conversely, the study in Australia sought not so much to define SEE, as to investigate the teachers' fidelity to the CASEL model that had already been explicitly established within the schools.

Triliva & Poulou's (2006) study was the first to try and understand teachers' perceptions of SEE. One of the study's main findings was that many of the Greek teachers interviewed thought SEE to be as important as academic achievement. As one teacher explained in the study:

'I think it is important to teach social and emotional skills, sometimes even more important than teaching language arts or maths. I see people who are not interested in teaching such skills, and they say 'leave it, we will teach geometry, it is the priest's, mother's father's, uncle's, friend's responsibility to teach kids about good character'. I think it is the biggest pity that we teachers participate in, not to teach such life skills, not to teach social skills. This is important for two reasons: first, we are supposed to be the people closer to children, and second and most basic reason is that we have seen that families are no longer capable of handling the emotional worlds of their children, alone' (327).

Triliva & Poulou's study was the first step in describing the teacher's self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser, albeit in a cultural vacuum. Since this study Denham, Bassett and Zinseer

(2012) highlighted the ongoing shortage of research involving teachers' perceptions of SEE and identified the following gaps in the literature: teacher confidence in promoting emotional competence, the supervisory support available for this role, and the influence of demographics on SEE provision, specifically: teacher age, experience, education, race/ethnicity and income range. The present research thus wishes to continue with Triliva & Poulou's (2006) initial attempt to identify teachers' opinions about SEE, and fill in the gaps identified by Denham, Bassett and Zinseer (2012). Also, unlike the studies produced by CASEL, OECD and Fundacion Botin, the present research wishes to differentiate policymakers' wishful thinking from practice on the ground.

2.3. Theory and conceptual framework

Research comparing cultures over the past 70 years has tended to have the following attributes: (1) It uses dimensions to differentiate culture which are split into either two categories (e.g., rich versus poor countries), tripartite categories (e.g., the orientation in time toward past - present - future cultures), or a scale between 0-100; (2) Each study has an average of four cultural dimensions; and (3) The aim of the studies is to predict the 'direction' of differences between cultures. A summary of the most pertinent cultural dimensions discussed in research over the past half century can also be viewed in Appendix One. For the present research, two of Hofstede's (1986) dimensions using a scale between 0-100 will be used to create a conceptual framework in which to better understand differences in social and emotional education provision cross-culturally.

After publishing his 1980 book '*Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*', it was not long before Hofstede began to apply his cultural dimensions in different contexts: in this case, the classroom. In his 1986 paper, '*Cultural*

Differences in Teaching and Learning,' Hofstede created the first cross-cultural framework for the treatment of emotion in educational settings, and highlighted that the teacher/student relationship - a product of culture itself - is also, 'the device par excellence by which that culture itself is transferred from one generation to the next' (302). Using Hofstede's (1986) predictions from two specific dimensions - the Uncertainty Avoidance (UA) and the Masculinity Index - and their influence of emotion and the teacher-student relationship in the classroom, a conceptual framework in which to predict differences in SEE provision was formulated (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Cultural differences in teacher/student relationships and predictions for social and emotional education provision

Low UA	High UA	Relation to SEE: hypotheses
Students feel comfortable in unstructured learning situations	Students feel comfortable in structured learning situations	<p>Low UA: SEE has vague objectives, and is not timetabled. Low training in SEE. Preference for implicit SEE skills and reliance on modelling. Suppression of emotion.</p> <p>High UA: SEE has precise objectives, and is timetabled. High training in SEE. Preference for explicit SEE skills and reliance on didactic teaching. Expression of emotion.</p>
Feminine	Masculine	Relation to SEE: hypotheses
System rewards students' social adaptation	System rewards students' academic performance	<p>Feminine: SEE is believed to be as important as academic subjects. Teachers feel responsible for socialising students.</p> <p>Masculine: SEE is believed to be less important than academic subjects. Teachers do not feel responsible for socialising students.</p>
Minimum emotional and social role differentiation between the genders	Maximum emotional and social role differentiation between the genders	<p>Feminine: Similar replies to the importance of SEE from both male and female teachers</p> <p>Masculine: Different replies to the importance of SEE between male and female teachers</p>
Interdependence ideal	Independence ideal	<p>Feminine: Interpersonal skills (Safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of others; social skills, negotiating and resolving conflict; appreciating diverse perspectives)</p> <p>Masculine: Intrapersonal skills (Self-discipline; setting goals; developing feelings of self-worth; recognising triggers of anger; understanding, and labelling emotion; relaxation techniques)</p>

In order to see whether these differences did in fact exist - and thus whether Hofstede's dimensions were able to predict the way in which emotion is treated in the classroom - it thus made sense to choose four countries that would be the most likely to treat emotion differently according to Hofstede's (1986) paper for the present study. However, this was not the only consideration for case selection, which will be discussed more in depth in the methodology section below.

2.4. Methodology

The research as a whole was informed by a transformative paradigm which seeks to provide a framework for addressing inequality in society by concentrating on how power and privilege are major determinants in the shaping of reality. As Mertens (2007) states, 'Transformative mixed methodologies provide a mechanism for addressing the complexities of research in culturally complex settings that can provide a basis for social change' (212). To this end, combining quantitative methods for confirmatory objectives, and qualitative methods for exploratory objectives was a strong methodology to use within a transformative paradigm to answer the two research questions. To obtain the relevant data, a sequential QUAN-QUAL analysis with a comparative design was used, the results from the QUAN strand influencing the methodology used in the QUAL strand, and the final sample from the QUAN strand being used as the sampling frame for the subsequent strand (the qualitative strand being a sub-sample of the quantitative sample).

A synthetic comparative method known as 'contrast of contexts' by Skocpol and Somers (1980) was used for this research, its main aim being, as the authors state, 'to increase the 'visibility' of one structure by contrasting it with another' (175). This method allows for the uniqueness of each case study to be described in depth, contextually and systematically, but does not, nor does it

attempt, to provide causal explanation for events in each context. Thus, the selection of cases is an important practice of the *contrast of contexts* method, where case studies with the largest possible difference are usually chosen for comparison.

Case selection and description

The *contrast of contexts* method works best when the cases that it juxtaposes are maximally different (Skocpol and Somers, 1980). For this research it was thus important to be able to compare, first and foremost, countries that treat emotion (and thus social and emotional education) differently. For this reason, as described in the theory section above, the findings from Hofstede's (1986) paper regarding cultural dimensions and its treatment of emotion and relationships in the classroom were used to help with the case selections: one case study where teachers in the classroom are more likely to inhibit emotion and socialise students for interdependent relationships (low uncertainty avoidance, feminine cultures); one case study where teachers in the classroom are more likely to exhibit emotion and socialise students for interdependent relationships (high uncertainty avoidance, feminine cultures); one case study where teachers in the classroom are more likely to exhibit emotion and socialise students for independent relationships (high uncertainty avoidance, masculine cultures); and one case study where teachers in the classroom are more likely to inhibit emotion and socialise students for independent relationships (low uncertainty avoidance, masculine cultures).

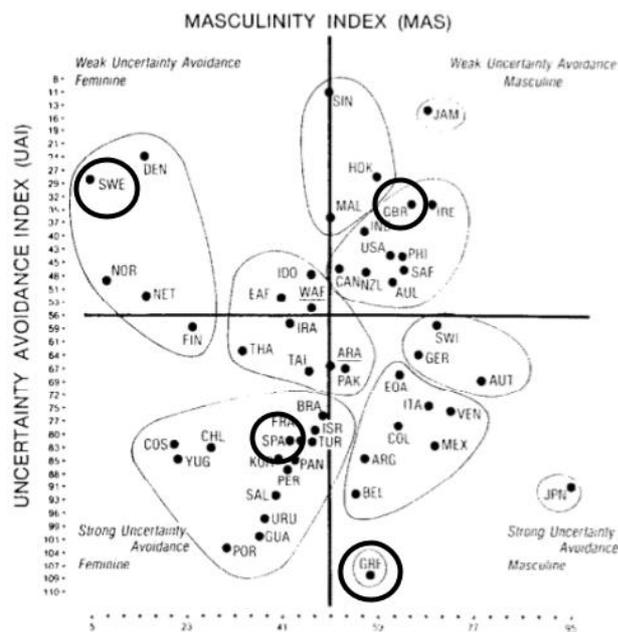
This, however, led to another problem: selection bias. This issue is common to the comparative method which relies on intentional rather than random selection (Landman, 2002). One way to circumvent this issue, according to Landman (*ibid*) is choosing a dependent factor that varies between the case study countries (e.g., choosing one case study country where social and emotional education provision exists, compared to one that does not). It was also important to take other variables into account such as, for

example, education systems that were centralised versus decentralised (for all variables used please see Appendix Two).

Thus, the four case studies for this current research project were chosen from Hofstede's four groupings that were maximally different from each other in as many variables as possible (see Figure 2.1). These case studies were:

- Highly decentralised education system with varying levels of SEE provisions (masculine culture with weak uncertainty avoidance): United Kingdom
- Regionally-centralised education system with varying levels of SEE provisions due to region-specific initiatives (feminine culture with strong uncertainty avoidance): Spain
- Highly decentralised education system, with no SEE provision (feminine culture with weak uncertainty avoidance): Sweden
- Highly centralised education system, with no government-funded SEE provision (masculine culture with strong uncertainty avoidance): Greece

Figure 2.1. Plot of masculinity-femininity versus uncertainty avoidance for 50 countries (Hofstede, 1986), with the case study countries circled in black



Note: SWE: Sweden. SPA: Spain. GBR: United Kingdom. GR: Greece.

A summary of SEE provision in each of the countries follows below (although, this will not take into account the political and ideological contests for SEE which is beyond the remit of this thesis, please see Emery (2016)).

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom is a constitutional monarchy with a strong parliamentary system made up of four nations: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Because the different nations making up the United Kingdom have devolved administrations regarding educational policy, how policy has impacted SEE provision differs from nation to nation. For this study the United Kingdom thus serves as an example of a highly decentralised education system with varying levels of SEE provisions.

As of the summer of 2017, there was no education policy specifically dedicated to SEE in England, and though there was a non-statutory 'Personal, Social and Health Education' subject, it had no corresponding framework detailing social and emotional skills. As the Department for Education explains:

'To allow teachers the flexibility to deliver high-quality PSHE we consider it unnecessary to provide new standardised frameworks or programmes of study. PSHE can encompass many areas of study. Teachers are best placed to understand the needs of their pupils and do not need additional central prescription' (Department for Education, 2013).

Until recently, however, England did have policy dedicated to SEE: the Labour-led government's SEE policies included the 'Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning' (SEAL) programme (Department for Education and Skills, 2007), as well as 'Every Child Matters' (Department for Education and Skills, 2003) and the Healthy Schools Programme (Department of Health, 2004). SEAL was a universal, whole-school social and emotional education programme, which the government described as 'a comprehensive approach to promoting

the social and emotional skills that underpin effective learning, positive behaviour, regular attendance, staff effectiveness and the emotional health and well-being of all who learn and work in schools' (Department for Education and Skills, 2007, 4). The SEAL programme was created as an 'objective list model': a series of skills as defined by a steering group (42 competencies in total), that could be measured and assessed by teachers, for example:

Skill	Definition
Self-awareness	Knowing and valuing myself and understanding how I think and feel. When we can identify and describe our beliefs, values, and feelings, and feel good about ourselves, our strengths and our limitations, we can learn more effectively and engage in positive interactions with others.
Self-regulation (managing feelings)	Managing how we express emotions, coping with and changing difficult and uncomfortable feelings, and increasing and enhancing positive and pleasant feelings. When we have strategies for expressing our feelings in a positive way and for helping us to cope with difficult feelings and feel more positive and comfortable, we can concentrate better, behave more appropriately, make better relationships, and work more cooperatively and productively with those around us.
Motivation	Working towards goals, and being more persistent, resilient and optimistic. When we can set ourselves goals, work out effective strategies for reaching those goals, and respond effectively to setbacks and difficulties, we can approach learning situations in a positive way and maximize our ability to achieve our potential.
Empathy	Understanding others' thoughts and feelings and valuing and supporting others. When we can understand, respect, and value other people's beliefs, values, and feelings, we can be more effective in making relationships, working with, and learning from, people from diverse backgrounds.
Social skills	Building and maintaining relationships and solving problems, including interpersonal ones. When we have strategies for forming and maintaining relationships, and for solving problems and conflicts with other people, we have the skills that can help us achieve all of these learning outcomes, for example by reducing negative feelings and distraction while in learning situations, and using our interactions with others as an important way of improving our learning experience.

(Department for Education and Skills, 2007, 5-6)

In England's highly decentralised education system, different Local Education Authorities (LEAs) adapted the SEAL recommendations to their own needs. Whilst Cumbria's LEA, for instance, developed an explicit curriculum from the SEAL recommendations with the help of teachers - what they termed a Behaviour Curriculum - other LEAs, like Southampton's, simply advised schools to put the SEAL programme 'at the heart of the curriculum' and did not devote time to SEE specifically (Weare, 2004). By 2010 SEAL was operational in 90% of primary schools and 70% of secondary schools (Humphrey et al., 2010), and although not mandatory, Emery (2016) credits the widescale adoption of SEAL to

three factors: (1) Goleman's best-selling book '*Emotional Intelligence*', (2) A deficit agenda that claimed children were unwell, and (3) A move towards educational targets.

Once in government in 2010, however, the Conservatives cautioned schools against investing time and money in SEAL, which led to its wide-scale abandonment. Despite this, SEAL continues to appear in research as an example of good practice - and in some cases, like CASEL's '*Handbook of Social and Emotional Learning: Research and Practice*' (Domitrovich et al., 2015), the American researchers failed to even mention that it was no longer supported by the government. Why SEAL was abandoned needs some explanation: Firstly, evaluations of SEAL's effectiveness were not all positive. One of the most widely cited studies conducted four years after SEAL's implementation found that despite all headteachers, 87% of teachers and 96% of non-teaching staff in the study agreed that SEAL promoted the emotional wellbeing of students, this did not lead to a reduction in exclusions, and some headteachers even suggested that there had been an increase in fixed-term exclusions since SEAL's implementation as 'some children had developed or strengthened anti-social identities in response to the programme' (Hallam, 2009).

Carl Emery's 2016 PhD thesis, '*The New Labour discourse of Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) across schools in England and Wales as a universal intervention*' went even more in depth as to the shortcomings of SEAL. Emery believes that despite its wide-scale abandonment, SEAL has defined the discourse surrounding social and emotional education in the UK ever since, particularly that it should be framed as:

- A developmental approach including measurement and assessment
- Crucial to preparing the next generation for the knowledge economy
- Something students are currently lacking (the deficit model)

- A structured programme that can be taught to students
- Being devoid of cultural, class and race factors
- Teacher-led, in-school programmes and delivered through a whole-school model

Although there are currently no government-initiated SEE programmes in England, the current Conservative government still offers grants to schools and other organisations who are willing to provide specific services to improve social and emotional skills. In 2015 for instance, the government created a £3.5 million grant fund to support school programmes dedicated to character education which sought to develop ‘perseverance, resilience and grit’ (Department for Education, 2015). Children and young people’s mental health is more likely to be discussed in the current political climate than social and emotional education, however, with the government offering grants for in-school psychosocial programmes for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged students in schools.

In 2014, a follow-up to the cross-government mental health strategy ‘No Health Without Mental Health’ suggested that schools should be supported to identify mental health problems sooner (National Children’s Bureau, 2014), highlighting the influence of the Global Mental Health movement. Even members of the British royal family are trying to bring attention to the subject of children’s mental health, acting as patrons of various charities providing mental health services to children. In many respects, British policymakers and policy influencers now envision classrooms as the frontline of mental health provision, and teachers as key agents in the early identification of mental health problems, and this has radically changed the aims of SEE in British schools.

Northern Ireland’s social and emotional education programme, ‘Pupils’ Emotional Health and Wellbeing’ (PEHAW) was developed in 2007, the same year the SEAL framework was rolled out in England. Like SEAL, PEHAW had a developmental approach including measurement and assessment, but unlike SEAL, the programme is

currently supported by Northern Ireland's government as a means of bringing together all non-academic and curriculum activities, including, 'counselling, pastoral care systems, suicide prevention, anti-bullying, discipline process and the healthy schools initiative' (Department of Education, 2012). Social and emotional education in Northern Ireland, like in England, is now more likely to be framed as a mental health issue, and concomitantly, this influences what provisions are provided (Department of Education, 2017).

At the time that SEAL was implemented, the Scottish government created their own SEE programmes and policy including Early Years and Early Intervention (2008); Equally Well (2008); Getting It Right For Every Child (2008); and finally Curriculum for Excellence's Health and Wellbeing Outcomes (Education Scotland, 2011), which has made social and emotional education a requirement for students of all ages in Scotland. Under the Health and Wellbeing strand of the curriculum, 'Mental, Emotional, Social and Physical Wellbeing', guidance is given to teachers for each age group. For example, primary school teachers (and parents of primary school students) are advised to:

'Encourage your child to talk about their feelings. Talk about characters in a book or film. What feelings might these characters have in different situations? How do they behave and react to different things in the story? Talk about what other choices these characters could have made' (Education Scotland, 2011).

For older students, for example, the wellbeing curriculum recommends: 'Young people learn through the behaviour they see: think about the behaviour you model and how this values and supports positive relationships' (Education Scotland, 2011). There are also a number of specific social and emotional education programmes that the Scottish Government's Positive Behaviour Team supports, both targeted approaches and universal.

A year after SEAL was implemented in England, the Welsh Government prepared a similar framework, which they called

Personal and Social Education (PSE) (Welsh Assembly Government, 2008). Unlike SEAL in England, PSE in Wales is still a requirement under the basic curriculum for both primary and secondary schools (PSHE Association, 2017), and as Emery (2016) argues, does not have such a defined neoliberal bias as SEAL did, and is based instead on the notions of the child as a democratic citizen.

Spain

Spain is a parliamentary monarchy made up of 17 autonomous regions. As of 2016, it has a population of 46.6 million people. For this study, Spain serves as an example of a regionally-centralised education system with varying levels of SEE provisions due to region-specific initiatives.

Social and emotional education in Spain has been largely spearheaded by two educational institutions in particular: The Institute of Educational Science (ICE), established in 1970 via the General Education Law with a mandate to train university professors and further the training of teachers; and the regional Teacher Centres, which are run by the various autonomous communities and are responsible for teacher training and innovation. For over two decades both the ICE and the Teacher Centres have included social and emotional aspects of learning in their training (Fundacion Botin, 2008).

Because education in Spain has a regionally-centralised framework, each region has slightly different approaches to SEE: for example, Cantabria's Responsible Education Programme (Fundacion Botin, 2008), Gipuzcoa's Emozionak Programme (Department of Innovation and Society of Knowledge Gipuzcoa, 2012), and the creation of regional frameworks with collaboration between the regional government and universities such as Barcelona's Psycho-pedagogical Research Group (GROP) (Universidad de

Barcelona, 2016), and Malaga University's Emotional Laboratory (Universidad de Malaga, 2016).

Despite this regional variation, all share a larger framework devised by the European Parliament's 2006 *Key Competencies recommendation (personal, interpersonal and intercultural competence; personal and social wellbeing)* (2006/962/EC). Although Spain was the first country to incorporate these competencies into formal education, other European countries shortly followed including Italy and Portugal, and in many ways all of them have relied on the competencies outlined in the European Parliament paper, almost word for word, to write their own regional frameworks, specifically the two sections: Social and Civic Competences, and Sense of Initiative and Entrepreneurship. Emotion as a skill is mentioned in the 'Cultural Awareness and Expression' section where it is defined as 'the ability to relate one's own creative and expressive points of view to the opinions of others and to identify and realise social and economic opportunities in cultural activity' (European Parliament, 2006). These skills are summarised in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3. European Parliament Social and Civic Competencies

Social Competencies	Civic Competencies
Communicating constructively in different environments	Interacting effectively in the public sphere
Showing tolerance, expressing and understanding different points of view	Showing solidarity and interest in resolving conflicts that affect the community (local or wider)
Negotiating constructively, inspiring confidence	Critical and reflective skills
Empathy	Creative abilities
Dealing with stress	Participating constructively in neighbourhood or community activities
Tolerating frustration	Decision-making skills in the local, national, or European sphere, particularly by voting
Positive emotional expression	

(European Parliament, 2006)

Like England, Spain tried to implement a nationwide SEE programme but this programme was similarly abandoned. Called the Curricular Integration of Key Competencies (COMBAS) Project, the programme ran from 2010 to 2012, and tried to consolidate the social and civic competencies as detailed by the European Parliament into the compulsory curriculum as well as assess students' progress. As scholars Cubero and Perez (2013) conclude, it was the assessment process which resulted in the most problems:

'One of the biggest difficulties of a curricular approach based on competencies - the difficulty in determining indicators of assessment and developmentally linked levels of progress reached by school children when mastering basic competencies - remains unresolved. This difficulty is even greater when we refer to social and civic competencies' (73).

Sweden

Sweden is a constitutional monarchy divided into 21 counties. As of 2016, it has a population of 9.9 million people. For this study, Sweden serves as an example of a highly decentralised education system, with no SEE provision, but with guaranteed access to a mental health professional for every student in school under the Swedish Education Act.

Given the marked decentralisation of education policy, it should come as no surprise that there is no nationwide social and emotional education policy nor programme in Sweden. However, municipalities are free to develop and implement whole-school SEE programmes. The Social and Emotional Training (SET) programme, for example, ran for five years in Stockholm (between 2000 and 2005) and was a manual-based programme taught by teachers at least once a week (one volume for each grade), and also included a workbook for each student in five areas: self-awareness; managing one's emotions; empathy; motivation; and, social competence (Kimber, Sandell, Bremberg, 2008).

Sweden's national curriculum, however, includes goals that

overlap with social and emotional education, including respecting all people, refusing to accept that others may be repressed or offensively treated, and developing empathy, a sense of community, solidarity and democratic attitudes. However, as Dahlin (2008) concludes, there is no explanation about the meaning of these values and goals within the curriculum itself, and the implementation of these goals have usually resulted in general guidelines for teacher and student behaviour in the classroom, rather than a means to develop and nurture the specific social and emotional competencies required to achieve such goals.

There are also a lot of Swedish anti-bullying programmes currently subsidised not only by the national government or municipalities, but by insurance companies. This investment followed incidents in 2007, where several schools had to pay up to US\$4 million after students sued the school and won for the bullying they had to endure (Rooke, 2013). Some of the anti-bullying programmes were created in Sweden, like the FRIENDS programme, and others were imported, like the American Marshall Rosenberg's Nonviolent Communication (Dahlin 2008). A review of the available programmes by the Swedish National Agency of School Improvement in 2007 split the programmes into four categories: methods for strengthening the basic foundations of values, methods for conflict resolution, methods of prevention and intervention, and methods of peer support.

Greece

Greece is a parliamentary republic consisting of 13 regions. As of 2016, it has a population of 10.8 million people. For this study Greece serves as an example of a highly centralised education system, with no government-funded SEE provision. In 1985, Law 1566/1985 solidified the structure of primary and secondary education in Greece which remains to this day. This law was also one of the first education policies to reference the need for the

development of social and emotional competencies alongside academic attainment:

'The basic target of primary and secondary education is to contribute to the complete, harmonious and balanced development of the intellectual, psychological and physical potential of the pupils, so that, regardless of their gender or origin, they may become integral personalities and live in harmony.'

Other progressive educational policies were introduced in Greece throughout the 1980s and 1990s, like the Presidential Decree 8/10-01-1995 by which the method of assessment for every student was to be differentiated rather than generalised (UNESCO, 2015).

Like Spain, social and emotional education in Greece is currently spearheaded by teacher training: The Center for Research and Practice of School Psychology in the Department of Psychology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens has developed and coordinated SEE programmes within Greece (such as 'The Program for the Promotion of Mental Health and Learning (PPMHL)'), and incorporated SEE within the university curriculum for primary and secondary school teachers, as well as educational psychologists (Hatzichristou & Lianos, 2016). As a fellow member of the European Union, Greece shares much of its social and emotional education policy with Spain, specifically, the European Parliament's 2006 *Key Competencies recommendation (personal, interpersonal and intercultural competence; personal and social wellbeing) (2006/962/EC)*. The influence of these recommendations are visible in the creation of the School and Social Life Curriculum, itself an EU-funded project for revision of the school curricula, aiming to improve mental health, nurture skills for success, improve communication skills, reduce violence in schools, and instil a sense of community, and currently incorporated into teacher manuals such as '*The Teacher's Guide for School and Social Life*' (Hatzichristou & Lianos, 2016).

However, because there are currently no SEE programmes in Greece that are funded by the government, the programmes that have been implemented largely rely on external funding meaning they are usually run for a limited time, or for a small sub-section of the school population. For example: Funding was made available by the European Commission for anti-bullying programmes to conduct needs assessments and awareness-raising interventions for a limited time (Braddick et al., 2009). Also, donations from Greek shipping magnates (Stavros Niarchos Foundation and Maria Tsakos Foundation) paid for universal SEE provisions in 36 schools in Athens between 2011 and 2013 which developed social and emotional skills, resilience and self-esteem, and were created specifically to meet the specific needs caused by the financial crisis (Hatzichristou & Lianos, 2016). More long lasting programmes have proven to be those that are run internationally and online: 'We C.A.R.E', for example, was piloted in Greece, America and Belgium, and serves both as SEE-teacher training and classroom activities (identifying values, goal setting and resilience, emotion recognition, expression and management, coping with stress and understanding diversity). The online programme currently runs in 13 countries and 166 primary and secondary schools from Greece are participating, funded in part, again, by the donations of Greek shipping magnates (Hatzichristou & Lianos, 2016).

Greece is the only case study country in the present study that has conducted qualitative research on teachers' opinions regarding social and emotional education, and has highlighted the specific sociocultural context that affects the socialisation of children. In '*Greek Teachers' Understandings and Constructions of What Constitutes Social and Emotional Learning*', Triliva and Poulou (2006) found that a large percentage of the teachers interviewed believed that social and emotional education was crucial to learning. One of the researchers, Poulou, went on to do a second study in 2017 with Greek preschool teachers regarding SEE, to find that

teachers were more likely to experience conflict with students when they reported less commitment to improving SEE, and that teachers' perceptions of comfort in implementing SEE provision was the highest predictor of positive teacher-student relationships and of students' perceptions of autonomy (Poulou, 2017a).

2.4.1. Quantitative strand

Designing the survey

The research questions, along with gaps identified in the literature, were put at the centre of designing the survey: what are teachers' self-perceived role as emotion socialisers, the emotional ecologies of the classroom, how emotion is valued in the learning process, whether relevant policies have impacted SEE provision, and what emotional and social skills make up SEE provision. To test what emotional and social skills were prioritised a framework needed to be created. Many theories in the past thirty years have contributed to the SEL frameworks used in schools today, including: Gardner's multiple intelligence theory (1983), Salovey and Mayer's emotional intelligence theory (1990), Bar-On's 'EQ' theory (1997), and finally CASEL's key skills in social and emotional learning (Elias et al., 1997)). The theories regarding social and emotional competencies and the policy frameworks since 1983 are all summarised in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Framework of social and emotional competencies

Date	Author	Intrapersonal Skills			
1983	Gardner	Intrapersonal skills			
1990	Mayer and Salovey	Perceive emotion	Understand emotion	Manage emotion	Use emotion
1994	WHO	Self-awareness		Coping with emotions / stress	Assertive
1996	UNESCO	Learning to be			
1997	Bar-On	Self-perception		Stress-management	Self-Expression

Date	Author	Intrapersonal Skills			
1997	CASEL	Self-awareness	Self-monitoring	Self-regulation	
2000	Payton et al.	Self-awareness		Positive Attitudes	
2004	Zins et al.	Self-awareness		Self-management	
2006	European Union	Personal competence			Initiative
2015	OECD			Managing Emotions	Achieve goals
Interpersonal skills					
1983	Gardner	Interpersonal			
1990	Mayer and Salovey	Perceive emotion	Understand emotion	Manage emotion	Use emotion
1994	WHO	Interpersonal skills	Empathy	Problem Solving	Decision making
1996	UNESCO	Learning to live together			
1997	Bar-On	Interpersonal			Decision making
1997	CASEL	Social Skills	Empathy		
2000	Payton et al.	Social Interaction skills			Responsible decision making
2004	Zins et al.	Social awareness		Relationship management	Responsible decision making
2006	European Union	Interpersonal competence			
2015	OECD	Working with others			

Based on the key subskills from Table 2.4 above, a framework was created (Table 2.5 below) to be used in the current research as part of the pilot survey (in whole) and the final survey (in part) to ask teachers what social and emotional competencies they most regularly teach as part of their SEE provision.

Table 2.5: Social and emotional competencies sub-skills

Intrapersonal		Interpersonal	
Self-awareness	Self-management	Social awareness	Social management
Recognise emotions	Express emotions appropriately	Appreciate diverse perspectives	Communicate effectively, assertively
Recognise personal qualities and achievements	Develop self-discipline and set goals. Perseverance.	Understand relationships	Collaborate. Co-operate. Contribute.
Recognise personal supports	Work independently and show initiative	Empathy	Leadership skills. Responsible decision making.
Sense of belonging	Confidence, resilience and adaptability	Respect	Negotiate and resolve conflict
	Safeguard own wellbeing	Help/safeguard others	Responsibility
	Manage stress/ Relaxation techniques		Sustainability

A draft survey was piloted and sent to at least two education professionals and teachers in each of the case study countries in May 2016, and they recommended the following changes:

- Changing the first question of the questionnaire ‘How would you define SEE?’ to ‘What do you think is the purpose of SEE?’
- Changing the questions that asked about school provision specifically to ask instead about classroom provision, as teachers said that SEE is different from classroom to classroom, not just school to school.
- Not including all the social and emotional skills from Table 2.5 (as it greatly increased the length of the survey), but cutting it in half and adding an open-ended

question, "Are there any other social and emotional skills you have taught not included in the list above?"

The final questions making up the survey (38 in total), and why they were chosen for the questionnaire are discussed in Table 2.6.

The survey was translated into Greek, Spanish and Swedish (and the responses translated back into English). Nationals with expertise in social and emotional education in each country reviewed the translated questionnaire to ensure that similar meanings were communicated. Each version of the survey can be seen in Appendix Three.

The open-ended questions in particular were analysed using Braun & Clarke's (2006) six-phase model of thematic analysis, which the authors describe as an analysis that goes beyond semantics and tries to highlight ideas and assumptions informing semantic content to answer the following questions:

- What does this theme mean?
- What are the assumptions underpinning it?
- What are the implications of this theme?
- What conditions are likely to have given rise to it?
- Why do people talk about this thing in this particular way (as opposed to other ways)?
- What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic?

(Braun & Clarke, 2006, 24)

The questionnaire can be split into the following sections: Demographics; Definition; Role of emotion; Transmission of social and emotional skills; Status of SEE in school; Practice of SEE: Ideal Self; Practice of SEE: Ideal Affect; Outcomes of SEE; Training. Questions about the teachers' knowledge in the questionnaire incorporated individual, relational and socio-political knowledge, according to Zembylas' (2007b) framework regarding teachers' emotional knowledge.

Table 2.6. Social and Emotional Education Questionnaire

#	Question(s)	Section	Intended Data
1-9	Age of respondent; sex; years teaching; education; ethnicity; income range	Demo- graphics	This set of data controls for the influence of demographic issues in the responses.
10	<i>What do you believe is the purpose of social and emotional education?</i>	Definition	Open-ended question. The answers can be analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phased model of thematic analysis.
11	<i>Emotion is fundamental to learning</i>	Role of emotion in the class-room	Emotion as central tenet to learning versus emotion as a hindrance to cognition: 5-point Likert scale.
12	<i>Children can be taught social and emotional skills just like any other skill (reading, writing, playing an instrument)?</i>	Transmi- sion of social and emotional skills	Social and emotional skills are easily transmitted from teacher to learner versus social and emotional skills cannot be transmitted: 5-point Likert scale.
13-14	<i>Teachers are responsible for socialising students just like any other significant adult in the child's life. Why do you think this is?</i>		Teachers are as responsible for socialising students as parents versus parents are solely responsible for socialising students: 5-point Likert scale followed by open-ended question. The answers can be analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phased model of thematic analysis.
15	<i>Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school</i>	Status of SEE in school	SEE is not prioritised in the school versus SEE is given the attention it deserves: 5-point Likert scale.
16	<i>How was SEE introduced in your school?</i>		Bottom-up (teachers and/or senior school staff), or top-down (policy), or combination.
17	<i>How is social and emotional education (SEE) taught in your school and/or classroom?</i>		Is time given to SEE exclusively, as part of other subjects, considered, or no time is given to SEE exclusively.
18	<i>Do you personally focus more on teaching interpersonal skills or intrapersonal skills?</i>	Practice of SEE	Is there a focus on skills for interdependence or independence, or the teacher is not sure.

19-28	<i>In the past academic year, did you teach these social and emotional skills and knowledge in your classroom?</i>	Practice of SEE (contd.)	3-point scale: Regularly, Occasionally, Never. <i>Interpersonal skills: Safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of others; social skills, negotiating and resolving conflict; appreciating diverse perspectives</i> <i>Intrapersonal skills: Self-discipline; setting goals; developing feelings of self-worth; recognising triggers of anger; understanding, identifying and labelling emotion; relaxation techniques</i> Question 28 - <i>Are there any other skills that have not been mentioned and can be added to the list?</i>
29	<i>Teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom</i>		Spectrum of emotion. Teachers should be emotional in the classroom versus teachers should inhibit emotion in the classroom: 5-point Likert scale.
30	<i>Anger, sadness and any other negatively evaluating emotion are emotionally intelligent reactions to a certain state of affairs and belong in the classroom</i>		Negative emotion specifically. Teachers should be open to a wider expression of the emotional spectrum versus teachers should inhibit negative emotion in the classroom: 5-point scale.
31	<i>My students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school</i>		School and home share similar ideal affect versus school and home have different ideal affect: 5-point Likert scale.
32	<i>My school provides enough opportunities for pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences</i>		Ideal affect is supported in the school versus ideal affect is not supported in the school: 5-point scale. This question also relates to: Status of SEE in school.
33	<i>Social and emotional education has improved my relationship with students</i>		Outcomes of SEE
34	<i>In my opinion, the key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and student</i>	Teacher places a high importance of the teacher/student relationship versus teacher does not think the teacher/student relationship key to learning: 5-point Likert scale.	

35	<i>Did your teacher training or continuing professional development include social and emotional education?</i>	Training	Have teachers had prior training and/or continuing professional development regarding SEE.
36	<i>What SEE topics/theories in your professional training have inspired your teaching the most (eg., Attachment theory, Developmental Psychology)? If none come to mind or you do not remember any specific theories, please answer 'Do not remember'.</i>		What are the most influential topics/theories used by teachers for SEE that they remember.
37	<i>Do you wish to take further training regarding social and emotional education, and if so, on what topics?</i>		Are teachers interested in further training to add to their skillset, and is such training available to their knowledge.
38	<i>Would you be interested in being contacted to discuss your opinions further?</i>	Further research	This question allows for teachers to 'opt-in' for semi-structured interviews, by providing their email address.

Distributing the survey

For the quantitative data collection, surveys were used to collect original data using UCL's Opinio web-based survey software. All preschool, primary and secondary school teaching staff in Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK were invited to participate in the survey. In order to have as many teachers participate as possible, and to be able to have a random sample, virtually every school in each of the four countries was sent an invitation email to participate (see Appendix Four for sample email in all four languages).

The list of school emails contacted were those available through a Freedom of Information Act in England to the Department for Education (Education Data Division, 2015); the Scottish

government website (Scottish government, 2006); the Department of Education, Northern Ireland (Department of Education, 2016); the Welsh government (Welsh Assembly Government, 2016); the Swedish government website (Skolverket, 2016); the Greek Ministry of Culture, Education and Religious Affairs website (Pan-Hellenic School Network, 2016); and the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport website (RCD, 2016). The number of emails that were sent out were 7,054 for Greece, 8,118 for Spain, 7,037 for Sweden and 34,284 for the UK, or 56,493 in total. To send the emails out, a computer script was used to iterate over CSV files containing all of the email addresses, using the SwiftMailer software and UCL's SMTP email server (from the author's UCL account) to send a copy of the questionnaire invitation to each email address, one by one, and at a slow rate, in order to avoid overloading the servers or triggering spam detectors.

The schools received the invitation to participate between September 2016 and January 2017. A great number of emails 'bounced back', with at least 8,000 emails not able to be delivered to the recipients because the emails were no longer in service. For Sweden the invitation was sent up to three times due to lack of responses. Overall, 750 teachers completed the questionnaire.

2.4.2. Qualitative Strand

The qualitative data collection included semi-structured interviews with teachers who were a sub-sample of the original quantitative sample. 22 teachers participated in the QUAL strand overall. The interviews were an important means to understand the findings from the QUAN strand, and as Zha and Tu (2016) argue, interviews 'situate unintended results or processes in their natural settings to address outliers that are difficult to assess using surveys or questionnaires.'

The interviews took place between April 2017 and May 2017 and were conducted either online through voice calls or instant messaging (using Skype, Google Hangouts or Facebook Messenger), or during face-to-face meetings. A 45-minute schedule was agreed upon and all participants were informed that the interview would be recorded and that they would remain anonymous. Questions in the interviews concentrated on the teachers' self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser, their views on improving the teacher-student relationships, their teacher training and how it affected their confidence in promoting emotional competence and the emotional ecology of their classroom, and what subjective experiences they seek to foster in their students.

The interviews attempted to document both individual types of emotional knowledge (attitudes and beliefs about learning and teaching; educational vision and philosophy), relational (teacher-student relationships) as well as socio-political types of emotional knowledge (emotional knowledge of the institutional/cultural context, and power relations). The questions were open ended to allow for flexibility, and were based on each teacher's initial answers in the questionnaire, for example: 'You answered in the questionnaire that ... could you tell me more about that?' A lot of attention in the interviews was also given to discussing why answers in the different countries diverged.

The interview answers were analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase model of thematic analysis again, admittedly heavily influenced by the themes already identified in the first quantitative phase, although a new theme of whether SEE is considered pedagogy or psychology emerged in the interviews and this theme was coded separately. Preliminary interpretations of the data were discussed with teachers before, during and after the qualitative phase.

Table 2.7. Themes explored in the semi-structured interviews

Theme One: Role of SEE provision	Do you think emotions are given a lot more consideration in the classroom now compared to the recent past? And why do you think that is?
	You mentioned that SEE is taught as X provision in your school - could you give more details about this (the kind of SEE topics that are included, how many hours are dedicated to the topic, any assessments that are used etc.)?
	The greatest difference in any of the responses given to the purpose of SEE cross-culturally is the role of the teacher as an agent of socialisation. Whereas 44% of Greek teachers and 31% of Spanish teachers mentioned socialisation as the purpose, only 18% of Swedish and 13% of UK teachers mentioned their role as being a socialising agent - does this surprise you?
	The biggest difference between X country and Y country in particular was the purpose of SEE being to create citizens - X% of X teachers mentioned this - whereas only X% of Y teachers did, instead being more likely to consider themselves as preparing the future workforce - does this describe the general purpose of SEE in your school?
	The most popular skill in X country picked by teachers was X skill - do you think this is accurate, and how do you promote this particular skill in your students?
	In a 2015 report the UN recommended that a cross-cultural curriculum of social and emotional skills should be created? Do you agree?
Theme Two: Training	You replied in the questionnaire that your initial teacher training had included social and emotional education - could you briefly detail what topics/theories were discussed?
	What subjects/topics do you wish had been included in your initial teacher training regarding SEE?
Theme Three: SEE and students	You replied in the questionnaire that you felt X in regards to your students having consistent behaviour goals between home and school - could you say why?
	Do you think the explicit focus on emotions and social skills begins to blur the boundaries between home and school? And if so, do you think this a positive thing?
	You replied that you agree/do not agree that teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom - why do you think that is?

2.4.3. Ethical considerations

The British Educational Research Association Guidelines (2011) were followed when undertaking this study. Full information on the purposes of the research were provided to all participants in the initial email, plus an invitation to be included in the dissemination of the findings. All participants had the right to withdraw from the research at any time. Participants also had the right to choose whether to remain anonymous or whether to have their participation in the project acknowledged.

2.4.4. Methodological limitations

Some key methodological issues and limitations of cross-cultural research will now be addressed.

Equating nation with culture

The idea that cultures cluster within national boundaries is one of the most cited methodological limitations of cross-cultural research - that is, it relies on the ontological assumption that countries can be seen as units. Hofstede published a paper defending the need to equate nations with cultures in the following way: 'Nations are not the best units for studying cultures ... True, but they are usually the only kind of units available for comparison and better than nothing' (Hofstede, 2002). Other scholars, like Sivakumar and Nakata (2001), have defended the use of countries as an imperfect proxy for culture more in depth, reviewing both conceptual and empirical research which highlighted both within-country commonalities and between-country differences in values. The methodological and theoretical significance of within-culture variation was also discussed by Au (1999) warning that average levels of conformity in each culture cannot reveal cross-cultural difference in variance, and what is needed is the standard deviations of measures between each of

the case studies. Mesoudi (2011), a cultural evolutionary theorist defends the use of basic units of measurement and their representations of reality as a means to begin to understand complex processes. For this study the standard deviations of measures were thus included in all the questionnaire responses, along with an in-depth look at the intracultural versus intercultural differences.

Culture is stable and heterogenous

Many studies, including the meta-analytic review of research using Hofstede's framework (Taras, Kirkman, Steel, 2010) have expressed a need for a moratorium on Hofstede's country scores due to their age (the dataset is from the 1960s and early 1970s). But Sondergaard (1994) found that researchers are just as likely to use Hofstede's dimensions to create their own conceptual framework to classify and explain the influence of culture, rather than use Hofstede's country scores directly. Hofstede himself defended the use of the country scores by saying that the dimensions have 'centuries-old roots' and are still valid (Hofstede, 2002). This is then less a problem of old data, and more a question of confidence in the stability of culture.

Different camps within globalization theory highlight these tensions: whilst hyper-globalists argue that there is now a 'world culture' gradually eroding systemic differences between countries, 'glocalists', on the other hand, emphasise the difference between 'policy rhetorics' converging, and practices on the ground converging (Mostafa and Green, 2013). Regardless, all cross-national studies suffer from the influence of international agencies which violates the independence criterion when using countries as independent units of analysis (Gerring, 2012).

Culture can be captured quantitatively by self-report questionnaires and their mean scores

Can surveys 'capture' culture? Many scholars think not (McSweeney, 2002; Baskerville, 2003; Taras & Steel, 2009). Hofstede agrees as well, but to a certain extent, saying that surveys should not be the only way that culture is analysed (Hofstede, 2011). Differentiating attitudes by mean responses can also be inherently problematic. As Camparo (2013) argues, 'Each subject's set of responses generates a probability distribution on the ordinal scale, so that by concentrating solely on the subject's mean response researchers only differentiate among subjects based on the lowest non-trivial moment of this probability distribution' (29). Mixed-method approaches with quantitative (etic) and qualitative (emic) data are needed to better understand what this means for each individual group, and the present research used a mixed-method approach for this reason.

Cultural dimensions have a predictive power to results separate from social, political and/or economic measures

Baskerville's (2003) paper, '*Hofstede never studied culture*' argued that differences in culture are socioeconomic in origin. Taras, Kirkman and Steel's (2010) meta-analytic review, however, found that in regards to emotion and attitudes, the predictive power of culture was higher than that of other demographic variables. Regardless, the present study will take into account social, political and economic measures of each case study country, and the demographics of each of the individual respondents. Studies have also been devoted to how culture impacts personality traits (and vice versa, see: Hofstede & McCrae, 2004), but this is beyond the remit of the current study.

2.5. Conclusion

This brief literature setup served to contextualise the findings of the quantitative and qualitative phases with a comparative design that will follow over the next two chapters: what the research questions were, the definitions of the keyword, the most relevant literature, the conceptual framework used, and the methodology employed. Informed by a transformative paradigm, a sequential QUAN-QUAL analysis with a comparative design was chosen (an online 38-question questionnaire, followed by 45-minute semi-structured interviews with teachers from four different countries) in order to answer two questions:

1. How do teachers perceive and practice social and emotional education in different cultures?
2. How are government policies and/or programmes about social and emotional education (if any exist) implemented?

The most pertinent gaps in the literature were identified as the teacher's self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser and facilitator of SEE; the different emotional ecologies of the classroom cross-culturally (whether emotion is inhibited or expressed); how emotion is valued in the learning process; and what emotional and social skills make up SEE provision on the ground (rather than what is recommended by policy).

Chapter Three.

Quantitative Phase: Questionnaire.

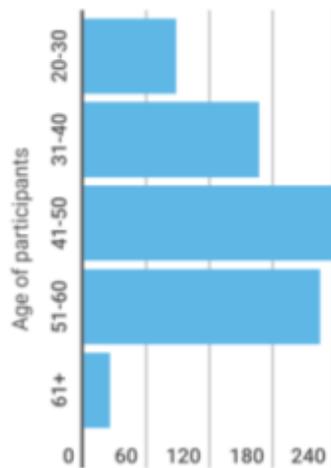
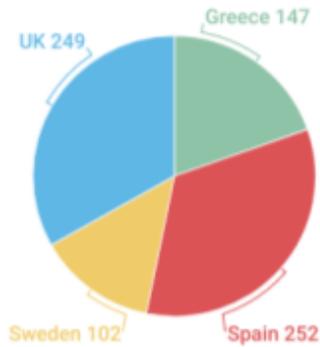
As part of the quantitative phase, 750 teachers from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom participated in a 38-question online survey between September 2016 and January 2017. The questionnaire contained three parts: The first part began with nine questions regarding demographic information which is summarised in section 3.1 of this chapter. The second part of the questionnaire was divided between open-ended questions and Likert scales. The two open-ended questions were: 'What do you believe is the purpose of social and emotional education?' whose answers are summarised in section 3.2 of this chapter, and 'Why do you think teachers should/should not be responsible for socialising students?' summarised in section 3.3. The Likert scales regarding the role of emotions and relationships to learning make up section 3.4. The final part of the questionnaire was dedicated to better understanding how SEE provision looked like in practice: how SEE was introduced in each of the schools, how much time was spent on SEE provision during the previous academic school year (2015/16), what social and emotional skills were regularly taught in class, and what training the teachers received regarding SEE, which are all detailed in section 3.5 of this chapter.

3.1 Demographic information

The questionnaire was completed in full by 750 teachers from four countries: 252 teachers from Spain, 249 from the UK, 147 from Greece and 102 from Sweden. Overall, respondents were most likely to be female, aged 41-50, working in primary school and with over 15 years' teaching experience (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Demographic information of cross-cultural social and emotional education questionnaire (n: 750)

750 total respondents



73% Female
27% Male

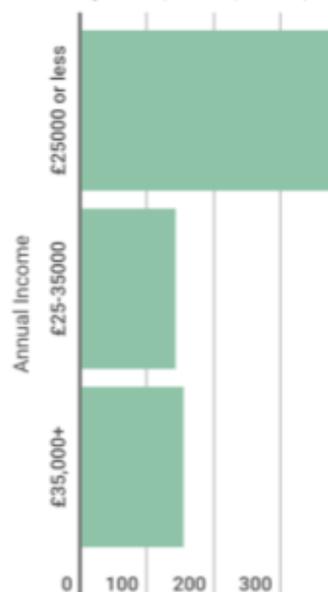
52% Undergraduate degree
46% Postgraduate degree
2% High school degree

5% Less than 2 years teaching
17% 2-8 years teaching
23% 8-14 years teaching
55% 15+ years teaching

 **13% Preschool**

 **52% Primary**

 **35% Secondary**



The only divergence from this overall description was that in Greece and Sweden the teachers in the sample were more likely to be secondary school teachers rather than preschool or primary school teachers, unlike respondents from Spain and the UK. How demographic variables impacted teachers' opinions regarding SEE is discussed in section 3.4 in this chapter.

3.2. Purpose of social and emotional education

The first question asked in the survey was open ended: 'What do you believe is the purpose of social and emotional education?' Three general themes were found, listed here from most popular to least mentioned: to teach social and emotional skills (intrapersonal and interpersonal), to use as a teaching aid (to facilitate learning, for socialisation and to support mental health), and finally to prepare for the future (be it for employment, citizenship or to create a more cohesive society in general). Cross-cultural differences included the teacher's relationship to emotion, the emphasis on creating citizens versus workers, and the extent to which a student's personality and values can be changed by teachers in the process of socialisation. Questionnaire responses as to the purpose of SEE were analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phased model of thematic analysis, and also quantified to ascertain their frequency. A summary of this analysis can be viewed in Figure 3.2 and Table 3.1 below.

Figure 3.2. Purpose of Social and Emotional Education, Thematic Analysis

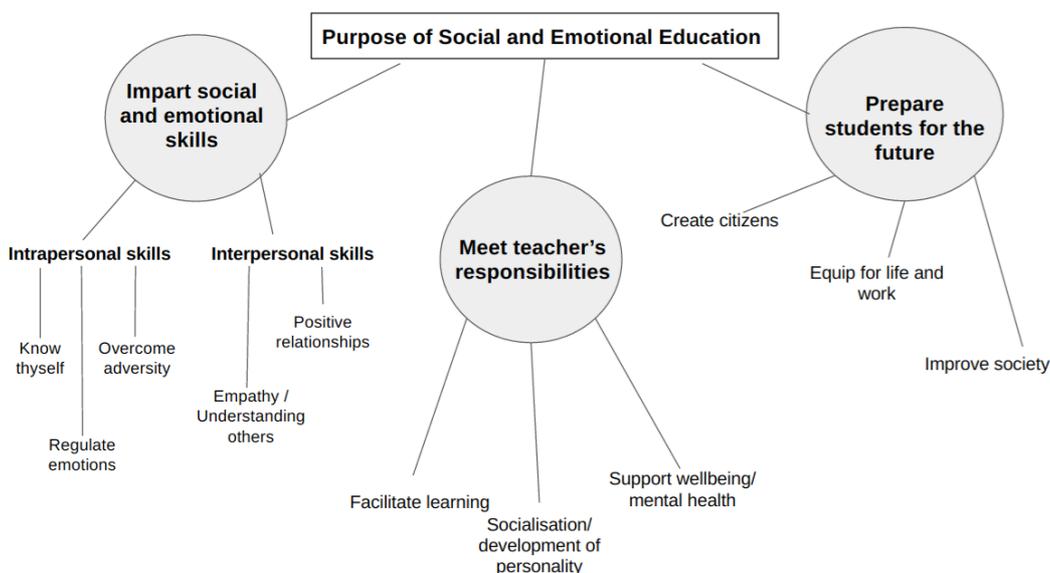


Table 3.1. What is the purpose of social and emotional education? (Percentage of teachers mentioning a theme by country, followed by total number of teachers)

	GR	SP	SW	UK
Teach social and emotional skills				
Intrapersonal skills - Understand Self	15% (16)	22% (47)	12% (10)	18% (41)
Intrapersonal skills - Regulate own emotions	40% (43)	36% (76)	15% (12)	36% (81)
Intrapersonal skills - Overcome Adversity	7% (8)	6% (13)	4% (3)	20% (45)
Interpersonal skills - Understand Others/ Empathy	20% (21)	20% (43)	26% (21)	21% (47)
Interpersonal skills - Good relationships	31% (33)	28% (60)	22% (18)	22% (49)
Helps teachers fulfil responsibilities				
Facilitate learning	12% (13)	7% (16)	28% (23)	16% (36)
With socialisation/ development of personality	44% (47)	31% (67)	18% (15)	13% (29)
Support wellbeing/ mental health	8% (9)	7% (14)	6% (5)	11% (24)

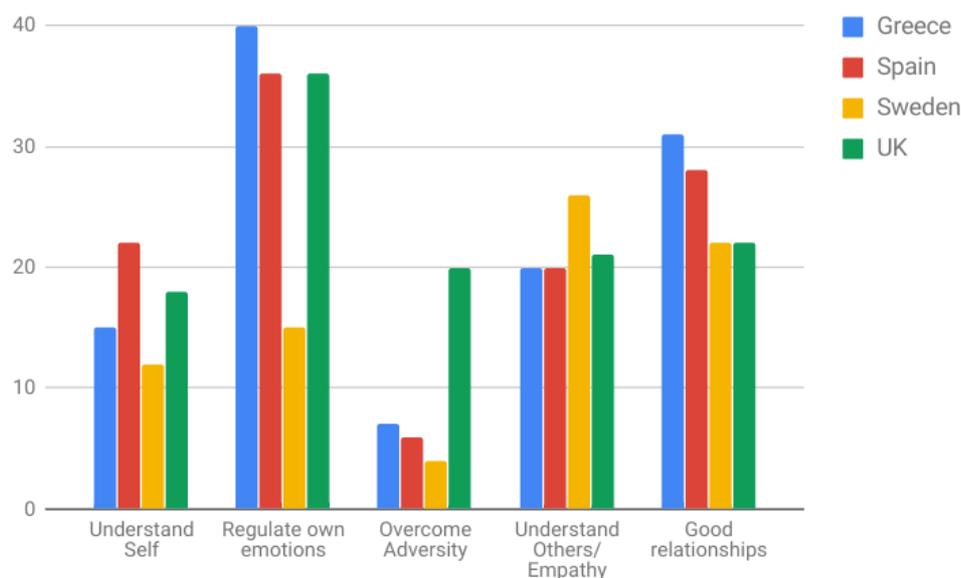
Prepares students for the future	GR	SP	SW	UK
Future proofing: work and life	7% (8)	21% (45)	16% (13)	32% (73)
Active democratic citizens (solidarity, critical)	24% (26)	19% (41)	23% (19)	11% (24)
Improve society (peace, justice, humane)	7% (8)	6% (13)	5% (4)	1% (3)
Total teachers responding	107	214	82	225
Total number of themes mentioned	232	435	143	452

Each of the themes are discussed in detail below, along with a summary of cross-cultural responses. The answers provided by the teachers are included in the original language as footnotes (quotes that do not have footnotes are all responses from UK teachers).

3.2.1. What is the purpose of SEE? To impart social and emotional skills.

When asked about the purpose of social and emotional education, the majority of teachers believed that it was teaching social and emotional skills to their students. However, there was a differing relationship to emotional education cross-culturally that became evident from the open-ended answers: yes, the majority of teachers believed the purpose of SEE is to impart skills, but what did this look like in practice? One of the primary differences between the countries was the teacher's beliefs about the function of emotion, both the importance given to affect in the classroom, and more specifically, the words and connotations used to describe it. The frequency with which particular skills were mentioned also differed, as is summarised in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3. Frequency of responses (%) involving specific social and emotional skills in answering the question, ‘What is the purpose of SEE?’



Greece

Improving students’ relationship to emotion (intrapersonal skills) was most commonly mentioned as the purpose of SEE by Greek teachers in the questionnaire. The language used was very procedural, with commonly used words being to recognise, understand, manage, and normalise emotion, for example:

- *“To help the student in the **recognition, understanding and management** of emotion.”²*
- *“Emotion has a crucial role in our lives. If we learn to **manage** it properly, it will solve all our problems.”³*
- *“The **normalisation** of emotional and social contradictions.”⁴*

² ... βοηθήσει τον μαθητή στην αναγνώριση, κατανόηση και διαχείριση των συναισθημάτων

³ Το συναίσθημα έχει κυρίαρχο ρόλο στη ζωή μας. Αν μάθουμε να το διαχειριζόμαστε σωστά, θα λύσουμε όλα τα προβλήματά μας

⁴... η εξομάλυνση των συναισθηματικών και κοινωνικών αντιθέσεων

Three words commonly used in the Greek teachers' answers regarding interpersonal skills were *συνεργασίας* (cooperation), *αλληλεγγύης* (solidarity) and *ενταχθούν* (which can be translated as to join or integrate), as in: "*The main purpose of social and emotional education is to ... develop social skills in order to integrate smoothly into various social groups.*"⁵ Greek responses about interpersonal skills prioritised the need for respect and empathy towards others, especially as it pertained to diversity in the classroom, and as an extension, the community: "*Empathy towards the community and a better understanding of society.*"⁶ Greek responses were more likely to use the word 'accept'⁷ rather than 'tolerate' when discussing diversity.

Spain

The words most commonly used by Spanish teachers in the questionnaire to describe emotion were accept, recognise, connect, observe and respond, with a lot more emphasis on how emotions should be expressed, for example:

- "*That children and people can learn to **observe, identify** and **express** how they feel generally.*"⁸
- "*Get children to **connect** with their emotions and the emotions of others, to learn to feel.*"⁹

⁵ Ο κύριος σκοπός της κοινωνικής και συναισθηματικής αγωγής είναι να ... αναπτύσσοντας κοινωνικές δεξιότητες ώστε να ενταχθούν ομάδα στα διάφορα κοινωνικά σύνολα

⁶... ενσυναίσθηση προς την κοινότητα και καλύτερη αντίληψη της κοινωνίας

⁷ 'η αποδοχή της διαφορετικότητας'

⁸ Que los niños y las personas puedan aprender a observar, identificar y expresar cómo se sienten habitualmente.

⁹ Conseguir que los niños conecten con sus emociones y las de los demás, que aprendan a sentir

- “Knowing how to **identify** our emotions and states of mind to better know and **respond** to our emotional needs and mood.”

10

Emotions were often treated by Spanish teachers as something to be accepted in oneself, as well as in others: “*Learn how to manage emotions, to express them and to accept them, both their own and those of other people.*”¹¹ A common term used by the Spanish teachers in this subskill was social intelligence (inteligencia social), which was defined by one teacher as “*Knowing how to react in the the right way: empathy, sense of humor, tolerance, respect, resilience, etc.*”¹² Regarding interpersonal skills, a common term used by a number of Spanish teachers was ‘convivencia’ - a word that the positive psychologist Tim Lomas included in his positive lexicography of ‘untranslatable’ words related to wellbeing as ‘co-habitation, but also implying shared feelings, meanings and purpose’ (Lomas, 2016). For the present research it has been translated as coexist, as in: “*Make coexistence with others easier and more enjoyable*”.¹³ Personal wellbeing and social wellbeing were also differentiated in the Spanish answers, with one teacher responding that communication is fundamental to both, “*To be more communicative in order to achieve social and personal wellbeing.*”¹⁴

¹⁰ Saber identificar nuestras emociones y estados de ánimo para conocernos mejor y dar respuesta a nuestras necesidades emocionales y anímicas.

¹¹ Aprender a gestionar las emociones, a expresarlas y a aceptarlas, tanto las propias como las de las demás personas.

¹² Saber reaccionar de la forma adecuada: empatía, sentido del humor, tolerancia, respeto, resiliencia, etc.

¹³ Hacer más fácil y agradable la convivencia con los demás

¹⁴ Conseguir ser más comunicativos para conseguir el bienestar social y personal

Sweden

Words commonly used by Swedish teachers to describe emotion in the questionnaire included control, cope, and deal with, and a lot of answers were preoccupied with how emotions are to be appropriately expressed, for example:

- *“That the students learn that they can feel anything, but not do and **express** everything.”¹⁵*
- *“**Control** negative impulses - when angry, sad - to not always say what you think since it can be hurtful, although your opinion is ok, that's your right.”¹⁶*
- *“Being able to **express** your own feelings, and to **understand** and **manage** your own feelings and actions.”¹⁷*

Understanding others was the most popular interpersonal skill mentioned by Swedish teachers, with common themes being empathy, tolerance and diversity. They particularly emphasised the need to prepare students for differences that they would encounter with others, and the importance of listening to other people's experiences, as in: *“That children should be able to familiarise themselves with other people's life stories and experiences, to respect each other and help and support each other.”¹⁸* A lot of the Swedish teachers emphasised the importance of friendship and safeguarding others, and ultimately the need for collaboration *“to achieve success together.”¹⁹*

¹⁵ Swedish teacher's response in English

¹⁶ Swedish teacher's response in English

¹⁷ Att kunna visa känslor och förstå och hantera sina egna känslor och handlingar.

¹⁸ Att barnen ska kunna sätta sig in i andra människors livsöden och upplevelser, att respektera varandra och hjälpa och stödja varandra.

¹⁹ ...för att nå framgångar tillsammans

United Kingdom

The language commonly used by UK teachers to describe emotion in the questionnaire included a wide range of terms on how to manage emotion including deal with, handle, cope, overcome, control and tolerate, for example:

- *“To ensure all children can **deal** with their feelings”*
- *“To help learners to **understand** their emotions ... talk about their feelings and how to **overcome** them”*
- *“To be able to **identify, understand and control** their own feelings ”*

In many responses, the UK teachers' negative connotations towards emotion were even more specific, with some replying that the purpose of SEE should be to overcome negative emotion altogether, for example, *“If a child is stuck in emotional brain they cannot access learning”*, and *“[The purpose of SEE is] to create a feeling of confidence and self worth so that children can work without being distracted by bad emotional feelings.”* Regarding interpersonal skills, teachers in the UK often highlighted the need for sensitivity and awareness, and understanding of diversity was linked to greater social and cultural awareness: *“To be self aware and learn about the cultures and world they live in”*. UK teachers also commonly discussed awareness of others through the meeting of needs: *“To enable children to be appreciative of, and responsive to, the needs of others.”*

UK teachers viewed communication as consisting of a set of skills - mainly active listening. There was also an emphasis on learning from mistakes: *“To get boys to connect with each other and realise times when they may get this wrong; why it is important.”* UK teachers also greatly focused on the importance of the environment: *“To equip children with the skills to cope with different social*

settings.” UK responses placed more emphasis on the future, more specifically in the area of work, which will be discussed in more detail in a later section (3.2.2).

To know thyself

On the forecourt of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, visitors were greeted with the aphorism: Know thyself (*γνῶθι σεαυτόν*). Thousands of years later, the very same words were used in the present study by Greek teachers to describe the purpose of SEE: ‘self-awareness’²⁰, and more specifically, their role as a teacher in ‘helping students to know themselves’.²¹ This was a typical response in all four case study countries,²² along with self-knowledge being considered the keystone to developing further social and emotional skills, “*Learning to know and tolerate oneself ... loving oneself so that one can love others.*”²³

Resilience

Though resilience was the least mentioned intrapersonal skill in teachers’ responses, it did highlight one of the main cross-cultural differences between the UK and the other countries in the study: with 20% of UK teachers mentioning resilience and overcoming adversity when describing the purpose of SEE, compared to only 4% in Sweden, 6% in Spain and 7% in Greece. Developing resilience was discussed by UK teachers as being possible by focusing on specific skills: “*To give the pupils the skills to deal with difficult situations and struggles in their lives in the future that may arise (issues such as relationship breakdowns / friendship issues / bereavement).*” In Spain this was referred to as strategies, “[Provide] *resources and strategies*

²⁰ “αυτογνωσία”

²¹ “Να βοηθήσει τα παιδιά να γνωρίσουν τον εαυτό τους”

²² Sweden, ‘to understand oneself’ (“*Att förstå sig själv*”); Spain, ‘to know oneself’ (“*Conocerse a uno mismo*”), and the United Kingdom, “*discovery of self.*”

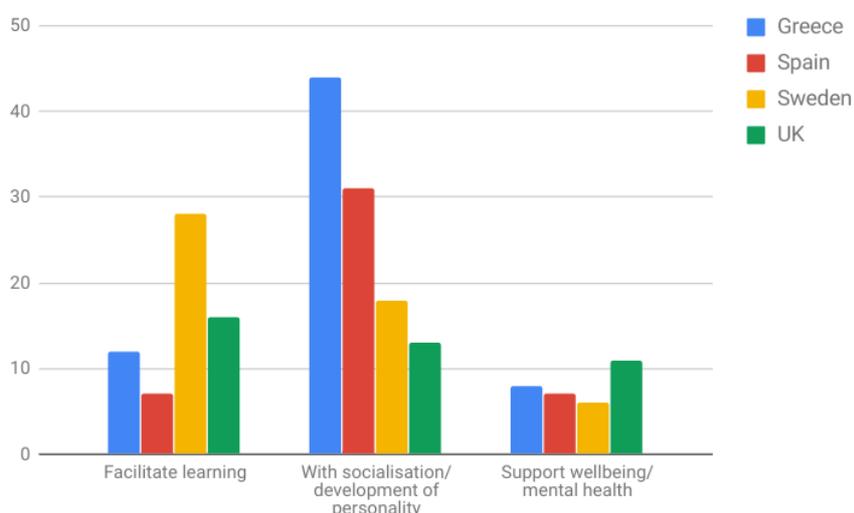
²³ Aprender a conocerse y tolerarse...amarse para poder amar

to facilitate ordinary situations of life: a problem, a conflict, the death of a loved one."²⁴ The intrapersonal skill of overcoming adversity can easily begin to crossover with a teacher's support role in the mental wellbeing of their students, and care was taken when quantifying the responses for this section to only include comments that explicitly referred to the teaching and development of skills, resources and strategies for resilience and coping mechanisms. The teacher's role in supporting mental health and wellbeing - which again, was more commonly mentioned by UK teachers - will be discussed in more detail below.

3.2.2 What is the purpose of SEE? To help meet the teacher's responsibilities.

After the imparting of social and emotional skills, how SEE can function as a teaching aid was the second-most mentioned purpose, more specifically: to facilitate learning, to help with socialisation, and to support students' wellbeing and mental health. There was large cross-cultural variation in the frequency with which the sub-themes were mentioned, summarised in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4. Frequency of responses (%) involving meeting teachers' responsibilities in answering: What is the purpose of SEE?



²⁴ Recursos y estrategias para facilitar las situaciones cotidianas de la vida, un problema, un conflicto, la muerte de un ser querido

Facilitate Learning

Sweden's teachers were the most likely to describe SEE as a teaching aid to facilitate learning, with 28% of teachers mentioning it compared to 16% in the UK, 12% in Greece and 7% in Spain. Such responses about the purpose of SEE by Swedish teachers included, for example, how SEE allows for students to connect to the subject matter emotionally: *"It is a way to reinforce learning... An emotional connection enables you to develop and reflect on something in a different way,"*²⁵ and to have a more engaging learning experience: *"Adding social and emotional learning introduces more sensory aspects to the learning process."*²⁶

How SEE can facilitate learning was also common in responses by the UK teachers (16%), though in many respects - as in the section above - emotion was presented as a possible barrier to learning, to be managed or removed: *"It [SEE] addresses the emotional development of the pupils and helps remove barriers to learning. If a child is stuck in emotional brain they cannot access learning"*. Many responses from UK teachers defended the need for SEE primarily as a means to provide a holistic education: *"To give pupils a well rounded experience of life beyond maths and English and to support their wellbeing as individuals."*

12% of Greek teachers in the questionnaire mentioned SEE primarily as a teaching aid to facilitate learning, and to meet the need for holistic education: *"To take their emotional needs into account during the learning process."*²⁷ Spain had fewer teachers mention SEE as a means to facilitate learning, but those who did, like in the UK, used SEE as a means to push back on a standards and

²⁵ Du kan förankra kunskapen på ett annat sätt. När du kan koppla till något emotionellt så har du möjlighet att utveckla och reflektera på ett annat sätt

²⁶ Att man blandar lärandet både socialt och emotionellt så att fler sinnesintryck kopplas in i Lärandet.

²⁷ ...ώστε να λαμβάνονται υπόψη οι συναισθηματικές του ανάγκες κατά τη διαδικασία της μάθησης.

measurement culture in schools (a common theme throughout the study). For example:

*"The student is not a vessel to be filled, but a person with their individualities and their emotions. Each student is different and comes from a specific and distinct family environment, their experiences are unique and influence their way of acting and interacting. The school must consider all these aspects and not just academic subjects."*²⁸

Teacher's role as a socialising agent

The greatest cross-cultural difference in any of the responses about the purpose of SEE was the role of the teacher as an agent of socialisation. Whereas 44% of Greek teachers and 31% of Spanish teachers mentioned socialisation as the purpose of SEE, only 18% of Swedish and 13% of UK teachers said they felt responsible for socialising their students. In Spain, for example, words like improve, develop and train the student are common. In Greece, integrate, modify and shape. In other words, teachers acting in *loco parentis* - as an active socialising agent in the development and shaping of personality, values and character - was considered to be the norm. In the UK, however, it was rare to see teachers define their role as a socialising agent (although when asked specifically later in the questionnaire whether they were a significant adult responsible for the socialisation of students, the majority agreed). When the theme of socialisation was mentioned by UK teachers it was commonly referred to in roundabout ways such as 'developing the whole child'. Unlike Greece and Spain, some teachers in the UK described their role in their students' lives more colloquially: *"To stop children from losing the plot so that they can grow up into considerate, well-balanced people"*. Most references in the UK, however, were about remedial solutions: *"Provide a child with the basics of life, fill in potential holes, give them a backbone to life."* One possible reason

²⁸ El alumno no es un mero receptor de contenidos, es una persona con sus individualidades y sus emociones. Cada uno es diferente y procede de un entorno familiar concreto y distinto, sus vivencias son únicas e influyen en su manera de actuar y de relacionarse. La escuela debe contemplar todos estos aspectos y no exclusivamente los académicos.

why there were less mentions in this section from UK and Swedish teachers is that most references to socialisation or intervention were framed as a mental health issue, or as a means to 'fill gaps' from poor home environments.

Supporting mental health and wellbeing

Although teachers who describe SEE as a health issue were in the minority, teachers in the UK were slightly more likely to mention it (11%) compared to 8% of teachers in Greece, 7% in Spain and 6% in Sweden. For example, common responses in the UK as to the purpose of SEE included training teachers to act in a support role or to promote the awareness of mental health. In many schools in the UK, SEE is taught as part of a non-compulsory subject called PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education) and this could be a reason there are more references to mental health than in other countries. Although Sweden had the least number of teachers mention mental health, it was discussed at great length by the teachers who did. As one teacher put it, "*It is also a hugely important health issue - for instance, if you are emotionally unwell, you cannot perform well in school.*"²⁹ Some teachers in Sweden who identified SEE as a mental health subject explicitly said it was not part of a teacher's responsibilities as this was the role of school counsellors: "*In Sweden the teachers aren't expected to provide pastoral, instead there is a team of counsellors etc at each school who sees to the students' emotional development.*"³⁰ Swedish teachers were the only ones in the study to mention student mental illness in their responses also.

²⁹ Det är oärligt viktigt för det är en hälsofrågan.. dvsmår man inte bra kan man ej prestera i skolan.

³⁰ Swedish teacher's response in English

3.2.3. What is the purpose of SEE? Preparing students for the future.

The least mentioned purpose of SEE was socio-political in nature: preparing students for the future (work and life), creating citizens, and improving society as a whole. Again, there was large cross-cultural variation in the answers with the frequency with which the sub-themes were mentioned summarised in figure 3.5.

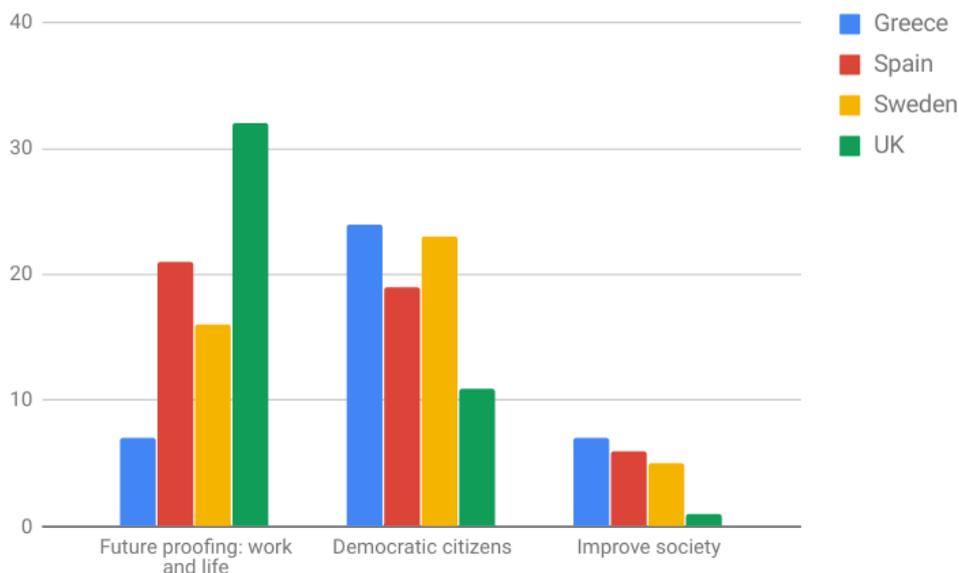
Equip for the future: work and life

UK teachers were most likely to mention preparation for the future at 32%, with the majority of these discussing preparation for the future workplace, compared to Spain at 21%, Sweden at 16% and Greece at 7%. It was more common in the UK, for example, to find teachers speaking of the need to equip students for future relationships: *“Preparation of children for social and emotional interaction as adults”*, compared to the other countries where teachers more commonly spoke about the application of social and emotional skills in the here and now, to *“Improve relationships of students with their peers.”*³¹ Such a contrast between present and future also influenced the way physical space was discussed - whereas UK teachers discussed how SEE *“Prepares them [students] for life outside,”* and to *“Face the challenges of the real world”*, responses from the other countries had no division between the rest of society and the classroom, *“School is a micro-society, where many of the relationships that occur at the macro level (in society) occur.”*³²

³¹ Mejorar las relaciones de los alumnos con sus iguales

³² La escuela es una microsociedad, donde se dan muchas de las relaciones que se dan a nivel macro (en la sociedad).

Figure 3.5. Frequency of responses (%) involving socio-political themes in answering: What is the purpose of SEE?



Many UK teachers specifically replied that the role of SEE is to prepare students for future employment, be it *“To prepare students for social and work based relationships,”* or to prepare students to begin to share a workplace with other people, *“There are some situations that students find themselves in at school that don’t happen at home but could happen in the workplace (eg: working with someone that they don’t like but have to get along with for a task.)”*

Creating citizens, instilling democratic values

As John Dewey wrote, ‘Democracy has to be born anew every generation, and education is its midwife’ (1916). Many teachers when discussing the role of SEE saw it as a means of creating a new generation of citizens, especially so in Greece: *“The purpose is to assist in the **regeneration** of healthy individuals who will become active, thoughtful, worthy and, above all, happy people and citizens.”*

³³ Greece and Sweden had similar responses about the need to create citizens, with 24% and 23% of teachers respectively. Whilst

³³ Ο σκοπός τους είναι να βοηθήσει στην ανάπτυξη υγιών ατόμων που θα γίνουν ενεργοί, σκεπτόμενοι, άξιοι και ευτυχισμένοι κυρίως άνθρωποι και πολίτες

Spain had slightly less at 19%, the UK had less than half of Greece with 11%. Although the percentage of responses in Sweden and Greece were about the same, it was Greek teachers who added an extra stipulation: teaching to be *active citizens* (*ενεργός πολίτης*), whereas the Swedish teachers - like in the UK - talked about the need for responsible, empathetic, good and happy citizens.

Spanish teachers - like the Greeks - also emphasised the need for participation, for example: *“The training of persons in a comprehensive manner, critical citizens, responsible, participatory, ultimately, [people] with values; where emotion is the engine of growth and learning,”*³⁴ and *“To have a life as happy and full as possible, as well as an active participation in their social environment that promotes changes.”*³⁵ The topic of citizenship was the only point at which teachers mentioned policy in responses about the purpose of SEE, Swedish teachers especially: *“The curriculum is clear in its instructions, which build on human rights and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Children and pupils must learn, and accept, the fundamental values of democracy and equality.”*³⁶ Even the right to be taught SEE was described by some Swedish teachers within the context of democratic rights, *“It is an issue of democracy. Everyone should have the right to develop their emotional and social skills in a democratic society.”*³⁷

³⁴ La formación de personas de forma integral, ciudadanos/as críticos/as, responsables, participativos/as, en definitiva, con valores; donde la emoción sea el motor de aprendizaje y crecimiento

³⁵ Para alcanzar una vida lo más feliz y plena posible, así como una implicación activa en su medio social que promueva cambios

³⁶ Uppdraget är tydligt i läroplanerna som bygger på mänskliga rättigheter och Barnkonventionens artiklar. Barn och elever ska utveckla demokratiska värderingar och allas lika värde

³⁷ Det är en demokratifråga. Alla ska ha rätt att träna sina emotionella och sociala färdigheter i ett demokratiskt samhälle.

Improve society

This was the least mentioned purpose of SEE, with 7% of Greek teachers, 6% of Spanish, 5% of Swedish and 1% of UK teachers. A common theme in this section was also that conditions in the country as a whole were worsening: as one Spanish teacher put it, the purpose of SEE is to “*Educate to create a better world than it is today, that truth be told, frightens me more every day.*”³⁸

Summary table of teachers’ responses

A summary of teachers’ responses as to the purpose of SEE is summarised in Table 3.2 below.

³⁸ Educar para conseguir un mundo mejor que el actual, que la verdad cada día me dá más miedo.

Table 3.2. What is the purpose of SEE? Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire.

Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Intra-personal skills: Improve students' relationship to emotion	Coping with negative emotion	"To equip students with the information and skills required to deal with emotional distress"
	Experience more positive states of mind	"Positive attitude, knowing how to generate it" ³⁹ "Give them the tools and skills to be happy" ⁴⁰ "For the individual to have the best conditions for happiness" ⁴¹
	Normalise and understand the spectrum of feelings	"Have healthy access to their full range of emotions" "Reduce stigma around emotional difficulties" "Get children to connect with their emotions and the emotions of others, to learn to feel" ⁴² "Not to be afraid of their emotions" ⁴³
	Appropriate expression of feeling	"To help children understand their own emotions and how they make them react in different ways" "Teach how to identify and manage emotions to act in the most effective way" ⁴⁴ "Reduction of aggressive behaviour" ⁴⁵
	Emotional maturity	"Understand their emotional development" "Understand the emotional changes they have to endure during adolescence" ⁴⁶
	Benefitting from emotion	"That students get to know themselves through their emotions. That emotions serve to improve you as a person, to understand more about others and are a fundamental aspect of their learning" ⁴⁷ "Improve personal strategies and channel emotion" ⁴⁸ "To manage their emotions in such a way as to enrich their learning but also to develop social interactions" ⁴⁹

³⁹ Actitud positiva, saber generarla

⁴⁰ Darle las herramientas y habilidades para que sea feliz

⁴¹ Οι ίδιοι να έχουν καλύτερες προϋποθέσεις ευτυχίας

⁴² Conseguir que los niños conecten con sus emociones y las de los demás, que aprendan a sentir.

⁴³ A no tener miedo de sus emociones

⁴⁴ Enseñar a identificar y gestionar las emociones para poder actuar de la manera más efectiva (dentro de la situación dada)

⁴⁵ Μείωση επιθετικής συμπεριφοράς

⁴⁶ Comprender los cambios emocionales que sufren durante la adolescencia

⁴⁷ Que el alumnado se conozca a sí mismo mediante sus emociones. Que esas emociones sirvan para mejorarle como persona, pueda entender más al otro y sean un aspecto fundamental en su aprendizaje.

⁴⁸ Mejorar las estrategias personales y canalizar las emociones

⁴⁹ Να χειρίζονται τα συναισθήματα τους με τρόπο τέτοιο ώστε να πλουτίσουν τη μάθηση αλλά και να αναπτύξουν την κοινωνική συναλλαγή τους

Table 3.2. What is the purpose of SEE? Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire (contd.)		
Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Intra-personal skills: Know thyself	Self-acceptance	“That they can and dare to be themselves” ⁵⁰ “To achieve that children grow up accepting themselves as they are” ⁵¹ “Acknowledging their [own] strengths and weaknesses”
	Self-worth	“Strengthening the self-worth of the person, which consequently changes their conduct and reaction to different people and ideas” ⁵² “Defined self-esteem” ⁵³
	Self-autonomy	“Enable the development of the individual as an autonomous person” ⁵⁴ “Independence” “To allow children to develop their own identity”
	Self-respect	“To be respected for who one is” ⁵⁵
	Self-awareness	“Reflect on their own inner lives”
Intra-personal skills: Manage Adversity	Resilience	“To help students develop resilience to deal with challenges presented” “To be emotionally resilient and be successful in life” “To enable students to be resilient and face barriers in education and beyond”
	Stress management	“To help support children & young adults to cope with the stresses of everyday life” “Combat stress and negative emotions” ⁵⁶
	Conflict resolution	“To give tools to be able to cope with adverse situations to achieve their well-being” ⁵⁷ “Social and emotional education teaches children strategies to deal with difficult situations” “Acquire the necessary tools to handle personal and social conflicts” ⁵⁸ “Preventing conflicts and problems” ⁵⁹ “Be aware of times they may need to seek help”

⁵⁰ Att de får och vågar ta plats.;

⁵¹ Conseguir que los niños crezcan aceptándose como son

⁵² Ενίσχυση της αυτοεκτίμησης του ατομου με συνεπεια την αλλαγη της συμπεριφορας του απεναντι σε διαφορετικους ανθρωπους και ιδεες

⁵³ Autoestima definida

⁵⁴ Permitir la construcción del individuo como ente autónomo

⁵⁵ Ser respetados en lo que cada uno es;

⁵⁶ Combatir el stress y las emociones negativas

⁵⁷ Dotarle de herramientas para que sea capaz de hacer frente a situaciones adversas para lograr su bienestar

⁵⁸ Adquirir las herramientas necesarias para manejar los conflictos personales y sociales.

⁵⁹ Förebygga konflikter och problem

Table 3.2. What is the purpose of SEE? Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire (contd.)		
Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Manage Adversity (contd.)	Problem solving	“Train students to solve problems appropriately” ⁶⁰ “Their armament against the difficulties of life, the management of problems they face” ⁶¹
Inter-personal skills: Understand others	Sense of belonging	“Provide students with tools that allow them to know themselves and others, and relate to society” ⁶² “To allow them to understand their environment they live in”
	Diversity and respect	“To help students handle and understand individual differences they meet” ⁶³ “The creation of a climate of mutual respect, understanding and acceptance of the differences within the classroom” ⁶⁴ “Social and cultural awareness” ⁶⁵ “To develop understanding and empathy among children of different backgrounds”
	Understand others' emotions	“To read others emotions and respond positively” “Be able to understand others emotions in order to reduce conflict” “Improve the identification of one's own and others' emotions, learn to put oneself in another's place” ⁶⁶
	Awareness of others' needs	“Understanding and accepting the needs of others” ⁶⁷ “To know yourself better and enrich relationships by learning to know others better” ⁶⁸ “To teach children how to show consideration and respect for other people” ⁶⁹
	Empathy	“Empathise with the person next to them.” ⁷⁰

⁶⁰ Capacitar al alumnado a resolver problemas de forma satisfactoria

⁶¹ Ο σπλιτισμός του απέναντι στις δυσκολίες της ζωής, η διαχείριση των προβλημάτων που αντιμετωπίζει.

⁶² Dotar a los alumnos con herramientas que permitan conocerse a sí mismos a los demás y por lo tanto relacionarse en sociedad

⁶³ Swedish teacher's response in English

⁶⁴ Η διαμόρφωση ενός κλίματος αμοιβαίου σεβασμού, κατανόησης και αποδοχής των ιδιαιτεροτήτων του μέσα στην σχολική τάξη.

⁶⁵ Swedish teacher's response in English

⁶⁶ Mejorar la identificación de las emociones propias y ajenas, aprender a ponerse en el lugar de otro.

⁶⁷ Förståelse och acceptanden för andras behov och uttryck

⁶⁸ Conocerse así mismo mejor y enriquecer las relaciones al aprender a conocer mejor también a los demás

⁶⁹ Att barnen blir medvetna om hänsyn och respekt mot andra människor

⁷⁰ Enseñarlos a empatizar con el que tienen al lado

Table 3.2. What is the purpose of SEE? Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire (contd.)		
Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Inter-personal skills: Form positive relationships	Social skills	<p>“Provide students with the ... communication skills necessary to be able to function in a social group”⁷¹</p> <p>“The ability to listen, communicate, be sensitive to certain issues, to care, be kind, to respect”</p> <p>“Raise their awareness to gradually improve their communication skills”⁷²</p>
	Improve co-existence	<p>“Make our students socially and emotionally competent, helping them to be happier and to be able to make those around them happier”⁷³</p> <p>“Developing skills that allow proactive relationships”⁷⁴</p> <p>“Live in harmony with oneself and with others”⁷⁵</p> <p>“Meaningful interaction, both on an individual as well as on a collective level”⁷⁶</p>
	Assertiveness	<p>“Learn to solve problems through dialogue and consensus”⁷⁷</p> <p>“Empowering people to resolve conflicts in the best way possible for all”⁷⁸</p> <p>“For students to be capable of fitting into groups so that they can collaborate in order to solve their various problems”⁷⁹</p>
	Solidarity	<p>“Become empathetic, show solidarity, be good friends, active, critical, participate”⁸⁰</p> <p>“...Their active participation in this [society] and in smaller social groups”⁸¹</p> <p>“To become a considerate friend and have a common set of values”⁸²</p> <p>“Be aware of times they may need to seek help for self or others”</p>

⁷¹ Proporcionar al alumnado ... las habilidades de comunicación necesarias para poder desenvolverse en un grupo social.

⁷² Ωστε να ευαισθητοποιηθούν βελτιώνοντας σταδιακά δεξιότητες επικοινωνίας

⁷³ Hacer que nuestro alumnado sea competente desde el punto de vista social y emocional, ayudándolo a ser más feliz y a ser capaz de hacer más felices a los que le rodean.

⁷⁴ Desarrollar habilidades que permitan relacionarse de manera proactiva

⁷⁵ Vivir en armonía con uno mismo y con los demás

⁷⁶ Η ουσιαστική αλληλεπίδραση τόσο ατομικά όσο και σε σχέση με τους υπόλοιπους

⁷⁷ Aprenda a solucionar los problemas a través del diálogo y el consenso.

⁷⁸ Capacitando a las personas para resolver conflictos de la mejor forma posible para todos.

⁷⁹ Να είναι ικανοί οι μαθητές/τριες να εντασσονται σε ομάδες ώστε να μπορούν να συνεργάζονται για να επιλυούν τα διάφορα προβλήματα τους

⁸⁰ Llegar a ser empaticxs, solidarios, buenxs compañerxs, activxs, criticxs, participativxs....

⁸¹ Την ενεργή συμμετοχή του σε αυτήν και σε μικρότερες κοινωνικές ομάδες.

⁸² Att bli en god kamrat och ha gemensam värdegrund.

Table 3.2. What is the purpose of SEE? Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire (contd.)		
Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Teaching Aid: Facilitating learning	Access learning	<p>“It is the keystone for all other learning”</p> <p>“To impact on learning by developing a positive mindset”</p>
	Meeting student’s emotional needs	<p>“I believe that feeling safe and secure and being able to participate in a social context is crucial to facilitate learning”⁸³</p> <p>“Until a child feels happy and secure within our nursery school they cannot begin to learn and their SE skills are an essential part of this”</p> <p>“Do not leave emotions isolated from knowledge”⁸⁴</p>
	Individualise the learning experience	<p>“Students learn more when they feel more involved in the process”⁸⁵</p> <p>“Educating people in a comprehensive manner, taking into account their personal circumstances and not just introducing academic knowledge”⁸⁶</p> <p>“Involve students in a personal way, making their own experiences a means of internalising learning instantly”⁸⁷</p>
	Removing barriers to learning	<p>“PSHE [Personal, Social and Health Education] underpins all education. If children are not happy, secure and able to relate to others, it affects their learning adversely”</p> <p>“To ensure that all barriers to learning are removed enabling pupils to make progress and succeed”</p>
Teaching aid: Socialisation	Providing resources and tools	<p>“Resources and strategies to facilitate everyday situations in life”⁸⁸</p> <p>“Provide tools, resources and skills to children to have better social and personal wellbeing”⁸⁹</p> <p>“That pupils are provided with the right tools to better handle and interact with the outside world”⁹⁰</p>

⁸³ Jag menar att känslan av att vara trygg, delaktighet och att finnas i ett socialt sammanhang är mycket viktig för all inlärning

⁸⁴ No dejar las emociones aisladas de los conocimientos

⁸⁵ Att eleverna lär sig mer då de känner sig mer delaktiga i processen

⁸⁶ Educar a las personas de una manera global, teniendo en cuenta las circunstancias personales y no únicamente introduciendo conocimientos académicos

⁸⁷ Involucrar al alumno de manera personal, haciendo de sus propias experiencias un aprendizaje interiorizado casi al instante en sí mismo

⁸⁸ Recursos y estrategias para facilitar las situaciones cotidianas de la vida

⁸⁹ Proporcionar herramientas, recursos y habilidades a los niños para tener mejor bienestar social y personal.

⁹⁰ Att ge eleverna verktyg att hantera och interagera med omvärlden på ett bra sätt.

Table 3.2. What is the purpose of SEE? Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire (contd.)		
Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Teaching aid: Socialisation (contd.)	Development	<p>“Help people achieve a good personal and social development”⁹¹</p> <p>“Full development of the person”⁹²</p> <p>“The development of all aspects of personality”⁹³</p> <p>“Complete the person”⁹⁴</p> <p>“The shaping of a future adult”⁹⁵</p> <p>“The integration of students' personality”⁹⁶</p>
	Integration into society	<p>“The smooth socialisation of the child, in order to integrate them without problems into the wider community”⁹⁷</p> <p>“The inclusion of the individual in society”⁹⁸</p>
	Supporting students	<p>“To accompany our students in their development and offer them a comprehensive training”⁹⁹</p> <p>“Help students in their socialisation”¹⁰⁰</p> <p>“To empathise better with students and to motivate them in their work”¹⁰¹</p> <p>“To improve the quality of life of the children”¹⁰²</p> <p>“The psychosocial support of students”¹⁰³</p> <p>“To listen to and have a constant positive outlook and rapport with the pupils”¹⁰⁴</p>
Teaching aid: Supporting wellbeing and mental health	Mental health awareness	<p>“To ensure that the wellbeing of all is considered and that mental health needs are on a par with physical and educational needs”</p> <p>“It is the promotion of mental health and wellbeing of students in the school community”¹⁰⁵</p> <p>“More and more young people have mental health issues, which is something we as a school are trying to address”¹⁰⁶</p>

⁹¹ Ayudar a las personas a lograr un buen desarrollo personal y social

⁹² Desarrollo pleno de la personas

⁹³ El desarrollo de todos los aspectos de la personalidad

⁹⁴ Completar a la persona

⁹⁵ Η διάπλαση ενός μελλοντικού ενήλικα

⁹⁶ Η ολοκλήρωση της προσωπικότητας των μαθητών

⁹⁷ Η ομαλή κοινωνικοποίηση του παιδιού, ώστε να ενταχθεί χωρίς προβλήματα στο ευρύτερο κοινωνικό σύνολο

⁹⁸ La inclusión del individuo en la sociedad

⁹⁹ Acompañar a nuestros alumnos en su desarrollo y ofrecerles una formación integral

¹⁰⁰ Ayudar a los alumnos a desarrollar su socialización

¹⁰¹ Empatizar mejor con los estudiantes y motivarles en su trabajo

¹⁰² Ayudar a alumnos con necesidades afectivas y faltos de habilidades sociales

¹⁰³ Η ψυχοκοινωνική υποστήριξη των μαθητών

¹⁰⁴ Lyssna och vara uppmärksam på samt ha en ständig positiv och trevlig hållning gentemot eleverna.

¹⁰⁵ Είναι η προαγωγή της ψυχικής υγείας και ευεξίας του μαθητή στη σχολική κοινότητα

¹⁰⁶ Allt fler unga människor dåligt psykiskt vilket vi i skolan försöker möta

Table 3.2. What is the purpose of SEE? Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire (contd.)		
Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Socio-political: Creating citizens	Promoting active participation	“To make aware, responsible and active citizens” ¹⁰⁷
	Instilling democratic values	“We are expected to teach democratic values and equality in all subjects” ¹⁰⁸ “Shape tomorrow’s citizens where they will have an increased sense of justice in society” ¹⁰⁹ “To help them become fulfilled, empathetic citizens in a global democratic world” ¹¹⁰
Socio-political: Improve society	Peace	“To live together in peace and be able to understand other ways of feeling or thinking” ¹¹¹ “Teach to know and regulate our emotions to live in peace, avoiding conflicts” ¹¹²
	Justice	“Develop awareness and empathy to improve justice and coexistence, within a respect for their surroundings” ¹¹³ “Acceptance of socially excluded groups and collaboration of students regardless of socio-economic level, identity and appearance” ¹¹⁴ “Modelling a just and consistent society”
	Sociability	“A modern society has to tend to be more humane and social. Knowing and ‘working’ on emotions from childhood will help meet the requirement we all share to be happier. This has an impact on the society or should do so.” ¹¹⁵ “Teaching the pleasure of sociability that is a foundation of productive civilisation”

¹⁰⁷ Να κάνει ευαίσθητοποιημένους, υπεύθυνους και ενεργούς πολίτες.

¹⁰⁸ Swedish teacher’s response in English

¹⁰⁹ Διαμορφώσει τους αυριανούς πολίτες όπου θα έχουν αυξημένο το αίσθημα δικαίου στην κοινωνία.

¹¹⁰ Att hjälpa dem bli lyckliga, empatiska medborgare i en global demokratisk värld.

¹¹¹ Convivir en paz y poder entender otras maneras de sentir o pensar

¹¹² Enseñar a conocer y regular nuestras emociones para convivir en paz, evitando los conflictos

¹¹³ Desarrollar conciencia social y la empatía para conseguir mejorar la justicia y la convivencia, dentro del respeto a el entorno.

¹¹⁴ Ενσωμάτωση αποδοχή κοινωνικά αποκλεισμένων ομάδων και συνεργασία των μαθητών ανεξαρτήτως επιπέδου κοινωνικοοικονομικής ταυτότητας και εμφάνισης

¹¹⁵ Una sociedad moderna ha de tender a ser más humana y social. Y conocer y trabajar las emociones, desde la infancia ayudará a cumplir un requisito que todos buscamos ser más felices. Esto repercute en la sociedad o debería hacerlo.

3.3. Responsibility for socialising the next generation

Socialisation is defined as ‘the process whereby an individual learns to adjust to a group (or society) and behave in a manner approved by the group (or society)’ (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2016). But whose responsibility is it to socialise the next generation? Their immediate family, their teachers, their community? Imparting social and emotional skills exists in this social grey area and cannot help but define and redefine the boundaries that exist between home and school. If the majority of teachers agree that they should be responsible for the socialisation of students, do they also agree on the reasons why? The greatest cross-cultural differences in answers to this question were regarding the need to share responsibility for socialisation, the importance of the teacher-student relationship, and the teacher's belief that they ought to make up for deficiencies in the student's home life (see Table 3.3).

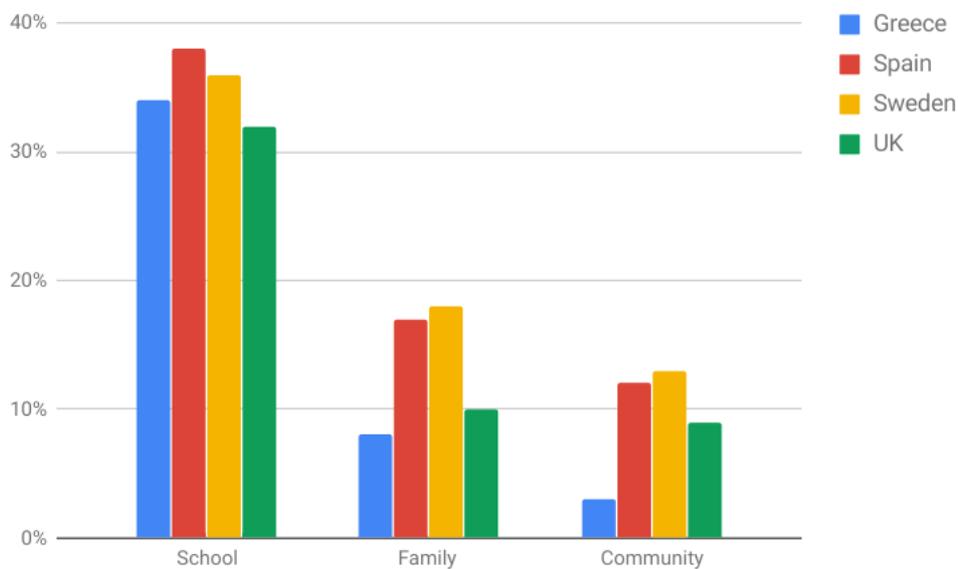
Table 3.3. Who should be responsible for socialising students? (% of teachers mentioning theme by country)

	GR	SP	SW	UK
Responsibility				
School	34% (37)	38% (83)	36% (34)	32% (72)
Family	8% (9)	17% (37)	18% (16)	10% (23)
Community / All adults	3% (3)	12% (27)	13% (11)	9% (21)
Role of teacher				
To serve as role models	26% (29)	23% (51)	15% (13)	19% (44)
To fulfill their professional responsibilities	21% (23)	13% (29)	16% (14)	14% (31)
To nurture teacher-student relationships	32% (35)	15% (33)	9% (8)	13% (29)
To make up for deficiencies at home	3% (3)	4% (9)	3% (3)	15% (34)
Total teachers responding	111	220	86	227

3.3.1 Whose responsibility is it to socialise children?

There was a consensus throughout the answers that school should be primarily responsible for socialising children, followed by the family, and then the entire community as a whole, summarised in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6. Frequency of teachers' answers to the question: Whose responsibility is it to socialise children? School, family or the community.



Socialising is part of education

Most teachers agreed that education serves as a socialising factor, with this being commonly mentioned by teachers in all four countries: Spain (38%), Sweden (36%), Greece (34%), and the UK (32%). Many teachers described education as a socialising force, and that teachers are agents of this process regardless of their personal opinion on the matter:

- *“They [students] spend a significant portion of their time at school when they grow up, and thus we have a role to play in socialising students - and we do so, whether we think so or not.”¹¹⁶*
- *“People who think they don't affect socialisation, may act as a negative model without knowing it.”¹¹⁷*

The analogy of molding clay was used in all four countries (mostly in Greece, Spain and Sweden) when describing socialisation: *“We are adult role models for the pupils and play a part in shaping them as they grow up. It is a big responsibility.”¹¹⁸* Many teachers in the questionnaire highlighted the difference between the home and school environment as a justification, where *“school is the place where many children for the first time have to interact in a social situation and respond to the emotional needs of others and not just themselves.”* Others saw the school as an opportunity to model a better society, or to improve wellbeing. The intended outcomes for socialisation were many and varied, but most teachers agreed that something had to be done.

The most popularly cited reason regarding school acting as a part of socialisation was the time spent therein: 36% of Greeks, 22% of Spanish, 22% of Swedes and 29% of UK teachers mentioned the significant amount of time/hours children were in schools. Whilst the most common way to describe this in all countries (but particularly in the UK and Sweden) was the word ‘spend’, as in, *‘we spend so much time together’*, the second most common word used (particularly in Spain and Greece) was the word live (*convivir / ζουν*), as in, *‘the large number of hours that we live together with the children’*. These linguistic differences emphasise the varying cross-cultural boundaries

¹¹⁶ Swedish teacher's reply in English

¹¹⁷ La gente que cree que no trabaja, puede que trabaje en negativo sin saberlo

¹¹⁸ Vi är vuxna förebilder för eleverna och formar dem där efter. Ett stort ansvar.

between home and school: whereas to live with someone in English expressly defines the sharing of time privately - usually at home - this word was used to describe the public environment of the school by some of the Mediterranean teachers, further blurring the boundaries between home and school. As one Spanish teacher summarised, “*A kid should not consider the different moments of his upbringing as compartmentalised and unrelated to each other. Life is dynamic ... and learning must be too.*”¹¹⁹

Family should be primarily responsible for socialisation

Not all teachers believed that it is their responsibility to socialise students and impart social and emotional skills, and teachers in all four countries mentioned this: Sweden (18%), Spain (17%), UK (10%) and Greece (8%). Sweden had the highest number of objections to teachers being held accountable for socialising students, for example:

- *“Parents need to take more responsibility here - many parents see it as school should raise their kids. We as a school/teacher can teach kids about values- ie different values, but not decide what values for the kids to choose like parents can do.”*¹²⁰
- *“Parents are the ones who put the kids into this world and therefore responsible for them.”*¹²¹
- *“I believe that too much of that responsibility is left with the school and teacher. Yes, we should educate the children in*

¹¹⁹ El chaval no debe considerar los distintos momentos de su crianza como cajones estancos sin relacionar. La vida es dinámica y homogénea, así debe ser el aprendizaje.

¹²⁰ Swedish teacher’s reply in English

¹²¹ Swedish teacher’s reply in English

this aspect to some extent, but it takes too much emphasis away from the rest of the curriculum."¹²²

In Spain and Greece there were similar objections to teachers acting as socialising agents saying that parents should be the most important role models, but unlike a lot of the responses in Sweden, the teachers emphasised that they should work collaboratively, "*Each passing year we are more responsible. The families are delegating their duties onto us. And schools should be socialising children hand in hand with families, working together.*"¹²³ In the UK there was a common theme of an ever-widening remit for teachers which they did not agree with, for example, "*The idea of teacher role has become too widespread, our role is to impart and instruct information/skills. Emotion is the place of the family,*" and, "*Our main responsibility is to prepare students to succeed in exams.*" Though many UK teachers said that socialising students is beyond their remit, many mentioned being forced to, due to various social and political reasons, "*Social emotional skills are better learnt within the family. Among trusted nurturing relationships. This is not the role of the school but has become so by default over the years due to a breakdown in family life.*" In Greece one teacher talked about their powerlessness to influence home life and the values therein, "*The family lays the foundation for a child. The teacher can't do much if the family is negative.*"¹²⁴

Some teachers who participated in the questionnaire - though they did make up the minority - believed social and emotional skills could not be transferred from teacher to student, "*I don't think these*

¹²² Jag tycker för mycket av det ansvaret läggs på skolan och läraren. Vi ska utbilda barnen i detta till viss del men idag tar det alldeles för stor plats i den övriga undervisningen.

¹²³ Cada vez más. Las familias nos van delegando sus funciones. Y deberíamos ir de la mano en la socialización de los niños y niñas, trabajar en conjunto familias-escuela.

¹²⁴ Τα παιδιά παίρνουν τις βάσεις από την οικογένειά τους. Ο δάσκαλος δε μπορεί να κάνει πολλά αν η οικογένεια είναι αρνητική.

*skills can be taught directly,*¹²⁵ whilst others highlighted the limits of the teacher in SEE due to lack of training: "*Without specific teaching/lessons in social and emotional education from somebody who understands the psychological and related physiological concepts well and the coping methods there is limited influence you can deliver via being a good role model in passing. It must be concentrated academia.*"

All adults in society should be responsible

The old proverb, 'It takes a village to raise a child' could be witnessed in the responses cross-culturally, with 13% of Swedish, 12% of Spanish, 9% of UK and 3% of Greek teachers saying that all adults in a community are responsible for the socialisation of children. The reasons why could be grouped into three themes: all people are influenced by their surroundings, education is not specific to the school environment, and the responsibility for socialising the next generation needs to be shared as a community.

3.3.2. What is the role of the teacher today?

Aside from the responsibilities of the school in the socialisation of children, some teachers spoke specifically about their role as teachers, summarised in Figure 3.7.

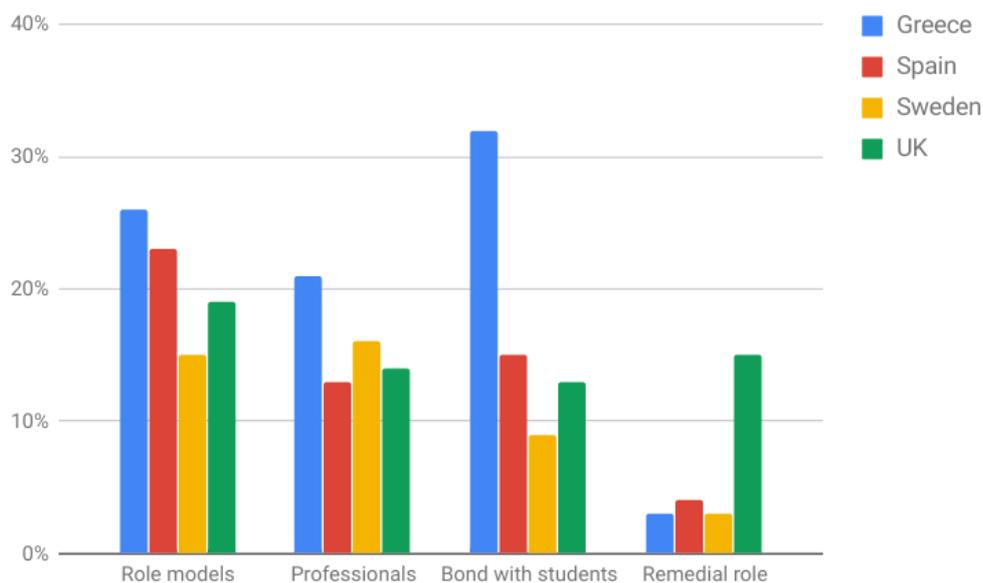
The need for teachers to be role models was the most popularly cited reason (26% of Greeks, 23% of Spanish, 15% of Swedish and 19% of UK teachers), such as, "*The role of the teacher is not solely to impart knowledge, but also to act as a role model for pupils.*"¹²⁶ Though most teachers emphasised the need to set positive examples, some teachers highlighted that not everyone gets it right,

¹²⁵ Swedish teacher's reply in English

¹²⁶ Rollen som lärare innebär inte att enbart stå för faktakunskaper, utan även att vara en förebild för elever

“Because teachers spend a significant part of each day with the students and can act as a positive or negative example.”¹²⁷

Figure 3.7. Frequency of responses in answering: What is the role of the teacher as an agent of socialisation?



There was also a difference between primary school teachers and secondary teachers: whereas primary teachers said things like “*Children do as adults do, not as adults say*,”¹²⁸ secondary teachers emphasised the agency of young people to either imitate or reject the models that teachers present them with: “*Teachers serve as role models or examples to avoid*.”¹²⁹ Teachers also discussed how for some children, the teacher and parent are taken to be one and the same, “*The teacher often becomes one with the parental model in children's eyes, which they trust and mimic. It's unavoidable that they will influence their emotions and socialisation*.”¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Γιατί οι δάσκαλοι περνούν σημαντικό μέρος κάθε μέρας με τους μαθητές και μπορούν να αποτελέσουν θετικό ή αρνητικό παράδειγμα.

¹²⁸ 'Barn gör som vuxna gör, inte som vuxna säger.'

¹²⁹ Οι εκπαιδευτικοί λειτουργούν ως πρότυπα προς μίμηση ή προς αποφυγή.

¹³⁰ Ο δάσκαλος συχνά γίνεται ένα με το γονεϊκό πρότυπο στα μάτια των παιδιών, το οποίο εμπιστεύονται και μιμούνται. Έτσι αναπόφευκτα μπορεί να επηρεάσει τα συναισθήματα και την κοινωνικοποίησή τους.

The teacher's role as a professional with its concomitant responsibilities, was another common response as to why teachers should be significant adults in charge of students' socialisation, especially in Greece (21%), compared to Sweden (16%), the UK (14%) and Spain (13%). Common themes in all four countries were the social prestige of the teaching profession and education (or inversely, the difficulties of teaching due to lack of respect), the privileged position teachers have due to their education and training, and the need to follow the relevant educational policy, law and the curriculum. Answers from each of the countries regarding this theme follow.

Greece

Some of the Greek answers in the questionnaire highlighted not only the prestige of the teaching profession, as in, "*They [teachers] are the first professionals the child meets,*"¹³¹ but the responsibilities associated with accountability, "*Teachers are more accountable than even the most significant adults in the child's life, because they should be trained and educated to teach children how society functions.*"¹³² Some teachers mourned the deteriorating prestige of the profession, "*Despite the fact that the role of education has deteriorated tragically over the last 20 years, the teacher is still a role model for children.*"¹³³

In Greece, where the importance of the relationship between teacher and student was most likely to be mentioned, it was the influence of the teacher as an important adult in the child's life that was regularly addressed, "*one of the adults that are closest to*

¹³¹ Διότι είναι οι πρώτοι επαγγελματίες τους οποίους συναντά ένα παιδί...

¹³² Οι δάσκαλοι είναι περισσότερο υπεύθυνοι ακόμα και από τους πιο σημαντικούς ενήλικες στη ζωή του παιδιού, διότι θα έπρεπε να είναι καταρτισμένοι και εκπαιδευμένοι να μάθουν στα παιδιά τους τρόπους με τους οποίους λειτουργεί η κοινωνία.

¹³³ Γιατί παρά το γεγονός ότι ο ρόλος του εκπαιδευτικού έχει υποβαθμιστεί τραγικά την τελευταία εικοσαετία, ο δάσκαλος αποτελεί ακόμα πρότυπο για τα παιδιά.

*children and affects their thoughts, opinions and behaviour daily,*¹³⁴ particularly what this influence entails (or rather, that the personal values of a teacher cannot help but be transmitted to students). As one Greek teacher put it, *“The teaching process often makes you express your personal view on subjects,*¹³⁵ and another that *“The teachers bring a model of life, personify choices, express their values.”*¹³⁶

Spain

In Spain the term ‘model’ and ‘role model’ was not as commonly used as in the other countries, but rather the term ‘point of reference’- for example, teachers are socialising agents *“because children imitate actions, not words. And adults are the ultimate point of reference.”* If, as one Spanish teacher wrote, *“I believe that this responsibility is inextricably linked to the task of the teacher: not only to teach a subject, but to educate people to live,”*¹³⁷ the question really becomes: How do you become a point of reference for living? Such expectations of being good role models are likely linked to the importance and prestige which teachers are held in Spanish culture, for example, as one teacher describes herself, *“We are public authorities that make up the most important institution in everyone's lives.”*¹³⁸

But other teachers disagreed that they also need to be perceived as an authority in the classroom, with some teachers citing

¹³⁴ Γιατί είναι ένας από τους κοντινότερους ενήλικες στα παιδιά και τα επηρεάζει με τις σκέψεις του, τις απόψεις του και την συμπεριφορά του καθημερινά.

¹³⁵ ...η διαδικασία της διδασκαλίας σε αναγκάζει πολλές φορές να εκφέρεις την προσωπική σου άποψη για κάποια θέματα κτλ.

¹³⁶ Οι δάσκαλοι φέρουν ένα πρότυπο ζωής, προσωποποιούν επιλογές, εκφράζουν αξίες

¹³⁷ Creo que esta responsabilidad está indisolublemente unida a la tarea del profesor: no sólo enseñas una asignatura, educas a personas para vivir.

¹³⁸ Porque somos autoridades públicas que formamos parte de una de las instituciones más importantes en la vida de cualquier persona.

the Summerhill School model where students are given equal rights to teachers to co-create learning environments. In Spain many of the teachers - especially in primary school - saw the teacher-student relationship as a given because of the amount of time they spend with their students, *“By responsibility, for love of them, for sharing a lot of time with them, we have generated affective bonds.”*¹³⁹

Sweden

In Sweden, the professional responsibilities of teachers were more commonly discussed as it then pertained to relevant policies and laws - be it the curriculum (called LGR11) or the School Act: *“We have a clear mandate under the School Act and curriculum to students to develop both social abilities, knowledge and skills.”*¹⁴⁰ The need for common values was also discussed: *“It would not be possible (or, at the very least, not as effective) to educate unless we, as teachers, have stable values.”*¹⁴¹ How the teacher-student relationship affects the learning process was also commonly mentioned by the Swedish teachers, for example, *“In order that the learner should be able to learn something they need an emotional bond between themselves and the teacher, so that the learner is attached to the teacher. The social is hugely important in life ... I would almost say that emotional and social knowledge is the most important knowledge of life.”*¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Por responsabilidad, por amor a ellos, por compartir mucho tiempo con ellos hemos generado vínculos afectivos..

¹⁴⁰ Vi har ett tydligt uppdrag enligt skollag och läroplan att elever ska utveckla både social förmåga, kunskaper och färdigheter.

¹⁴¹ Det skulle ju inte gå att (eller åtminstone inte lika bra) att bedriva undervisning då om inte vi står på en stadig värdegrund för vårt arbete.

¹⁴² För att eleven ska kunna lära sig något behövs ett emotionellt band mellan elev och lärare, alltså att eleven har knutit an till läraren. Det sociala är enormt viktigt i livet... Skulle nästan säga att det emotionella och den sociala kunskapen är den viktigaste kunskapen i livet.

United Kingdom

The UK responses commonly talked about a 'duty of care' and the teacher's moral responsibilities: "*As the responsible adult through a child's life they are the fire that captures the imagination and are charged with the responsibility of lighting it carefully.*" The phrase 'fail our children' was also commonly used: "*As educators we have the children's best interests at heart. Without strong social, moral, emotional and spiritual development, we will fail our children.*" Though specific laws were not mentioned relative to SEE, the curriculum was: "*This is a central part of our curriculum and evidence shows significant improvements can be made following interventions.*" In terms of their duty of care as role models the UK teachers were very specific, including "*We are constantly modelling how to behave, interact, respond to situations and how to deal with conflict.*" This was also the case for emotions, specifically, that it is "*okay to share.*" Some teachers questioned whether SEE should even exist as a subject, as it was ultimately dependant on role modeling behaviour.

In the UK sample, the necessary conditions to have a positive teacher-student relationship were more likely to be discussed - particularly, the need for students to have respect for teachers. The role of the teacher as a person that can help support the student was also mentioned, "*Teachers know the children really well and are able to develop a supportive relationship with them.*" Like for Greece, the great influence that teachers have in students' lives was regularly mentioned as well. Of particular importance in the UK responses was the theme of whether teachers should be responsible for making up for the shortcomings of home life with 15% of teachers citing this as one of their roles, compared to only 4% in Spain, 3% in Greece and 3% in Sweden. These UK teachers described their role as having to compensate for a lack of socialisation at home: "*If they [students] are not nurtured well at home and given social experiences then school*

needs to support children in being able to interact with people and understand and read body language and social situations.”

It was very common, however, for UK teachers to focus on the students' parents as the problem, be it due to their lack of social skills, *“Some children's parents do a poor job- maybe because they don't have very good emotional intelligence themselves,”* due to parents not providing an initial secure attachment with their child, *“They [teachers] may for some children be that child's first experience of a safe, secure attachment with an adult,”* or due to parents being poor role models, *“We can't assume these skills are being taught elsewhere. For some children we are the only role models of appropriate social skills.”*

Summary of teachers' responses

A summary of teachers' responses from the questionnaire as to the responsibility for students' socialisation is presented below in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4. Responsibility for socialisation. Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire.

Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Schools and teachers	Time spent/lived in schools	<p>“Children spend a lot of their time in school”</p> <p>“They [students] live together for many hours a day with their teacher”¹⁴³</p>
	Socialising facilitates learning	<p>“It underpins the children's ability to learn”</p> <p>“Success in academics is reliant on a happy, relaxed and calm child with a self-esteem which supports their emotional wellbeing and journey through life”</p> <p>“There is no learning without emotional, personal and social development. Otherwise, it is indoctrination”¹⁴⁴</p> <p>“Because learning means change not only at the cognitive level”¹⁴⁵</p> <p>“Education means nothing if they don't know how to behave”¹⁴⁶</p>
	Help transition to school environment	<p>“Many of the children's social challenges are at school”¹⁴⁷</p> <p>“Because school, or pre-school, is a particular social setting and children will need guidance, support and help in order to manage the move into that setting”</p> <p>“Seeing them every day in a relatively stable environment we can perhaps spot any signs of concern”</p> <p>“They can encourage them to take risks in a safe environment”</p>
	Teach values	<p>“We can show them the 'smorgasbord' of different values and then we can guide/give them tools to make good choices”¹⁴⁸</p>
	Shape personality	<p>“Because teachers shape the formative features of the personality of students as well as their behaviours”¹⁴⁹</p>
	Socialise emotion	<p>“Teachers help pupils to understand what are acceptable emotional responses”</p> <p>“You have to educate the emotional intelligence”¹⁵⁰</p>

¹⁴³ Porque conviven durante muchas horas al día con su profesor

¹⁴⁴ No hay aprendizaje sin desarrollo emocional, personal y social. Lo contrario es adoctrinamiento

¹⁴⁵ Γιατί η γνώση σημαίνει αλλαγή όχι μόνο στο γνωστικό επίπεδο

¹⁴⁶ Swedish teacher's reply in English

¹⁴⁷ Där måste kloka vuxna finnas till hjälp och guidning

¹⁴⁸ Swedish teacher's reply in English

¹⁴⁹ Γιατί οι δάσκαλοι διαμορφώνουν και διαπλάθουν χαρακτηριστικά της προσωπικότητας των μαθητών καθώς και τις συμπεριφορές τους

¹⁵⁰ Hay que educar la inteligencia emocional

Table 3.4. Responsibility for socialisation. Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire (contd.)

Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Schools and teachers (contd.)	Live in a micro-society	<p>“In order to build a democratic society the school is the place that can treat every student equal regardless of their background”¹⁵¹</p> <p>“Teaching the value of rules, respect for diversity, tolerance, belief systems. Rewarding positive behaviour and discouraging inappropriate or anti-social behaviour”</p> <p>“The school is structured as a small country with its communities, regulations, hierarchies ... This introduces you to society”¹⁵²</p>
	Development and wellbeing	<p>“If we do not work with them we are missing opportunities to foster their emotional wellbeing”</p> <p>“These skills [SEE] are increasingly understood as more essential for the correct development of people”¹⁵³</p>
	Opportunities not available at home	<p>“The school environment and the fact that there are many pupils in each class means that socialising can be approached in a way that is not possible in the home environment”</p> <p>“Sometime children have different boundaries and expectations at home. At school children learn the socially accepted norms”</p> <p>“I think teachers more ideal than their parents, because their motive is entirely selfless”¹⁵⁴</p>
	Manage relationships between students	<p>“Inclusion of students in groups, the cultivation of cooperation”¹⁵⁵</p> <p>“To build social skills is to allow a child to see their worth as an individual and the worth of others. It builds the foundations for being part of a cohesive, positive group.”</p> <p>“It is an environment where they coexist with more people of the same age and adults”¹⁵⁶</p> <p>“To create challenging situations or take advantage of those that happen in the classroom to teach them to relate to their peers and to adults”¹⁵⁷</p>

¹⁵¹ Swedish teacher's reply in English

¹⁵² La escuela está estructurada como un pequeño país con sus comunidades, normativas, jerarquías... esto ta va introduciendo el sociedad.

¹⁵³ Estas habilidades que cada vez se entienden como más esenciales para el desarrollo correcto de las personas.

¹⁵⁴ Τους θεωρώ ιδανικότερους και από τους γονείς, διότι το κίνητρό τους είναι απόλυτα ανιδιοτελές.

¹⁵⁵ Ένταξη των μαθητών σε ομάδες, καλλιέργεια συνεργασίας...

¹⁵⁶ Un entorno en el que conviven con más personas del mismo segmento de edad y con adultos.

¹⁵⁷ Porque está en la mano de los docentes crear situaciones conflictivas o aprovechar las que suceden en el aula para enseñar a relacionarse entre iguales y con adultos.

Table 3.4. Responsibility for socialisation. Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire (contd.)		
Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Family	Parents are responsible	“Teachers should not be substitutes for parents” ¹⁵⁸
	Lack of training / support	“We should be responsible for this skill but many of us lack training for it...” ¹⁵⁹ “The family has the key role in the proper emotional and social maturation of human beings. There are no substantial structures so that the school can actively help a student with a non-existent or problematic family environment” ¹⁶⁰ “There's a lack of preparation and only knowledge that's to be imparted is thought about” ¹⁶¹ “We are not trained to teach them social/emotional issues so it is sometimes difficult to know what is correct”
	SEE beyond teaching remit	“We are educators of subjects but we are not prepared to educate them socially. It is difficult to pose other types of activities outside our field” ¹⁶²
	School as secondary to family	“The school is the second socializing agency, after the family” ¹⁶³
	Social skills not teachable	“Socialising is part of the education, which is achieved outside of the classroom at lunchtime, break time, during extra-curricular activities and weekend activity programmes. It is not something that is 'taught' during contact time in lessons”
Community / All adults	People are influenced by their surroundings	“Every person is affected and influenced by those around him. Much more so a child than an adult” ¹⁶⁴ “More or less profoundly, all people influence each other” ¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸ Lärare kan inte vara elevernas föräldrar.

¹⁵⁹ Vi borde vara ansvariga för den här färdigheten men många av oss saknar utbildning för det...

¹⁶⁰ Η οικογένεια έχει το βασικό ρόλο στη σωστή συναισθηματική και κοινωνική ωρίμανση των ανθρώπων. Επίσης δεν υπάρχουν ουσιαστικές δομές ώστε το σχολείο να μπορεί έμπρακτα να βοηθήσει έναν μαθητή με ανύπαρκτο ή προβληματικό οικογενειακό περιβάλλον.

¹⁶¹ Falta preparación y sólo se piensa en los conocimientos que hay que impartir

¹⁶² Somos educadores de asignaturas pero no estamos preparados para educarles socialmente. Es difícil plantear otro tipo de actividades fuera de nuestra materia.

¹⁶³ La escuela es el segundo ente socializador, después de la familia.

¹⁶⁴ Κάθε άτομο επηρεάζει κ επηρεάζεται από τους γύρω του. Πολύ περισσότερο ένα παιδί από έναν ενήλικα.

¹⁶⁵ Porque todas las personas influimos, más o menos profundamente, unas sobre otras.

Table 3.4. Responsibility for socialisation. Summary of teacher responses from the questionnaire (contd.)		
Theme	Sub-theme	Teacher responses
Community / All adults (contd.)	Education is not specific to the school environment	<p>“We are all part of education, and of course socialisation: from parents to teachers through to the street vendor, bartender, etc.”¹⁶⁶</p> <p>“Because the child's education occurs throughout the day. It does not end when you leave school. It does not end even when arriving at the school. Occurs globally and continuously”¹⁶⁷</p> <p>“The more people children are exposed to the more varied their experiences of belief, opinion and emotional behaviour. This is a basis for a child to use critical thinking to develop their own opinions, life outlooks and behaviours”</p>
	Responsibility needs to be shared	<p>“It's not about passing the buck, but rather that we all have to be involved if we want this to work”¹⁶⁸</p> <p>“Every child is everyone's child”¹⁶⁹</p> <p>“Adults have a responsibility towards the young”</p> <p>“We function as one community and all are included”</p>

¹⁶⁶ Todos formamos parte de la educación, y por supuesto de la socialización: desde los padres a los maestros pasando por el vendedor de la esquina, el camarero del bar, etc.

¹⁶⁷ Porque la educación del niño se produce a lo largo de todo el día. No termina al salir del colegio. No termina tampoco al llegar al colegio. Se produce global y continuamente.

¹⁶⁸ No se trata de tirar balones fuera sino que todos estamos implicados si queremos que esto funcione.

¹⁶⁹ Alla barn är allas barn.

3.4 Likert scale analysis

The questionnaire included ten Likert scale questions that were divided into five themes: the role of emotions to learning, the role of relationships to learning, the teacher's role in loco-parentis, openness to emotional expression in the classroom, and satisfaction with current SEE provision. This section presents the statistical analysis and coefficients of reliability that were used, followed by tables detailing the means for each of the Likert scale questions compared by country and other demographic variables (age; gender; income; whether the teacher worked in preschool, primary or secondary school; years of experience working as a teacher; education; and SEE training). The last subsection also details the intranational differences in the questionnaire compared to the international differences, highlighting how the more regional variation was found in each country for each Likert scale, the lesser international variation, and vice versa.

Statistical analysis and coefficients of reliability

Frequency distributions by item were examined for both significance value (p) and magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d). The significance value (p) calculated the difference between the observed means of each of the pairwise comparisons (for example, the mean difference between Spanish teachers agreeing that they were comfortable expressing their emotions in class compared to Greek, Swedish and UK teachers), with the value giving the probability of obtaining the observed difference between the samples if the null hypothesis were true (that the difference is zero). The significance value was calculated by pooling the standard deviation of each of the samples s , where s_1 and s_2 are the standard deviations of the two samples corresponding to each country, each with their own sample sizes n_1 and n_2 :

$$s = \sqrt{\frac{(n_1 - 1)s_1^2 + (n_2 - 1)s_2^2}{n_1 + n_2 - 2}}$$

The standard error - the difference between the two means - was calculated as se:

$$se(\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2) = s \times \sqrt{\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2}}$$

And finally, the significance value (p) was calculated using the t-test, with t calculated as:

$$t = \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{se(\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2)}$$

(p) was thus the area of the t distribution with $n_1 + n_2 - 2$ degrees of freedom, that falls outside $\pm t$ (Altman, 1991). In the study significance (p) was reported in tables with the asterisk rating system:

- (p) < 0.05 level, with one asterisk (*) meaning that if the null hypothesis were true, there is a 1 in 20 chance of being wrong (type one error);
- (p) < 0.01 level, with two asterisks (**) meaning that if the null hypothesis were true there is a 1 in 100 chance of being wrong (type one error); and,
- (p) < 0.001 level, with three asterisks (***) meaning that if the null hypothesis were true there is less than 1 in 1000 chance of being wrong (type one error).

But significance values, as the statistician-researcher Gene V. Glass said, is the least interesting thing about results (Sullivan & Feinn, 2012). The significance value (p) can only highlight that there was a difference in opinion between countries, but not by how much (the measure of magnitude). To solve this problem, Cohen's effect size (d) was used, a figure determined by calculating the mean

difference between two samples, and then dividing the result by the pooled standard deviation ($\sqrt{((SD_1^2 + SD_2^2)/2)}$):

$$d = (M_2 - M_1) / SD_{\text{pooled}}$$

According to Sullivan & Feinn (2012), effect size (d) should be reported as: 0.2 small, 0.5 moderate, 0.8 large, 1.3 very large.

Finally, to check the measure of internal consistency of the Likert scale themes, Cronbach's alpha (α), a coefficient of reliability, was determined, which is a function of the average inter-correlations among the questionnaire items. The formula for Cronbach's alpha is shown below, where N equals the number of items, (\bar{c}) the average inter-item covariance among the items, and (\bar{v}) the average variance:

$$\alpha = \frac{N \cdot \bar{c}}{\bar{v} + (N - 1) \cdot \bar{c}}$$

(UCLA, 2016)

Cronbach's alpha is used as an estimate of the reliability of a psychometric test, but for the present research it was used to test how average inter-correlations among the questionnaire items were different from culture to culture. For example, the cronbach alpha for each of the Likert themes overall were: the role of emotion to learning ($\alpha = .62$), the role of relationships to learning ($\alpha = .62$), teacher's role in loco-parentis ($\alpha = .65$), openness to emotional expression in the classroom ($\alpha = .63$), and satisfaction with current SEE provision ($\alpha = .64$). Given that the sample had such a narrow range, the cronbach alpha was understandably small, but regardless it had internal consistencies that ranged from questionable to acceptable. The responses from Spain and Sweden, however, had much higher inter-correlations that were more likely to be considered acceptable among the questionnaire items ($\alpha = .7$) than those in Greece and the UK which ranged from questionable ($\alpha = .6$), to poor ($\alpha = .5$), showing

that even the survey itself was subject to cultural differences in terms of its own internal consistency.

3.4.1. Role of emotion to learning

Emotion is fundamental to learning

A good place to start looking for differences between the four case studies is with teachers' beliefs regarding the role of emotion in the learning process itself. Although a majority of teachers in all four countries agreed that emotion is fundamental to learning (99% in Spain, 97% in the UK, 95% in Greece, and 91% in Sweden) there were statistically significant differences cross-culturally, namely: Spain, with the highest level of agreement that emotion is fundamental to learning, had a highly significant difference to Sweden ($p < 0.001$, $d = .88$ suggested a large practical significance), Greece ($p < 0.001$, $d = .39$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance) and the UK ($p < 0.05$, $d = .2$ suggested a small practical significance). Conversely responses from Swedish teachers had the lowest relative agreement that emotion is fundamental to learning compared to all three other countries ($p < 0.001$, with medium to large practical significance). The findings from this item revealed that the majority of teachers from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK agreed that emotion is fundamental to learning, but teachers from Spain were highly significantly more likely to strongly agree with the statement compared to Swedish and Greek teachers, and slightly more likely than UK teachers, whereas Swedish teachers were highly significantly less likely to agree that emotion is fundamental to learning compared to all three other countries.

Table 3.5. Frequency distribution of the statement ‘Emotion is fundamental to learning’

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	60%	35%	0%	3%	0%	3%
Spain	85%	14%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Sweden	40%	51%	2%	6%	0%	1%
UK	72%	25%	0%	0%	1%	1%

	Spain	UK	Greece	Sweden
mean	4.8	4.7	4.6	4.3
(s.d.)	(0.4)	(0.6)	(0.5)	(0.7)
n	250	246	143	101
UK	0.2*	-	-	-
Greece	0.39***	0.18	-	-
Sweden	0.88***	0.61***	0.49***	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that emotion is fundamental to learning. The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** Significant at the (p) < 0.01 level *** Significant at (p) < 0.001 level*

No statistically significant difference was found between Greek and UK teachers. In terms of demographics, gender influenced the answers in Spain, Sweden and the UK, with female teachers more likely to agree than male teachers; income influenced the responses in Sweden, with teachers on higher salaries more likely to agree; whether respondents were primary or secondary school teachers influenced the responses from Spain and the UK, with primary school teachers more likely to agree; teaching experience influenced the answers in Sweden and the UK, with teachers with more experience being more likely to agree; and finally, SEE training influenced the answers in the UK, with teachers who had received training more likely to agree. The age of participants and whether they held an undergraduate or postgraduate degree did not influence responses to this item in any of the four countries.

Children can be taught social and emotional skills just like any other skill (reading, writing, playing an instrument)

Following on from the importance of emotion to learning, the next Likert item concerned the practicalities: do teachers believe that social and emotional skills can be taught to students, similarly to teaching them to read and write? Again, the majority of teachers from all countries agreed (98% in Spain, 91% in Greece, 88% in Sweden and 84% in the United Kingdom), but it was only Spain that had a highly statistically significant difference to the other countries ($P < 0.001$), the greatest difference being to Greece ($d = 1.1$ suggested a large to very large practical significance), UK ($d = .85$ suggested a large practical significance) and Sweden ($d = .72$ suggested a moderate to large practical significance). The findings from this item showed that the majority of teachers from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK agreed that children can be taught social and emotional skills just like any other skill (reading, writing, playing an instrument etc.), but teachers from Spain were highly more likely to agree with the statement compared to Greek, Swedish and UK teachers.

In terms of demographics, the age of teachers influenced the answers in Sweden and the UK, with teachers in their 30s in Sweden less likely to agree, and teachers in their 50s in the UK more likely to agree; gender influenced the answers in Spain, with female rather than male teachers being more likely to agree; income influenced the responses in Spain and the UK (with inverse effects: Spanish teachers with lower wages were more likely to agree, and in the UK, teachers with higher wages were more likely to agree); experience influenced the answers in Sweden and the UK with more experienced teachers more likely to agree; and finally, education influenced teachers in Spain with teachers with undergraduate degrees (rather than postgraduate degrees) more likely to agree. Whether teachers taught in preschool/primary or secondary school,

or whether they received SEE training did not influence responses on this item in any of the four countries.

Table 3.6. Frequency distribution of the statement ‘Children can be taught social and emotional skills just like any other skill (reading, writing, playing an instrument)’

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	27%	64%	6%	3%	0%	1%
Spain	79%	19%	2%	1%	0%	0%
Sweden	42%	46%	7%	4%	0%	1%
UK	40%	44%	7%	7%	2%	1%

	Spain	Sweden	Greece	UK
Mean	4.76	4.28	4.15	4.14
(s.d.)	(0.5)	(0.8)	(0.6)	(0.9)
n	251	101	146	247
Sweden	0.72***	-	-	-
Greece	1.1***	0.15	-	-
UK	0.85***	0.16	0.01	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that children can be taught social and emotional skills just like any other skill (reading, writing, playing an instrument). The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** Significant at the (p) < 0.01 level *** Significant at the (p) < 0.001 level*

3.4.2. Role of relationships to learning

The key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and student

The majority of teachers in the four countries agreed that the key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and student. Teachers in Sweden were more likely to agree with this statement at 87%, followed by UK teachers at 85%, Greek teachers at 80% and Spanish teachers at 76%. The only highly significant difference between the countries was between Swedish and Spanish teachers, with the Swedes being more likely to strongly agree that the key to

learning depends on the relationship between the teacher and student compared to their Spanish colleagues (< 0.001 , $d = .41$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance), as well as between Swedish and Greek teachers to a lesser significance (< 0.01 , $d = .37$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance). The other difference was between UK and Spanish teachers, with UK teachers more likely to agree that the key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and student (< 0.01 , $d = .25$ suggested a small practical significance).

The findings from this statement showed that a majority of teachers from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK agree that the key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and student, but teachers from Sweden are highly significantly more likely to agree compared to teachers from Spain and Greece, and teachers from the UK are significantly more likely to agree than teachers from Spain. In terms of demographics, the age of teachers influenced the answers in all four countries, with teachers aged 51-60 in Greece, Sweden and the UK more likely to agree, and teachers aged 41-50 in Spain more likely to agree; gender influenced the answers in Greece with male teachers more likely to agree, and in Sweden with female teachers more likely to agree; income influenced the responses in Sweden, with teachers with higher wages more likely to agree; and finally, experience influenced the answers in Greece, Sweden and the UK with more experienced teachers more likely to agree. Whether teachers taught in preschool/primary or secondary school, or their education (whether they had undergraduate or postgraduate qualifications, or whether they received SEE training) did not influence responses on this item in any of the four countries.

Table 3.7. Frequency distribution of the statement: The key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and student, means of responses

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	38%	42%	8%	1%	0%	12%
Spain	40%	36%	12%	2%	0%	10%
Sweden	63%	24%	5%	2%	0%	7%
UK	51%	34%	5%	1%	0%	8%

	Sweden	UK	Greece	Spain
Mean	4.58	4.46	4.32	4.27
(s.d.)	(0.7)	(0.7)	(0.7)	(0.8)
n	95	227	130	227
UK	0.17	-	-	-
Greece	0.37**	0.2	-	-
Spain	0.41***	0.25**	0.07	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that the key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and student. The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** Significant at the (p) < 0.01 level *** Significant at the (p) < 0.001 level*

Social and emotional education has improved my relationship with students

As to whether social and emotional education improved teachers' relationship to students, the majority of teachers agreed: 72% of teachers in the UK agreeing, 72% in Spain, 67% in Sweden and 62% in Greece. This was the Likert scale in the study which had the most minimal significant variation and effect sizes between the four countries. However, Spanish teachers were still more likely to agree compared to teachers in Greece ($p < 0.01$, $d = .40$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance), Sweden ($p < 0.05$, $d = .25$ suggested a small practical significance) and the UK ($p < 0.01$, $d = .24$ suggested a small practical significance).

Table 3.8. Frequency distribution of the statement, ‘Social and emotional education has improved my relationship with students’

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	18%	44%	18%	1%	0%	19%
Spain	39%	33%	16%	1%	0%	12%
Sweden	25%	42%	18%	0%	1%	15%
UK	25%	47%	13%	2%	0%	13%

	Spain	UK	Sweden	Greece
Mean	4.25	4.07	4.05	3.98
(s.d.)	(0.8)	(0.7)	(0.8)	(0.7)
n	222	215	87	119
UK	0.24**	-	-	-
Sweden	0.25*	0.03	-	-
Greece	0.4**	0.13	0.09	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that social and emotional education has improved teacher's relationship with students. The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** Significant at the (p) < 0.01 level *** Significant at the (p) < 0.001 level*

The finding from this item show that the majority of teachers from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK agreed that social and emotional education had improved their relationship with students, with no significant cross-cultural variation in the answers. In terms of demographics, teachers' ages influenced the answers in Greece, with older teachers more likely to agree; whether teachers taught in preschool/primary or secondary school influenced the answers in Spain and the UK, with primary school teachers more likely to agree; income influenced the responses in Spain, with teachers with lower wages more likely to agree; experience influenced the answers in Sweden and the UK with more experienced teachers more likely to agree; and finally, SEE training influenced teachers in the UK with teachers that had undergone SEE training more likely to agree.

Teachers' gender and education (undergraduate or postgraduate degree) did not influence responses on this item in any of the four countries.

Conclusions about the role of emotion and relationships to learning

Teachers' perceptions in the sample about the role to learning are thus: Spanish teachers are far more likely than the other three countries in the study to think emotion fundamental to learning, as well as have confidence in teaching social and emotional skills to their students (female, primary school teachers on lower wages, especially), but not as likely to agree that the relationship between the student and teacher is the key to learning compared to Sweden and the UK. Conversely, teachers in Sweden and the UK are more likely to prioritise the relationship between teacher and student as the key to learning. In the UK, though emotion is seen as fundamental to learning by the majority of teachers, the respondents were not as confident about teaching social and emotional skills to students. In both Sweden and the UK, the importance of emotion to learning, as well as the ability to impart social and emotional skills to students, was found to be prioritised more by experienced, female teachers, as well as teachers on higher salaries (that is, senior teachers and/or headteachers), and in the case of the UK, primary teachers in particular.

In Sweden, teachers were far more likely than the other countries to not think emotion to be fundamental to learning, and the highest effect found to positively change teacher beliefs in this regard was teacher experience and receiving a higher salary. In Greece, no demographic variable was found to influence teacher opinions about the role of emotion, but multiple demographic variables were found to affect that of relationships: with older, more experienced male Greek teachers more likely to agree that the key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and the student, and to agree that

SEE had improved their relationship to students. Besides this, no statistically significant difference was found overall between teachers from Greece and teachers from the UK, the largest effect size was $d = .2$ in all four Likert scales between the two countries which suggested a small practical significance: that is, though emotion is seen as fundamental to learning by the majority of teachers, teachers still believe the key to learning is the teacher-student relationship, and are not as confident about teaching social and emotional skills to students as they are more established subjects.

3.4.3 Teacher's role in loco-parentis

Teachers are responsible for socialising students just like any other significant adult in the child's life

Do teachers believe they are responsible for socialising students? Cross-culturally, the answer is a resounding yes: 94% of Spanish teachers, 92% of UK teachers, 92% of Greek teachers and 82% of Swedish teachers agreed that they were responsible for socialising their students just like any other significant adult in the child's life. These findings corroborate with the answers from the open-ended questions in the past two sections (3.1 and 3.2) where teachers in all countries were more likely to discuss the role of the school in socialising students compared to teachers who believed this was the exclusive responsibility of the family (e.g., social and emotional education is beyond the remit of schools), or those teachers that believed SEE was the shared responsibility of the entire community (e.g., all adults are responsible - not just teachers and parents - and it takes a village to raise a child).

This item revealed the following differences cross-culturally: a highly significant difference between Spanish and Swedish teachers, where Spanish teachers were much more likely to agree that they are responsible for socialising students compared to their Swedish colleagues ($p < 0.001$, $d = .37$ suggested a small to moderate

practical significance), and their Greek colleagues ($p < 0.01$, $d = .33$ suggested a small practical significance). UK teachers were also more likely to agree that they are responsible for socialising students compared to Swedish teachers ($p < 0.01$, $d = .26$ suggested a small practical significance), and Greek teachers ($p < 0.05$, $d = .21$ suggested a small practical significance).

Table 3.9. Frequency distribution of the statement 'Teachers are responsible for socialising students just like any other significant adult in the child's life'

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	33%	59%	3%	4%	0%	1%
Spain	53%	41%	4%	1%	0%	0%
Sweden	40%	42%	14%	3%	1%	0%
UK	50%	42%	4%	2%	1%	1%

	Spain	UK	Greece	Sweden
Mean	4.46	4.39	4.23	4.18
(s.d.)	(0.7)	(0.8)	(0.7)	(0.8)
n	251	246	146	102
UK	0.09	-	-	-
Greece	0.33**	0.21*	-	-
Sweden	0.37***	0.26**	0.07	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that teachers are responsible for socialising students just like any other significant adult in the child's life. The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the ($p < 0.05$ level ** Significant at the ($p < 0.01$ level *** Significant at the ($p < 0.001$ level*

The findings from this item show that the majority of teachers from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK agreed that teachers are responsible for socialising students just like any other responsible adult in the child's life, but teachers from Spain were significantly more likely to strongly agree with the statement compared to Swedish and Greek teachers. In terms of demographics, gender

influenced the answers in Spain and Sweden, with female teachers being more likely to agree; age influenced the answers in the UK with older teachers being more likely to agree; income influenced the responses in Sweden in that teachers with higher wages were more likely to agree; experience influenced the answers in Sweden and the UK with more experienced teachers being more likely to agree; SEE training influenced the answers in Sweden and the UK, with teachers that had received training more likely to agree; and finally, whether respondents were primary or secondary school teachers influenced the responses from UK and Spanish teachers, with primary teachers more likely to agree that teachers are responsible for socialising students. Whether the teacher held an undergraduate or postgraduate degree did not affect responses given in all four countries.

My students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school

If the majority of teachers believe it is their responsibility to socialise their students, do they think the behaviour they encourage at school is similar to that which parents encourage at home? The answer for this item overall was more likely to either be no or neutral. The majority of teachers in all four countries either disagreed or were unsure if their students had consistent behaviour goals between home and school, meaning that the teachers who did agree that home and school had similar expectations regarding behaviour were in the minority in all four samples: 23% of Greek teachers, 24% of Swedish teachers, 35% of UK teachers, and 43% of Spanish teachers in total. Spanish teachers were the most likely to say that there was consistency between home and school in regards to behaviour, with 43% of teachers agreeing with the statement, which corroborates with the answers from the open-ended questions (3.2.2) where Spanish teachers talked about the importance of collaboration

with parents more regularly than their colleagues in the other three countries.

Table 3.10. Frequency distribution of the statement, 'My students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school'

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	3%	20%	35%	28%	1%	13%
Spain	10%	33%	34%	10%	1%	13%
Sweden	4%	20%	38%	26%	4%	8%
UK	6%	29%	22%	27%	8%	8%

	Spain	UK	Greece	Sweden
Mean	3.46	2.98	2.94	2.93
(s.d.)	(0.9)	(1)	(0.9)	(0.9)
n	218	228	128	94
UK	0.50***	-	-	-
Greece	0.58***	0.04	-	-
Sweden	0.59***	0.05	0.01	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that teacher's students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school. The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** Significant at the (p) < 0.01 level *** Significant at the (p) < 0.001 level*

Spain was the only country that was highly significantly different to the other three countries in its responses ($p < 0.001$). Since there was minimal variance in answers from Greek, Swedish and UK teachers in this item (effect sizes of between $d = 0.01$ and 0.05), there was a moderate practical significance between Spain and the three countries.

The findings from this item showed that the majority of teachers from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK either disagreed or were neutral regarding whether their students had consistent behaviour goals between home and school, and only teachers from

Spain were significantly more likely to agree that their students had consistent behaviour goals between home and school. In terms of demographics, gender influenced the answers in Greece, with male teachers being more likely to agree; age influenced the answers in Greece with older teachers being more likely to agree; SEE training influenced the answers in the UK, with teachers that had received training more likely to agree; and finally, whether respondents were primary or secondary school teachers influenced the responses in Spain, with primary teachers more likely to agree that their students had consistent behaviour goals between home and school. Whether the teacher held an undergraduate or postgraduate degree, their income, and the number of years of experience did not affect the responses given in all four countries.

Conclusions about teachers' self-perceived role in students' lives.

Teachers' perceptions about their self-perceived role as significant adults in their students' lives were: Spanish teachers were more likely than the other three countries in the study to think they are responsible for socialising students (especially female, primary school teachers), but were highly significantly more likely to believe that the behaviour they expect from students in their classroom to be similar to the behaviour expected from their parents at home, compared to teachers in Greece, Sweden and the UK. In Spain there was thus a distinct blurring of boundaries between home and school, unlike in the other three countries. Furthermore, UK teachers also believed they should be responsible for the socialisation of students (especially more experienced primary school teachers), but unlike Spain, the UK teachers believed school life to be more compartmentalised from home life, given that the majority of UK teachers did not agree or were neutral about whether students shared the same behavioural goals between the two environments.

SEE training was seen to play a significant role in teachers' self-perceived role in students' lives in the UK, however teachers who had received SEE training were more likely to feel responsible for the socialisation of students, and also more likely to believe that they were in harmony with parents' socialisation of their children at home. In Greece it was older male teachers who were more likely to agree that their students had consistent behaviour goals between home and school, but no demographic variables influenced whether teachers believed they should be responsible for socialising students. In Sweden, no demographic variables influenced whether teachers believed they shared behavioural expectations with parents, however more experienced female teachers receiving higher salaries and who had undergone SEE training were more likely to agree that they are responsible for socialising students in Sweden. Swedish teachers were nevertheless the least likely to agree that they are responsible for the socialisation of their students compared to the other countries. However, there was no statistical significance in the answers between Greece and Sweden regarding teachers' self-perceived role in students' lives overall (effect sizes ranging from $d = 0.01$ to 0.07).

3.4.4. Teacher's openness to emotional expression

Teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom

Should teachers be emotionally expressive in their classroom? The majority of respondents thought so: 83% of teachers in Spain believed teachers should feel comfortable expressing their own emotions in the classroom, compared to 73% in Sweden, 67% in Greece and 63% in the UK. Spanish teachers were highly more likely to agree that they should be comfortable expressing their emotions compared to all three countries (for example, 44% of Spanish teachers strongly agreed, whereas only 17% of UK teachers did). The the largest difference was between Spanish and UK teachers (p

< 0.001, $d = 0.76$ which suggested a large practical significance), followed by Spanish and Greek teachers ($p < 0.001$, $d = 0.59$ which suggested a moderate significance), and finally Spanish and Swedish teachers ($p < 0.001$, $d = 0.41$ which suggested a small to moderate practical significance). In the case of Swedish teachers, they were significantly more likely to agree compared to UK teachers as well ($p < 0.01$, $d = 0.35$ which suggested a small to moderate practical significance). In terms of demographics, this item was the least affected by different variables in the entire study.

Table 3.11. Frequency distribution of the statement: Teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom, means of responses

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	21%	46%	14%	6%	1%	12%
Spain	44%	39%	8%	1%	0%	8%
Sweden	28%	45%	16%	3%	0%	8%
UK	17%	46%	19%	9%	0%	9%

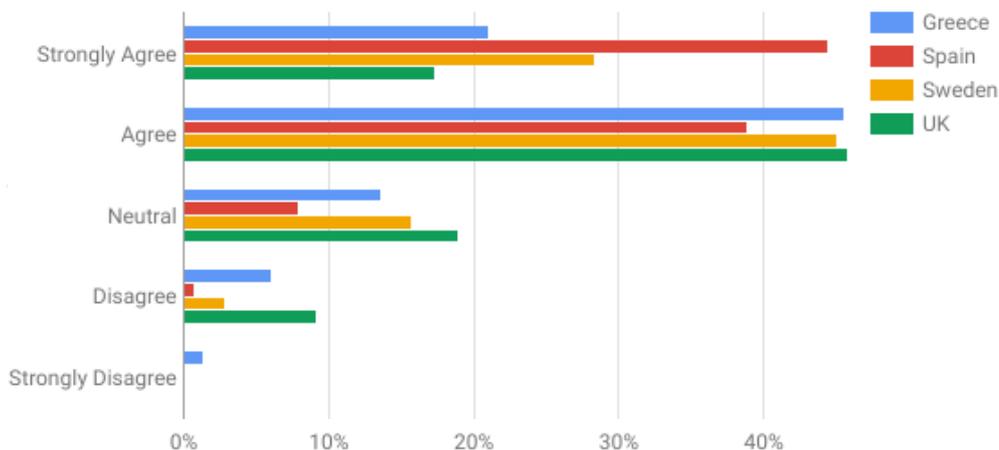
	Spain	Sweden	Greece	UK
Mean	4.38	4.07	3.9	3.77
(s.d.)	(0.7)	(0.8)	(0.9)	(0.9)
n	232	94	129	226
Sweden	0.41 ***	-	-	-
Greece	0.59***	0.2	-	-
UK	0.76 ***	0.35 **	0.14	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom. The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** Significant at the (p) < 0.01 level *** Significant at the (p) < 0.001 level*

The findings from this item are: the majority of teachers from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK agreed that teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom, but teachers

from Spain were significantly more likely to strongly agree with the statement compared to the other three countries, and so were Swedish teachers compared to UK teachers. In terms of demographics, only gender influenced the answers in Greece, with male teachers being more likely to agree; and whether respondents were primary or secondary school teachers influenced the responses in Spain and the UK, with primary teachers more likely to agree that they should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom compared to secondary teachers. Teachers' age, income, years of experience, whether they had received SEE training and their education (undergraduate/postgraduate qualifications) did not affect the responses given in all four countries. The differences between the case studies are further highlighted in Figure 3.8.

Figure 3.8. Teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom



Anger, sadness and any other negatively evaluating emotion are emotionally intelligent reactions to a certain state of affairs and belong in the classroom

If the majority of teachers are open to emotional expression in the classroom, does this include negatively evaluating emotions like anger and sadness? Compared to the previous item, these numbers were significantly lower: 72% of Spanish teachers, 61% of UK teachers, 59% of Greek teachers and 51% of Swedish teachers

believed that anger, sadness or any other negatively evaluating emotion are emotionally intelligent reactions to a certain state of affairs and belong in the classroom. Similar to the preceding item regarding the emotional expressivity of the teacher, there was minimal cross-cultural variation between the answers for this item except for those by the Spanish teachers who were found to be highly significantly more likely to agree that negative emotion belongs in the classroom compared to the other three countries ($p < 0.001$), with the largest difference being between Sweden ($d = 0.47$ which suggested a moderate practical significance), followed by Greece ($d = 0.45$ which suggested a moderate significance), and finally UK teachers ($d = 0.35$ which suggested a small to moderate practical significance).

Table 3.12. Frequency distribution: ‘Anger, sadness and any other negatively evaluating emotion are emotionally intelligent reactions to a certain state of affairs and belong in the classroom’

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	10%	49%	20%	11%	0%	11%
Spain	28%	44%	13%	6%	0%	9%
Sweden	15%	36%	30%	11%	0%	8%
UK	14%	47%	22%	7%	1%	9%

	Spain	UK	Greece	Sweden
Mean	4.02	3.72	3.64	3.6
(s.d.)	(0.9)	(0.8)	(0.8)	(0.9)
n	229	225	131	94
UK	0.35***	-	-	-
Greece	0.45***	0.1	-	-
Sweden	0.47***	0.14	0.05	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that anger, sadness and any other negatively evaluating emotion are emotionally intelligent reactions to a certain state of affairs and belong in the classroom. The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the ($p < 0.05$ level ** ($p < 0.01$ level *** Significant at the ($p < 0.001$ level*

This question divided the Swedish teachers in particular with 51% of respondents saying that anger and sadness belong in the classroom, whereas 41% disagreed or were neutral. The findings from this item are: the majority of teachers from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK agreed that space should be made for negatively evaluating emotion in the classroom, but teachers from Spain were significantly more likely to strongly agree that anger or sadness belong in the classroom compared to the other three countries. In terms of demographics, gender influenced the answers in Greece, with male teachers being more likely to agree; income influenced the answers in Sweden, with teachers with higher wages more likely to agree, experience influenced the answers in Sweden, with more experienced teachers more likely to agree; and finally, education influenced answers in Greece, with teachers with undergraduate rather than postgraduate degrees being more likely to agree. Neither teachers' age nor whether they had received SEE training affected the responses given in all four countries.

Conclusion about teacher's openness to emotional expression

Teachers' openness to emotional expression was the item less likely to be affected by demographic variables in the study, that is to say: whereas the theory and practice of social and emotional education and teachers' responsibilities to their students varied depending on particular variables (e.g., the amount of years they worked, the training they received, their age, gender and income), teachers' comfort levels regarding their own emotional expression were not as easily influenced. The only variable that changed how comfortable teachers were in expressing their emotions was the primary variable being investigated in the present research: culture. Nevertheless, Greek and UK teachers seemed to have a very similar 'emotional makeup' in their classrooms overall with effect sizes having hardly any practical significance between the relevant items ($d = .1$ and $d = .14$): that is, UK and Greek teachers were not as

emotionally expressive (compared to Sweden and Spain), and less likely to tolerate negative emotional expression in the classroom (compared to Spain). The only difference between the two countries was that in Greece there was a significant difference found in the emotional expression regarding gender, with Greek male teachers found to be more positive about their relationships to their students, their students' parents and even their relationship to themselves.

Spanish teachers were once again found to be the most likely, compared to teachers in the other three countries in the study, to both feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom, and be accepting of the full spectrum of emotion, although this was more significantly the case in primary schools. Sweden was the most emotionally expressive country after Spain, although less likely to be accepting of negative emotions in the classroom - more experienced, higher paid teachers in Sweden, however, were more likely to be more emotionally expressive. It was interesting to note that both Spain and the UK showed a significant difference in the 'emotional makeup' of primary and secondary schools, with primary schools in both countries more likely to have teachers who were both more comfortable expressing themselves, and more open to the whole spectrum of emotion within the classroom.

3.4.5 Teacher's satisfaction with current SEE provision

Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school

How satisfied are teachers with the attention given to social and emotional education in their schools? This item saw a high level of variance cross-culturally: whereas 57% of UK teachers and 44% of Swedish teachers disagreed that not enough attention was devoted to SEE in their school - inferring that a large number of teachers in the sample were satisfied with SEE provision as it stood - 52% of Greek teachers and 44% of Spanish teachers agreed that SEE

needs more attention in their school. The UK teachers' satisfaction with SEE provision was significantly different to all three other countries in the study ($p < 0.001$), with the biggest difference being between UK and Greek teachers ($d = 0.92$ suggested a large practical significance), UK and Spanish teachers ($d = 0.74$ suggested a moderate to large practical significance), and finally between UK and Swedish teachers ($d = 0.4$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance). Swedish teachers were also found to have a highly statistically significant chance of disagreeing compared to Greek teachers ($p < 0.001$, $d = 0.52$ suggested a moderate practical significance), and Spanish teachers ($p < 0.05$, $d = 0.34$ suggested a small practical significance). No statistically significant differences were found between Spain and Greece. Demographic variables only influenced Spain and the UK.

The findings from this item are: Teachers were divided across the four samples as to whether social and emotional education needed more attention in their school. Teachers from the UK were significantly more likely to strongly disagree that not enough attention was devoted to social and emotional education compared to Greek, Spanish and Swedish teachers. Swedish teachers were also significantly more likely to strongly disagree with the statement compared to Greek teachers. Here a divide between the four countries became noticeable: whereas the UK and Swedish teachers were happy with the current SEE provision in their schools, Spanish and Greek teachers were not as satisfied. In terms of demographics, the age of teachers' students influenced the answers in Spain and the UK, with secondary school teachers being more likely to agree; age influenced the answers in the UK, with teachers in their 20s being more likely to agree; income influenced the answers in the UK, with teachers on the lowest wages more likely to agree; experience influenced the answers in Spain and Greece, with the least experienced teachers more likely to agree; and finally, SEE training influenced the answers in Spain, with teachers who had not received

training being more likely to agree. Neither teachers' gender nor their higher education qualifications affected the responses given in all four countries.

Table 3.13. Frequency distribution of the statement, 'Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school'

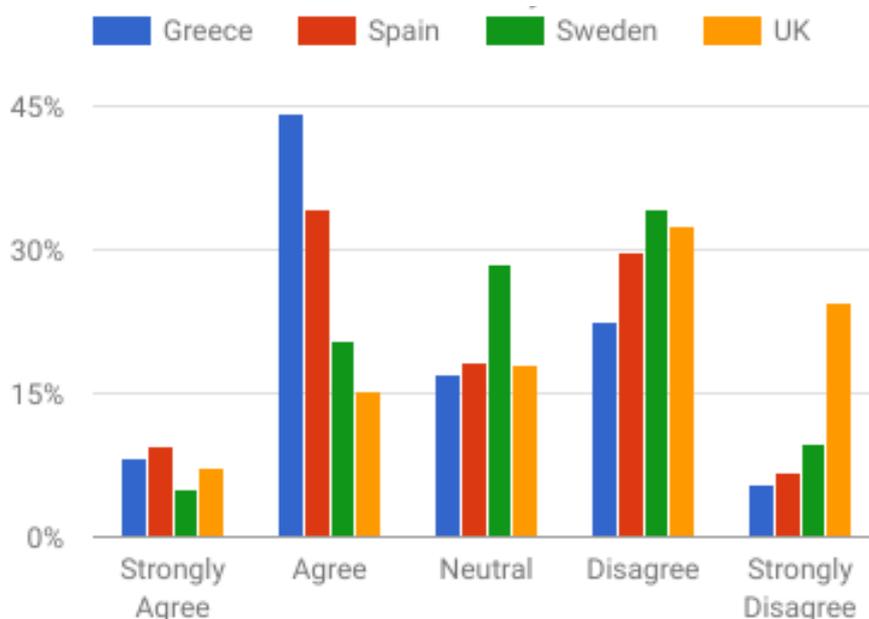
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	8%	44%	17%	22%	5%	3%
Spain	10%	34%	18%	30%	7%	2%
Sweden	5%	21%	28%	34%	10%	2%
UK	7%	15%	18%	33%	24%	2%

	Greece	Spain	Sweden	UK
Mean	3.28	3.1	2.76	2.36
(s.d.)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
n	143	248	100	241
Spain	0.18	-	-	-
Sweden	0.52***	0.34**	-	-
UK	0.92***	0.74***	0.4***	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in the teacher's school. The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** Significant at the (p) < 0.01 level *** Significant at the (p) < 0.001 level*

The differences between the case studies are further highlighted in Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.9. Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school



My school provides enough opportunities for pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences

Do teachers believe their school provides enough opportunities for pupils to express their emotions? UK teachers were most likely to agree that they did with 76% of respondents, followed by 61% of Spanish, 56% of Swedish and 43% of Greek teachers. Similar to the preceding item, teachers in the UK were the most satisfied with the space given to emotion within the school environment out of the four case studies ($p < 0.001$), the greatest difference being with Greece ($d = 0.81$ which suggested a large practical significance), followed by Sweden ($d = 0.48$ which suggested a moderate practical significance), and finally Spain ($d = 0.30$ which suggested a small practical significance). Conversely, Greek teachers were the most dissatisfied with the opportunities given for pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences in their school, and alongside the UK, they also had statistically significant differences to the other two countries, the second largest being to Spain ($p < 0.001$, $d = 0.48$ which suggest a moderate practical

significance, and Sweden ($p < 0.01$, $d = 0.36$ which suggest a small to moderate practical significance). However, unlike the preceding question where Spanish and Greek teachers were equally unhappy with the level of attention given to SEE, Spanish teachers in this item were significantly more satisfied with the opportunities given to verbalise emotion when compared to Greek teachers. No significant differences were found between the responses from Spain and Sweden.

Table 3.14. Frequency distribution of the statement, ‘My school provides enough opportunities for pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences’

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	NA
Greece	8%	35%	19%	22%	3%	13%
Spain	22%	39%	17%	11%	2%	10%
Sweden	16%	40%	24%	14%	0%	7%
UK	28%	48%	7%	8%	0%	9%

	UK	Spain	Sweden	Greece
Mean	4.05	3.76	3.62	3.28
(s.d.)	(0.9)	(1)	(0.9)	(1)
n	226	227	95	128
Spain	0.30***	-	-	-
Sweden	0.48***	0.15	-	-
Greece	0.81***	0.48***	0.36**	-

*Note: The means of responses are presented in descending order. Higher means represent agreement that the teachers' school provides enough opportunities for pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences. The grid is organised to present all pairwise comparisons and indicates the magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is large. * Significant at the ($p < 0.05$ level) ** Significant at the ($p < 0.01$ level) *** Significant at the ($p < 0.001$ level)*

The findings from this item are: Teachers from the UK were significantly more likely to agree that their school provides enough opportunities for pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences

compared to Greek, Spanish and Swedish teachers, and Spanish teachers were also significantly more likely to strongly agree with the statement compared to Greek teachers. In terms of demographics, gender influenced the responses in Spain, with female teachers being more likely to agree; whether teachers taught in preschool/primary or secondary school influenced the responses in Spain and the UK, with primary teachers being more likely to agree; teaching experience influenced the answers in Spain and the UK, with the most experienced teachers being more likely to agree; and finally, SEE training influenced the answers in Greece and Spain with teachers who had received SEE training being more likely to agree. Neither teachers' age, income, nor their higher education qualifications affected the responses given in all four countries.

Conclusions about teachers' satisfaction with current SEE provision

The four countries were divided between those where the majority were happy with SEE provision in their schools (Sweden and the UK), and those that were not (Greece and Spain). This feeling was not universal, however, with young, newly-qualified secondary teachers in the UK being the most likely to agree that not enough attention was given to SEE in their schools, similarly to newly-qualified secondary school teachers in Spain.

The other interesting difference is that this section was the first time UK and Greek teachers diverged in their responses. Whereas both countries had no significant difference in any Likert scale before this section bar the responsibility to socialise students (and even this was of a small practical significance), suddenly Greek and UK teachers were on opposite ends of the spectrum: whereas the majority of UK teachers were satisfied with the status quo, the Greek teachers were not. In Sweden no demographic variables impacted the results: in other words, Swedish teachers were overall happy with SEE provision, but less so about the amount of opportunities given to

pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences. In Spain the opposite effect was found, where a large number of teachers were unhappy with SEE provision, but a majority of teachers (especially in primary school) were at least happy with the opportunities given to pupils to talk about their emotions.

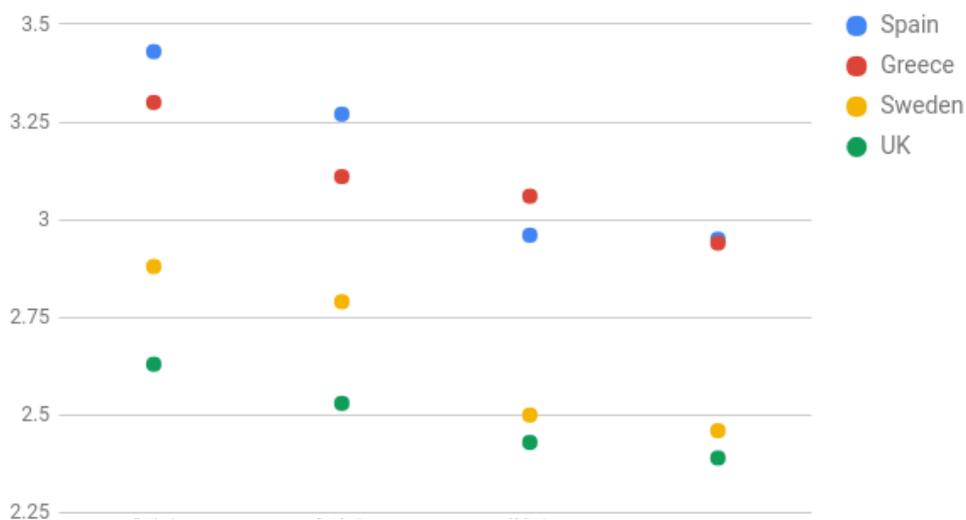
3.4.6. Likert scale: Regional versus international differences

A common objection in the literature regarding the comparative field is that international comparisons tend to not take into account the differences within each of the countries compared, that is, the intranational differences (Au, 1999). To counteract this issue, Likert scales in the current study were dissected to a regional level to reveal what differences did exist. Two items were chosen for this exercise, one with the most cross-cultural differentiation: 'Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school' representing a divergence in two groups (Greece and Spain versus Sweden and the UK); and one with the least cross-cultural differentiation: 'My students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school' representing the least divergence (Spain versus Greece, Sweden and the UK). The four regions with the highest number of respondents were chosen for each of the case study countries: Attica, Macedonia, Peloponnese and Thessaloniki for Greece (n=83); Balearic islands, Canary islands, Castile Leon and Navarra for Spain (n=166); North Middle, South Sweden, Stockholm and West Sweden for Sweden (n=75); and East Anglia, Midlands, Scotland and South East England for the United Kingdom (n=152).

When looking at the four case studies regarding the Likert scale with the most divergence ('Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school'), only one statistically significant difference at $p < 0.05$ was found intranationally: this was in Spain between Navarra and the Canary Islands ($d = 0.45$, which

suggested a moderate practical significance), which, fittingly, are regions found almost 2,500 kilometres away from each other. Whereas internationally the variance in effect sizes varied in effect from $d = 0.18$ to $d = 0.92$, intranationally the variance in effect sizes varied from $d = 0.007$ to $d = 0.47$. International differences were thus more statistically significant and of a larger practical significance than intranational differences for this item (see Figure 3.10). As can be seen with each of the four regions in each country, Spain and Greece were far more likely to have higher means than Sweden and the UK, meaning that teachers from the former countries were more likely to be dissatisfied with their school's SEE provision compared to Sweden and the UK, which corroborates the international differences of the entire sample.

Figure 3.10. Average mean answer from four individual regions in each case study country 'Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school'

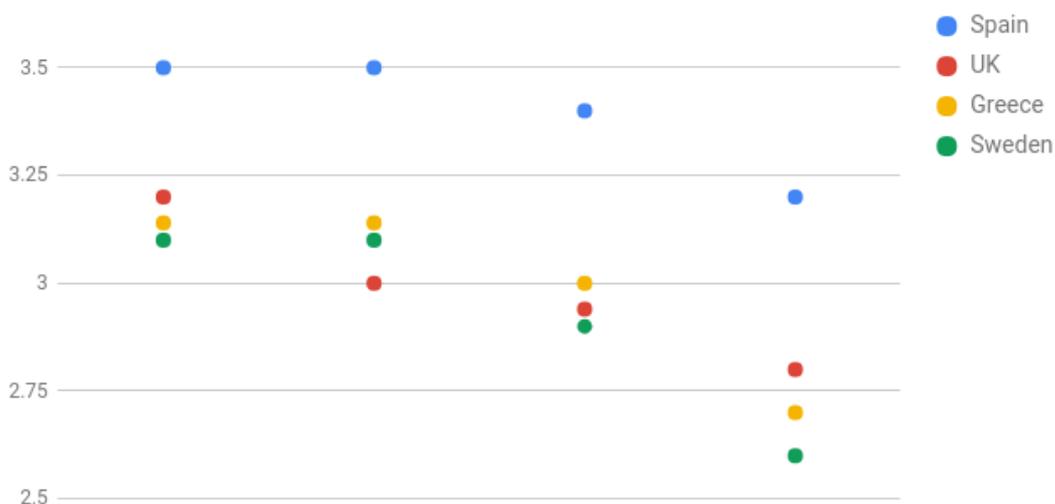


Note: The higher the mean, the more likely that teachers are dissatisfied with their school's current SEE provision. From left to right. Spain (blue dot): Navarra, Balearic Islands, Castile Leon, Canary Islands. Greece (red dot): Macedonia, Attica, Peloponnese, Thessaloniki. Sweden (yellow dot): South Sweden, Stockholm, North middle Sweden, West Sweden. UK (green dot): South East England, Scotland, East Anglia, Midlands.

Switching now to the item with the least divergence (at least between Spain compared to Greece, Sweden and the UK): 'My students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school'

had no statistically significant differences intranationally, although the international variations were found to be very similar in terms of effect sizes, with the largest effect size internationally being $d = 0.59$, and intranationally being $d = 0.51$. The regional differences, nevertheless, mimicked the overall groupings of the international findings, with Spanish regions being differentiated from the regions in the three other countries; that is to say, Spanish teachers were more likely to agree in every region that their students had consistent behaviour goals between home and school, whereas teachers from UK, Greece and Sweden were more likely to disagree (see Figure 3.11). Looking at these two Likert scales in terms of their regional differences thus indicates that with more intranational variation comes less international variation, and vice versa.

Figure 3.11. Average mean answer from four individual regions in each case study country 'My students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school'



Note: The higher the mean, the more likely that teachers agree that their students have similar behavioural goals between home and school. From left to right. Spain (blue dot): Balearic islands, Castile Leon, Canary Islands, Navarra. UK (red dot): East Anglia, South East England, Midlands, Scotland. Greece (yellow dot): Peloponnese, Thessaloniki, Attica, Macedonia. Sweden (green dot): West Sweden, North middle Sweden, South Sweden, Stockholm.

A limitation to this analysis was the size of the samples of the individual regions (see Appendix Five) - especially in Sweden and Greece - and this intranational comparison would need to be

recreated with a larger sample to assess the differences more thoroughly.

3.4.7. Likert scale: Demographics

Demographic variables were found to significantly influence teachers' beliefs about SEE. The most influential variables for each country were: gender in Greece, students' ages in Spain, years of teaching experience in Sweden, and students' ages in the UK.

Table 3.15. Number of Likert scales that were influenced by demographic variables, and range of effect sizes (d)

	Greece	Spain	Sweden	UK
Gender	4 (.44 - .49)	4 (.29-.47)	3 (.43 - .54)	1 (.29)
Student age	-	8 (.25 - .72)	-	7 (.4 - .5)
Teacher age	3 (.43 - 1.08)	1 (.41)	2 (.6 - 1.08)	4 (.42 - .71)
Income	-	2 (.36 - .38)	4 (.58 - .83)	2 (.33 - .42)
Experience	1 (.55)	2 (.4 - .45)	5 (.54 - .8)	6 (.33 - .62)
SEE training	1 (.4)	2 (.6 - .65)	1 (.35)	4 (.27 - .57)
Education	1 (.38)	1 (.34)	-	-

Greece

The demographic variable in Greece that most impacted teachers' beliefs about SEE was gender - specifically, male teachers felt more comfortable expressing emotion, believed they had better teacher-student relationships, and better relationships to students' parents, compared to their female colleagues. After gender, the most influencing variable was the teacher's age, with older teachers being inclined to have more supportive and positive opinions about SEE. As for annual income, since all Greek teachers who responded made the equivalent of below £25,000 annually, no comparison could be made between teachers on different salaries like in the other three countries. Also, because there were not enough primary school teachers involved in the Greek sample, a comparison between

primary and secondary school teachers' beliefs could not be completed conclusively.

Spain

The demographic variable in Spain that most impacted on teachers' beliefs about SEE was the students' ages: that is, whether the teacher worked in preschool, primary or secondary school. This pointed to a huge differentiation in the relationships between teacher and student, the teacher's responsibility for socialisation and the teachers' own emotional expressiveness in class between primary and secondary school in Spain. The second most influential demographic variable was gender, with female Spanish teachers being more likely to believe that emotion is fundamental to learning, that children can be taught SEE skills, that they should be responsible for socialising students, and that their students were offered enough opportunities to verbalise their emotions. It is interesting to highlight that unlike Sweden and the UK where the more experienced, older teachers became more inclined to have more positive opinions about SEE, this was not found to be the case in Spain where teachers' opinions about SEE were more uniform amongst teachers of different ages.

Sweden

The demographic variable in Sweden that most impacted on teachers' beliefs about SEE was teacher experience: teachers with over 11 years' teaching experience were more likely to have more supportive and positive opinions about SEE than teachers who had been teaching for less time. The second most influential variable was specific to Sweden: the teacher's salary. The results highlight that Swedish teachers on higher salaries (that is, headteachers) were much more likely to think that emotion is fundamental to learning, to believe that the key to learning depends on the relationship between the teacher and the student, to believe themselves to be responsible

for socialising students, and to be more comfortable with negative emotion being expressed in the classroom. Similarly, gender influenced several Likert scales with female teachers being more likely to feel responsible for socialising students' emotions than male teachers.

United Kingdom

Similar to Spain, the demographic variable in the UK that most impacted on teachers' beliefs about SEE was whether the teacher worked in preschool, primary or secondary school. Secondary school teachers in the UK were found to be more dissatisfied with their SEE provision, but also more likely to be less emotionally expressive in class, less likely to think that emotion is fundamental to learning and less confident in teaching students social and emotional skills. But unlike Spain, the second most influential demographic variable was teacher's experience: like Sweden, teachers with over 11 years' teaching experience in the UK were more likely to have more supportive and positive opinions about SEE than teachers who taught for less time. UK was also the country where SEE training significantly impacted the most Likert scale results: teachers who had received SEE training as part of their initial teacher training were more likely to believe that emotion is fundamental to learning, to believe they had better teacher-student relationships, to believe themselves responsible for the socialisation of their students, and to think that their students had harmonious behavioural goals between home and school.

How the demographic variables influenced each of the Likert scales are summarised in Table 3.16 below.

Table 3.16. More likely to agree in the Likert scales according to demographic variables, effect size (d) and significance (p)

How do emotions impact learning?							
Emotion is fundamental to learning							
	Gender	School	Age of teachers	Annual income (£)	Years of experience	SEE training	Qualifications
Greece	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	Female 0.47***	Primary 0.25*	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	Female 0.43*	-	-	35k+ 0.78** (compared to 25-35k)	11+ 0.71** (compared to 5-10), 0.68* (compared to < 5)	-	-
UK	Female 0.29*	Primary 0.5***	-	-	11+ 0.47** (compared to 5-10), 0.32* (compared to < 5)	Training 0.35**	-
Children can be taught social and emotional skills just like any other skill (reading, writing, playing an instrument)							
Greece	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	Female 0.35**	-	-	< 25k 0.36* (compared to 25-35k)	-	-	Undergrad 0.34*
Sweden	-	-	41-50, 1.08*** 51-60, 1.02*** 20-30, 0.96** (compared to 31-40)	-	11+ 0.8** (compared to 5-10), 0.56* (compared to < 5)	-	-
UK	-	-	51-60, 0.71*** (compared to 20-30) 0.38* (compared to 31-40) 0.36* (compared to 41-50)	35k+ 0.33* (compared to 25-35k)	11+ 0.62*** (compared to 5-10), 0.31* (compared to < 5)	-	-
<p>The magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where: .2 is small, .5 is moderate, .8 is high. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** (p) < 0.01 level *** (p) < 0.001 level</p>							

Table 3.16. More likely to agree in the Likert scales according to demographic variables, effect size (*d*) and significance (*p*) (contd.)

In my opinion, the key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and student

	Gender	School	Age	Income	Experience	Training	Qualifications
Greece	Male 0.46*	-	51-60, 0.73** (compared to 31-40) 0.48* (compared to 41-50)	-	11+ 0.55* (compared to 5-10)	-	-
Spain	-	-	41-50, 0.41* (compared to 31-40)	-	-	-	-
Sweden	Female 0.54**	-	51-60, 0.60* (compared to 41-50)	35k+ 0.83** (compared to 25-35k), 0.78** (compared to < 25)	11+ 0.54* (compared to 5-10)	-	-
UK	-	-	51-60, 0.43* (compared to 20-30)	-	11+ 0.44** (compared to 5-10), 0.40* (compared to < 5)	-	-

Social and emotional education has improved my relationship with students

Greece	-	-	51-60, 0.43* (compared to 41-50)	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	Primary 0.52***	-	< 25k 0.38* (compared to 25-35k)	-	-	-
Sweden	-	-	-	-	11+ 0.85*** (compared to 5-10), 0.93** (compared to < 5)	-	-
UK	-	Primary 0.4**	-	-	< 5 0.54* (compared to 5-10), 11+ 0.41* (compared to 5-10)	Training 0.57***	-

The magnitude of Cohen's effect size (*d*) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is high. * Significant at the (*p*) < 0.05 level ** (*p*) < 0.01 level *** (*p*) < 0.001 level

Table 3.16. More likely to agree in the Likert scales according to demographic variables, effect size (d) and significance (p) (contd.)							
What is the teacher's role in loco-parentis?							
Teachers are responsible for socialising students just like any other significant adult in the child's life							
	Gender	School	Age	Income	Experience	Training	Qualifications
Greece	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	Female 0.29*	Primary 0.3*	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	Female 0.48*	-	-	35k+ 0.80** (compared to 25-35k), 0.74** (compared to < 25)	11+ 0.61* (compared to < 5)	Training 0.35*	-
UK	-	Primary 0.41*	51-60, 0.43* (compared to 31-40) 0.42* (compared to 41-50)	-	11+ 0.39* (compared to 5-10)	Training 0.29*	-
My students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school							
Greece	Male 0.48*	-	51-60, 1.08*** (compared to 31-40) 0.58** (compared to 41-50)	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	Primary 0.35*	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-	-	-	-	-	Training 0.27*	-
How is emotion expressed in the classroom?							
Teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom							
Greece	Male 0.44*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	Primary 0.29*	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-	Primary 0.47***	-	-	-	-	-
The magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is high. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** (p) < 0.01 level *** (p) < 0.001 level							

Table 3.16. More likely to agree in the Likert scales according to demographic variables, effect size (d) and significance (p) (contd.)							
Anger, sadness and any other negatively evaluating emotion are emotionally intelligent reactions to a certain state of affairs and belong in the classroom							
	Gender	School	Age of teachers	Annual income (£)	Years of experience	SEE training	Qualifications
Greece	Male 0.49**	-	-	-	-	-	Undergrad 0.38*
Spain	-	Primary 0.58***	-	-	-	-	-
Sweden	-	-	-	35k+ 0.58* (compared to 25-35k)	11+ 0.55* (compared to 5-10)	-	-
UK	-	Primary 0.37***	-	-	-	-	-
How satisfied are teachers with their school's current SEE provision?							
Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school							
Greece	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spain	-	Second 0.48***	-	-	< 5 0.45* (compared to 11+)	No training, 0.6***	-
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-	Second a 0.35**	20-30, 0.42* (compared to 51-60)	< 25k 0.42** (compared to 25-35k & 35k)	< 5 0.42** (compared to 11+)	-	-
My school provides enough opportunities for pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences							
Greece	-	-	-	-	-	Training, 0.4*	-
Spain	Female 0.31*	Primary 0.72***	-	-	11+ 0.4* (compared to < 5)	Training, 0.65***	-
Sweden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UK	-	Primary 0.34*	-	-	11+ 0.33* (compared to < 5)	-	-
The magnitude of Cohen's effect size (d) where .2 is small, .5 is moderate and .8 is high. * Significant at the (p) < 0.05 level ** (p) < 0.01 level *** (p) < 0.001 level							

3.5. Makeup of Social and Emotional Education (Training and Practice)

This section summarises the makeup of SEE in each country, which simply put is: Only a minority of teachers in the entire sample received training or continuing professional development in SEE, and the majority of those who did receive training did not remember any topics or theories that may have inspired their teaching. SEE training was split between psychological and pedagogical subjects, with the former - Bowlby's attachment theory in particular - being the most often cited psychological theory that influenced SEE practice in the four countries. Teachers had played an active role in introducing SEE in the majority of schools in the sample. Social and emotional education was likely to be considered for every subject, and less commonly taught as a separate subject, or as a module in other subjects such as religion, health or citizenship studies. The most regularly taught intrapersonal skill was developing feelings of self-worth in all four countries, whereas the most regularly taught interpersonal skill was conflict resolution in Greece and Spain, appreciating diversity in Sweden and safeguarding others in the UK (e.g., bullying prevention). UK teachers were found to devote more time to teaching SEE skills compared to the other three countries.

3.5.1. SEE training: Out of the minority who did study SEE, the majority forgot

A minority of teachers in the research studied social and emotional education as part of their teacher training or continuing professional development. Those who did study SEE were 40% of UK teachers, 38% of Swedish teachers, 34% of Greek teachers and 23% of Spanish teachers (see Table 3.17).

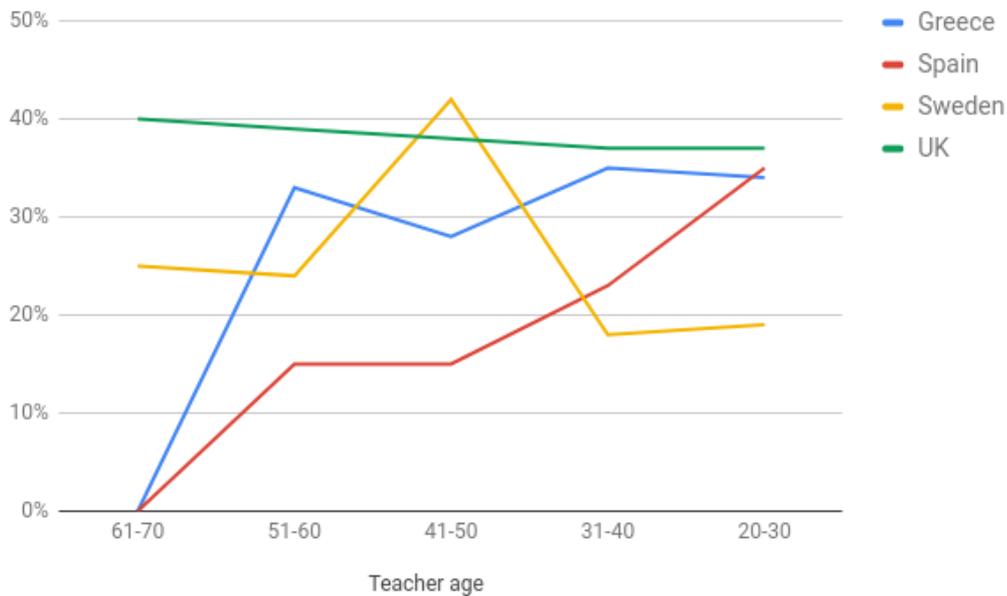
Table 3.17. Did your teacher training or continuing professional development include social and emotional education?

Training	TT	CPD	None	NA	Total
Greece	31%	3%	52%	14%	147
Spain	18%	5%	65%	12%	252
Sweden	27%	11%	54%	8%	102
UK	38%	2%	50%	10%	249

TT: Initial Teacher Training / CPD: Continuing Professional Development / None: Did not receive any SEE training

These numbers, however, hide a shift in the number of teachers being trained in SEE over the last five decades in specific countries, as can be seen in Figure 3.12.

Figure 3.12. Percentage of teachers whose initial teacher training or continuing professional development included social and emotional education depending on teacher age (N: 749)



Spain saw the most significant change: only 15% of respondents aged 41-60 years old had SEE as part of their initial teacher training, and this doubled to 35% for teachers aged 20-30 years old. The Swedish sample on the other hand saw a drop in the

number of teachers receiving SEE training by over half: from 42% of 41-50 year olds to 19% of 20-30 year olds. UK teachers who undertook SEE training in the study were slowly declining in recent decades, though in the last decade the numbers were stabilising. Younger Greek teachers in the study were more likely to have had SEE training compared to older teachers, but these numbers seemed to be declining as well.

But was SEE training in each of the four case study countries similar? Or more specifically, what kind of topics and theories regarding social and emotional education influenced teacher practice the most? The answer - in the majority of cases - was none, or more precisely, that the teachers did not remember: 60% of Greek teachers, 59% of Spanish, 55% of Swedish and 39% of UK teachers answered that they did not remember any topic or theory from their SEE training or continuing professional development that inspired them. This also begins to answer some of the issues highlighted in the previous section (3.4) of why SEE training had such a small to moderate practical significance on teachers' answers in the questionnaire, especially so in Greece, Spain and Sweden: the majority of teachers simply forgot their training or did not find it of practical use.

Conversely, these numbers obscure the fact that a large number of teachers who had not received SEE training as part of their initial teacher training nor continuing professional development were autodidacts, and in each of the case study countries these made up a large percentage of respondents: 50% of Spanish teachers (126), 39% of UK teachers (39), 36% of Swedish teachers (37) and 36% of Greek teachers (53). The individual answers written in by teachers from each country are summarised in Table 3.18 below.

Table 3.18. What SEE topics/theories in your professional training have inspired your teaching the most?

Greece (N: 103)	%	Total	Sweden (N: 76)	%	Total
Don't remember	60%	62	Don't remember	59%	45
Developmental psychology	19%	20	Developmental psychology	16%	12
Attachment Theory	4%	4	Attachment Theory	4%	3
None	4%	4	Group Dynamics	4%	3
Counselling	2%	2	None	4%	3
Educational psychology	2%	2	Mindfulness	3%	2
Daniel Goleman	2%	2	Abuse	1%	1
Anger management	1%	1	Affiliation psychology	1%	1
Art therapy	1%	1	Buddhism	1%	1
Carl Rogers	1%	1	Bullying	1%	1
Clinical psychology	1%	1	Character Strengths (VIA)	1%	1
Conflict resolution	1%	1	Civics	1%	1
Cooperative learning	1%	1	Cognitive Schemas	1%	1
Critical psychology	1%	1	Drama	1%	1
Ecosystemic theory	1%	1	Dynamic Education	1%	1
Empathy	1%	1	Emotional intelligence	1%	1
Evolutionary psychology	1%	1	Executive brain functions	1%	1
Existential therapy	1%	1	ICF Coach training	1%	1
Global learning	1%	1	Mental Health	1%	1
Holistic approach	1%	1	Motivation	1%	1
Mental health	1%	1	Non violent communication	1%	1
Personality psychology	1%	1	Pedagogy	1%	1
Positive psychology	1%	1	Piaget	1%	1
Resilience	1%	1	Protective behaviours	1%	1
Rousseau	1%	1	Psychology	1%	1
SEL	1%	1	Reggio Emilia	1%	1
Social learning	1%	1	School law	1%	1
Stoicism	1%	1	SEL	1%	1
			Social factors	1%	1
			Social Psych	1%	1
			Special Education	1%	1
			Temperament	1%	1
			Vigotsky	1%	1

Table 3.18. What SEE topics/theories inspired your teaching the most?

Spain (N: 184)	%	Total		Denial	1%	1
Don't remember	55%	101	Developmental psychology	1%	1	1
Emotional intelligence	11%	20	Diversity	1%	1	1
Attachment Theory	8%	15	Educational psychology	1%	1	1
None	5%	9	Empowerment	1%	1	1
Gardner	4%	8	Encounter Group	1%	1	1
Piaget	3%	6	Equity	1%	1	1
Montessori	3%	5	Freire	1%	1	1
Emotional education	2%	4	Freud	1%	1	1
Assertiveness	2%	3	Group dynamics	1%	1	1
Conflict resolution	2%	3	Happiness	1%	1	1
Mindfulness	2%	3	Jose Maria del Toro	1%	1	1
Pikler	2%	3	Kilpatrick	1%	1	1
Psychomotor education	2%	3	Literature	1%	1	1
Social learning	2%	3	Love	1%	1	1
Social skills	2%	3	Malaguzzi	1%	1	1
Vigotsky	2%	3	Maslow	1%	1	1
Constructivism	1%	2	Neuroscience	1%	1	1
Dewey	1%	2	NLP	1%	1	1
Evolutionary psychology	1%	2	Own theory	1%	1	1
Freinet	1%	2	PASS theory of intelligence	1%	1	1
Gestalt	1%	2	Peace	1%	1	1
Libertarian pedagogy	1%	2	Plutchick	1%	1	1
Mediation	1%	2	Positive psychology	1%	1	1
Other teachers	1%	2	Psychological constellations	1%	1	1
Psychological profiles	1%	2	Psychology	1%	1	1
Systemic pedagogy	1%	2	Punset	1%	1	1
Active listening	1%	1	Reiki	1%	1	1
Ausubel	1%	1	Risk and protective factors	1%	1	1
Bert Hellinger	1%	1	Saphiro	1%	1	1
Brunner	1%	1	Self-worth	1%	1	1
Cardus	1%	1	Sociology	1%	1	1
CBT	1%	1	Student-centered learning	1%	1	1
Cooperation	1%	1	Summerhill Approach	1%	1	1
Cooperative learning	1%	1	Theory of Mind	1%	1	1
Corporal expression	1%	1	Tomatis Method	1%	1	1
Dance	1%	1	Yoga	1%	1	1

Table 3.18. What SEE topics/theories inspired your teaching the most?

UK (N: 197)	% Total		
		Anxiety	1% 1
Don't remember	39% 78	Bereavement	1% 1
Attachment Theory	35% 70	Bodytalk	1% 1
Developmental psychology	11% 22	Buddies approach	1% 1
Mindfulness	5% 9	Common sense	1% 1
SEAL	4% 8	Conditioning	1% 1
Growth Mindset	3% 6	Cultural differences	1% 1
Mental health	3% 5	Cycle of changes	1% 1
Emotional literacy	2% 4	Emotional development	1% 1
Nurture principles	2% 4	Emotional learning styles	1% 1
Resilience	2% 4	EYFS	1% 1
Solihull approach	2% 4	Ferre Laevers	1% 1
Coaching	2% 3	Five ways to wellbeing	1% 1
Positive psychology	2% 3	Forest School	1% 1
Solution-focused thinking	2% 3	Froebel	1% 1
THRIVE	2% 3	Investors in Pupils	1% 1
Trauma	2% 3	Jungian approach	1% 1
Values	2% 3	Maslow's hierarchy of needs	1% 1
Autism spectrum	1% 2	Neuroscience	1% 1
CBT	1% 2	NVC	1% 1
Conflict resolution	1% 2	Oppositional defiance	1% 1
Emotional intelligence	1% 2	Pacific Institute	1% 1
Family context	1% 2	PDMU	1% 1
Motivation	1% 2	Respectful communication	1% 1
Philosophy 4 Children	1% 2	Self Determination Theory	1% 1
Protective behaviours	1% 2	Sequential model of brain development	1% 1
Restorative practice	1% 2	Suzanne Zeedyk	1% 1
SEND	1% 2	Systemic family therapy	1% 1
Active learning	1% 1	Team teach training	1% 1
Addiction	1% 1	Theory of Mind	1% 1
Anger management	1% 1		

By combining the most influential topics and theories listed by teachers who did remember their training (including autodidacts), the following popular theories and topics emerged in the study: Bowlby's attachment theory, developmental psychology (specifically, Piaget and Vygotsky), Goleman's emotional intelligence theory, and emotional literacy (see Table 3.19). The training topics can thus be grouped into two distinct categories: psychological and pedagogical.

Table 3.19. Topics/theories pertaining to social and emotional education that have inspired teachers the most (in alphabetical order)

	Greece	Spain	Sweden	UK
Attachment theory	4% (4)	8% (15)	4% (3)	35% (70)
Developmental psychology	19% (20)	5% (10)	17% (13)	11% (22)
Emotional intelligence theory	2% (2)	11% (20)	1% (1)	1% (2)
Emotional literacy	11% (11)	48% (88)	14% (11)	30% (59)
Total number	103	184	76	197

Note: The developmental psychology section included responses which referenced Piaget and Vygotsky; the emotional literacy section included responses which included social and emotional education frameworks and curricula used in schools

However, when analysing the differences in the Likert scales between teachers who had received SEE training and those who had not, it was the UK that showed the most statistically significant differences, including (in order of significance) that teachers who had received training were: more likely to agree that social and emotional education had improved their relationship with their students ($p < 0.001$, $p = .57$ which suggested a moderate practical significance), more likely to agree that emotional skills can be taught to children ($p < 0.001$, $p = .46$ which suggested a moderate practical significance), more likely to agree that emotion is fundamental to learning ($p < 0.05$, $p = .35$ which suggested a small to moderate practical significance), more likely to agree that teachers are responsible for socialising students ($p < 0.05$, $p = .29$ which suggested a small

practical significance), and more likely to agree that their students had consistent behavioural goals between home and school ($p < 0.05$, $p = .27$ which suggested a small practical significance). Conversely, Greek, Spanish and Swedish teachers who had SEE as part of their training only impacted one item each: in Greece and Spain, teachers who had undergone training were more likely to agree that their school offered enough opportunities for pupils to verbalise their emotions ($p < 0.05$, $p = .4$ which suggested a small to moderate practical significance in Greece, and $p < 0.001$, $p = .65$ which suggested a moderate practical significance in Spain), and in Sweden, teachers who had undergone training were more likely to agree that teachers are responsible for socialising students ($p < 0.05$, $p = .35$ which suggested a small to moderate practical significance). In fact, teachers who had not received SEE training in Spain were more likely to agree that not enough attention was being devoted to SEE in their schools ($p < 0.001$, $p = .6$ which suggested a moderate practical significance).

To better understand why training in the UK had more influence on the questionnaire responses, several factors need to be considered: Firstly, the UK has had the most consistent percentage of teachers undergo training in social and emotional education over the past five decades compared to the other three countries, be it as part of their initial teacher training or as part of their continuing professional development. In other words, SEE training in the UK has been relatively stable, which cannot be said for the other three countries in the study: Sweden has had its percentage of teachers with training in SEE slashed by half; Spain has seen a dramatic rise in newly-qualified teachers receiving SEE training but these numbers are still below the percentage of newly-qualified teachers undergoing SEE training in the UK; and the number of newly-qualified teachers in Greece studying SEE has actually been decreasing (the only country in the study where this was the case).

Secondly, the majority of teachers in each country who did not have SEE training or continuing professional development in the area were also found to be autodidacts. Thus, where training was not available, teachers more than likely taught themselves. The percentage of teachers in the study who did not receive training and did not study any SEE subject on their own were a minority: 21% in the UK, 26% in Sweden, 27% in Spain and 30% in Greece. Given the self-selection bias present in the questionnaire sample it could be argued that these numbers are higher within the wider teaching population.

Finally, the components that made up SEE training in the UK were unique in that they were a mixture of psychological and pedagogical topics, rather than being mutually exclusive subjects. This was different to Sweden and Greece which was more likely to treat SEE to be within the field of psychology, and Spain which was more likely to treat SEE within the field of pedagogy. Teachers who did receive SEE training in the UK were more likely to recall it, and only a minority of teachers had forgotten their training or did not find it useful (39%, the lowest figure relative to other countries). In the other three countries there seemed to be a problem with subject recall, applicability, or both, in their SEE training.

3.5.2. Teachers at the forefront: the introduction of SEE in the classroom

In all four countries in the present study, the majority of teachers confirmed that social and emotional education had been introduced into their schools. There was, however, a significant difference between the four case studies regarding how many schools had not introduced SEE at all: 35% in Greece, 19% in Sweden, 9% of Spain and 3% in the UK. The most likely way SEE was reported to have been introduced into schools was by teachers themselves in Greece, Spain and Sweden, and by a partnership of

teachers and senior management in the UK. Government policy was the least likely reported means by which SEE was introduced in all four countries with only 4% in Greece, 6% in Spain, 7% in Sweden and 10% of teachers in the UK. Therefore, it is fair to describe the introduction of SEE cross-culturally as due in large part to grassroots movements within the school (bottom up), as opposed to government policy and initiatives (top down) (see Table 3.20).

Table 3.20. Frequency distribution of how social and emotional education was introduced in schools in Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK

	Greece	Spain	Sweden	UK
Introduced by:				
Teachers	33%	38%	24%	12%
Senior management	6%	12%	12%	25%
Government policy	4%	6%	7%	10%
Both:				
Teachers and Senior Management	15%	21%	21%	26%
Teachers, seniors and policy	2%	4%	11%	17%
Teachers and policy	3%	6%	3%	2%
Seniors and policy	0%	0%	2%	2%
No SEE:				
Not introduced	35%	9%	19%	3%
Did not answer	2%	4%	3%	4%
Total number	147	252	102	249

How SEE was introduced into schools was found to correlate with two other variables: teacher satisfaction with SEE provision, and the amount of time spent on SEE. In all four countries the most likely means by which enough attention would be given to SEE according to teachers were, in order of preference: (1) When SEE was introduced through a partnership with teachers and senior leaders; (2) When it was introduced by either teachers individually or senior leadership individually (no country had a statistically significant

difference to teacher satisfaction with SEE provision if teachers introduced SEE rather than senior leadership, and vice versa); and finally, (3) Through policy alone. In the UK in particular, the preferred choice as to how to introduce SEE was a partnership with teachers and senior leaders alongside educational policy specific to SEE, and this was found to have a highly significant difference in teacher satisfaction with SEE provision in their schools compared to SEE being introduced through educational policy with no input from teachers and senior leadership ($p < 0.001$, $d=1.05$ suggested a high to very high practical significance), or when senior leadership introduced SEE by themselves ($p < 0.05$, $d = .43$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance), or when teachers introduced SEE by themselves ($p < 0.05$, $d = .43$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance). The introduction of SEE through policy alone in the UK was significantly more likely to find teachers dissatisfied with SEE provision than any other method of introduction. It is pertinent to note, however, that no statistical significance was found between teachers and senior leadership introducing SEE, compared to a mixture of teachers, senior leadership and policy introducing SEE provision into schools. What was required was a partnership between teachers and school leaders, and although policy specific to SEE would be preferable, it was not necessarily needed according to UK teachers.

Table 3.21. Frequency distribution for responses to the statement: 'Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school' according to how SEE was introduced in schools (N: 683)

	S. Agree/ Agree	Neutral	Disagree / S. Disagree	Total
Teachers	42%	24%	34%	197
Senior Leaders	27%	23%	50%	111
Teachers & SL	19%	14%	67%	159
Policy	49%	18%	33%	51
Combination	15%	9%	76%	66
Not introduced	67%	24%	9%	99

Note: Combination is a partnership between teachers, senior leaders and policy.

Similarly in Spain, teachers working in schools where a partnership between teachers and senior leadership had introduced SEE were the most satisfied compared to schools where only policy had led to its introduction ($p < 0.05$, $d = 0.66$ suggested a moderate practical significance), and to schools where teachers had introduced SEE provision solely by themselves ($p < 0.001$, $d = 0.63$ suggested a moderate practical significance). In Greece and Sweden where there existed no SEE policy, the results were still similar to Spain and the UK where a partnership between teachers and senior leadership introducing SEE was still preferred to them introducing it individually, although how it impacted teacher satisfaction with SEE was greater in Greece ($p < 0.001$, $d = .91$ suggested a high practical significance), than in Sweden ($p < 0.05$, $d = 0.78$ suggested a high practical significance). Overall, the influence of the means of introduction of SEE on teacher opinions regarding the quality of their school's SEE provision was fairly similar cross-culturally as can be seen in Table 3.21.

3.5.3. Time devoted to SEE: implicit versus explicit provisions

The most common reply as to how SEE was taught by most teachers was that social and emotional aspects of learning were considered for all subjects, rather than being a separate subject or taught as part of another module. This was true for both primary and secondary school teachers, though it was more likely in Spanish preschool and primary schools (66%), then secondary and upper secondary (41%).

Table 3.22. How is social and emotional education (SEE) taught in your school and/or classroom? (N: 706)

Preschool and Primary	Greece	Spain	Sweden	UK
Own subject	8%	11%	7%	29%
Part of other subject	24%	18%	19%	32%
Considered but not taught	53%	66%	67%	38%
Not considered	16%	5%	7%	1%
Total	38	148	27	140
<hr/>				
Secondary and Upper	Greece	Spain	Sweden	UK
Own subject	1%	13%	11%	20%
Part of other subject	19%	31%	23%	36%
Considered but not taught	51%	41%	56%	34%
Not considered	29%	14%	11%	10%
Total	101	90	75	87

The second most common method by which SEE was taught was as part of another subject such as religious education, health or citizenship studies. Again, this was true for both primary and secondary teachers, except for Spanish secondary school which was much more likely to have SEE as part of another subject (31%) than in primary school (18%). The UK was the most likely to teach SEE as its own subject - both primary teachers (29%) and secondary teachers (20%) - said that they had time dedicated to teaching SEE exclusively throughout the school year.

Three points need to be made regarding the time devoted to SEE. Firstly, aside from SEE not being considered in schools altogether, how much time was dedicated to SEE did not influence teacher satisfaction with the provision overall. The time devoted to SEE was only found to significantly influence teacher satisfaction in Spain, with teachers who taught SEE exclusively as its own subject more likely to agree that enough attention was devoted to SEE in their school compared to teachers who taught it as part of another

subject ($p < 0.01$, $d = .61$ suggested a moderate practical significance). No difference was found between teachers who taught SEE exclusively, and those who considered SEE but did not exclusively teach it, and this was true in all four countries. In other words, teacher satisfaction with SEE provision did not increase based on if it was taught explicitly or not.

Secondly, unlike teacher satisfaction with SEE provision, the time dedicated to SEE was found to influence other variables. In the case of the UK it was in regards to how teachers felt about expressing their emotions in class. UK teachers who taught SEE exclusively as its own subject were more likely to agree that they felt comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom compared to both teachers who taught SEE as part of another subject, or considered it for every subject ($p < 0.05$, $d = .37$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance). This finding is all the more interesting considering that no other demographic variable - bar the age of teachers' students in the UK and Spain, and gender in Greece - influenced the responses in the questionnaire regarding teachers' self-expression of emotions.

And thirdly, time dedicated to SEE was found to improve teacher-student relationships according to the teachers. In the case of Spain, the time spent on SEE impacted teacher-student relationships with teachers who taught SEE exclusively being more likely to agree that their relationship had improved with students compared to teachers who taught SEE as part of another subject ($p < 0.01$, $d = .66$ suggested a moderate practical significance), and compared to teachers who considered SEE but did not teach it exclusively ($p < 0.05$, $d = .40$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance). No comparisons could be made in Greece and Sweden as not enough teachers taught SEE exclusively in these countries to make a valid comparison.

When SEE was taught exclusively it was found to positively correlate with teacher satisfaction with SEE provision and improved teacher-student relationships in Spain, and teachers feeling more comfortable in expressing their emotions in the classroom in the UK. Where teaching SEE exclusively was not possible, SEE being considered for every subject but not taught exclusively was still preferable to including it as a secondary module as part of another subject (e.g., religious education, health, citizenship studies). Nevertheless, whether SEE was taught as its own subject, as part of another subject or considered for every subject but not taught exclusively only made a statistically significant difference in teacher satisfaction in Spain.

So how was it more likely for SEE to be taught as its own exclusive subject? The highest likelihood found in the study was if the relevant policy was introduced (be it with or without teacher involvement). The least likely means by which SEE was taught as a separate subject was if teachers introduced SEE into their schools by themselves. Considering that teacher dissatisfaction with SEE provision was at its highest when it was introduced by policy alone as discussed above, this highlights an important consideration for the development of future SEE provision. If SEE was introduced exclusively by teachers into school it was more likely that they would develop a SEE provision that considers social and emotional aspects of learning for all subjects, but did not have time to devote to the subject exclusively. Yet this kind of SEE provision was not found to have the same positive correlations as when it was taught exclusively (e.g., an improvement in teacher-student relationships in Spain and teachers feeling more comfortable to share their emotions in the classroom in the UK). In terms of SEE practice being discontinued in schools after it had been introduced, the introduction of SEE provision solely by senior leaders or solely by teachers had similar likelihoods that it would later no longer be considered.

Table 3.23. How SEE was introduced in schools compared to the time devoted to SEE in each school (N: 584)

	SEE subject	Other subject	Considered	No longer considered	Total
Teachers	7%	27%	61%	5%	194
Senior Leaders	18%	33%	43%	6%	112
Teachers & SL	18%	27%	53%	3%	160
Policy	31%	42%	27%	0%	52
Combination	29%	17%	55%	0%	66

3.5.4. SEE Curriculum: What skills are taught and how often

As part of the questionnaire, teachers were asked how often they taught particular social and emotional skills, and what exercises made up each of the skillsets. Table 3.24 outlines what social and emotional skills were taught and what exercises were used to develop each of the particular skills:

Table 3.24. Social and emotional skills and their corresponding class exercises

Intrapersonal social and emotional skills	
Skill	Exercises
Understanding, identifying and labelling emotions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Clearly define and recognise basic emotions (happiness, anger, sadness) and feelings (bitterness, frustration) - Emotional independence (internal locus of control) - one's own emotions not depending on other people
Relaxation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creating an internal space of calm - returning back to calm after becoming angry - Deep breathing - Mindfulness / meditation / yoga
Self-discipline and goal-setting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self control / perseverance - Time management / organisation - How to focus / concentrating attention - Autonomy - Initiative / Creativity

Table 3.24. Social and emotional skills and their corresponding class exercises (contd.)	
Skill	Exercises
Developing feelings of self-worth and self-confidence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Being kind to oneself / relationship with oneself - Recognise personal qualities / self knowledge - Self respect - Confidence building exercises
Recognising triggers of anger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Actions that cause increased/decreased emotion - Managing negative emotion: anxiety, anger, frustration - Coping with low mood - Recognising stress and effects on the body / exam stress
Interpersonal social and emotional skills	
Appreciating diverse perspectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respecting/understanding/accepting difference - Undermining single narratives
Negotiating and resolving conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restorative practices / conflict resolution - Dealing with criticism - Saying sorry, accepting fault, amendment and reconciliation - Debating
Safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognising another student in a crisis situation / tackling bullying - Solidarity / how to offer support and help others
Practising/rehearsing social skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assertive behaviour / boundaries - Expressing one's needs clearly - Nonverbal communication - Voice control

Table 3.25 below further outlines how often these skills were taught by teachers in the sample, either regularly, occasionally or never. Out of the nine skills, the ones most likely to be taught according to teachers in the sample with similar regularity cross-culturally were developing students' feelings of self-worth, and practicing/rehearsing social skills. But that is where the similarities end. UK teachers in the sample were the most likely to regularly teach more SEE skills than the other three countries: they were more

likely to regularly develop students' self-discipline and ability to set goals compared to teachers in Spain and Sweden; more likely to teach the importance of appreciating diverse perspectives compared to Greek teachers; more likely to teach safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of others compared to Greek and Swedish teachers; and more likely to teach how to resolve and negotiate conflict, and how to recognise triggers of anger compared to Swedish teachers.

Table 3.25. Frequency at which social and emotional skills have been taught in the previous school year (2015/2016)

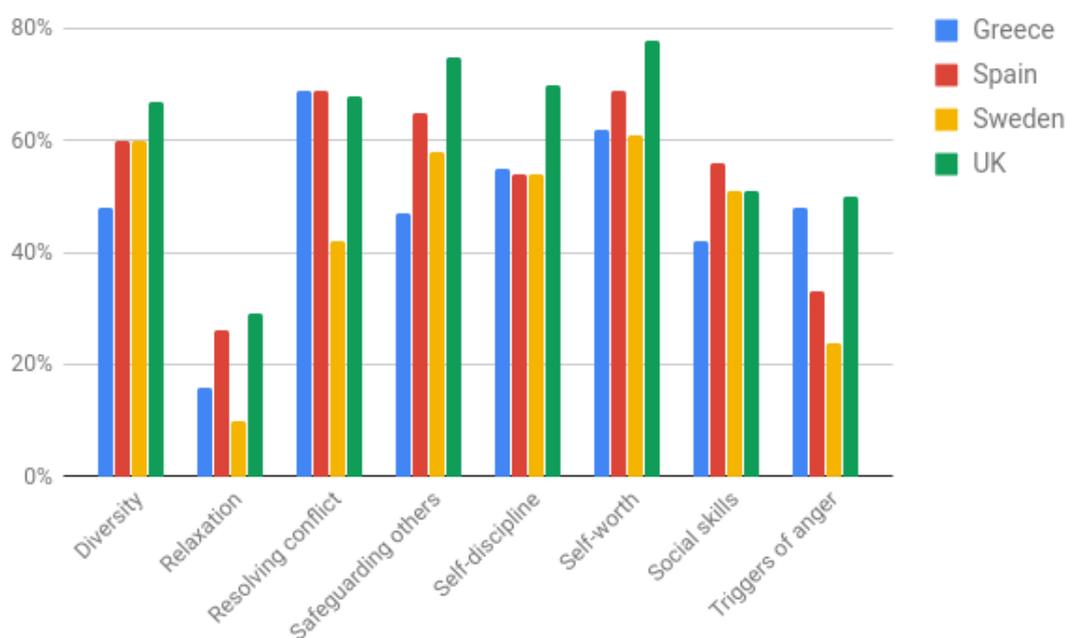
	Regularly				Occasionally				Never			
	GR	SP	SW	UK	GR	SP	SW	UK	GR	SP	SW	UK
Appreciate diversity	48% (70)	60% (150)	60% (61)	67% (166)	31% (40)	35% (82)	30% (29)	26% (61)	15% (20)	3% (6)	6% (6)	2% (5)
Relaxation	16% (23)	26% (66)	10% (10)	29% (71)	33% (44)	43% (102)	48% (46)	38% (89)	49% (65)	29% (70)	42% (40)	31% (73)
Resolving conflict	69% (102)	69% (175)	42% (43)	68% (170)	16% (21)	25% (59)	45% (44)	23% (55)	7% (9)	1% (3)	10% (10)	4% (10)
Safeguard others	47% (69)	65% (165)	58% (59)	75% (186)	32% (42)	29% (70)	32% (31)	18% (42)	15% (19)	2% (4)	7% (7)	3% (6)
Self-discipline	55% (81)	54% (136)	54% (55)	70% (175)	31% (40)	38% (90)	35% (34)	22% (51)	6% (8)	4% (10)	8% (8)	1% (3)
Self-worth	62% (91)	69% (174)	61% (62)	78% (193)	22% (29)	24% (56)	31% (30)	17% (40)	8% (11)	3% (7)	4% (4)	1% (2)
Social skills	42% (62)	56% (140)	51% (52)	51% (128)	34% (45)	37% (87)	36% (35)	38% (88)	18% (24)	4% (10)	9% (9)	8% (18)
Triggers of anger	48% (70)	33% (83)	24% (24)	50% (125)	34% (44)	44% (104)	42% (41)	37% (86)	12% (16)	22% (52)	33% (32)	10% (24)
Understand emotion	44% (65)	61% (153)	58% (59)	55% (136)	37% (49)	28% (68)	28% (27)	32% (75)	14% (19)	8% (18)	10% (10)	10% (24)

Note: GR: Greece / SP: Spain / SW: Sweden / UK: United Kingdom. Any results that do not add to 100% (adding up regularly/occasionally/never columns for each skill in each country) are the percentage of respondents who did not answer in each country.

After the UK teachers, the sample from Spain were the most likely to more regularly teach SEE skills in the sample: Spanish teachers were more likely to regularly teach the understanding, identifying and labelling of emotions, as well as safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of others compared to Greek teachers; and more likely to teach how to resolve and negotiate conflict compared to Swedish teachers. And finally, Greek teachers were more likely to

teach two particular social and emotional skills compared to their Swedish colleagues: how to resolve and negotiate conflict, as well as recognising triggers of anger.

Figure 3.13. Percentage of teachers which regularly taught social and emotional skills in the previous school year (2015/2016)



The first question to answer to further understand what skills made up SEE provision in each country is therefore: why did some countries regularly teach more social and emotional skills than others? The simple answer is time. UK teachers, for instance, were the most likely to regularly teach two thirds of the skills in the questionnaire, and were the most likely to concentrate on intrapersonal skills compared to the other countries (particularly developing self-discipline and goal setting). This is understandable given that the UK, out of the four countries in the study, was found to devote the most time to SEE in preschool, primary and secondary schools as its own distinct subject or as part of another subject (particularly, PSHE). Swedish teachers, on the other hand, were the least likely to teach five out of the nine skills in the questionnaire, and Greek teachers four out of the nine skills, but when comparing the

time that was devoted to SEE in each country the results are more understandable: 7% of Swedish primary teachers and 8% of Greek primary teachers taught SEE as its own subject compared to 29% of UK primary teachers.

Table 3.26. Frequency at which social and emotional skills were regularly taught in the last school year (2015/2016) in Greece, Spain, Sweden and the UK

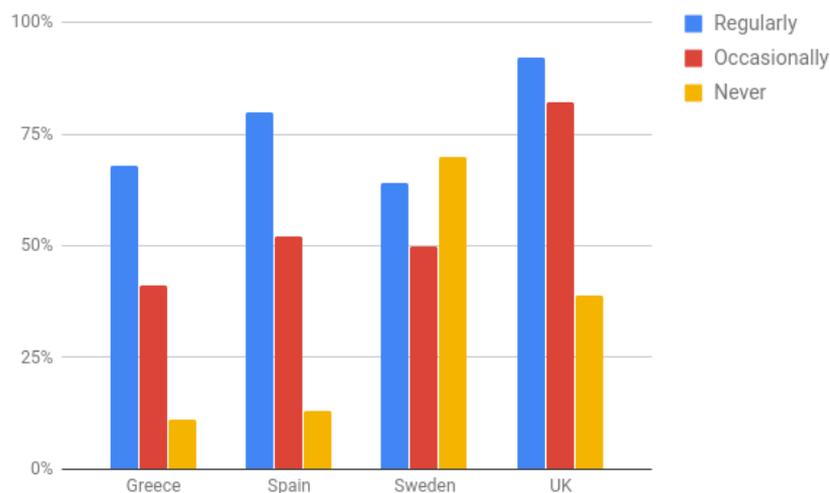
Greece	%	Spain	%	Sweden	%	UK	%
Resolving conflict	69%	Resolving conflict	69%	Self-worth	61%	Self-worth	78%
Self-worth	62%	Self-worth	69%	Diversity	60%	Safeguard others	75%
Self-discipline	55%	Safeguard others	65%	Understand emotion	58%	Self-discipline	70%
Triggers of anger	48%	Understand emotion	61%	Safeguard others	58%	Resolving conflict	68%
Diversity	48%	Diversity	60%	Self-discipline	54%	Diversity	67%
Safeguard others	47%	Social skills	56%	Social skills	51%	Understand emotion	55%
Understand emotion	44%	Self-discipline	54%	Resolving conflict	42%	Social skills	51%
Social skills	42%	Triggers of anger	33%	Triggers of anger	24%	Triggers of anger	50%
Relaxation	16%	Relaxation	26%	Relaxation	10%	Relaxation	29%
	Intrapersonal skills				Interpersonal skills		

But the time spent on SEE was not the only factor found to affect the rate by which skills were taught, which leads to the second question: Why were some skills taught more frequently than others? A possible answer was found by comparing the teachers' own beliefs about the role of emotions (especially as they pertained to the classroom), be it the teacher's own expression of emotion, or that of their students. For example, the rate by which teachers taught the skill 'Understanding, identifying and labelling emotions' was seen to positively correlate with how comfortable they were in expressing their emotions in the classroom. Whereas only 43% of UK teachers who did not teach their students how to recognise emotions agree that teachers should feel comfortable expressing their own, this jumps to 79% for teachers who regularly teach their students how to

understand, identify and label emotion. This was also the case in Sweden, which jumped from 50% to 86%, and Spain from 76% to 94%. In other words, the more comfortable teachers were expressing their own emotions, the more likely they were to teach their students how to understand, identify and label emotion.

Regarding the expression of emotion as it pertained to students themselves, a positive correlation was found in Greece, Spain and the UK between teachers' beliefs and frequency at which skills were taught. The more regularly teachers taught students about understanding, identifying and labelling emotion, the happier teachers were with the opportunities given to students to verbalise their emotions (see Figure 3.14). It is interesting to highlight that in Sweden, teachers who never explicitly taught about emotion in the last academic year were more satisfied with the students' opportunities to verbalise their emotional experience than those who regularly did. This possibly highlights that the in-school counsellors in Sweden have undertaken the role of developing students' emotional literacy and that Swedish teachers are happy with this arrangement.

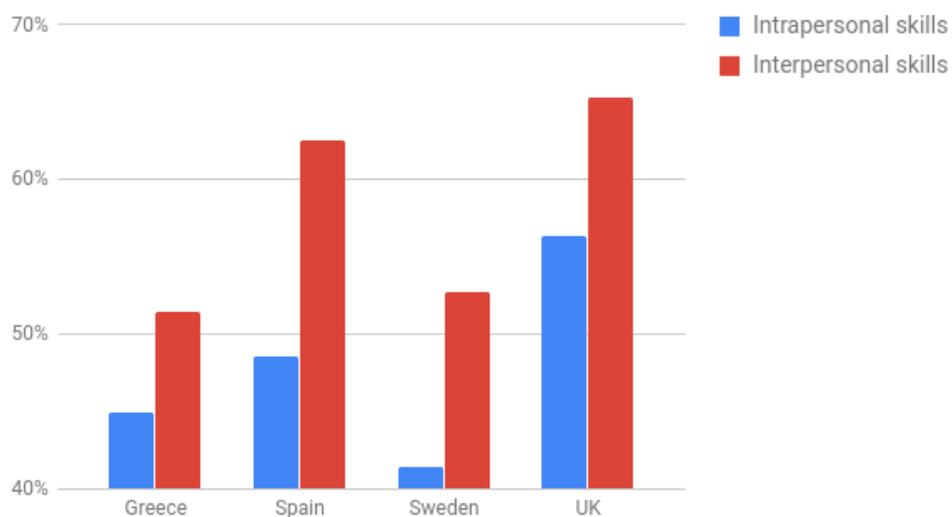
Figure 3.14. The frequency at which the skill 'Understanding emotion' was taught by teachers and the percentage of responses in agreement with the statement 'My school provides enough opportunities for pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences.' (N: 675)



Note: The higher the bars, the more satisfied teachers are with the opportunities given to students to verbalise their emotional experiences at school.

The third factor is culture itself: Were some skills more specific to one culture compared to others? There were similarities found cross-culturally that interpersonal skills were more likely to be taught compared to intrapersonal skills (see Figure 3.15). Sweden showed the most significant difference - arguably, the in-school counsellors could be more likely to take care of intrapersonal skills, whereas interpersonal skills could be left to the teachers more.

Figure 3.15. Percentage of teachers regularly teaching intrapersonal versus interpersonal skills



It is important to note that space was provided in the questionnaire in case teachers felt that it had not incorporated all the social and emotional skills which they taught to their students (with the open-ended question: "Are there any other social and emotional skills you have taught not included in the list above?"), and many teachers took the opportunity to write additional skills, which are summarised in the 12 skills in Table 3.27 below.

Table 3.27. Social and emotional skills and exercises submitted by teachers

Intrapersonal social and emotional skills	
Skill	Exercises
Self reflection / recognising one's needs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evaluation of reactions - Reflection through questioning - Solution-focused questioning
Sense of belonging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identity with the school - Sense of belonging to a group / culture
Recognise personal supports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students feeling like it is okay to ask for help and support - Knowing who one can turn to for help
Resilience and adaptability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assimilating failure / disappointment - Being open to change ("Being wrong isn't important, it's wanting to change that's important") - Facing difficult situations
Express emotions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expressing emotions and feelings appropriately
Generate positive emotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Growth mindset - Positive thinking
Safeguarding own wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protective behaviours - Dealing with social media/online safety - Health: hygiene, sexual relationships, drug interaction
Interpersonal social and emotional skills	
Empathy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Active listening - Respecting others' state of mind - Understanding / love of others
Respect for others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Greeting people / using their name - Saying please and thank you - Etiquette
Collaborate. Co-operate. Contribute.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Group dynamics - Sharing - Self-management
Responsibility and decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Responsibility for one's actions - Shared social responsibility
Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Respect for the environment / looking after nature - Knowledge of our common environment¹⁷⁰

Inviting teachers to list their own skills and exercises was necessary for two reasons: only nine out of the 21 social and

¹⁷⁰ "Understanding how their lifestyle affects others and our environment - not just their own immediate environment [but also] far away: Ecosystems, climate refugees, unique environments and values that can be destroyed. Opinions that not everyone is equally worthy can create conflict, exclusion, hatred, hostility, etc."

emotional skills identified in the initial literature review were included in the questionnaire (due to feedback from the pilot study that it would be too long to include all skills identified), and it was a good way to test whether other social and emotional skills that were left out would be included by teachers themselves. The experiment proved to be a success in that all of the skills that were left out were identified, bar two (working independently and decision making), and two new skills were also put forward (both intrapersonal skills): self reflection, and generating positive emotion.

Comparing the time devoted in the four countries to each of the nine social and emotional skills included highlights how much even this basic social and emotional skill framework differentiated from culture to culture. For instance, whereas the skills that were concentrated on were very similar in Sweden and Spain, almost half of the skills that were regularly taught in Sweden were different to those in the UK. Given the finding that teachers are less likely to be satisfied with their school's SEE provision if they themselves or other teachers have not been a party in its introduction, the importance of creating bespoke SEE frameworks in each school, let alone each country, cannot be emphasised enough.

3.6. Conclusion: quantitative findings

The findings from the 38-question survey taken online by 750 teachers between September 2016 and January 2017 can be summarised as: Most teachers believed that the purpose of social and emotional education is to promote the emotional competence of their students, to facilitate learning and to prepare students for the future. A majority of teachers who participated in the questionnaire believed that they are responsible for socialising students and saw this as one of the major goals of participating in compulsory education. The teachers' self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser was found to be determined by their opinions on the role of emotions

and relationships to learning, their responsibilities in loco-parentis, their openness to emotional expression in the classroom, and their satisfaction with current SEE provision. The main findings of the QUAN strand included:

- Spanish teachers' beliefs about SEE significantly differed to those of Greek, Swedish and UK teachers.
- Greek teachers' beliefs about SEE were found to be similar to that of Swedish and UK teachers despite devoting less time to SEE in the last academic year. Therefore, similar opinions regarding teachers' self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser did not necessarily lead to similar SEE provision.
- SEE provision was highly differentiated between primary and secondary schools in Spain and the UK: primary teachers felt more responsible for socialising students' emotions, were more likely to feel comfortable expressing their own emotions in class, were more likely to think that emotion is fundamental to learning, were more satisfied with their relationships to students, and more satisfied with the opportunities they gave students to verbalise their emotional experiences. Secondary school teachers, on the other hand, were more likely to be dissatisfied with their school's SEE provision in both Spain and the UK.
- The number of years' experience that respondents had working as teachers only impacted answers in Sweden and the UK, with Swedish and UK teachers who had over 11 years' experience more likely to have more positive opinions about SEE than teachers with less experience.
- Whether teachers had an undergraduate or postgraduate degree was not found to impact beliefs about SEE in any of

the four countries. However, SEE training was found to impact teachers' beliefs in the UK significantly.

- Demographic characteristics were not found to impact teachers' openness to emotional expression. However, when UK teachers devoted time to SEE in school exclusively as its own subject, they were more likely to agree that they felt comfortable expressing their emotions in class.
- UK and Swedish teachers were the most satisfied with SEE provision in their schools and the opportunities given to pupils to verbalise emotion. Conversely, Greek and Spanish teachers were more likely to be dissatisfied with their school's current SEE provision.
- Gender impacted teachers' self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser the most in Greece. Greek male teachers were found to be more comfortable expressing their own emotions in class, more satisfied with their relationships to students and to have a more harmonious relationship with students' parents compared to their female colleagues. Gender also impacted answers in Spain and Sweden, where female teachers felt more responsible for the socialisation of their students than their male colleagues.
- Swedish teachers' opinions regarding SEE strongly differentiated depending on the salary of the teacher, with teachers on higher wages more likely to have more positive opinions about SEE than teachers on lower wages.
- Teachers in Spain were more likely to focus on the importance of emotion to learning, whereas Swedish teachers were more likely to focus on the impact of the teacher-student relationship to learning. UK teachers tended to focus on both.

Regarding SEE provision itself, bottom-up, grassroots organising by teachers was found to be the most likely means by which SEE was introduced into schools, which led to SEE provision wherein social and emotional aspects of learning were taken into account for each subject but not taught exclusively as its own subject. Educational policy was the least likely means by which SEE provision was introduced into schools in all four countries, but had the highest likelihood that SEE was taught exclusively as its own subject. Higher levels of SEE provision in schools was found to positively correlate with teachers feeling more comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom in the UK, and with improved relationships with students in Spain. Teacher participation in the introduction of SEE in schools positively correlated with higher levels of teacher satisfaction with SEE provision in all four case studies.

SEE provision was the least likely to have been present in Greek schools in the previous academic year, where no policy devoted to the subject exists. Spain had the lowest level of teachers trained in SEE, yet a high level of SEE provision. SEE was seen largely to be outside the remit of teachers' responsibilities in Sweden, where it was instead the responsibility of school counselors, and the percentage of teachers in the sample that had been trained in SEE was found to have dropped by half in the previous twenty years. The UK had the highest rate of educational policy dedicated to SEE, of teachers trained in SEE and of schools that taught SEE exclusively as its own subject in both primary and secondary school. Having said this, only a minority of teachers in the entire sample received training or continuing professional development in SEE, and a majority of those who had received training did not remember any topics or theories that inspired their teaching.

SEE training included both psychological and pedagogical theories, with the former - Bowlby's Attachment theory in particular -

being the most often cited theory that influenced SEE practice in the four countries. The regularity at which SEE skills were taught from culture to culture was found to be significantly different, with the largest differences found between Sweden and the UK, followed by Greece compared to the three other countries. Sweden and Greece were the two countries least likely to regularly teach social and emotional skills to students in the previous academic year (2015/16), and UK teachers were the most likely to teach SEE skills, albeit instrumentally: for example, to increase academic achievement, increase future employment opportunities, etc.

Chapter Four.

Qualitative Phase: Interviews.

As part of the qualitative phase, 22 teachers participated in semi-structured interviews to discuss the findings from the quantitative phase. All of the interviewees were chosen from the initial quantitative sample as the teachers self-selected for the interviews by adding their emails at the end of the questionnaire. The sample included teachers from all four countries: both male and female teachers, different ages and years' experience teaching, from both private ('Free Schools') and state schools, primary and secondary schools, but most importantly, teachers who differed in their opinions as to their role socialising emotion and SEE in general. All the teachers' names were changed to protect their anonymity. The interviews were analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phased model of thematic analysis to produce five themes: four that were similar to the quantitative phase (the role of emotions to learning; the role of teachers in society and the teacher-student relationship; teacher satisfaction with their school's current SEE provision; the boundaries between home and school in relation to student's behaviour), and an additional theme (the role of psychology training in SEE provision).

4.1. Role of emotions in the classroom

The quantitative findings from the first phase of research inevitably led to even more questions: Why do teachers in Spain feel more comfortable expressing emotion in the classroom compared to their colleagues in Greece, Sweden and the UK? Why were Greek male teachers more comfortable expressing emotions in their classrooms compared to their female colleagues? Why did the majority of Swedish teachers have such a strong aversion to negative emotion being expressed in the classroom? And why were

teachers from the UK the least likely to be comfortable expressing their emotions to their students? The qualitative phase allowed for these questions to be given more in-depth attention. Cross-culturally, teachers could be placed in one of two camps when discussing their relationship to emotion: those who based their opinions from the established camp (that emotions are reactions that 'happen' to you, that emotion is separate from reason, and that emotional competencies are universal), and those from the emergent camp (that emotion is the central tenet to learning, that emotion is socially and culturally dependant and that emotion and reason are not mutually exclusive).

Greece

When discussing the role of emotions inside the classroom, Anna, a private school language teacher in Athens, began by describing emotions as physiological, "*The emotions are in the body. In Greece we seem to forget it.*" The Greek teachers in the interviews spoke candidly about their emotions in the classroom, including the level of emotional discomfort they routinely felt, albeit for different reasons. Irini, a primary school teacher working in Athens, described her classroom as one of relentless impending doom due to students' unruly and unpredictable behaviour:

"In the classroom you are kind of hysterical, even if you're not shouting at them, you're trying to- you feel hysterical: what are they going to do now, who's going to stand up, what's going to happen ... And then you meet them outside or you go on a field trip with them and you're like a real person, they're real people..."

Irini said that this was precisely why social and emotional education was needed: the classroom, being an unnatural environment, encouraged negative behaviour in students, and unavoidable burnout in teachers. Elina, a private school language teacher in Athens, said in her interview that her work environment was even more dehumanised by a shift from a teacher/student relationship to that of a service provider/client, which tends to be par for the course in

private schools, *"In the private sector it's quite different. Because if you have a fight with a parent you get sacked. If a student doesn't like you ... you lose your job, in Greece."*

Greek teachers in the sample were the least likely to strongly agree that they should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in class, and this was supported by some of the interviews. Greece was also the only country to have demographic variables impact emotional expressiveness in the classroom: that is, older male teachers in the questionnaire were found to be significantly more comfortable expressing themselves in the classroom than their female colleagues. The interviews shed some light on this situation, with some of the teachers saying that sexism was still rife within the education system, and that male teachers who taught in an authoritarian style were much more likely to be respected, or at the very least left alone by parents and senior leaders in the school. As the Athenian primary school teacher Irini explained:

"When we have teachers, like 'old school' teachers, who are usually men, who are treating the children in a very strict and very authoritarian way they are never challenged. You're being challenged when you don't put enough tests, or because you're not authoritative enough, so I don't know. I've heard a lot of people who think that teachers are not, you know, strong enough."

The lack of respect for female teachers in particular was also discussed by Elina who said that this was not a new phenomenon within the Greek education system:

"In Greece mostly women teach, because that's the woman's job, the woman cannot become a doctor, she should be a teacher. My parents were like that - the girl should become a teacher. Anyway, I think it's mostly because they view it as a kind of hobby... I know that they [teachers] lament for what they're losing now [respect] but they shouldn't because it's how it started."

This sexism within the education system, Elina admitted, is difficult to challenge, but that she attempted to do so by treating her job as a profession rather than a vocation.

While the status quo among Greek teachers was found to involve a certain emotional reticence, it was confirmed that male teachers had more freedom to express their emotions within the classroom, at least according to their female colleagues as the quantitative data indicated. This male privilege, as described by female teachers, was linked to an 'old school' authoritarian style which was more respected by the Greek community, despite policy and community initiatives that have attempted to challenge and undermine the strict hierarchies that once defined Greek classrooms (as will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2). Given this context, it should be no surprise that reactionary teachers believed social and emotional education was something that undermined the teacher's authority and took time away from the 'real task' of transmitting scientific knowledge. But for other teachers who use more pupil-centred learning styles, who are undermined by parents, who are disrespected by students, and who are threatened with losing their jobs in the middle of an economic crisis, the status quo was not something worth maintaining. The majority of Greek teachers in the study wanted to see more attention given to SEE in the classroom, so the motivation to change SEE provision in the near future was most definitely present, and the topic of social and emotional education might create a valuable space to address many issues that Greek teachers currently face, including the continued disrespect towards the teaching profession, the penchant for authoritarian teaching styles and the continuing male privilege within the education system.

Spain

83% of Spanish teachers who responded to the questionnaire agreed that teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom, the highest percentage out of all four case study countries. All of the Spanish teachers who participated in the qualitative phase were asked why they thought this to be the

case, and many of them seemed perplexed by the question:

“Because they are people?” responded Nora, a secondary school teacher in Navarra. When the question was put in context for the interviewees - that is, that the Spanish teachers in the questionnaire were far more likely to agree that they should feel comfortable being transparent about their emotions in the classroom compared to the other three countries - most of the interviewees were happy to discuss the benefits of being emotionally expressive in the classroom. A common theme was the development of the student's own social and emotional skills. Julia, a primary school teacher in the Balearic Islands, for example, describes how expressing her emotions to students helps them in turn develop their own emotional literacy:

“According to my training and experience, the first phase of emotional education is to recognise one's emotions, that is, to name what I feel. If I want to get my students to learn to recognise and express their own emotions openly, transparently, I think it is beneficial for them to feel that teachers are also human and as such we feel emotions just like them ... that they know that I feel joy when they've done a good job ... I feel frustration, sadness, when there are violent conflicts in the school yard ... I think that to express my own emotions helps them to identify their own.”¹⁷¹

Thus, the need for teachers to 'humanise' themselves - to empower students to empathise with their teacher as a human being - was another benefit of being open about their emotions that teachers identified. Carla, who is a secondary school teacher from the Balearic Islands, highlighted how this can also improve the teacher-student relationship:

¹⁷¹ “Según mi formación y experiencia, la primera fase de la educación emocional es reconocer las propias emociones, es decir poner nombre a lo que siento en mi interior. Si yo quiero conseguir que mis alumnos/as aprendan a reconocer y a expresar sus propias emociones sin tapujos, se muestran transparentes, creo que les es beneficioso que sientan que los docentes también somos humanos y como tales sentimos emociones igual que ellos... que sepan que siento alegría cuando han realizado un buen trabajo o cuando conseguimos ayudarnos unos a otros o simplemente cuando alguien nos hace partícipes de una buena noticia. También les comunico que siento frustración, tristeza,... cuando hay conflictos de violencia en el patio... Creo que exteriorizar mis propias emociones les ayuda a identificar las suyas propias.”

“They [teachers] should feel comfortable and, in fact, I think they should express their emotions so the students see that they also feel, that they also suffer and rejoice, and so their empathetic capacity brings them closer together.”¹⁷²

Laia, a secondary school teacher from the Canary Islands, went even further saying that the quality of the teacher-student relationship was actually dependant on how comfortable the teacher felt:

“How we manage our emotions in the classroom, and how we manage the time, and the conflicts- it's going to determine the quality of our day-to-day life in the classroom. If a teacher doesn't feel comfortable in a classroom they don't establish positive relationships with their students.”¹⁷³

When asked for reasons why teachers would choose not to express their emotions in the classroom, several teachers interviewed identified fear as a possible factor - be it of losing face or one's authority in the classroom, or even ultimately losing one's job because they are not deemed to be acting professionally. But as Sara, a secondary school teacher from Castile and Leon, argues:

“There's nothing wrong with expressing our emotions to our students, ideally the better ones. If I want to teach them to be I have to be able to transmit it. I don't lose my role as a teacher for having done so... on the contrary, I get closer to them and interact with them even more.”¹⁷⁴

A theme that was constantly revisited by the Spanish teachers in relation to their emotions in the classroom was authenticity. As Mikel, a secondary school teacher in Navarra explained:

“Emotions are like a garment that I wear - like, I can't enter into a classroom and leave emotions outside in the hallway. So now I enter the classroom with all my body, with all my emotions, with everything that happens to me - with my bad mood if I have slept badly, and

¹⁷² “Deben sentirse cómodos y, de hecho, creo que deben expresar sus emociones porque así los alumnos ven que también sienten, que también sufren y se alegran y que su capacidad empática los acerca a ellos.”

¹⁷³ “Cómo gestionamos nuestras emociones en el aula y cómo gestionamos los tiempos, los conflictos van a marcar nuestro día a día en el aula. Si un profesor no se siente cómodo en un aula no establece relaciones positivas con sus alumnos”

¹⁷⁴ “No pasa nada por informar de nuestras emociones a poder ser las buenas ante el alumnado. Sí quiero enseñar a ser tengo que transmitirlo. Si me igualo no pierdo papel, si contrario me acerco más e interactuo.”

good mood if I have good news ... As a living being... So, I'm now at the stage of being a bit more relaxed in the classroom and presenting myself, like, a little bit more like I actually am."¹⁷⁵

Julia, the primary school teacher from the Balearic Islands, similarly talked about the importance of teachers showing themselves as they are:

*"I think every teacher must be authentic, the students pick up when we're pretending, nonverbal language gives us away ... Simply, let each teacher act naturally and show themselves as he or she is."*¹⁷⁶

Some teachers highlighted that being authentic also meant being honest that they are not omniscient, as Mikel the mathematics teacher put it:

*"It's not true that we know more than them [the students]... We adults are whatever we can be, we cannot be anything else, we don't know more. I know more about maths than my boys and girls, but not more about life ... this honesty is necessary I think."*¹⁷⁷

Some teachers also described at length their own progress with social and emotional skills in their life. Adam, a secondary teacher from Extremadura, says:

*"It [SEE] has given me greater ability to understand the emotions of others, to manage mine, to be more assertive and more empathetic. Of course, with a wide margin for improvement."*¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ "Las emociones son como una prenda que tengo yo, o sea, yo no puedo entrar en un aula y dejar las emociones afuera en el pasillo. Entonces yo entro ahora entro en el aula con todo mi cuerpo, con todas mis emociones, con todo lo que me pasa, con mi mal humor si he dormido mal, y buen humor si tengo una buena noticia ... ser un poco un ser vivo ¿no? ... Entonces, para mí, ahora estoy un poco en la fase de estar relajado en el aula y mostrarme como, un poco mas como soy."

¹⁷⁶ "Opino que cada docente debe ser auténtico, los alumnos y alumnas captan muy bien cuando fingimos, el lenguaje no verbal nos delata... Simplemente que cada maestro y maestra actue con naturalidad y se muestre tal como es."

¹⁷⁷ "No es verdad que sepamos más que ellos y que ellas ... Los adultos somos cómo podemos ser, no podemos ser de otra manera, no sabemos más. Yo sé más de matemáticas que mis chicos y mis chicas, pero no de la vida ... esa honestidad yo creo que hace falta."

¹⁷⁸ "Me ha dado mayor capacidad para entender las emociones de los demás, poder gestionar las mías, ser más asertivo y más empático. Por supuesto que con un amplio margen de mejora."

Mikel, the Navarran secondary school teacher, also said that his work on himself and improving his own emotional literacy had led him to be more accepting of his own emotions, and having worked as a teacher for two decades, has made him more able to challenge the climate of fear that is sometimes attached to teaching:

“Before, I couldn't say that I liked my job, now I can ... now there are many things that I'm not afraid of. I'm no longer afraid that my boss will tell me, 'You're doing it wrong', I'm no longer afraid of a parent saying, 'My son or my daughter isn't at all happy with you' ... I'm not afraid that in class it will all suddenly disintegrate and they'll behave very badly, no. I'm no longer afraid.”¹⁷⁹

True to the findings of the initial quantitative phase of research, Spanish teachers were found to be very comfortable discussing emotion in the interviews: the majority of teachers shared a responsibility for socialising students' emotions and were confident in promoting their students' emotional competence. Why this was the case was another matter: training was not the cause (the Spanish were the least trained regarding SEE both in their initial teacher training and in continuing professional development, compared to the other three countries) nor was it the result of particular programmes (which did not appear to exist except for the ones teachers implemented themselves). What was found instead was a group of teachers who were mostly autodidacts in this area, with a fierce determination to improve their own emotional literacy and learn more about social and emotional education as it related to pedagogy. The answers were quite holistic: Spanish teachers believed their time was better spent working on their own emotional development that students could then model, rather than on programmes about social and emotional education that were taught didactically like any other curricular subject. Having said that, the majority of Spanish teachers

¹⁷⁹ “Yo antes no podía decir que me gustaba mi trabajo, ahora si ... ya hay muchas cosas a las que no tengo miedo. Ya no tengo miedo de que mi jefe o mi jefa me diga, 'lo estás haciendo mal', ya no tengo miedo de que un padre o una madre me diga, 'mi hijo o mi hija no esta nada de contento contigo', ya no tengo miedo a esas cosas. No tengo miedo a que al repente un dia en clase aquello estalle y se portan muy mal, no ya no tengo miedo.”

interviewed were unhappy with their school's current SEE provisions, and as the next section will detail, they felt that a specific time dedicated to SEE was still needed (which they did not currently have).

Sweden

After Spain, it was the Swedish teachers who were the most likely to strongly agree that teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions and many of the interviews supported this. As Elsa, a secondary school teacher from Stockholm, said in her interview, *"As a teacher you need to be a strong adult that dares to meet, share and show feelings."* This statement is an important one to highlight, because unlike Spain, in Sweden there were more negative opinions to emotions being part of the classroom, and as Elsa highlighted, it takes strength and daring for a teacher to express themselves in the classroom when it is not the norm. In fact, many of the teachers interviewed saw emotional expression as mutually exclusive to a productive environment in the classroom, as Erik, a secondary school teacher in Stockholm described it, *"When we're in the classroom then we have this classroom attitude, if I can call it that. And the classroom is not the place to get emotional."* Similarly, Julia, a secondary school teacher in Stockholm described emotion as all well and good as long as it did not take over from the primary goal of academic attainment: *"There has to be a kind of in between, where we allow the emotions and the social aspects of things to express themselves. But that should not make the classroom ineffective. It shouldn't take over."*

As far as describing their own relationship to emotion, Erik described the topic was taboo in the staff room, *"With emotional thought, I think we're a little bit... a lot reluctant about it to be honest ... If I talked to some colleagues about emotions they would start packing and go home."* That is not to say, of course, that emotional

education was disregarded altogether, and the emotional makeup of the Swedish classroom was seen to be modelled on one of collaboration and positive group dynamics, which, as Erik describes is:

“A climate in the classroom that we as a group take care of each other. We help each other with the lessons, we help each other with... well, if some person is sad and runs out from the classroom it should be anyone who follows them, not just their best friend.”

It became obvious that talking about the emotional literacy and education of students was easy with Swedish teachers, whereas talking about the teacher's own emotional world was a lot harder. Erik acknowledged this saying that he did not see himself as a model in this way, *“My issue for them [students] is that they can cope with school ... not life. If I look at my own life, I don't believe I'm a very good teacher for that.”*

There was, however, a noted difference between the social conventions of how teachers should express their emotions in the classroom, and what was actually done. Erik, the Stockholm secondary school teacher confessed to having no qualms with dealing with his students' unruly behaviour in the classroom unconventionally according to Swedish standards, *“In Sweden it's impossible. We can't shout [at the students] ... even shout, we can't do that. I do it [shouting] all day but I don't give a shit...”* Many of the female Swedish teachers interviewed, on the other hand, acknowledged to be really struggling in the classroom and were not as comfortable expressing themselves as the male teachers interviewed. As Linnea, a primary school teacher in West Sweden, explained, teachers drop out like flies because of students' bad behaviour, and many teachers who stay do so because of a lack of opportunities rather than any desire to be in the classroom:

“We're seeing surveys where one out of five teachers choose to leave the profession because they don't feel they can cope with it, with the children, because of the behaviour, and because of the

school system itself ... I want to actually do something else but, yeah ... there are no other alternatives, and then you're stuck."

Like with Greek private school teachers, lack of security and power imbalances between teachers and students were also mentioned by Julia, a private secondary school teacher, whose livelihood was felt to be at risk with every differing opinion to students and their parents, *"If you're a teacher and you give a student a grade that you think is correct but they don't think is correct, your career is over."* Thus, in both private and public school, the power balance was felt by some of the Swedish teachers interviewed to have firmly shifted into the hands of students.

There were many similarities between the Greek and Swedish opinions about emotion in the classroom: that emotions are a 'zero-sum' game in the classroom so that any space dedicated to them took away from the focus on transferring knowledge, that male teachers found it easier to flout the expectations that a teacher should be emotionally reticent in the classroom, and that unruly behaviour and power dynamics in the classroom were making teaching unbearable with no solution in sight except to quit. The Swedish teachers brought in another dimension however: that emotions are part of one's 'personal life', and therefore outside of their remit as teachers, and even outside of the bounds of conversation in the staff room. This highlighted a strong boundary between school and home that will be discussed at length in the next section.

Unlike the Greeks, the Swedish teachers spent a lot of time in their interviews talking about their inexperience with SEE and highlighted how, unlike the Spanish, given the opportunity to concentrate on more social and emotional aspects of learning, the majority would not be comfortable doing so; for this reason many Swedish teachers were happy with the time spent on SEE provision in their schools and the policies in place (that is to say, minimal

provision and no policy). Given that in-school counsellors are a normal part of Swedish school life this is understandable, but it does downplay the role that emotion has to learning: it should come as no surprise given this context that Swedish teachers in the sample were the most likely to disagree that emotion is fundamental to learning, as well as the most likely to disagree that emotional skills could be taught to students.

United Kingdom

UK teachers were the least likely to agree that they should be emotional with their students; only 63% of teachers responding to the questionnaire agreed that they should feel comfortable displaying their emotions in the classroom. In the interviews the teachers were quick to explain that they did feel comfortable expressing themselves, just that it needed to be under control. Although Will, a secondary school teacher from South-East England, believed that teachers expressing emotion need not compromise the teacher's authority he did warn that, "*there has to be an appropriate level of emotional intelligence displayed by the teacher, too much emotion, or negative emotions can prove destructive to the learning environment.*" Chris, a secondary school teacher from the West Midlands similarly expressed a discomfort with the display of negative emotion in the classroom, "*I believe that it is suitable to discuss emotions with students in class but that the display of particular emotions, particularly anger, could damage the relationship between pupils and teacher.*" It is important to note here that both of these teachers taught at secondary school, and the questionnaire identified a significant difference between how comfortable secondary teachers were expressing themselves in class compared to primary school teachers.

In respect to discussing their own relationship to emotion in the interviews, UK teachers were the most reticent out of all four

countries, but those that did briefly discuss their emotional world in the classroom described feelings of being overwhelmed, overworked and unappreciated. Carole, a London secondary school teacher who had recently quit her job after seven years as a teacher, said:

“I got pretty burnt out by the end, which is a big reason why I'm leaving... It's such a shame because there are so many great things about it [teaching] but it's just not something I'm prepared to do anymore. Hopefully one day I'll find my way back to something similar.”

It should come as no surprise that the quintessential emotional reticence, which has become almost a stereotype to describe the British, also directly impacted the way in which UK teachers discussed emotion in the interviews - that is to say, talking about emotions with UK teachers felt like getting blood from a stone. Similar to the Spaniards, UK teachers responded in a matter-of-fact way about how they should express their own emotions in the classroom: sure you can express yourself, just don't do it 'too much'. It was much easier for UK teachers to talk about emotional literacy as it pertained to students (or as the next section highlights, as it pertained to students' parents), or to talk about the emotional rollercoaster of teaching retrospectively once they had quit. With the little information obtained on this theme, one thing did become clear: the emotional makeup of UK classrooms had clearly defined 'no-go' zones within the emotional spectrum. Whereas in primary school both teachers and students were allowed to be more emotionally expressive, by the time UK students got to secondary school they were socialised in an increasingly emotionally reticent environment where, like in Sweden, emotions were treated like a zero-sum game in the quest for greater academic achievement. Despite this, UK schools were the most likely to devote time to SEE, which is no surprise given that the UK was the only country in the study to have once had a dedicated policy and framework dedicated to SEE, called the 'Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning' or SEAL framework. This attention to SEE, however, was found to be used instrumentally:

social and emotional skills were either promoted as a means to improve academic achievement, or as problems to be resolved ('social and emotional behavioural difficulties') in order to, again, improve academic achievement.

4.2. The teacher/student relationship: socialising for an uncertain future

What does it mean to be a teacher? Are teachers community leaders? Transmitters of knowledge? Socialisers of emotion? Responsible for creating the next generation of democratic citizens? Preparing students with the skills necessary for the workplace? These questions all stem from a common issue: the role of the teacher in students' lives to prepare for the future. Whether this relationship is as significant as that of a child with their parent or as restrained as the relationship with any other civil servant in society, one thing most teachers agreed on in the study was that the relationship between teachers and students should be a positive one, and that social and emotional education can help facilitate this.

Greece

When asking teachers about their role in society, Greek teachers in particular turned the interview into a history lesson. As the Athenian primary school teacher Irimi explained, in the recent past (specifically, the decade after the fall of the military junta in 1974), teachers in Greek society were held in the same esteem as policemen and priests within their communities. The model for teachers was the male, authoritarian figure that used corporal punishment who would conduct their lessons upon a podium in the front of the class. After the 1980s, one of the first changes made by the newly elected social-democratic party (PASOK) was to remove the podiums in the classroom - a change which most teachers were against, Irimi recounts, since it would lead to their feet getting cold (or

so they complained). This penchant for authoritarian teachers and the (literal) hierarchy within the classroom is one that still exists to this day in Greece - as was mentioned in the previous section, 'strong' and 'strict' teachers are rarely challenged by parents or other teachers. Elina, a private school language teacher corroborated this, saying that "*Greek teachers ... are far too lenient with their students, they are not well organised.*"

Despite this preference for strict teachers, Irini mentioned that teachers are still widely seen as role models, and their behaviour is judged accordingly and managed by senior leadership to this end; she recounted an instance where she was admonished by her head teacher for going out drinking with friends in the local village, as she was someone to be looked up to in the community. Irini agreed that these attitudes were changing, but that the importance of education in Greek society had remained consistent, "*People who lash out at teachers, they lash out on these grounds like, 'You're supposed to be the ones who will make the new citizens, who will help children socialize. Why aren't you doing it?'*"

But towards what end were students being socialised? What social and emotional skills should be encouraged? Discussing the future with Greek teachers was impossible without discussing the ongoing economic crisis. As Irini, the Athenian primary school teacher, said, it is impossible to prepare for a future when everything is so uncertain, "*I think a lot of people are realizing that children might end up being jobless and unemployed for a long time regardless of what we [teachers] do. And so we have to put our priorities elsewhere.*" Irini went on to mention that the children in her school who were born and brought up during the crisis have now normalised it; she remembers seeing a game at break time where one child flanked by two more pretending to be his security guards terrorised the playground by finding people to lay off, and Irini witnessed a little girl pleading for her 'job':

"And she said, 'If you fire me I won't have anything to eat,' and he was like, 'You know you can go live with your mom again.' And they were playing, happily ... it's been going on for seven years, so there are children at school who remember this their whole life ... it's not something temporary. So I think this affects all of our answers as teachers."

As to the importance of teacher-student relationships one interviewee in particular, Elina, the Athenian private school language teacher, highlighted the importance of developing positive relationships with students for her own sake, *"It's worth it because it makes these sorts of hours a bit more tolerable, than to be in a class where you hate everybody, you know everybody hates you, and you make vile comments all the time to each other."* Elina has worked in the same private school for 10 years and has bonded with a number of students which she has seen grow up in her classroom. However, she still resents having the teacher-student bond seen as a mandatory part of teaching:

"There is, some connection between student and teacher, but it should not be enforced by society or the parents. It's just like making friends, you cannot force somebody to make friends they don't like, and you cannot force a teacher to like a child that is not likeable according to her own criteria."

Elina was quick to add that learning is contingent on the relationship between the teacher and student and so for the student to learn, the teacher must work hard to be liked, *"If a student doesn't like you, he's not going to learn, you need to get people to like you no matter what it takes."* When teachers do not have any kind of a bond with a student, or even dislike them, Elina recommends teachers 'fake it 'til they make it'.

Spain

Even with a majority of 76% agreeing, Spanish teachers were the least likely to say that the relationship between the teacher and student is fundamental to learning, compared to their colleagues in the other countries surveyed. The interviews were thus a good

means to understand why, relatively speaking, the Spaniards in the study did not place as much importance on the teacher-student relationship. Two interlinked themes emerged: the need to challenge authoritarian teacher-student relationships which were once the norm in Spanish schools (similar to those in Greece), and how more horizontal relationships had allowed for more positive student-teacher relationships. Like the Greek teachers, Spanish teachers were still having to challenge concepts of a 'perfect' teacher being one who retains complete control of their classroom. One way of challenging this was by showing, for instance, the emotional stress caused by demanding that teachers hold dictatorial rule over their classrooms. Mikel, the secondary-school mathematics teacher from Navarra, highlighted the crushing weight of expectations and responsibilities placed on teachers in Spain, *"My science is exact, but I am not ... I got so tired of the role of the perfect teacher, because it didn't even work. I was suffering because of this. Because the reality in the classroom is that you can't control everything. Because you have 20 people in front of you, and you can't control everything."*¹⁸⁰

Mikel went on to say that when teachers seek to control the classroom the concomitant result is that students become enemies, and the learning process becomes a never-ending power struggle, *"This used to happen a bit to me many years ago. Going against them, 'I will control them. They are not going to take over my power' ... And once this fear had gone, because I believe it is fear, it is fear what we [teachers] have, you can go in more relaxed."*¹⁸¹ Mikel confessed that choosing not to act as an authority figure did mean that more effort was required of him to create a 'working climate' due

¹⁸⁰ "Mi ciencia es exacta, pero yo no ... me cansé del papel de profesor perfecto, porque además no me funcionaba. Yo creo que sufría, sufría por esto. Porque hay una realidad en el aula, y es que no puedes controlarlo todo. Porque tienes a 20 personas delante, y no lo puedes controlarlo todo."

¹⁸¹ Eso a mi me pasaba un poco hace muchos años. Ir contra ellos, 'Les voy a controlar. No se van a apoderar de mi, de mi centro de poder. De mi lugar de poder-no me van de echar de la tarima' Y una vez que se me fue ese miedo, porque yo creo que es miedo, es miedo lo que tenemos, pues vas más relajado.

to the students' incessant talking and the occasional behavioural problems, but he prefers it this way: his classroom switches from 'work' to 'play' mode, rather than the forced learning that results from students fearing their teachers, and this allows relationships to develop naturally:

*"More important than mathematics is the relationship I establish with them [students]. Because when there's a very good relationship, it's like my love for mathematics flows, and they receive my enthusiasm, and they receive my passion. And I see them talking about a quadratic equation, a math problem, which can be very boring, but sometimes they egg each other on, 'Let's see if this works out!' And 'Check this out!' And that's just it, with emotion you learn better."*¹⁸²

Laia, the secondary school teacher from the Canary Islands talked in depth about how an improved teacher-student relationship depends on how students value their teacher, *"When my students value me as a person, recognising my ability to manage the classroom, my work as a teacher, my ability to communicate and reach agreements with them, to empathise, it makes everything easier."*¹⁸³

Many of the Spanish teachers interviewed talked about how social and emotional education had allowed them to better empathise and understand their students, which is a qualitative aspect of teaching that makes it easier but is still difficult to appreciate, as Sara, the secondary school teacher in Castile and Leon, described it.

¹⁸⁴ Laia claims that it is as simple as addressing the students' emotional needs at the beginning of every lesson, *"For example, math last period on a Friday, before I start I tell them, 'We're all tired, it's normal, we're going to take the class calmly, let's work relaxed' ...*

¹⁸² Más importante que las matemáticas es la relación que establezco con ellos y con ellas. Porque cuando hay muy buena relación, es como mi amor para las matemáticas fluyen, y reciben mi entusiasmo, y reciben mi pasión, y sí. Y les veo hablando de una ecuación de segundo grado, un problema de matemáticas, que puede ser muy aburrido, pero a veces se pican entre ellos, 'y a ver si sale esto, y fíjate!' Pues eso, con emoción se aprende mejor.

¹⁸³ "Cuando mis alumnos me valoran como persona, reconociendo mi capacidad de gestión en el aula, mi trabajo como docente, mi capacidad de diálogo y de llegar a acuerdos con ellos, de empatizar... mi trabajo docente se ve facilitado."

¹⁸⁴ "Mejoran los aspectos cualitativos aunque no se aprecie"

*They feel heard and comforted.*¹⁸⁵ Julia, the primary school teacher in the Balearic islands says that her desire to know her students better, to understand why they act in certain ways, and to help them identify their fears has brought a greater cohesiveness to her classroom as a whole:

*“When we do some activity of expressing emotions, feelings, we learn to know ourselves and our partners, this motivates us to learn to understand each other, and when we understand them we accept them, and when we accept them the group is cohesive. And when the group is cohesive many conflicts are prevented.”*¹⁸⁶

Like Mikel, Carla agrees that the remedy for top-down authoritarian relationships in schools is greater inclusivity, *“The important thing is not the activities, but that the methodology is very participatory.”*¹⁸⁷

Like in Greece, Spanish teachers in both the questionnaire and interviews mentioned the economic crisis in their answers and how it has caused a great deal of uncertainty in planning for the future, along with the concomitant stress that the students have to face navigating the crisis. As Mikel recounts:

*“Due to the economic crisis, this issue of competitiveness, getting better outcomes, getting better schooling ... That kind of tension that many of my boys and girls have, especially the older ones who are about to enter university- they are under pressure. That intense pressure of, ‘If I don’t study this, what’s going to become of me?’”*¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ “Por ejemplo matemáticas a 6ºh de un viernes, antes de empezar les digo, ‘se que todos estamos cansados, es normal, nos vamos a tomar la clase con calma, vamos a trabajar relajados ... Ellos se sienten oídos y reconfortados.”

¹⁸⁶ “Cuando hacemos alguna actividad de expresar emociones, sentimientos, aprendemos a conocernos a nosotros mismos y a nuestros compañeros, esto motiva que al conocernos aprendemos a entender a los demás y cuando los entendemos los aceptamos y cuando los aceptamos el grupo se cohesiona. Y cuando el grupo esta cohesionado se previenen muchos conflictos.”

¹⁸⁷ “Lo importante no son las actividades, sino la metodología muy participativa.”

¹⁸⁸ “Además con la crisis, claro el tema de la competitividad, de encontrar mejores salidas, de encontrar mejores estudios... yo intento de una manera relajar. Esa especie de tensión que- muchos de mis chicos y mis chicas, sobre todo los mayores, los que están al punto de acceder a la universidad, tienen presión. Esa intensa presión de, ‘si no estudio esto que va a ser de mí”

With this level of uncertainty about the future, Mikel said, all that is left for teachers to do is to support students in what they would like to do.

It is interesting to note that the Spanish teachers interviewed did not necessarily disagree that the teacher-student relationship is important to learning (as one teacher even said, no learning could take place without a positive relationship), so much as they disagreed with the relationship being used instrumentally for the sake of learning. That is to say, that a positive relationship with students was felt to be worth it for its own sake, and it is impossible to force positive relationships where teachers and students do not necessarily get along - as one teacher said, whereas they love some of their students, others they would be very happy to send straight to hell. As to what kind of future students were being prepared for, Spanish teachers felt similar to their Greek colleagues: no one really knows, and all that is left to do is prepare students for uncertain times.

Sweden

The theme Swedish teachers continually returned to in their discussion of teacher/student relationships and the role of the teacher was respect. Julia, a secondary school teacher in a private school in Stockholm (*"a bourgeois school which calls itself a firm"*), mentioned that the values in her school centred around achievement and self-discipline, even her clothes were subject to a strict dress code to meet this end, *"They say that if you wear a suit, it gives you more authority, and there's a lot of emphasis on class discipline and all that."* Julia went on to justify these measures, however, as she was critical of the movement to make bureaucracy more human in order to achieve emotional closeness, *"This post-modern concept of a teacher should be that of a mother ... But then, how efficient is a mother in ensuring that the child learns sufficient scientific*

knowledge?" Other teachers disagreed that respect can be so easily won. Unlike Julia, Elsa, another secondary school teacher from Stockholm, talked about the need to earn respect from her students rather than demand it, *"You can't claim respect, you have to earn it. In getting respect you have to be yourself and believe that the students and you can work together, and explore the subjects together. A way to get there is to be a human, and humans have feelings."* Elsa then said that the most important elements to a good relationship with students are mutual respect and honesty.

The teachers were divided as to how positive teacher-student relationships are instrumental for improving grades. Julia, the private secondary school teacher saw social and emotional education as purely instrumental, *"Even if you keep your distance you can be emotionally close ... You can make jokes with them, but they should know the jokes end here. You know there has to be some line drawn somewhere."* Other teachers, however, saw the futility in pushing non-academically-minded students to focus on their grades, and enjoyed a strong bond with them regardless. As Erik explained, *"You can't do anything and then not love them. They're pretty charming, very charming, but it's a hard nut to crack according to the school curriculum because they don't care about it. Maybe they're the intelligent ones, I don't know."*

In terms of the teacher's responsibilities towards socialisation this was more openly discussed by the Swedish teachers compared to the other countries, particularly in regards to their Syrian refugee students. For example, Julia felt personally responsible for helping refugees assimilate into Sweden for the sake of the greater society, *"Teachers have a responsibility to socialise these children into acceptable and desirable social and emotional behaviour so that we build a better and functional society."* Erik on the other hand was more aware of the pressures faced by students whose life was still extremely volatile, *"I have many students who are finding a new*

identity in their new country, other students who don't know if they will be able to stay in Sweden or they're going to be expelled from the country." Helping support these students was high on the agenda for the teachers interviewed, albeit for different reasons. It is interesting to note that the topic of refugee students was absent from Greek teachers' responses both in the questionnaire and the interviews, which can be explained because despite the Greek parliament passing legislation in August 2016 for the enrollment of refugee children, the plan has been mired in delays and violent protests from far-right groups (Baboulias, 2017).

As to socialising students for the future, Julia, the private school teacher from Stockholm, briefly discussed her own observations about how two of the case study countries differed in this respect: Sweden and the UK. She said there was a marked contrast between the two, since, as she recounts, Swedish students are not so worried about their futures because everyone is entitled to some form of education, job security and good wages, and these are not considered a luxury like they may be in the other case study countries, *"In Sweden only one third of the population, or even one tenth of the population, is career oriented. That's the bourgeois upper class. But as for the rest they will become painters, and electricians, and wood workers, and earn more than a doctor."* Given the choice between a Swedish education system and a British system, Julia said she would choose the latter since it is more career oriented. Having visited a nursery and primary school in Sweden run by British pedagogues, where every exercise and activity - be it role plays, drawing pictures, or being read stories - was linked to a future career, Julia says *"It was horrifying but it was brilliant. If I wanted a child who I wanted to be top notch, top at the end of 18 years, I'd send that child to a British school where they are always gearing them towards a career."*

The Swedes were divided on the topic of respect in the teacher-student relationship: whereas some believed it should be expected, others believed it should be earned. Whereas some believed students earned respect by doing well academically, other teachers did not treat grades as the be-all and end-all of students' time in school. As for how to prepare students for the future, out of all the case study countries Sweden was like the tale of two cities: whereas the majority of Swedish students' futures were much more certain compared to those in Greece, Spain and UK, a large number of refugees currently attending schools in Sweden did not know whether they would be permitted to remain in the country, let alone what their future employment prospects were. Thus in Sweden too there was a need to emotionally prepare for a high level of uncertainty, even though this was for a specific subset of the student population.

United Kingdom

Like Sweden, UK teachers discussed what seemed like an ever increasing lack of respect for teachers and the teaching profession in their country. Ella, a former primary school teacher (now teacher trainer), believed it to be the reason for massive recruitment drives within the UK:

“Teachers are just leaving in their droves, you know. These are people who have perhaps been teachers for years and years and they just get to the point where they're like, ‘You know what, I don't need this bullshit. I've got a degree, I'm a professional, why am I being treated like some sort of robot or, you know, idiotic robot?’”

This lack of respect is not only from parents, students, and government officials, but within the school system itself - particularly against those at the very bottom of the teaching hierarchy in the UK: the teaching assistants (TAs). Ella started her career in education as a part-time TA, and a decade later working as a teacher trainer she was disgusted to find that education managers within her organisation regarded TAs as glorified ‘paint-pot washers’. These

'dinosaurs' as Ella called them, even went so far as wanting to deny TAs from receiving best practice awards for their work in schools as they were not properly qualified, highlighting a strong bias in favour of qualifications compared to practical experience.

Given that UK teachers were the most likely to strongly agree that teacher-student relationships are fundamental to learning, how did UK teachers suggest that these relationships could be improved? They were quick to advance that what is needed is time to have one-on-one discussions with their students. Chris, a secondary school teacher from the West Midlands, emphasised the need for the teacher to be someone that students can be open to talking with, *"Being able to discuss certain issues with students helps them to understand the world they live in and feel free to discuss fears, doubts, wants and needs with the teacher in a comfortable and positive environment."* Will, the secondary school teacher from the South East agreed:

"Relating and engaging with pupils is fundamental to earning their trust and respect. I am honest and open with them, emotionally and intellectually. This then enables them to be more open and expressive. It also makes them feel safe and validated."

All this work on nurturing relationships, takes time however, and as Ella highlighted in her interview, teachers throughout the country lack this precious resource, and relationships within schools suffer because of it. Ella recalled her own primary school experience, where her teacher devoted each Monday morning to catching up with each of the students in the class:

"She got to know us all, she got to know about our families, our friends, what we liked, what we didn't like. We got to know her really well, and her family ... they had the freedom to do that in the 70s. And our teachers [today] want that."

Ben, a secondary school teacher from South-East England strongly agreed with the importance of checking in on students, and said that the teacher-student relationship was all that schools had left to give,

considering young people have access to all the world's knowledge at their fingertips online:

“The whole point of having teachers in the classroom is for pupils to build emotional links with them so that they communicate better and get their points across, otherwise pupils would be better off with a book and YouTube. The future of teaching relies on this.”

As was previously mentioned, UK teachers were more likely than the other case study countries to discuss the development of social and emotional skills as a means of improving job prospects and employability. As an example of best practice, Ella, the former primary school teaching assistant (now teacher trainer), mentioned a school in Glasgow whose head teacher personally looked for a job for the students graduating from his secondary school:

“He had kids in his cohort who, if he didn't support them in their emotional and social wellbeing, they would be, you know, disaffected youth. They would be youth offenders. And he had developed all these courses for them with a local college - proper certified courses - to get them working: hotel industry, and social services and, you know, stuff that would help the community, a lot of it, sports related ... I just thought if every school felt like this and acted like this, how different would everything be.”

The teacher-student relationship was seen as the foundation for learning by teachers in the UK, and the way of improving these relationships was time, especially one-on-one time. Unlike Spain and Sweden, much more importance was placed on how the teacher-student relationship benefitted the student: to improve their grades especially, and in some cases, even to secure them employment. An interesting point that was specifically brought up by UK teachers was about the future of teaching, and how given technological advancements the teacher-student relationship may be all that schools in the future have in common with today's schools. This highlights the extent to which the teacher-student relationship is considered the backbone of education by UK teachers.

4.3. SEE: training and provision

Throughout the four case studies, teachers interviewed were divided on whether there should be changes to the time devoted to SEE: whereas teachers from the UK and Sweden were mostly satisfied with their school's SEE provision, teachers from Spain and Greece were not. Despite this, all of them had recommendations as to how SEE provision could be improved in their school and certain 'rifts' between different SEE provisions were found:

- 1) Teachers that wanted SEE to be considered as part of every subject and not treated as a separate topic (mostly due to lack of time/support/resources), compared to those that wished for a specific time and space to be carved out to teach SEE exclusively throughout the school year.
- 2) Teachers that saw the value of SEE for its own sake, compared to those that saw it more instrumentally as a means to bolster academic achievement.
- 3) Teachers that wanted SEE to be simplified with a standard curriculum detailing what social and emotional skills needed to be worked on at each developmental level, compared to those that saw a great danger in creating a normative, one-size-fits all SEE curriculum.
- 4) Teachers that saw the solution to improving SEE provision as dependant on more training and professional development in the area, compared to those that would prefer more day-to-day support from experienced teachers or mentorship programmes.

Greece

Although Greece was found to have had the lowest level of policy or top-down initiatives regarding SEE, there was still a feeling

amongst teachers interviewed that emotions were being 'pushed' to be considered in the classroom. Irini, the primary school teacher in Athens, saw a gradual change over the years, with the curriculum being more inclusive of the affective world:

"Children are very early taught the names of emotions, whereas I remember that we used to teach them 'apple', 'dog', now third lesson in we're teaching them 'happy', 'sad', 'angry' ... There's something coming from above that kind of points us towards speaking about feelings a little bit more."

However, she considered what little policy existed regarding social and emotional education to be the half-baked plans of the political class:

"There are a lot of changes implemented that have to do with someone conceiving an idea about something- not really talking about it or bothering to somehow train the teachers, or hear what they have to say about how it can be implemented in the classroom."

So what were the teachers' solutions to better improve SEE provision? According to Irini it is the mentorship of more experienced teachers. She recounted that in her first year it was the advice of an experienced teacher in charge of supporting all the schools in Crete that greatly helped her with one particular student's unruly behaviour:

"She said to me, 'Look, what you're going to do is every day just allow two minutes of your time only for him, like when you walk in the school just talk to him and ask him how you're doing and stuff,' and this was one of the best advice ever given to me. It was so simple and I would have struggled the whole year without it."

Anna, the Athenian private school teacher, said that she would prefer more focus on training regarding SEE, "We only had two subjects in university: psychology and pedagogy. Very theoretical. You could not learn how to treat students." But, Elina, another Athenian private school teacher, believes that you cannot prepare for how students are going to behave in the classroom, and that it is experience on the job that is the key determiner of success as a teacher:

"At the university in Greece, they don't teach you how to teach, you learn that while teaching, and I think this is much better .. It's a false impression we have that 'Oh you should study four years to become

a teacher' because you don't become a teacher this way ... I have been attacked at lessons, I have psychopaths [as students]. Anything you can imagine. Yeah. You will never learn all this at school and I think that we shouldn't."

As to whether they would like to have a cross-cultural curriculum of social and emotional skills as a reference - like the UN World Happiness Report advised (2015) - the Greek teachers disapproved of the idea. Irini called it artificial, and gave the example of how such a framework would help a seven-year old student who is unable to share:

"There are thousands of reasons why [he can't share]. Some of them we should address and help him overcome these, and some of these, for some other reasons, maybe we should leave him alone, see how he grows. You can't have a checklist for these things ... putting emotions into this checklist seems kind of rigid to me."

Elina agreed, saying that it was yet another futile exercise to try and put people in boxes, *"In terms of teaching, which is mostly interacting with other people, you just need to learn how they act and how they interact with you while teaching them."*

Thus, in terms of improving SEE provision, most of the Greek teachers interviewed did not believe in the need for extra training, nor for a specific time dedicated to the subject, but rather for a more extensive support network to help teachers deal with behaviour and social and emotional aspects of learning. Frameworks about social and emotional skills like the UN World Happiness report (2015) suggested were not seen as useful nor desirable by the Greek teachers, and was even considered quite problematic. Greek teachers were happy to treat each student as an individual, accepting their social and emotional skills as they were rather than judging them normatively, and to tackle problems in the classroom as they arose (albeit with extra support from more experienced teachers).

Spain

Like the Greeks, Spanish teachers were very dissatisfied on average with SEE provision in their schools and a large part of the interviews were dedicated to discussing these frustrations and possible solutions going forward. The highest dissatisfaction with SEE in Spain was found to be expressed by secondary school teachers in the questionnaire, who (like in the UK) teach in highly different 'emotional environments' in secondary school compared to primary schools. But as some of the interviews highlighted, students who were accustomed to more attention being placed on SEE in primary school, were then good allies to their secondary teachers in wanting more attention to be given to the subject. As Nieves, a secondary school teacher in the Canary Islands, explains:

*"Among the teachers in my school there is a firm and determined will to introduce, little by little, emotional education in the classrooms, especially for the younger students. In part, because students demand it themselves, especially the younger ones, because they have had it in primary school. And partly because the teachers themselves are becoming more aware that the transition to the institute is very demanding."*¹⁸⁹

The finding from the questionnaire that the introduction of SEE has mostly been through teacher self-organisation was also shown to be the case in the interviews, and the greatest frustration shared by teachers was that the hard-won time they had carved out for SEE was having to be used for other non-curricular subjects due to increasing time constraints. As Adam, the secondary school teacher from Extremadura explained, the only time that he could dedicate to SEE was during a weekly 'tutoring hour' which was set aside for

¹⁸⁹ "Entre el profesorado de mi IES hay una voluntad firme y decidida a introducir, poco a poco, la educación emocional en las aulas, sobre todo en los niveles más bajos (1º-3º de la ESO). En parte, porque es una demanda de los propios alumnos y alumnas, sobre todo los más pequeños, porque lo han tenido en primaria. Y en parte, porque el propio profesorado está tomando conciencia de que el salto al instituto es muy grande."

mentoring, study skills, and the resolution of conflicts between students, which left no time for social and emotional education.¹⁹⁰

The fact that SEE in Spain was largely left up to each individual teacher to decide how to address in their class was seen to be a double-edged sword which, as Carla, the secondary-school teacher from the Balearic Islands concluded, *“In some cases, and depending a lot on the sensitivity of each particular teacher, emotional needs are addressed, in other cases, not so much.”*¹⁹¹

There were examples in the interviews of teachers being extremely committed to SEE, especially in primary school, as the questionnaire previously identified. Julia, the primary school teacher in the Balearic islands, described several simple activities she carried out with her students, such as using a set of coloured cards which each child could choose from depending on how they felt at the time, and then speaking to the group as to how they identified with the colour. As Julia described one particular session using the cards:

*“We discovered that in our group many of us felt sad for different reasons, and when they finished their explanation we had the need to embrace them. This caused students who felt a bit detached from the group to see that their classmates cared about them.”*¹⁹²

With older students, Carla, the secondary school teacher from the Balearic Islands, defined her practice of SEE as a means of speaking one-on-one with students, for example, encouraging a student who felt ‘blocked’ before entering a biology science show by

¹⁹⁰ “La única hora que en secundaria podemos dedicar a lo que no son asignaturas curriculares, es la hora de tutoría. En esa hora de tutoría tienen que tener cabida muchas cosas: plan de acción tutoría, técnicas de estudio, resolución de conflictos entre alumnos y entre alumnos - profesores ... Con lo cual el tiempo dedicado a la educación social y emocional dedicado a lo largo del curso escolar es escaso según mi criterio.”

¹⁹¹ “En algunos casos, y dependiendo mucho de la sensibilidad de cada docente en particular, se atiende a las necesidades emocionales. En otros, no tanto.”

¹⁹² “Descubrimos que en nuestro grupo muchos compañeros y compañeras que se sienten tristes por diferentes motivos cuando terminaban su explicación teníamos la necesidad de abrazarlos. Esto provocó que alumnos y alumnas que se sentían un poco apartados del grupo vieran que les importaban a sus compañeros y compañeras.”

discussing the symptoms of anxiety caused by perfectionism.¹⁹³

Other interviews highlighted that some Spanish teachers were really struggling with implementing SEE, and were in need of much more support and advice on the subject than was currently available.

Maria, a primary school teacher in the Canary Islands put the blame on the curriculum, *“Because the curriculum does not consider emotions, this has had a negative effect on relations between peers, between peers and adults, and has had a negative impact on school performance.”*¹⁹⁴

All the teachers unanimously placed the blame on the increased importance of academic attainment as the reason there was so little time for SEE in their schools. Laia, the secondary school teacher in the Canary Islands, said that, particularly in secondary school:

*“The feeling that our obligation is to impart the curriculum in our area of expertise in the limited time they give us overwhelms us and makes us give up on working on transversal themes in which values and emotions can be developed more.”*¹⁹⁵

Mikel, the secondary school teacher in Navarra agreed, saying that, due to lack of time, SEE is treated in a piecemeal fashion, *“The academic aspects are what takes up the most time. And things are done, but small things, like, people introduce a bit of yoga in the class, some mindfulness...”*¹⁹⁶ Nora, another secondary school teacher in Navarra similarly brought up the ‘tutoring hour’ as a space

¹⁹³ “Hablando de ansiedad ante el hiperperfeccionismo con una estudiante de 4º de ESO que se bloqueó antes de entrar en una Miniolimpiada de Biología hace dos semanas.”

¹⁹⁴ “Porque en el anclaje curricular no se contempla las emociones, por tanto se manifiestan negativamente en las relaciones entre iguales y con las personas adultas afectando consecuentemente al rendimiento escolar.

¹⁹⁵ “El sentimiento de que nuestra obligación es impartir el currículum de nuestra área en el tiempo que nos dan , nos agobia y hace que renunciemos a trabajar temas de carácter transversal en los que se trabajan más los valores y las emociones.”

¹⁹⁶ Lo académico es lo que toma más tiempo. Y se van haciendo cosas, cositas pequeñas, pues igual, hay personas que introducen pues algo de yoga en alguna clase, algo de mindfulness...

dedicated to SEE but agreed that this was not enough time, since it was taken over by academic aspects:

“A powerful division has been established between academic life and personal life, and I understand this to be a problem since we are educating people after all... In my school there are no spaces or time for it [SEE]; There is a tutoring hour but it’s very limited to academic aspects. The rest of the teachers do not have the resources for it [SEE].”¹⁹⁷

Even this tutoring hour had been withdrawn in some schools, including the primary school in the Canary Islands where Laura worked- she said in her interview this had impeded her from working on an ongoing social and emotional project with her students. This highlights the extra challenges faced by Spanish teachers in introducing and developing SEE in their schools, given Spain’s regionally centralised education system, compared to the UK and Sweden’s more decentralised systems. Many of the other teachers interviewed said that the solution going forward could be to have a dedicated time and space for SEE - preferably, having complementary SEE activities incorporated into the curriculum itself - moving the subject once and for all from the ‘hidden curriculum’. This eventually means, as many teachers acknowledged, challenging past remits of the teaching profession as solely being a means of transmitting academic knowledge or techniques, and extending it to teach social and emotional skills also.

As to whether they would like to have a cross-cultural curriculum of social and emotional skills to reference - like the UN World Happiness Report advised (2015) - the Spanish teachers, like the Greeks, were skeptical. As Nieves, the secondary school teacher from the Canary Islands warned, *“It depends on the willingness and consensus of those involved, and the ability of the least developed*

¹⁹⁷ “Se establece una división importante entre lo académico y lo personal, y particularmente entiendo que eso es un problema, ya que estamos educando a personas ... En mi escuela no hay espacios ni tiempo para ello- hay una acción tutorial pero muy limitada a aspectos académicos. El resto del profesorado no contamos con recursos para ello.”

*countries to not be overwhelmed by the demands of the richer countries.*¹⁹⁸ Given that the questionnaire showed each country dedicating significantly different time and attention to particular social and emotional skills, these fears are warranted.

Thus, in terms of improving SEE provision, Spanish teachers' demands included a dedicated time and space to exclusively work on social and emotional education, and a new curriculum that would reference social and emotional aspects of learning throughout, with complementary SEE activities incorporated into the curriculum itself. Being able to spend time on SEE without it being treated like a zero-sum game with academic achievement was stressed particularly by secondary school teachers. Like the Greek teachers, the majority of Spanish teachers interviewed did not agree that a framework of social and emotional skills would be helpful to them and saw attempts by the UN to create a cross-cultural framework as problematic due to the possibility of 'emotional' colonisation: wherein more powerful countries could impose their definition of emotional intelligence onto other cultures.

Sweden

Swedish teachers were divided in their opinions regarding SEE provision in their respective schools. On the one hand there were those that believed much more needed to be done to improve SEE provision. Elsa, the secondary school teacher from Stockholm, for example, criticised the new curriculum that was introduced in 2011 which emphasised theoretical skills to the detriment of everything else, "*Working with music, art, dance and drama, social and emotional skills comes naturally, in this climate it is harder.*" In Sweden solutions to improving SEE were usually framed as a matter

¹⁹⁸ "Depende de la disposición al consenso de los involucrados y de la habilidad de los países menos desarrollados en no dejarse apabullar por los más ricos."

of policy. Some wanted policy to devote time to SEE exclusively, such as Erik, the secondary school teacher in Stockholm:

“We don’t have time enough to make attention for this subject. And it should be ... If you have something like that, a structure. And by culture, the Swedish teachers follow the structure - the whole industry of school literature is based on giving the teacher the structure.”

Other teachers wanted policy to include SEE in every subject, like Linnea, the primary school teacher in West Sweden:

“That’s how the world works when you actually go out from school... it’s not like, oh this is maths, and this is technology- you use every part of everything at the same time. And I think that will be much easier for teachers as well because, actually having less projects, and make it easier for yourself, workload wise it’s much easier.”

Teachers interviewed were very critical of the lack of policy regarding SEE, highlighting a contradiction between Sweden’s positive international reputation in education, compared to its lack of attention to the social and emotional dimensions of learning. As Erik explained:

“We have a picture of Sweden and Denmark as ‘wow’, but it’s not the case. We have a very exclusionary system ... the emotional training, the things that the Swedish curriculum emphasises on, is citizenship, the democratic citizens approach, not the thing about how are you going to work in a group, how do I function as a person, how does it affect me when I interact with persons in certain contexts and so on. That’s nearly non-existent.”

Erik also mentioned that this wasn’t always the case - the Swedish education system used to have a subject committed to SEE - but that it had been scrapped due to the government, *“We had a life knowledge subject, and they took it away because the curriculum said, the politicians said, that it should be included in every subject.”*

With a lack of policy and resources it was no surprise to find that SEE provision in schools - outside of the in-school counselling services available to students - was minimal, and in many respects, still needed. As Linnea, a primary school teacher from West Sweden

said, she found her students really struggling with their school work due to a lack of social and emotional skills:

“They don't know how to speak up. They don't know how to question things because they have some kind of a group pressure going on in the classroom ... and a second group, I would say is those that actually overcompensate, that they think they're really good and ... when they discover that they don't fulfill the goals or actually reach the requirements that we've instructed them in, they really get disappointed.”

Swedish teachers did not see more training as the solution to the problem either, and in fact were the most critical of their teacher training regarding SEE compared to the other three countries with some teachers describing it in the questionnaire as *“Hocus pocus theories that vary with the zeitgeist / political movements / trends etc,”*¹⁹⁹ *“largely bullshit”* and *“a cultural marxist indoctrination orgy.”*²⁰⁰ Erik, the secondary school teacher in Stockholm, confessed that some social and emotional skills currently in vogue that teachers were encouraged to try were not really useful to his students' needs, nor his own, *“The work in relaxation and meditation- I don't do it. I have done it some years ago with the class ... my students, well, sometimes they relax enough, they fall asleep.”* It may come as a surprise therefore that all the Swedish teachers interviewed were positive about the concept of a cross-cultural curriculum of social and emotional skills to reference in class - like the UN World Happiness Report advised (2015).

Teachers in Sweden were happy to keep some aspects of SEE outside of their remit, and prefer the guesswork be taken out of SEE when it came to their own classroom practices. That is to say, they would like policy devoted to SEE, to have a specific time for the subject (or as part of other subjects), for the curriculum to reference SEE, and that a framework of social and emotional skills be created

¹⁹⁹ Hokus pokus-teorier som varierar med tidsandan/politiska strömningar/trender etc

²⁰⁰ Lärarutbildningen var till stora delar en kulturmarxistisk indoktrineringsorgie

that teachers can reference. In many respects, Swedish teachers were happy to devote time to SEE so long as they did not need to introduce it and develop it themselves, preferring a top-down approach. Considering so little time is devoted to SEE in initial teacher training in Sweden compared to the recent past, it is no wonder that Swedish teachers, particularly younger teachers, had no opinion on the subject either way.

United Kingdom

UK teachers in the questionnaire were the most satisfied with the SEE provision in their schools, and the interviews were a good opportunity to explore the different SEE provisions more in depth. Being a highly decentralised education system, each of the teachers from the UK had different SEE provisions: Will, the South-East England secondary school teacher, for example, described his school as one that explicitly mentions social and emotional education as part of its ethos, invests in professional development in the area and has teachers participate in lesson observations. Chris, a secondary school teacher from the West Midlands described his school's SEE provision as being made up of tutor programmes, regular assemblies, in-school counselling, psychometric assessments and mentorship programmes where older pupils mentor younger ones. Carole, an English secondary-school teacher, talked about how her school includes SEE as part of its school policy:

“When our school updated their behaviour policy, we were coached in conversations to have with students about recognising that how they felt caused them to act in a certain way, and helping them come up with alternative ways to act in future.”

Because the different countries making up the United Kingdom have different administrations regarding educational policy, how policy impacts SEE provision was different from area to area. Scotland, for example, had specific social and emotional education policy meaning that, as Ella, described it:

“If you’re a Scottish teacher you’ve got to have English, maths and wellbeing as your core - so even if you’re doing P.E. or whatever, you still have to have wellbeing as part of it. And I don’t understand why that’s just happening in Scotland.”

In England, Ella said that matters were quite different, and that teaching staff were ignored by government regarding emotional education, *“If you read what head teachers are saying and then you look at what government are doing, any government, they’re not listening- our education secretaries don’t listen.”* Many English teachers interviewed agreed, saying that they felt that the government initiatives addressed the issue superficially, as Carole, a secondary school teacher from London described, *“I felt like it [SEE] was incorporated in a “tick box” sort of way rather than being meaningful.”* Carole’s frustration with SEE was that there was no underlying framework to work from and the result was haphazard:

“There was a lot of talk about social and emotional skills the students needed - for example, we felt the girls desperately needed to build resilience - but some teachers would work hard on this whilst others would sort of see it as a problem for somebody else to work on ... And this is probably why it didn’t work. Somebody would see a gap and come up with a way to fill it, but it wasn’t always practical, or it was rushed, or the teachers who were needed to deliver it just weren’t on board enough.”

But even for those teachers who, as a group, were committed to concentrate more on SEE, there was still the further obstacle of time: both the lack of time, and the lack of freedom to do what one wished with the time that they had. Once again, the pressure of academic attainment was the main reason given, as Carole explained:

“Teaching English, there were so many opportunities to discuss emotions (when reading a poem about death, we could discuss grief and ways people work through it) but the constraints of the curriculum didn’t really allow for it. I’d imagine teachers of all subjects would have similar experiences where they can see room for social and emotional education but they don’t have the time to fit it in with the curriculum.”

Ella said that this lack of temporal autonomy and focus on academic attainment was largely to blame for the demoralisation of teachers in the UK:

“N.Q.T. [Newly Qualified Teachers] come into education wanting to make a difference ... You don't come into education to make a mint, you're coming because you are driven to make a difference, and then they come in and they realize, 'They're not going to let me do it. I have to do this prescriptive thing', and even the schools that are very holistic and really switched on to it, because all those other pressures, they can't even do it as much as they want to.”

Teachers were also critical of the initial teacher training they received, which did not include any mention of social and emotional skills, nor of managing behaviour. As Ella put it, *“Teachers leave teacher training able to do a brilliant math lesson, they don't know what to do with that maths lesson when they've got a bunch of kids who, you know, they're under the table, or throwing chairs.”* When asked what they wished was included in their teacher training more specifically, emotional literacy was a common topic. Carole, a secondary school teacher, for example, said that she felt she was of little use to her students when they expressed that they were having emotional difficulties:

“Training on helping students manage their feelings would also have been helpful. I often found it frustrating when students would say things like "I can't help it; she's annoying me" and I didn't feel like I was helpful in giving students ways to deal with annoyance.”

Thus, in terms of improving SEE provision, a majority of UK teachers interviewed believed that the way forward should be a greater focus on SEE during initial teacher training and continuing professional development, and better communication between teachers and policymakers to put wellbeing at the centre of the curriculum. But it is understandable that so many teachers interviewed were happy with the provision as it currently was: relatively speaking, the UK was devoting the most time to SEE, had a higher number of teachers trained in the subject, and had the most

extensive policy dedicated to the development of social and emotional skills.

4.4. Boundaries between home and school

Besides being more comfortable expressing emotion in the classroom, Spanish teachers were also significantly more likely to agree that their students had the same behavioural goals in school and at home, compared to the other three countries. True to the finding of the questionnaire, a marked difference was found in the interviews between Spain and the other three countries on the subject. But the difference found was not so much about students' behaviour as it was about the quality of relationship to students' parents, and the teachers' beliefs about how different the school environment should be compared to the home environment. Cross-culturally, teachers could be divided into one of two camps when discussing emotional boundaries between home and school: those who believed a strong boundary between home and school should be maintained and tended to talk about the home being a sanctuary where 'one could be oneself', and those who believed that the boundary between home and school should be blurred and tended to talk about the importance of not living in drastically dissimilar emotional environments in one's day-to-day life.

Greece

Greek teachers were the most likely to say that their students behaved differently at school than they did at home, but there was no statistically significant difference between the Greek responses and those of Sweden and the UK. As for the boundary between home and school and how students transition between the two spaces, Irini, the Athenian primary school teacher, said that this was generally difficult, especially in the Greek culture, with children treated like royalty at home, and parents expecting their children to be similarly treated at school. Teachers said they were having to deal with more

and more impossible and sometimes comical requests - for example, the majority of parents in the class demanding that their child be seated at the front of the classroom (all 25 of them).

In her interview, Irini admitted that Greek schools are too closed off to parents, because teachers are very threatened by parents' behaviour. Irini recalled seeing a father and his five-year old daughter after the student's first day at school:

"I saw this little girl giving her father a list of the things they should buy for school, and he took it and said, 'Oh let's see what bullshit the teacher told you.' And I was like, God! It's her first day of school!"

Whether they were weathering the direct animosity of parents, or condescending comments about how to do their job ("*Look my sister is a teacher so I know how [this should be done]*"), the private teachers felt even more exposed to the whims of parents who felt entitled to the teacher's time and attention, given that they were paying more for it.

As to students' behaviour between home and school, Elina, the Athenian private school teacher, added that she believes children act pretty consistently between the two environments: "*A child who is very naughty in class, it's the same child who won't obey his father, so it's the same thing.*"

Spain

Spanish teachers were the most likely, by a highly statistically significant margin, to say that their students shared the same behavioural goals at school and at home, and the interviews confirmed this difference. For example, Carla the secondary school teacher saying, "*In the great majority of cases, the family and the school are going in the same direction and the values that we try to instil from both parties are the same,*"²⁰¹ and Maria the primary school

²⁰¹ "En la gran mayoría de los casos la familia y la escuela van en la misma dirección y los valores que intentamos inculcar desde ambas partes son los mismos."

teacher, *“A close family-school collaboration is based on the principle of co-responsibility.”*²⁰² Many of the teachers described the home environment - ideally a loving place where children can relax - as the best environment to emulate in the school. As Mikel, the secondary school teacher in Navarra, describes:

*“In the end it's about relationships between people and, of course, evidently a relationship with a teacher is not the same as a father or a mother, but hey- a good home, a healthy home, is one where you can find love, where the boy or girl feels loved, and why not transfer that to school? ... A kind of relaxation [in the classroom], a little bit as if they were in their living room at home.”*²⁰³

This sentiment was also shared by Nora , another secondary school teacher in Navarra:

*“One must live in an adjusted and balanced way in different contexts such as home and school. The school must generate feelings of belonging and identity to promote participation and improvement.”*²⁰⁴

However, many Spanish teachers did say that much more needs to be done. Nieves, the secondary school teacher from the Canary Islands comments, *“There is a serious disconnect between school and home. There are exceptions, obviously. There are families concerned about the education their children receive, but even they don't know what's done in a classroom.”*²⁰⁵ The limitations of what can be done with students coming from particularly troubled households was also discussed. Laia, the secondary school teacher

²⁰² “Por la estrecha colaboración familia-escuela fundamentada en el principio de corresponsabilidad.”

²⁰³ “Al final se trata de relaciones entre personas y, hombre, evidentemente una relación con un profesor o una profesora no es la misma que un padre o una madre, pero bueno- un buen hogar, un hogar sano es donde hay amor, donde el niño o la niña se siente querido, y porque no trasladar eso a un centro escolar? ... una especie de relajo, un poco como si estuvieran en el cuarto de estar en casa.”

²⁰⁴ “Se debe vivir de forma ajustada y equilibrada en diferentes contextos como puede ser la casa y la escuela. La escuela debe generar sentimientos de pertenencia, de identidad para favorecer la participación y mejora.”

²⁰⁵ “Hay una desconexión grave entre la escuela y el hogar. Hay excepciones, obviamente. Hay familiar preocupadas por la educación que reciben sus hijos, pero incluso ellas desconocen lo que se hace en un aula.”

in the Canary Islands, explains that if a student comes from a home where teachers are not valued there is very little that can be done:

“My personal experience is that students who perform well at school and have more balanced behaviour are those in whom the values of family and school do not conflict. Then we have a considerable percentage of students in whom these values do not coincide and here conflicts arise. When a parent devalues a teacher, our battle is lost. And the value that the family maintains will prevail in general with values defended by the school.”²⁰⁶

The Spanish teachers were seen to have a shared and committed goal to blur the boundaries between home and school. In this way, the need for relaxation was seen as the essential condition for learning, not strictness nor authority over students. The need to not compartmentalise students' lives between home and school, and to help facilitate the transition between primary and secondary education, were themes that were discussed in the questionnaire and the interviews alike.

Sweden

Many of the Swedish teachers in the interviews felt at odds with their students' parents: either they felt that parents were abandoning their responsibilities and simply did not care, or they were currently embroiled in running battles with parents. Linnea, the primary school teacher from West Sweden, said that compounded by a lack of support from social services, she felt that parents had thrust their jobs onto teachers and did not appreciate their efforts:

“We're in kind of a deep crisis that's going on right now when it comes to parents- Well of course if the parents don't trust us, or at least think that school is something necessary, why should the children think that? And that is something that comes from home. We know what the parents think because the children say it.”

²⁰⁶ “Mi experiencia personal es que los alumnos con mejores rendimientos y comportamientos más equilibrados son aquellos en los que los valores de la familia y escuela no entran en conflicto. Luego tenemos un porcentaje de alumnos considerable en los que estos valores no son coincidentes y ahí surgen los conflictos. Cuando un padre desvaloriza a un profesor, nuestra batalla está perdida. Y el valor que mantiene la familia va a predominar en general con el que defiende la escuela.”

Elsa, a secondary school teacher in Stockholm, discussed the divide between home and school in her interview, saying that many families did not value school:

“Some [students] already work at [their] family business and can't see the point of school. The schools have not been able to engage this group.”

The clash between teachers and parents was also discussed in depth by Erik who said that parents - especially immigrant parents - were demanding that teachers be more strict and authoritarian, although this went against the school culture in Sweden. Julia faced similar problems with a parent taunting her at a teacher-parent meeting saying that her students did not respect her because they talked in her class:

“Parents expect a certain modicum of discipline and what they mean is, everybody should be quiet and silent and doing their own thing, you know, it's a bit boring to be like that ... But that's what they want. So now I'm trying to conform to that standard of things, so that now students are learning that, they can't really get away with being-doing what they think they want to do.”

In the boundaries between home and school in Sweden, teachers returned to a popular theme from the previous section: respect. It was made clear in the interviews that many of the teachers believed that the reason for their students' unruly behaviour, disengaged attitudes or outright disrespect towards teachers was due to them copying their parents' attitudes. No solutions were proposed by any of the teachers, and for some there was a resignation that their work would continue to be undervalued, with more responsibility being added year after year. The interviews highlighted a deep animosity, and a distinct boundary, between school and home. No demographic variable influenced this item in the questionnaire, be it income, years of teaching experience, gender, or education, and it is understandable why so many teachers felt so demoralised about the subject - the animosity between home and school did not look like it was going to get better any time soon.

United Kingdom

57% of the UK teachers in the questionnaire did not agree that their students had consistent behaviour goals between home and school, and like Sweden, this highlighted a deep division between school and home life in the UK. In her interview Ella, the former primary school teacher now teacher trainer, confirmed that this was the case, saying that many teachers she trained saw parents as nothing but a burden: unreachable, defensive, annoying, and undoing the school's good work. As Ella recounts a teacher saying, *"It's all well and good making it all positive for them here [students in school], but they still have to go back home to that, you know, chaos, or that shithole."* Having studied the issue herself, Ella believes the answer is to have the parents involved and communicating with the school as much as possible. One of her responsibilities now as a CPD trainer is to highlight the barriers that teachers themselves have put up against parents:

"Every time I do my training there's a discussion about not being judgmental about parents, that yes they may have made choices, that haven't been positive choices, but do you know what happened to those people to make them take the path they took? Do you know what's affected their life, what were their childhoods like? What were their parent's childhoods like? Is there something that is cross-generational? Does it mean that they're bad parents if they've behaved badly? What are your barriers to them?"

The other teachers interviewed confirmed that these boundaries between home and school did also exist in their schools. Ben, the South-East England secondary school teacher said, *"At school there are written rules and defined sanctions. Rarely does this happen at home. Pupils go out and party at the weekends under the care of parents."* Similarly, Chris, a secondary school teacher from the West Midlands said that behaviour was dramatically different between the two environments with a lot of his students, *"I know that some pupils do not behave as well at home as they do at school and vice versa through parental meetings."* Other teachers differentiated

the spaces of home and school emotionally, saying that school life requires students to be more emotionally repressed due to peer pressure:

"I think that for teenagers in particular, the home environment is a 'safe' place for them to express their negative emotions associated with the pressures of growing up and of academic performance. We hear lots of examples of angry, rebellious or non-communicative behavior at home. They can express anger and frustration which they perhaps can't do as openly in a school environment, where they might want to be seen as 'strong' amongst peers."

Like Sweden and Greece, the UK showed a definite boundary between home and school, that even if invisible can have a strong effect similar to the lines separating nation states. UK teachers saw both the negative and positive aspects of having a solid boundary between home and school: that beyond the school walls irresponsible parents could undo the school's good work, but on the other hand, that the home could be a safe haven where one felt more comfortable being 'oneself' and not subject to judgment from one's peers. Given that UK teachers were the least likely to feel comfortable expressing themselves in the classroom, it is interesting that many described homelife as an environment where students could be more emotionally expressive, which could possibly reflect their own behaviour also.

4.5. SEE: psychology, pedagogy or a mixture of both?

UK teachers in the questionnaire were the most likely to have psychology and psychotherapeutic theories influence their teaching practice (64%), followed by Sweden (36%), Greece (35%) and Spain (27%). This created a significant difference in the answers as to the influences on teaching practice - whilst a lot of UK teacher training involved psychological and mental health topics, the Swedish education system had in-school counsellors to specialise in these topics. It was thus interesting to note that in the interviews, Greek

and Spanish teachers - without a tradition of in-school psychologists and counsellors like in Sweden, or easy access to educational psychologists in (pre-financial-crisis) UK - had much more critical views regarding the role of psychology in teacher training and the classroom, especially in regards to the use of normative labels that could do more harm than good to teachers and students alike.

It is important to highlight, however, that the majority of teachers in the interviews did not find their training in SEE useful - the majority did not value it, did not see it as practical, and even saw it taking time away from more deserving subjects they wish they had studied. The teachers interviewed in all four countries confirmed these findings. Either they had no training, or they do not remember if they did, *"I would say that we had, well, basically nothing, but I recognise it, and maybe it was the first year I went to university..."* (Linnea, Swedish primary school teacher). Other teachers had SEE as an optional subject which they chose not to take, *"To be honest, you could choose these kinds of lessons ... they were optional, so I didn't"* (Elina, Greek private-school language teacher).

Greece

Austerity measures in Greece meant that public school teachers had minimal to no access to psychologists nor to social workers. For those schools that did have access to educational psychologists (as one teacher highlighted, mostly schools attended by predominantly middle-class children), educational psychologists visited each school once a week for 45 minutes to meet and support teachers. Irini, the primary school teacher in Athens, remarked that many of the problems that were brought to the educational psychologists were not about particularly problematic children, but about how best to manage emotional outbursts of students such as temper tantrums and crying: *"needing some sort of help with children's and our emotions in the classroom."* Educational

psychologists being the exception rather than the rule in Greece further explains how teachers spoke about the role of psychology in the classroom - that is, they were highly skeptical and mostly saw it as unnecessary outside of support roles to teachers themselves.

Elina, the private-school language teacher, for example, even went so far as saying that she believes psychological methodologies are detrimental to teacher-student relationships in the classroom:

“We had some psychology lectures, they were pretty boring. I think psychology in general is useless ... and I think in terms of education, I think it’s worthless because you can relate to students only by teaching them, not by having pre-conceived notions of how students should be. Because this kind of stuff doesn’t exist.”

As to how to deal with low-disruptive behaviour in the classroom, one solution proposed by Elina was to see it as children being children rather than pathologising behaviour:

“And if your child has some behaviour you personally don’t consider normal- for example, when children move a lot inside the classroom, or when they want to stand and move around, personally it pisses me off but I consider this pretty normal. Because this is what children do, okay? If you think this is abnormal, that’s not my job.”

For the Greek teachers who were critical of psychological methodologies in pedagogy, SEE was looked at with a similar critical eye, and in many respects was seen as a means of introducing classroom therapy sessions. But as was discussed in the past sections, educational psychologists coming into schools - however briefly - was received with open arms by most teachers. It was interesting to note that, similar to the first section, teachers believed a solution to improving the classroom climate could be a network of support staff: whether this was made up of educational psychologists or teachers with years of experience did not matter, but rather that their advice could be put to practical use.

Spain

Similarly to Greece, the majority of Spanish teachers did not have counsellors nor educational psychologists in their schools, and

of all the case study countries, Spanish teachers were the least likely to refer to psychological theories or methodologies influencing their teaching practice regarding SEE. It was no surprise, therefore, that teachers commonly criticised the role of psychology in schools. As Mikel, the secondary-school teacher says:

"In regards to a 'one on one' relationship with the students, I think there are- we're a bit illiterate, teachers. This ability to sit down with a student and speak to them with an open heart. Here we are- we're scared. It scares us. We believe that, if you're not a psychologist, if you're not a specialist regarding adolescence, we're scared- And so I'm there, attempting to remove this fear weighing me down ... And there I try, yes, to talk about emotions, how you feel..."²⁰⁷

According to Mikel, this issue is due to hierarchy and 'credentialism' - the myth that psychologists 'know' more than teachers, just like teachers 'know' more than students. Piecemeal social and emotional education in schools delivered in this 'empty vessel' format are just as guilty of this according to the Navarran mathematics teacher:

"The talk on sexual education, or the chat about drugs, or techniques on relaxation that can be practiced - yoga, mindfulness... there is a lot of verticality. The teacher is above, and the pupil is below. And it's not true that we know more than them, because the adult world, where to begin? ... Therefore I have to show myself as I am, and sometimes I don't understand them, sometimes I can say 'I can help, I understand', but sometimes I can't. So a little honesty is necessary I think. Losing the fear of just being yourself."²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Pero lo que es la relación 'tú a tú', con el alumnado, yo creo que hay, somos un poco analfabetos, el profesorado. Esto de sentarse con un alumno, con una alumna y hablarle como con el corazón abierto. Hay estamos un poco, nos da miedo. Nos da miedo. Creemos que si no, si no eres psicólogo, si no eres especialista en adolescencia, nos da miedo. Y entonces yo estoy ahí un poco intentando quitarme ese medio de encima ... hay procuro, si, hablar de emociones, de cómo te sientes, y cómo te has sentido que hayas aprobado este examen, o lo hayas suspendido o tal.

²⁰⁸ Pero yo creo en general, por lo que veo, en cosas muy preparadas, como la charla de sexualidad, o la charla sobre las drogas o algo de técnicas de relajación que también se puede trabajar - yoga, mindfulness... hay mucha verticalidad. El profesor está como arriba, y el alumno está como abajo. Y no es verdad que sepamos más que ellos y que ellas, porque el mundo adulto que te voy a contar. Los adultos somos cómo podemos ser, no podemos ser de otra manera, no sabemos más. Yo sé más de matemáticas que mis chicos y mis chicas, pero no de la vida. Entonces yo me tengo que presentar a ellos con lo que yo soy, y a veces no les entiendo, a veces les digo te puedo ayudar, te entiendo, pero a veces no.

As to how the support from educational psychologists could help teachers' own practice, Mikel again did not feel the need to rely on them, *"I don't know if psychology is needed, I think it's about being in a good relationship with yourself. Be calm... I think you just need to go in [to the classroom] relaxed."*²⁰⁹

It should be no surprise that, not usually having educational psychologists and in-school counsellors as part of the school's core offering, nor having psychological methodologies as part of their initial teacher training, Spanish teachers saw SEE as still being part of the greater subject of pedagogy. Since a vast majority were autodidacts in the subject, many Spanish teachers were knowledgeable about particular psychological theories - more Spanish teachers referenced attachment theory for instance than the Greek or Swedish teachers in the study, for example - but unlike in the UK, teachers did not feel they needed a degree in psychology to feel confident promoting their students' emotional competencies in the classroom.

Sweden

In Sweden, matters of social and emotional education were generally seen as outside of the teacher's remit, mostly because of the existence of a group of in-school counsellors as part of the permanent school staff. As Linnea, the primary-school teacher describes it:

"We have a team of three or four persons- that have, they are a kind of school psychologists, that's why the team is here ... so, in a general way I wouldn't say that people are working with [social and emotional education], because I'm a teacher, I'm not a psychologist'."

All of the Swedish teachers interviewed mentioned their school counsellors, especially pointing out their ability to have 'one on one'

Entonces un poco, esa honestidad yo creo que hace falta. Perder el miedo de ser tú mismo un poco.

²⁰⁹ Yo no sé si falta la psicología, yo creo que hay que ir tranquilo.

conversations with students and talk about feelings, which they said they generally did not have time for themselves. But with behavioural issues worsening in Sweden, Elsa thought teachers were being forced to become psychologists, having to rely on intuition alone: *“I don't know exactly how I do it [SEE], and sometimes I do it, I believe because my interaction with students are better. But I have no idea of how it should be done.”*

Erik, the secondary-school teacher, talked about how fear of having to deal with students' psychological issues had led to experienced and talented colleagues dropping out of teaching entirely:

“Teachers, my colleagues, who are very good colleagues, and they can talk with everybody- when some student shows occasionally psychological problems, they become very nervous. They literally leave the field. I have been- I worked a little bit with persons with clinical problems and I have in the family, my brother. So for me it's not so strange. But... everything that's outside the traditional schedule is strange [for teachers].”

For this reason Erik in particular felt that some teachers had misinterpreted their role regarding social and emotional education:

“Some teachers interpret that they have to be involved in the private life and so on, and a lot of things. And they have to act like psychologists and so on. And I don't interpret it like that, I don't get in and do- well, if the student tells me things, I listen, I try to help, I try to be a shoulder to lean on and so on, but I actually use it as a tool for learning, like Vygotsky taught.”

Sweden was an interesting case study, as it had 'forked' the SEE provision, making social and emotional skills the remit of in-school counsellors, and the teaching of academic skills to teachers. The drop in SEE training over the last couple of decades during initial teacher training is an example of how this division of labour has impacted the teaching workforce (as well as the decentralisation of the education system in Sweden which is the most decentralised in Europe). Regardless, many of the teachers interviewed still felt unable to properly deal with behavioural issues in

their class, nor were they confident in dealing with social and emotional aspects of learning. Similar to Spain, Swedish teachers who still believed it was within their remit to develop their students' emotional competencies (a minority in the study) defined SEE as a pedagogic subject, not a psychological one.

United Kingdom

In the UK, which had the highest percentage of training in SEE, and was the most likely to have psychology and psychotherapeutic theories influence teachers' practice, teachers were also - counterintuitively - the most likely to admit to feeling uncomfortable about social and emotional education. Two themes emerged in this regard. Firstly, though piecemeal psychological subjects were included in a large percentage of teacher training, social and emotional education was seen by teachers as an area best left to mental health experts - psychologists, counsellors etc. - which led to teachers feeling uncomfortable when faced with this area by themselves, for example:

"It [lack of training] did make me less confident, as I'm not an expert in mental health issues and so discussing ways to cope with something such as anxiety, for example, wasn't something I was trained in nor did I have personal experience with."

And secondly, austerity measures in the UK meant that the Swedish model (counsellors, specialists and educational psychologists as part of the school's 'core offering') was being de-funded, leaving teachers to deal with everything from low-level disruption to child abuse:

"We've got T.A.s who are dealing with kids with disorganised attachment, who've been abused and neglected ... So where's the help coming from? Where's the support coming from? And schools can't afford it, because you have to buy these people in now, and they can't afford to do it."

These two themes combined - a heavy reliance on experts in the past and their sudden disappearance from schools - has created

a situation that is unique to the UK: Teachers with a severe lack of confidence in dealing with matters of social and emotional education (despite their training), that have nevertheless been suddenly thrust onto the frontlines of mental health services where trained professionals once stood. This situation is simply cruel. Lacking governmental support (and funding), a whole private-sector industry has emerged in the UK dedicated to supporting teachers and schools who are more interested in profit than the wellbeing of teachers and students.

4.6. Conclusion

Findings from the quantitative phase were able to be further explored in five key themes. The first was the relationship to emotion, with an unsurprising finding if you take into account cultural stereotypes: the Spaniards were found to be more emotionally expressive, the British were not. But the theme did uncover differing relationships to emotion regardless of how expressive each of the teachers were, and the influence of the established and emergent camps in their differing understanding of emotion. Due to the intangibility of emotions, and how they are subject to different kinds of interpretations, the real question is what relationship to emotion is less laborious for teachers and students alike (a topic which we turn to next in the following chapter).

The second theme, dealing with the teacher-student relationship and how it is used to prepare for the future, found a more cross-cultural theme of the difficulties of hierarchy within the classroom - be it a teacher who runs the classroom like a dictator, or students who have taken over the classroom and do not respect the teacher. How the teacher-student relationship can be improved was discussed as a matter of mutual respect and authenticity by many of the teachers interviewed. What students were being prepared for was a more divisive topic: the UK more commonly treated students

as future workers, Sweden as future democratic citizens, while Spain and Greece, both in the middle of an economic crisis that has gutted their respective countries and led the majority of young people to be unemployed, prepared their students for an uncertain future.

The third theme was about SEE provision, and it was interesting to note that teachers from each country were mostly consistent in their demands intranationally, and very differently internationally: the Greeks wanted more support workers, especially experienced teachers, who could be relied upon for advice; the Spaniards wanted more time devoted to SEE exclusively and a new curriculum that would reference social and emotional aspects of learning and include complementary SEE activities; the Swedes were mostly happy with the current SEE provision and in-school counsellors, and did not want more work piled on teachers than they already had, while those who did want changes wanted to see specific policy about SEE implemented; and the UK wanted to see more attention given to training teachers to deal with behaviour, and for policymakers to listen to teachers that want wellbeing placed at the center of the curriculum.

The fourth theme showed that the invisible lines between home and school are culturally determined, and these exist to a much greater extent in Greece, Sweden and the UK compared to Spain (or at least Spanish teachers are attempting to blur the boundaries more than the other three countries). The interviews highlighted that a war is currently brewing between teachers and parents, which needs much more attention given the severity and extent of abuse that was described in the interviews against both teachers and parents alike.

The final theme showed that the subject of SEE is again culturally defined, with some cultures more prone to see it as a psychological subject, and others a pedagogic one. However, this label was not an issue for most teachers, but rather how the training

for SEE impacts teacher practice, their self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser, and the resources and support made available to them.

Chapter Five.

Analysis of findings and close literature reading.

This chapter contains a close literature review and applied analysis to link the findings of the preceding chapters with the existing literature, showing how the present research corroborates past findings. After a summary of the literature review process, Chapter Five presents teachers' beliefs and practice of SEE - both in the findings of the present research and in the literature - divided into individual, relational and socio-political knowledge. This is followed by a comparison of these three categories from country to country, which to the author's knowledge is the first comparative analysis of teachers' beliefs about SEE. The chapter ends with a review of Hofstede's predictions regarding cultural difference, and how well cultural dimensions were able to explain the difference in the present findings between each of the case studies.

5.1. Literature review process

In developing this literature review a wide selection of databases were accessed (ERIC, JSTOR, Google Scholar) and numerous journals were explored for any relevant articles, specifically: The International Journal of Emotional Education, Teaching and Teacher Education, Compare, and the Cambridge Journal of Education. The combination of keywords were used in the databases were:

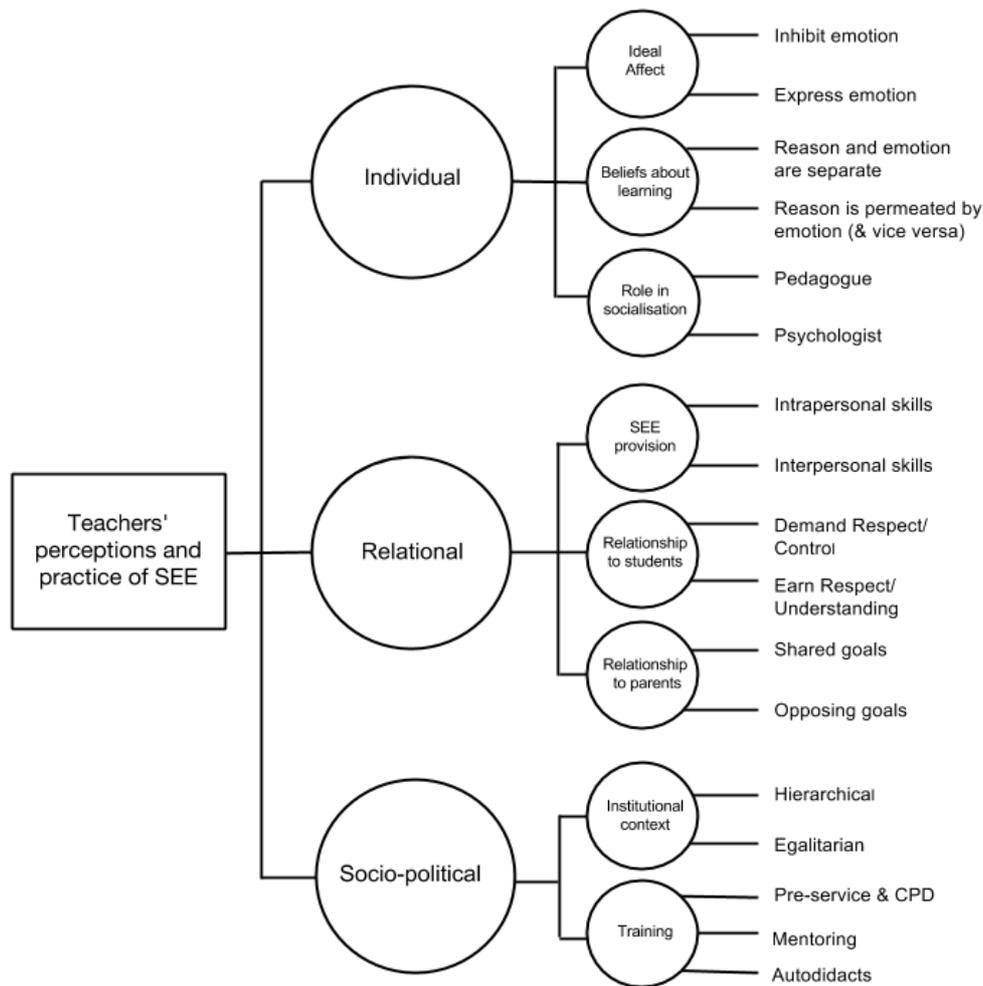
First keyword	Second keyword
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● social and emotional education / learning / programmes ● teacher emotions ● emotional wellbeing ● emotional intelligence ● life skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● cross-cultural ● comparative ● in schools ● Greece / Spain / Sweden / UK / England / Wales / Scotland / Northern Ireland

The materials included all publications in English with no date constraints. Obviously, within these wide parameters and multiple keyword combinations there was a large quantity of publications, therefore only the materials that could be appropriately referenced were included: that is, peer-reviewed articles, books or chapters written about social and emotional education, and governmental/non-governmental agency reports. This hopefully forewarns the reader of the length of this chapter (a little over 20,000 words) in attempting to both analyse the findings of the present research and perform a close reading of the literature. The literature review was also conducted twice: the first time before the research took place, and the second time after the research to corroborate the findings. Conducting the literature review a second time was also a means to update the study with the most recent literature (late 2016/early 2017) to be as up to date as possible in a field that is booming with new findings each passing month (albeit, mostly single-culture studies regarding SEE, which the present research seeks to remediate).

5.2. Teachers' perceptions and practice of SEE

This section divides teachers' beliefs and practice of SEE – both in the findings of the present research and in the literature - into individual, relational and socio-political knowledge - and their corresponding sub-themes which are summarised in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1. Teachers' perceptions and practice of SEE



5.2.1. Teachers' Individual Knowledge

Emotional self-awareness / meta-emotion

The term 'meta-emotion' was coined by Gottman, Katz & Hooven (2003) to describe the organised set of feelings and thoughts

about one's own emotions. In a study testing how meta-emotion impacted parenting styles, meta-emotion was found to predict whether adults regularly inhibited or expressed emotion, which concomitantly impacted the child's regulatory physiology and the child's ability to regulate their own emotions in the future (Gottman, Katz & Hooven, 2003). That meta-emotion has such a wide impact on a variety of child outcomes has not been lost on education researchers and the importance of teachers' meta-emotion is an area of considerable research to this day. How teachers are expected to regulate their emotions ('emotion rules' or 'display rules') has been discussed in several papers: that teachers are expected to leave their emotions outside the classroom (Britzman, 1998), or that it is seen as unprofessional for teachers to express and discuss their emotions (Boler, 1999), but more recent emotional display rules found in the literature include avoiding the display of too strong emotion (Winograd, 2003), faking positive emotion and hiding negative emotion (Sutton, 2004).

A lot of these studies reference emotional labour theory (Hochschild, 1983) which purports that managing one's mood is a means of 'selling out the emotional self' - such as sycophantic praise to a superior, or a fake smile plastered on one's face throughout the whole working day. The display rules in the teaching profession, according to Hargreaves (2000) require vast amounts of emotional labour which 'Becomes negative and draining when people feel they are masking or manufacturing their emotions to suit the purposes of others, or when poor working conditions make it impossible for them to perform their work well' (814).

A lot of attention has been devoted to understanding the mechanisms by which teachers fulfill these display rules: Williams et al. (2008), for example, found that emotional strategies employed by American teachers in their sample included the detached approach (no emotion), the 'not right now' approach (not having time to

address emotion), the avoidance approach (referring students to counsellor), the responsive approach (discussing emotional events as they occurred), and an emotional regulation approach (reframing emotions more positively). Similar categories were created by Jiang et al. (2016) with Finnish teachers where the strategies identified were similar: suppression (inhibition of expressive behaviour), situation selection (avoiding certain students), situation modification (discussing emotional events with students), cognitive change (modifying one's evaluations of a situation to alter its emotional impact), and attention deployment (refocusing on other matters, usually more positive).

Though these two separate studies of American and Finnish teachers found cultural similarities in teachers' emotional strategies, they also highlighted which particular emotional display rules the researchers thought would be enforced: for example, the Finnish researchers found it 'surprising' that suppression was not more commonly discussed in the research literature, demonstrating the sociocultural nature of this regulation strategy. The justification for the display rules also makes up a large part of the literature of the 'established camp': for example, that teachers' negative feelings reduce their intrinsic motivation (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003), damage teacher wellbeing (Chan, 2006), reduce teacher self-efficacy (Taxer & Frenzel, 2015), and that teachers' negative emotion negatively influences students' learning (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003; Chan, 2006). The theme of both inner and outer control is thus predominant in this research.

Conversely, studies from the emergent camp have tended to concentrate on trying to describe the emotional world of teachers and the concomitant emotional effects of display rules and overuse of emotional labour. Qualitative research examples include: Golby (1996) who concluded that teachers believing that they ought to act professionally by segregating emotion from other aspects of

experience has 'done its own sort of violence to personal lived experience ... indeed, the special concern of schools with social order may mean that quite large emotional sacrifices must be made by teachers and taught' (425). In Shapiro's (2010) critical analysis of her school's policies, the author concluded that the emotional rules for teachers prescribed by her school dichotomised the teachers' professional identity (model teacher) from their personal identity (human being). Shapiro believed that these emotional rules set teachers up to fail as education professionals were made to aspire to the impossible: a flawless, affect-less model that does not disclose nor hint at having a personal life (i.e., being human). Similarly, the single subject of Yuan & Lee's (2016) research, a Chinese student-teacher, felt emotionally exhausted suppressing his emotions in the classroom, believing it to be more of an 'emotional rule' than a personal strategy, 'I felt I am not a teacher but an actor who is good at showing and hiding emotions. Sometimes it was very tiring and I felt lost.'

Quantitative research examples include: Lee et al. (2016) which used a sample of 189 American secondary school teachers and divided them into one of two groups: those who were 'deep acting' (altering inner emotional states to experience desired emotion), and those who were 'surface acting' (either faking emotions they were not feeling and/or hiding felt emotions). They found deep acting and reappraisal of emotion to be linked to the teacher experiencing more positive emotions, whereas suppressing emotion and surface acting was linked to the teacher experiencing more negative emotion.

Emotional labour was also defined as faking positive emotion by Taxer & Frenzel (2015) who conducted a quantitative study with 266 secondary school American teachers to discover which discrete emotions they reported expressing genuinely, which ones they faked, and which ones they suppressed: the study found teachers

expressed happiness, liking, enthusiasm and pride the most, and these were the emotions that were most likely to also be faked (emotional labour); they hardly ever genuinely expressed their negative emotion (which corroborates the research above regarding the emotional display rules for other American teachers); and finally, teachers were most likely to hide anxiety, anger, dislike and disappointment. Genuinely expressed positive emotion in the study was found to correlate with teacher self-efficacy, teacher-student relatedness, mental health, and job satisfaction, whilst faked positive emotion correlated with emotional exhaustion.

The theory of emotional labour that has been the backbone of many of these studies has been expanded by other scholars. Bolton & Boyd (2003), for example, proposed four different kinds of emotional labour where emotions are managed: according to social rules (presentational), as a gift (philanthropic), according to professional codes of conduct (prescriptive), or for commercial gain (pecuniary). It is clear from research regarding teachers' emotions that in socialising emotion teachers must partake in presentational emotional labour, and that their interactions with students are largely philanthropic. But it is the prescriptive emotional labour that is the most pernicious, which will be discussed in the socio-political section below. More generally, the outcomes of inhibiting emotion have been studied on populations outside of education, although some findings could be transferrable. For example, Cameron & Payne (2011) concluded in their study 'Escaping Affect' that participants who regularly use motivated emotion regulation strategies (preventing themselves from feeling much emotion) were also the most likely to be insensitive to mass suffering. In light of these findings, the consequences of taking on too much emotional labour - for whatever reason - needs a lot more attention, especially in the case of teachers.

It was disappointing to find that cross-cultural perspectives in the literature regarding teacher emotion were extremely limited. The studies discussed above - and their findings about emotional display rules and their effects - are largely monocultural and mostly conducted in English-speaking countries, and therefore they describe the emotional rules of a very specific part of the world's teaching population: mostly **American teachers** (Meyer & Turner, 2002; Schutz & Decuir, 2002; Sutton, 2004; Williams et al., 2008; Schutz et al., 2009; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Schutz and Zembylas, 2009; Darby et al., 2011; Taxer & Frenzel, 2015; Lee et al., 2016); and **UK teachers** (Golby, 1996; Nias, 1996; Day & Leitch, 2001; Hayes, 2011; Day & Hong, 2016); but also, **Canadian teachers** (Hargreaves, 2000), **Finnish teachers** (Räsänen, 2015; Jiang et al., 2016; Jokikokko & Uitto, 2017), **Chinese/Hong Kongese teachers** (Chen, 2016; Yuan & Lee, 2016), and, **Portuguese teachers** (Bahia, Freire, Amaral & Estrela, 2013).

Contrary to what Schutz, Aultman & Williams-Johnson (2009) wrote, cross-cultural research into teachers' emotions has not truly been a topic of considerable inquiry given that the cross-cultural studies that do exist have been limited to a comparison of Western and Eastern teachers, and have been compared using the same theoretical framework of individualism versus collectivism (a Hofstede cultural dimension). These studies were part of a meta review in Oyserman et al., 2002, and since then another study has been completed: Klassen, Usher & Bong, 2010. Other cross-cultural studies about teachers' emotions have been limited to comparing the differences between mostly English-speaking countries (for example: Nias (1996) compared teachers' beliefs about emotion in England, USA, Canada, Australia, though it also included Belgium), or how individual teachers relate to their students from different cultures (Garner, Mahatmya, Brown and Vesely, 2014; Jokikokko & Uitto, 2017). Unfortunately, even though it is an interesting topic, how

teachers relate to students from cultures other than their own is beyond the scope of this paper.

So how do the present findings relate to the existing literature? The literature has highlighted certain 'display' or 'emotion rules' of the teaching profession: it is thought that teachers' emotions should either be suppressed outright in the classroom (Britzman, 1998) or that too strong emotions should be minimised (Paris & Winograd, 2003). Most studies about teachers' emotional strategies corroborated these findings, including the present study, especially so with UK teachers. Only 63% of UK teachers in the sample agreed that teachers should be comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom - a statistically significant difference from 83% of Spanish teachers who agreed ($p < 0.001$, $d = 0.76$ which suggested a large practical significance) and 73% of Swedish teachers ($p < 0.01$, $d = 0.35$ which suggested a small to moderate practical significance).

The Spanish teachers in the sample group were found to have different display rules for their classroom compared to all the other case studies. The question is, why? Just like the group of Finnish researchers (Jiang et al., 2016) who took for granted that emotional suppression would be more common in teachers' regulation strategies, the Spanish teachers took their own emotional expressiveness in the classroom for granted: when asked why this was the case, Nora, a secondary school teacher in Navarra, responded in the interview, "*Because they're people?*" This response, in itself, is another assumed truth, and underscores not only the importance, but the need for cross-cultural comparison. To repeat Feyerabend's (1975) argument from the introduction of this thesis: 'How can we possibly examine something we are using all the time? ... We need an external standard of criticism, we need a set of alternative assumptions' (31-32). For most of the Spanish teachers interviewed, expressing their own emotions as much as possible was the keystone of social and emotional education:

“According to my training and experience, the first phase of emotional education is to recognise one’s emotions, that is, to name what I feel. If I want to get my students to learn to recognise and express their own emotions openly, transparently, I think it is beneficial for them to feel that teachers are also human and as such we feel emotions just like them ... that they know that I feel joy when they’ve done a good job ... I feel frustration, sadness, when there are violent conflicts in the school yard ... I think that to express my own emotions helps them to identify their own.”

A UK teacher interviewed, on the other hand, felt that too much expression of their own emotion would jeopardise the learning environment:

“There has to be an appropriate level of emotional intelligence displayed by the teacher, too much emotion, or negative emotions can prove destructive to the learning environment.”

These opinions could be understood as propagating the assumed truths of the established and the emergent camps about how emotion is understood: the UK teacher believing reason and emotion to be separate (i.e. too much emotion will jeopardise learning), and propagating high-status emotional capital to model emotionally intelligent behaviour. The Spanish teacher, on the other hand, used a bundle of assumed truths from the emergent camp, seeing emotions as social experiences - that the only way her students will learn about emotion is for the teacher herself to express her own meta-emotion embodied within each specific context - and thus giving her students a model for understanding their own emotions. In this way Spanish teachers were found to use the more expressive emotional strategies that were highlighted in the existing literature, namely, discussing emotional events as they occurred (Williams et al., 2008; Jiang et al., 2016).

However, these differences in teacher meta-emotion were not neatly found only within specific cultures. The UK and Greek teachers, for example, did not hold significantly different views regarding how teachers should express their emotions in the

classroom and the interviews corroborated this finding of the 'stoic' model across both cultures.

What these cross-cultural similarities hide is the influence of demographics: for instance, that Greek male teachers were found to feel more comfortable expressing their own emotions in the classroom than Greek female teachers. Similarly, in Zembylas, Charalambous, Charalambous, and Kendeou's (2011) mixed-method study of Cypriot teachers, teachers' gender also affected their emotional expression. However, the current study did not find this differentiation of emotional expression according to gender in the UK. Similarly, Sutton's (2004) research regarding the emotional regulation goals and strategies of American teachers found no gender differences regarding emotional expression. However, these cultural differences are important to highlight since they challenge some of the existing literature that offers universal claims about meta-emotion and gender. Sucaromana (2010) in her literature review of emotional intelligence found that females 'tend to be more emotionally expressive than men, understand emotions better, and have a greater interpersonal ability' (62). In light of the present findings, however, the question is: in what cultures are women actually more expressive than men, and to what subpopulation do these findings pertain to, and in what particular context? Because in the current study, none of the case studies found women to be more expressive than men in the classroom. So, why were differences found in gender expression in Greece? One explanation was given by Nias (1996) who believes that female teachers are expected to perform more emotional labour compared to male teachers and inhibit their emotions. Another explanation came from the interviews in the present study, as one Greek teacher herself put it, female teachers are not respected as much as male teachers since they are perceived more as child care workers than professionals, which arguably impacts the way teachers feel they can express their

emotions in the classroom. In other words, it is male privilege that allows male teachers to feel more comfortable in the classroom.

Other intra-cultural differences in teachers' emotional expression were found between primary and secondary school teachers: the largest effect was in the UK where primary teachers were much more likely to agree that they felt comfortable expressing their emotions in class compared to secondary school teachers ($p < 0.001$, $d = .47$ suggested a moderate practical significance), as well as in Spain ($p < 0.05$, $d = .29$ suggested a small practical significance). This finding was corroborated by Hargreaves (2000) in her research of Canadian schools which found elementary teaching to be characterised by more emotional closeness and intensity, and secondary teaching as tending to treat emotions as intrusions into the classroom:

'Secondary teachers reported being not known or acknowledged by students, were the only ones to identify out-of-classroom examples as sources of positive emotion, and ... appeared to regard emotions as troubling disturbances that flooded into the classroom from problems with families, or friends, interrupting its orderly management.' (825)

However, unlike Hargreaves' finding that secondary school teachers were more likely to perceive emotion as an intrusion, secondary school teachers in the current study were the most likely to agree that their school needed to devote more time to social and emotional education: both in Spain ($p < 0.001$, $d = .48$ suggested a moderate practical significance), and the UK ($p < 0.01$, $d = .35$ suggested a small to moderate practical significance). This highlights the different 'emotion rules' in the context of secondary schools imposed on teachers, rather than those chosen by teachers themselves - this arguably shows the use of more prescriptive emotional labour within secondary schools compared to primary schools cross-culturally.

Emotion and Learning

"We never know in advance how someone will learn... There is no more a method for learning than there is a method for finding

treasures, but a violent training, a culture or paideia which affects the entire individual... Culture, however, is an involuntary adventure, the movement of learning which links a sensibility, a memory and then a thought, with all the cruelties and violence necessary, as Nietzsche said, precisely in order to 'train a 'nation of thinkers' or to 'provide a training for the mind'." (Deleuze, 1994, 165-166)

When asked whether emotion is fundamental to learning, the majority of teachers from all four countries in the current study agreed with the statement (99% in Spain, 97% in the UK, 95% in Greece, and 91% in Sweden). Swedish teachers were the most likely to describe SEE as a teaching aid to facilitate learning, with 28% compared to 16% in the UK, 12% in Greece and 7% in Spain. Teachers often referred to Vygotsky's ideas (1978) in their understanding of emotion's role in learning: that higher order functions emerge from social interaction. Despite this overall agreement cross-culturally, it was the qualitative findings of the present research which more clearly identified the differences between each country in this respect. For example, the influence of the established camp's separation of emotion and cognition can account for much of the cross-cultural difference in the way teachers speak about emotion in the classroom: such as a UK teacher that argued, *"If a child is stuck in emotional brain they cannot access learning,"* or a Swedish teacher saying, *"My classroom activity goes on- while all this emotional, social- thing is going on, on the side."*

This was also the case with many of the researchers in the literature, who felt uncomfortable when veering from the suppositions of the established camp. For example, Jokikokko & Uitto (2017) published a study about Finnish teachers' understanding of the significance of emotions for teachers' intercultural learning, and felt the need to defend emotion as being crucial to learning: 'Emotions have more often been seen as a hindrance than as a possibility for intercultural learning ... [but] emotions were significant in questioning their [teachers'] worldview, ways of thinking, and actions towards more just practices' (24).

Thus, even though the majority of teachers in the current study said that emotion is fundamental to learning, this should be taken with the caveat that some teachers believed that learning happens *in spite of* emotion, and that therefore emotion must be 'controlled', or emotional difficulties/barriers removed in order for learning to happen. For example, one UK teacher explained: “[*The purpose of SEE is] to create a feeling of confidence and self worth so that children can work without being distracted by bad emotional feelings.*” Or as described by Northern Ireland educational policy, it is 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulties which are creating a barrier to learning within a mainstream class' (Department of Education, 2017). In Garner et al.'s (2014) work it was found that some Navajo parents rejected the use of labels like 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulty' for their children, which was concomitantly interpreted by teachers as the parents resisting the school's SEE provision. This, once again, highlights how much cross-cultural perspectives are needed in conceptualising SEE, lest teachers slip into a one-size-fits-all model of emotional competencies.

The current research also wished to determine whether or not teachers think social and emotional aptitudes are something that can be taught - explicitly through teaching, or implicitly by modelling - and to determine their confidence in promoting social and emotional skills if so. A majority of teachers from all countries agreed that social and emotional aptitudes could be taught (98% in Spain, 91% in Greece, 88% in Sweden and 84% in the United Kingdom), but it was only Spain that had a highly statistically significant difference to the other countries. It is important to highlight the difference in average means between practice and theory in the current research: whereas 72% of UK teachers who participated in the study strongly agreed that emotion is fundamental to learning, the frequency of those who strongly agreed about whether emotional skills are actually teachable dropped to 40%. In other words, though the majority of UK teachers

believed emotion is important to learning, they were much less positive that they themselves could develop their students' social and emotional skills.

However, there were demographic differences: the older, more experienced teachers in the sample in Sweden and the UK were more likely to agree that emotions can be taught, and headteachers in the UK (respondents with annual salaries above £35,000+) were more likely to agree that social and emotional skills can be taught compared to teachers on lower pay- this can be linked to the finding that in the vast majority of schools in the UK sample SEE was introduced by headteachers. In this way, though teachers in the UK and Sweden were less confident teaching social and emotional skills, it was experience that gave them this hard-won confidence that came more naturally to the Spaniards.

Another emotional rule for teachers found in the literature was that negative emotion should be suppressed for the sake of learning (Sutton, 2004). Again, the present study found this rule applied by all the groups except for the Spanish teachers who were more likely to agree that anger, sadness and other negatively evaluating emotion are emotionally intelligent reactions to a certain state of affairs and belong in the classroom: the largest difference being between the Swedish ($d = 0.47$ which suggested a moderate practical significance), Greek ($d = 0.45$ which suggested a moderate significance), and finally UK teachers ($d = 0.35$ which suggested a small to moderate practical significance). Why this was the case, again, could only be understood from the qualitative findings. Spanish teachers claimed that expressing both positive and negative emotions was a means to remain human in the classroom, "*I think every teacher must be authentic, the students pick up when we're pretending, nonverbal language gives us away ... Simply, let each teacher act naturally and show themselves as he or she is,*" or another: "*I enter the classroom with all my body, with all my*

emotions, with everything that happens to me - with my bad mood if I have slept badly, and good mood if I have good news.”

Similarly to the preceding question, demographic variables influenced the answers, and the teachers who were more likely to agree that negative emotion is helpful in the classroom were: Greek male teachers, primary school teachers in the UK and Spain, higher-paid teachers in Sweden, more experienced teachers in Sweden, and teachers that had received SEE training in the UK. The latter example in particular highlights how the introduction of SEE also influences the ‘emotion rules’ of both teachers and students: by spending more time learning about emotions, people become more comfortable with them. And that is the point: from a more holistic perspective, to focus on teachers’ meta-emotions is to focus on the students’ emotions. Future research about SEE provision and SEL programmes must take into account teachers’ beliefs about emotion or risk having a major blind spot when discussing the outcomes of SEE provision.

Teachers’ identity as emotion socialisers

Friedlmeier, Corapci & Cole’s (2011) *‘Emotion Socialization in Cross-Cultural Perspective’* argued that how adults socialise emotion is similar regardless of whether they happen to be a parent or teacher: that is, guided in part by their own emotion-relevant values and emotional rules, adults promote the emotional competence of children by modelling, and instructing how to react and respond to emotion. Therefore, since *how* parents and teachers socialise emotion is similar, the issue then is whether teachers think they *should* socialise emotion as part of their interactions with students. The current research shines some light on this issue (and gap in the literature) by finding that a majority of teachers in the sample believed themselves to be responsible for socialising students’

emotions: 94% of teachers in Spain agreed, as did 92% in the UK, 92% in Greece and 82% in Sweden.

As with teachers' beliefs regarding meta-emotion, demographic variables influenced how teachers replied about their self-perceived role as emotion socialisers. Individuals who were significantly more likely to believe themselves responsible for socialising emotion in the study included: female teachers in Sweden and Spain, primary school teachers in UK and Spain, teachers with 11+ years' experience in Sweden and the UK, teachers aged 51-60 in the UK, headteachers in Sweden, and teachers who had received SEE training in the UK and Sweden.

Unlike beliefs about inhibiting or expressing emotion in the classroom, there was no significant difference between UK and Spanish teachers regarding their responsibility to socialise students, showing how cultural differences can fluctuate depending on each issue. However, differences between these two samples were found qualitatively: Whilst most UK teachers saw socialisation as a chance to fill in gaps from home for whatever reason, "*Seeing them every day in a relatively stable environment we can perhaps spot any signs of concern*", this was not mentioned by any of the Spanish teachers, who were more likely to emphasize the need for the school to be a model of society, "*The school is structured as a small country with its communities, regulations, hierarchies ... This introduces you to society.*"

There were, however, teachers who explicitly said that they did not believe social and emotional skills can be taught (and thus that they could not be responsible for the socialisation of students). These ranged from arguments that emotional regulation is not a transferable skill, to those that believed teachers were not qualified to do so, since, "*...without specific teaching/lessons in social and emotional education from somebody who understands the psychological and related physiological concepts well and the coping*

methods there is limited influence you [as a teacher] can deliver." In fact, many teachers, particularly in the UK, tended to share this opinion. Carole, a secondary-school teacher, said in her interview: *"I'm not an expert in mental health issues and so discussing ways to cope with something such as anxiety, for example, wasn't something I was trained in."*

This creates an important distinction: yes, most teachers believe social and emotional skills can be taught, but they are divided as to who is qualified to do so. Ecclestone (2011) believes that one of the pillars of the established camp (or more specifically, the use of psychological methodologies) is its development of new forms of dependency on external professional agencies and portraying teachers as unable to cope without professional help. These dependant relationships with external agencies were evident throughout the present research: for example, a Swedish teacher saying that lack of confidence dealing with students' mental health issues had led to his colleagues quitting, or a UK teacher saying that teaching assistants were left to deal with disorganised attachment issues by themselves.

Hoffman (2009) warns that psychological methodologies focus teachers' attention on measurement and remediation of deficits, judging emotion and wellbeing normatively. If teachers believe they are not qualified to do anything about 'social, emotional and behavioural difficulties', however, this leads to the stalemate witnessed in the present research: teachers identifying a problem, but feeling unable to do anything about it. Greek and Spanish teachers offered an alternative view in this regard, in that they were just as likely to see an issue, but were confident they did not need help from external agencies. For example, the Greek teacher who despite taking some piecemeal psychological courses as part of her initial teacher training said, *"I think psychology in general is useless ... because you can relate to students only by teaching them, not by*

having pre-conceived notions of how students should be. Because this kind of stuff doesn't exist."

So why did more teachers from the UK sample in the present research subscribe to psychological methodologies of the established camp, especially compared to Spain? The most likely answer is training. UK teachers were the most likely to have received training in SEE (40%), compared to 38% in Sweden, 34% in Greece and 23% in Spain. 64% of UK teachers said their training was most influenced by psychological theories, compared to only 27% of Spanish teachers, 35% of Greek teachers, and 36% of Swedish teachers. Since SEE training is more likely to treat emotion as a learnable skill that can be developed using pedagogical tools (and concomitantly can be taught to teachers), it is natural that psychological methodologies are so popular for UK teachers, and for them to rely on the suppositions and evaluative statements therein. And yet despite the higher likelihood that they had received training, UK teachers in the present study were the most likely to say that they did not feel confident in promoting emotional competence, believing that this is the role of experts. It can thus be argued that training based on the suppositions of the established camp can undermine teacher confidence in promoting emotional competencies in the classroom because it leaves teachers feeling confident in identifying their students' individual deficits, yet unqualified to do anything about it.

And finally, whereas in Spain the vast majority of teachers in the study believed emotional and social aptitudes can be taught just like any other skill, this did not translate to mass adoption of theories and methods of psychology, nor to a reliance on psychological professionals in their relationship to students or in their SEE provision. In contrast, teachers from the UK and Sweden were not as confident that social and emotional skills can be taught by teachers, and were much more likely to suggest that outside help is needed.

Whereas the Swedes do receive this help thanks to in-school counsellors, UK teachers mostly do not, and therein lies a great source of stress for the UK teaching workforce.

Studying more at university did not increase the teachers' confidence in teaching SEE cross-culturally either: there was no statistical difference in teachers' opinions between those who had undergraduate degrees and those who had postgraduate qualifications in the UK and Sweden. Furthermore, in Spain and Greece the more qualified teachers were more likely to hold negative opinions about SEE (postgraduates in Spain were less confident teaching social and emotional skills, and postgraduates in Greece were less likely to agree that negatively-evaluating emotion belong in the classroom). It could thus be argued that the reason Spanish teachers were more likely to espouse the suppositions of the emergent camp is precisely because they were less likely to have received SEE training, less likely to have postgraduate qualifications (compared to the other case study countries), and more likely to be autodidacts. This also highlights the possibility that higher education regarding SEE in Greece and Spain is more likely to be built on the suppositions of the established camp rather than the emergent camp.

What the literature review highlighted was that teachers' self-perceived role as emotion socialisers is not a well-researched topic, let alone when considering the topic cross-culturally. Studies that do exist have the same sample and theory limitations that have already been discussed at length in the meta-emotion section: that is, they usually only compare samples grouped by East versus West, and studied through a collectivism versus individualism framework. For example, Watkins's (2000) meta-analysis of teaching and learning (which included about 8000 participants from 16 countries) sought to describe the differences between Eastern and Western teachers' self-perceived role in their student's lives: it found that Eastern teachers' student-teacher relationship is more akin to that of

a child-parent relationship, and the differences were explained as due to individualism versus collectivism identities.

In a study about how caregivers socialise emotion, Friedlmeier et al. (2011) found that Western caregivers were more likely to scaffold self-regulation (promoting emotional competence for self-sufficiency, autonomy and independence), whereas Eastern caregivers were more likely to minimize emotion as a means of achieving emotional interdependence. The authors were careful to highlight that even though ignoring or minimising children's emotions is judged by the West as impeding emotional competence, studies have found 'that emotional interdependence is manifest in childrearing as promoting child autonomy' (411), for example: a mother minimising her child's emotions as an overreaction on the child's part (invalidating the importance of the situation, not their emotions). The study then went on to identify the outcomes of particular types of emotional socialisation, and found that caregivers' emotional scaffolding was associated with children's higher emotional and social competence and emotional understanding, and that punishment was associated with behavioural problems, which, as the authors argue:

'Suggest cross-cultural similarities in the meanings of punitive, emotion- and problem-focused reactions such that parental control over children's negative emotions with power assertion, intrusiveness, and a lack of scaffolding places children at risk for externalizing and internalizing problems in any sociocultural context' (417).

The authors concluded their study by warning, however, that despite these cultural similarities in outcomes of emotional socialisation, there should be no rush to apply standardised measures which would neither detect qualitative differences in strategies, nor protect against ethnocentric bias for scaffolding versus minimising strategies.

5.2.2. Teachers' Relational Knowledge

Teacher-student relationships

The Learning Process

The literature is pretty unanimous in its high regard for the teacher-student relationship. In his systematic review about 'what works' in education, Professor John Hattie concluded that the relationship between the teacher and student is the most important variable in the learning process, 'Forget class size, or grouping by ability, or whether the school is state or private ... What matters most is what happens in the classroom between the teacher and the pupil, the interaction' (Hattie, 2008). The research of Maldonado-Carreño & Votruba-Drzal (2011) found positive associations between nurturing teacher-student relationships, academic achievement and emotional regulation which held both concurrently and longitudinally. Other outcomes of positive teacher-student relationships in the literature were summarised by Price Aultman et al. (2009) as it pertained to student outcomes and included: improved student motivation (Birch & Ladd, 1996; Davis, 2003; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Noddings, 1992), and improved student intellectual development and achievement (Goldstein, 1999; Muller, Katz, & Dance, 1999; Nieto, 1996).

The present research confirmed that the majority of educators believed teacher-student relationships to be important: a majority of teachers agreed that the key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and student (87% in Sweden, 85% in the UK, 80% in Greece and 76% in Spain). Swedish teachers were significantly more likely to agree compared to Spanish and Greek teachers, as were UK teachers compared to Spanish teachers. However, demographic variables influenced these results with respondents most likely to agree that the key to learning is the relationship between the teacher and the student being: male teachers in Greece and female teachers

in Sweden; teachers aged 51-60 in Greece, Sweden and the UK, and teachers aged 41-50 in Spain; headteachers in Sweden; and the most experienced teachers in Greece, Sweden and the UK (11+ years' experience). The respect teachers had for the student-teacher relationship was evident throughout the present research and gave further credence to these numbers, as one Spanish teacher described it:

“More important than mathematics is the relationship I establish with them [students]. Because when there's a very good relationship, it's like my love for mathematics flows, and they receive my enthusiasm, and they receive my passion.”

Other teachers, however, did in fact believe that teacher-student relationships were not as important to the learning process. As a Greek teacher explained in her interview:

“There is some connection between student and teacher, but it should not be enforced by society or the parents. It's just like making friends, you cannot force somebody to make friends they don't like, and you cannot force a teacher to like a child that is not likeable according to her own criteria.”

So what did better teacher-student relationships look like according to the literature? Domitrovich, Durlak & Gullotta (2015) stated that high quality teacher-student relationships are often characterised by high levels of warmth, sensitivity and emotional connection, which is especially beneficial for disadvantaged children who tend to enter into negative and conflictual relationships with their teachers. Thus, positive relationships are largely dependant on the teacher's own beliefs about emotions: as Polou's (2017) study confirmed, teachers' meta-emotion was associated with lower levels of teacher-reported student emotional and behavioural difficulties.

One of the outcomes of SEE programmes reported in the literature was a greater attachment between teacher and students and better communication (Hinton, Miyamoto & Diella-Chiesa, 2008), and this too was corroborated by the current research. When asked whether SEE had improved their own relationship with students, 72%

of teachers in the UK, 72% in Spain, 67% in Sweden, and 62% of teachers in Greece agreed that it had. One possible reason for the lower numbers in Sweden and Greece is that they were the least likely to have time dedicated to the subject in schools: 35% of Greek teachers said that no time was dedicated to SEE, compared to 19% of teachers in Sweden, 9% in Spain and 3% in the UK. In terms of demographic variables, the ones who were significantly more likely to agree that SEE had improved their relationships with students were: preschool/primary school teachers in Spain and the UK; Spanish teachers more than headteachers; more experienced teachers in Sweden and the UK; older teachers in Greece; and teachers who had received SEE training in the UK. As it pertains to teacher outcomes, the literature shows that better student-teacher relationships tend to allow teachers to more genuinely express their emotions in the classroom (Hargreaves, 2000; Klassen et al., 2010), and to make them less likely to hide or fake their emotions (Srivastava, Tamir, McGonigal, John, & Gross, 2009). Hargreaves (2000) believes this is due to greater emotional understanding between the teacher and their students:

‘Emotional understanding does not take place like cognitive understanding in a linear, step-by-step way. Instead, emotional understanding occurs instantaneously, at a glance, as people reach down into their past emotional experiences and read the emotional responses of those around them ... emotional engagement and understanding in schools (as elsewhere) require strong, continuous relationships between teachers and students so they learn to read each other over time.’ (815)

The literature was also unanimous in identifying how teacher-student relationships can go wrong: Lopez and Guarnaccia (2000) found that the handling of the ‘emotional gap’ between experience and expression of emotion is incredibly important:

‘Where there is an emphasis on the strategic presentation of self, the gap between experience and expression is large ... Disjunctions between experience and expression have implications for health, social interaction, morality and politics’ (571).

It was possible to see this emotion gap in the present research, especially with Swedish teachers, for example: whereas 73% of them agreed that teachers should be comfortable expressing emotion in the classroom, only 51% believed that this should include negative emotion. This bias against expressing negative emotion could also be seen in this description of the purpose of SEE by a Swedish teacher, "*That the students learn that they can feel anything, but not do and express everything.*" As Hoffman (2009) warns, however, when social and emotional education translates to practices of classroom management, the importance of the teacher-student relationship, and the language of nurture and caring can easily be distorted into a discourse about control, rules, rewards, contracts, choices and activities. This emphasis on the student changing - for example, teaching children to care, rather than modelling caring behaviour - treats SEE as 'yet another lens that defines educational problems in terms of individual deficits and their remediation' (Hoffman, 2009). Teachers' overcontrol in managing students' emotions was found to affect students' difficulties in class (Poulou, 2017b). This finding cannot be emphasised enough: the negative impact of over-controlling one's own emotions is similar to over-controlling others' emotions also.

The literature found race to be a significant factor in how teachers overcontrol students' emotions in the classroom. Froyum (2010) found that what was considered high emotional capital in white male students - such as assertiveness and self-management - was seen as a threat in Black male students by white teachers who 'resent assertive Black children whom they perceive as disrespectful—and they punish them for emotional willfulness that they reward among white boys' (50). Similarly, low-income Black young women were found to be socialised in emotional restraint and deference in targeted SEE programmes preparing youth for employment as a key to their future professional success. As Froyum (2010) warns, this imposition of emotional deference among

marginalised youth places them in a state of emotional dissonance and greater feelings of inauthenticity and alienation.

Multiple strategies were found in the literature to improve teacher-student relationships, which according to Hinton et al.'s (2008) study include but are not limited to: prioritising learning rather than performance, creating a sense of community in the school, incorporating choice into the curriculum, upholding democratic classrooms where students contribute to the rule-making and governance, using restorative rather than punitive strategies, and helping students express their authentic feelings. In the case of the latter strategy, Hinton et al. (2008) concluded that effective communication between teachers and students can help reduce emotional labour. In terms of in-school bullying programmes, it was found that adults need to give more opportunities to children to verbalise their own emotions (especially their fears and anxieties), and within this context look to create other solutions such as peer-support schemes (Cowie, Hutson, Oztug & Myers, 2008).

The present research found that UK teachers were most likely to agree that students had enough opportunities to verbalise their emotional experiences in their school with 76% of UK teachers agreeing, followed by 61% of Spanish, 56% of Swedish and 43% of Greek teachers. That the majority of teachers in the Greek sample disagreed that students were given enough opportunities to verbalise their emotional experiences in school was not surprising given the high level of dissatisfaction from Greek teachers regarding their school's current SEE provision throughout the findings. Scholar McLaughlin (2008) advises that SEE practices are difficult to implement at first since 'it is not easy to develop a language around relationships and engagement for it is not the language we have spoken in education for a long time' (363), and encourages educational researchers and teachers alike to find inspiration from early-years education with its emphasis on relationships.

Like in the individual section above, the only cross-cultural literature pertaining to teacher-student relationships used an East/West divide, and a collectivism versus individualism theoretical framework, but more interestingly, they framed the topic as differences in classroom management (i.e., the level of respect given to the teacher). In many ways this literature highlights how easily the importance of the teacher-student relationship can be distorted into a discourse about control (Hoffman, 2009). In Zhou, Lam & Chan's (2012) study of how students interpreted teacher classroom management behaviour, for instance, it was found that Chinese students did not negatively evaluate teacher's management or control of the classroom, whereas American students did, 'whether the control is behavioral or psychological is subject to the perceptions of the children, not simply the intention of the persons who exercise the control' (28). Because Chinese students did not perceive the behaviour as controlling, they were in turn more motivated in the classroom than the American students. The research found, however, that students with higher social-emotional relatedness with their teacher felt the teachers' behaviour to be less controlling, in both the American and Chinese sample. Similarly, Alridge & Fraser's (2000) study compared Australian and Taiwanese classrooms and the researchers concluded that teachers in Taiwan were more respected, and as a result, had more quiet and disruption-free classrooms compared to their colleagues in Australia. These studies are thus less about teacher-student relationships as they are cross-cultural comparisons of silence in classrooms.

Parent-teacher relationships

When discussing social and emotional education it is only a matter of time before the boundaries between home and school are delineated: what are the school's responsibilities regarding social and emotional aptitudes, and what are the home's? Besides a minority of teachers who did not believe social and emotional education is within

their remit as teachers (e.g., *“Emotion is the place of the family”*), there was a more pertinent question to ask the majority who believed it was: Is your social and emotional education provision in harmony with parents’ socialisation at home? This question has been given considerable attention in the literature due to ecological theory, which purports that children may encounter difficulties when there are disconnects between parents and educators, in what is called the mesosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

To understand the cross-cultural differences in mesosystems, the question was posed to teachers in the present study’s questionnaire as a Likert-scale: ‘My students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school’. The sample group from Spain was highly significantly more likely to agree that their students had consistent behaviour goals between home and school than the other three countries in its responses ($p < 0.001$). Since there was minimal variance in answers from Greek, Swedish and UK teachers in this item (effect sizes of between $d = 0.01$ and 0.05), there was a moderate practical significance between Spain and the other three countries. However, considering that only 23% of Greek teachers, 24% of Swedish teachers, 35% of UK teachers, and 43% of Spanish teachers agreed that their students had similar behavioural goals between home and school, this finding shows that most teachers believe there is a disconnect between parents and educators in all four case study countries.

The interviews confirmed the troubling finding that most teachers felt at war with parents. Be it in Greece, *“I saw this little girl giving her father a list of the things they should buy for school, and he took it and said, ‘Oh let’s see what bullshit the teacher told you.’”*; in Spain, *“When a parent devalues a teacher, our battle is lost”*; in Sweden, *“We’re in kind of a deep crisis that’s going on right now when it comes to parents- Well of course if the parents don’t trust us, or at least think that school is something necessary, why should the*

children think that?”; and in the UK, “At school there are written rules and defined sanctions. Rarely does this happen at home. Pupils go out and party at the weekends under the care of parents.” These findings corroborated those in the literature which found that the most intensive, hostile and disturbing emotions felt by teachers came from encounters with parents (Nias, 1996; Hargreaves, 2000).

The question is: Why are so many teachers and parents at odds with one another? The literature offers some insights. Hargreaves’ (2000) research highlighted how sociocultural geographies tend to make teachers and parents unknowable to each other, ‘where fragmented, infrequent, formalized and episodic encounters replace the possibility of relationships’ (812). Other authors, like Barrett & McIntosh (1982), have framed the boundaries between public and private (and thus home and school) as problematic in itself, what they deem as a bourgeois distinction, which frame the home as a place where you can ‘be yourself’ (i.e., express emotion), whereas outside the home you cannot - an attitude that was found with many teachers in the present research, for example, a UK teacher saying, “*The home environment is a ‘safe’ place for them to express their negative emotions ... They can express anger and frustration which they perhaps can’t do as openly in a school environment.*”

Another reason is social class. Garner, Mahatmya, Brown & Vesely’s (2014) study found that feelings were the ‘modus operandi’ for interaction and discipline in middle-class families, where behaviour operates around ‘feeling rules’, making emotional capital integral to successfully navigate middle-class institutions. Within working-class families, on the other hand, attention to developing emotional capital was relatively less important. In this way, social and emotional education curricula could be argued to be another product of bourgeois hegemony: whilst middle-income children have similar expectations for interactions with adults across home, school and

larger society (a more harmonious mesosystem), low-income children do not.

The possibility that social and emotional education was a means of socialising working-class children in higher emotional capital was confirmed by Emery's (2016) research where he interviewed English policymakers who had created the SEAL framework. When asked what the purpose of having SEAL provision was, one policymaker was quoted as saying:

'I don't like that word feral and it's ... but there is an issue about the lack of social development that some children from perhaps non-confident families. I don't think it's to do with poverty, it's to do with parenting, and I think working class parents are well able to, you know, bring up their children but some parents lack that ability or that motivation' (223).

As Emery concludes, working-class parents are described by English policymakers as feckless, in need of moral guidance, and the behaviour of their 'feral' children is explained away as poor parenting skills rather than due to wider social-economic factors. It is difficult for teachers, as civil servants, to escape this level of prejudice from 'higher ups', and several English teachers mirrored this judgment in the questionnaire: "*Some children's parents do a poor job- maybe because they don't have very good emotional intelligence themselves,*" and "*We can't assume these skills are being taught elsewhere. For some children we are the only role models of appropriate social skills.*"

The tendency for policymakers to demonise poor parents is not a new phenomenon either. As can be observed in Capital (1887), where Karl Marx quotes the newly established Children's Employment Commission (1866) in England: 'It is unhappily, to a painful degree, apparent throughout the whole of the evidence, that against no persons do the children of both sexes so much require protection as against their parents.' But as Marx concluded, similarly to Emery (2016), the policymakers are simply placing the blame of wider socio-economic factors onto the parents: 'It was not, however,

the misuse of parental authority that created the capitalistic exploitation, whether direct or indirect, of children's labour; but, on the contrary, it was the capitalistic mode of exploitation.' (Marx, 1887, 319)

Barrett & McIntosh (1982) wrote that these 'social' problems that were framed by government as being caused by inadequate families were in turn found resolved by a 'technology of expert supervision of family relations ... counselling, guidance, advice, management and supervision by statutory and voluntary agencies described as 'psy' (98). But the argument that low-income children would benefit from 'psy' agencies helping them replicate high-status emotional capital has been challenged by other papers. Garner et al. (2014) showed that economic disadvantage and ethnic minority status were associated with higher rather than lower prosocial competence. This is in contradiction to other studies which have found that working-class children are more at risk of developing behavioural, social, academic, and mental health issues (Buchanan et al., 2009). The reason for this can be explained in a World Health Organisation (2009) report which concluded that emotional wellbeing is dependent more on how unequal a society is than an individual's social class within it:

'Greater inequality heightens status competition and status insecurity across all income groups and among both adults and children. It is the distribution of economic and social resources that explains health and other outcomes in the vast majority of studies.'

The other important finding in the present study regarding the boundaries between home and school was that the relationship could be improved. The answers were found in the demographical variables. Teachers who were more likely to say that there was more harmony between school and home were: Spanish primary school teachers, older Greek male teachers, and UK teachers who had received SEE training. So what was it about primary schools in Spain that developed more positive relationships with parents? The study

found that Spanish primary school teachers were more likely to discuss the need for co-responsibility and shared values, but were also very aware of the mesosystem and its implications for students, for example, *“A kid should not consider the different moments of his upbringing as compartmentalised and unrelated to each other.”* What about older Greek teachers? What allowed them to have better relationships with parents? One explanation was found in the interview of a Greek teacher: *“When we have teachers, like ‘old school’ teachers, who are usually men, who are treating the children in a very strict and very authoritarian way they are never challenged.”* This was corroborated by Hargreaves (2000) who said that teachers were given respect by parents according to their conformity to classical, masculine models. In other words, sexism against female teachers could be a potential reason for disharmony between parents and teachers. And what was it about SEE training in the UK that improved relationships between school and home? The answer was found in the current research, where one English teacher who had now become a teacher trainer discussed at length the process of improving teacher and parent relationships with her trainees:

“Every time I do my training there’s a discussion about not being judgmental about parents, that yes they may have made choices, that haven’t been positive choices, but do you know what happened to those people to make them take the path they took? Do you know what’s affected their life, what were their childhoods like? What were their parent’s childhoods like? Is there something that is cross-generational? Does it mean that they’re bad parents if they’ve behaved badly? What are your barriers to them?”

The answers to improving the relationship always come back to barriers. How the boundary between home and school impacts both teachers, students and parents alike is an important consideration for SEE provision to improve the overall mesosystem in students’ lives.

SEE provision

As was discussed in Chapter Two, research regarding teachers' beliefs about social and emotional education has so far been conducted mono-culturally: in **Greece** (Triliva and Poulou, 2006; Poulou, 2017a), in **Australia** (Djambazova-Popordanoska, 2016), and in **Turkey** (Esen-Aygun & Sahin-Taskin, 2017). What these studies found was that definitions of SEE were converging to the CASEL framework (just as the SEAL framework did) and that trying to study what social and emotional competencies are deemed most attractive by each culture and are most likely to be modeled and taught to children in schools is becoming increasingly difficult in a more globalised world built on the suppositions of the established camp: that is, that emotion is universal. Not only does this corroborate with hyper-globalist theory that there is now a 'world culture' gradually eroding systemic differences between countries (Mostafa and Green, 2013), it highlights also the success of CASEL, a group whose original framework of social and emotional skills was developed in 1997, and who is continuing to create a 'common language and framework [to] be closely integrated with the global efforts to develop common metrics to measure and monitor progress.' (Domitrovich et al., 2015, 582)

CASEL has defined the discourse surrounding social and emotional education not only in America, but increasingly around the world, particularly that SEE should be framed as: a developmental approach including measurement and assessment; crucial to preparing the next generation for the knowledge economy; something students are currently lacking (the deficit model); a structured programme that can be taught to students; a provision devoid of cultural, class and race factors (universal); and that SEE should be taught as a teacher-led, in-school programme and delivered through a whole-school model (Emery, 2016). Reeves and Le Mare (2017) coined this the competence promotion approach, and

compared it to the 'relational approach', where teachers explicitly focus on the quality of their interactions with students to promote social and emotional competencies, rather than teach, measure and assess them.

Similarly, the present research found that there was a significant difference in approaches between the UK and the other three case study countries in preschool and primary school: the competence promotion approach (where SEE is taught as its own subject, or part of another related subject) was most popular in the UK with 61% of teachers saying it described the SEE provision in their class, compared to 32% of Greek, 29% of Spanish and 26% of Swedish teachers. Instead, the other three case study countries were more likely to use the relational approach where teachers would promote social and emotional competencies more implicitly with their students: this described 67% of Swedish, 66% of Spanish, and 53% of Greek teachers, compared to only 38% of UK teachers.

The differences in SEE provision in secondary school were found to be another story: whilst the UK had a similar number of teachers explicitly teaching SEE in secondary school (56%) and in preschool and primary school (61%), the number for Spain jumped much more dramatically from 29% in primary to 44% in secondary. This might be the influence of the European Parliament's basic competencies framework at work, and how they have been adapted to regionally-specific programmes. The Swedish provision saw a similar pattern of students being taught SEE more explicitly as they got older: from 26% in primary to 34% in secondary. Only Greece was found to have the opposite pattern: 32% in primary teaching SEE explicitly, compared to 20% in secondary. The more implicit approach stayed more constant between primary and secondary schools in three of the case study countries: 38% in primary and 34% in secondary in the UK; 67% in primary and 56% in secondary in Sweden; and 53% in primary and 51% in secondary in Greece. Only

in Spain was there a marked difference between SEE provisions using more implicit approaches: 66% in primary and 41% in secondary in Spain.

What these findings highlight, first and foremost, is that the explicit approach of SEE provision that makes up the bulk of the research literature is more popular in only one of the four case study countries, and only just: 61% of preschool and primary teachers, and 56% of UK secondary school teachers said that they taught SEE explicitly. This is well below the recent estimation in CASEL's latest book (Domitrovich et al., 2015) which estimated 90% of primary schools, and 70% of secondary schools in the UK. Furthermore, the American scholars cited these percentages as specific to the number of schools using the SEAL framework - whereas in the present research, only 4% of UK respondents said their SEE provision was inspired from SEAL.

In the other three case studies, SEE provision was described as using more relational approaches by the majority of teachers, where the focus is on the quality of their interactions with students to promote social and emotional skills. Yet most of the literature regarding SEE is dominated by more explicit competence-promoting approaches (and even studies testing the adherence to CASEL's framework), thus there is a giant disconnect between the research literature and practice. And for those who are none the wiser, it would be easy to assume that SEE mostly consists of explicit, competence-promoting approaches and to define SEE as being exclusively that.

There is currently minimal research about emergent approaches to SEE provision, but the studies that do exist are largely critiques of the competence-based approach to SEE. Reeves and Le Mare's (2017) study mentioned above is one example, another is Vadeboncoeur and Collie (2013) who argue the need, as was mentioned in Chapter Two, to: 'Develop approaches to social and

emotional education that reduce the emphasis on behavioral skill sets and individual assessments and, instead, develop methods for linking social and emotional ideals with social practices in schools' (205). The relational approach to SEE does not use manuals nor assess competencies and this is how the majority of teachers in the current research were found to prefer teaching SEE.

Aside from the more obvious problems with past studies that have already been discussed (that they are largely monocultural, more likely to include English-speaking participants and more likely to test competence-based approaches), another problem highlighted in the literature regarding SEE provisions is that they were not able to achieve similar positive results like CASEL's meta-analyses (Durlak et al., 2011) have previously indicated when SEL programmes were moved outside of North America where they were originally developed (Wigelsworth et al., 2016). For this reason, some considerations for future research regarding SEE provision include the need to go beyond cross-cultural comparisons, and to also delineate the boundaries of SEE provision: that is, to describe the cultural limitations of what SEE provision can and cannot do in each context.

In order to aid in the creation of bespoke, grassroots, comparative frameworks of social and emotional skills, all of the various skills from both the questionnaire and the teachers' suggestions were combined into a 22-skill graph, split into intrapersonal and interpersonal skills (Table 5.1). Three skills from the initial framework were changed: First, 'relaxation techniques' were more commonly referred to as 'skills to manage stress', so it was renamed for this framework. Second, 'working independently' was not mentioned by any teacher in the four countries, yet 'self-discipline' was regularly taught in all four case studies (especially so by UK teachers), so the two were combined. Similarly, 'leadership skills and responsible decision making' were not

mentioned in any of the four countries, yet ‘responsibility’ was mentioned in three of the four countries as it pertained to one’s own actions and social responsibilities, so the two were combined. Finally, the word ‘praxis’ was chosen rather than ‘management’ so as to differentiate between beliefs and practice.

Table 5.1. 22-skill social and emotional education framework created from the literature review and teacher additions

Self Knowledge	Self Praxis	Social Knowledge	Social Praxis
Self love / self worth. Recognising personal qualities and achievements.	Perseverance / initiative. Developing self-discipline and setting goals.	Appreciating diverse perspectives.	‘Social skills’: Communicating one’s needs effectively. Assertiveness and boundaries.
Understanding, identifying and labelling emotions.	Managing stress.	Positive relationships / Awareness of others’ needs.	Negotiating and resolving conflict.
Recognising triggers of anger.			Solidarity. Helping safeguard others.
Self reflection / recognising one’s needs.	Resilience and adaptability.	Empathy.	Collaborating. Co-operating. Contributing.
Sense of belonging.	Expressing emotions appropriately.	Respect for others.	Responsibility and decisionmaking.
	Generating positive emotion.	Recognising personal supports.	Sustainability.
	Safeguarding one’s wellbeing.		

Note: Skills above the dotted line were included in the questionnaire, those within the dotted lines were listed by teachers in answer to the question: "Are there any other social and emotional skills you have taught not included in the list above?"

The framework in Table 5.1 was created to help future research when trying to delineate the boundaries of SEE cross-culturally. For example, in terms of interpersonal skills, the most regularly taught skill in the UK found in the current research was safeguarding others’ wellbeing. In Table 5.1, this is categorised under social praxis (solidarity / helping safeguard others). Some UK teachers in the present study said they promoted this skill through anti-bullying programmes. Looking further into the literature,

anti-bullying programmes were found to work by developing empathy for a peer in distress (Cowie, 2009). This skill is thus composed of both social knowledge (empathy), and social praxis (solidarity). So how is the skill of safeguarding others' wellbeing conceptualised differently from culture to culture? Why was it significantly more likely to be taught in the UK than the other case study countries? What exercises work in one culture, and not in others? What different categories are relevant to each skill in different cultures? This is a goldmine for future in-depth qualitative SEE research to look into, in order to hopefully create grassroots, comparative frameworks of skills that could offer more comprehensive delineations of SEE provision that take culture into account.

In the author's opinion, any framework of social and emotional skills, including the one presented in Table 5.1, will always be a schematic oversimplification of reality that runs the risk of treating SEE normatively. To treat social and emotional skills in this way, or worse, to try and quantify students' social and emotional skills like grades to be tracked and compared from country to country, school to school, and worse still, individual to individual, defeats the purpose of social and emotional education. For this reason, the author wishes to emphasize that Table 5.1 was not included in a bid to create a universal cross-cultural framework, but to assist future research in delineating the boundaries of SEE provision according to culture. Potentially it could also help teachers develop their own SEE provisions: whether it be to consider what emotional and social skills they develop in the classroom, or to create bespoke SEE subjects.

5.2.3. Teachers' Social-Political Knowledge

Institutional context

The matter of teachers' beliefs regarding the influences of the wider social-political context on SEE provision has been paid minimal attention in the research literature (which, by now, should be a

phrase that makes the present chapter sound like a broken record). The research that does exist, however, is an exploration of teachers' opinions on the school environment and how it impacts the teacher emotionally, and this section will be devoted to discussing findings that could be extrapolated to the current research.

A good place to start is with a teacher in Nias' (1996) study who said about her profession: 'I love teaching. I hate schools.' Many of the studies about teachers' meta-emotion as it pertains to the wider institutional context confirmed this opinion: Chen (2016) created a Teacher Emotion Inventory (TEI) to detail the emotional makeup of 1,830 participating elementary-school teachers in China and Hong Kong. The study found that positive emotions centred around teacher-student relationships, relationships with other colleagues, and recognition (be it from within the school, or the public), but experiencing negative emotions were due to competition with colleagues, work/life imbalance, and pressures and changes imposed on by society and educational policy. This finding was also corroborated by a team of researchers from Portugal (Bahia, Freire, Amaral & Estrela, 2013), who in their interviews with Portuguese teachers found that in the micro-context (classroom) teachers mostly experienced positive emotions, and in the macro-context (educational policies) teachers mostly experienced negative emotions.

The present study found teachers to have a similar animosity towards policymakers regarding the subject of SEE. In all the four countries, respondents from schools where policy had introduced SEE provision were the most dissatisfied with the attention given to SEE in general. However, policy had introduced SEE provision in schools in the minority of cases, with SEE policy being the most likely to be applied in the UK: 31% of UK teachers said SEE provision had been introduced in their school due to policy, compared to only 23% in Sweden, 16% in Spain, and 9% in Greece. In light of the fact that

policy meant that SEE was more likely to be its own subject and had time devoted to it exclusively in the UK, it is interesting to note that this did not correlate with the greatest level of teacher satisfaction with SEE provision. Already this highlights a large problem with previous research that has heavily relied on government policy documents to describe SEE provision, the most recent one being the OECD's (2015) '*The power of social and emotional skills*'. In effect the OECD were describing and comparing the fancies of policymakers and other powerful groups, not the reality of practice in schools.

One of the main findings of the present research was that teachers were more satisfied with SEE provision when they themselves had a part in introducing SEE in their schools, which in the sample group was the slight majority of schools: 69% of Spanish teachers said they introduced SEE provision into their school, compared to 59% in Sweden, 57% in UK and 53% in Greece. When teachers introduced SEE into their schools, they were more likely to consider social and emotional aspects of learning for every subject that was taught, rather than teach, measure and assess social and emotional competencies explicitly. In the present study, this method of introduction and approach to SEE correlated positively to teacher satisfaction with SEE provision.

In his research of policymakers who were responsible for rolling out SEAL in England and Wales, Emery (2016), highlighted just how divorced from reality the government was in its understanding of what 'teachers want'. One policymaker said of the SEAL framework:

'Given that schools like packages and need boxes and like to be told how to do it ... it might have been nicer if it had been better, the materials, but at least it was good that there was something.' (252)

This condescending treatment of teachers mirrors the attitude that policymakers usually reserve for working-class parents, and hints at why such miscommunication exists between the two groups in the

first place. Just like one English teacher explicitly said in her interview: *"I felt like it [SEE] was incorporated in a "tick box" sort of way rather than being meaningful."*

This disconnect between policymakers and educators was also discussed by another English teacher in her interview, *"If you read what head teachers are saying and then you look at what government are doing, any government, they're not listening- our education secretaries don't listen."* It was interesting to note that the teacher mentioned headteachers, not teachers, when discussing the communication between education and government. The results of the present research also highlighted how much more influential senior management and headteachers were vis-a-vis teachers in the UK compared to Sweden, Greece and Spain adding another level of hierarchy for the teachers therein. Headteachers were found to be involved in introducing SEE in 70% of responses in the UK sample, compared to only 46% in Sweden, 37% in Spain and 23% in Greece. This was corroborated in Jones' (2016) research which studied the beliefs and attitudes of headteachers regarding social and emotional education provision within American schools, and concluded that principals/headteachers have 'influence on everyone involved in the system, but do not seem to be easily influenced by others' (ix).

It was also interesting to note that the heavily decentralised education systems of Sweden and the United Kingdom were also the two case studies more likely to have different opinions between headteachers and teachers regarding SEE. For example, in Sweden headteachers were more likely to: agree that emotion is fundamental to learning, believe that the key to learning depends on the relationship between the teacher and the student, believe themselves to be responsible for socialising students, and be more comfortable with negative emotion being expressed in the classroom. Similarly, headteachers in the UK were more likely to agree that the school pays enough attention to SEE compared to teachers. It thus should

be no surprise that the present research found that teachers were more likely to be dissatisfied with SEE provision if senior leadership had introduced it without their involvement (just as when introduced by policy), and a partnership of both teachers and senior leadership introducing SEE was found to have the highest likelihood that teachers were satisfied. In other words, teachers needed to feel involved in implementing SEE provision. It did not matter whether it was policy or headteachers imposing SEE - they did not lead to satisfied teachers either way.

So why do teachers experience more negative emotions when faced with the macro-context of teaching? The literature had a range of answers: Hargreaves (2000) argues it is precisely because of the neglect of the emotional dimension in educational reform, which prioritises standards, targets, performance, management, planning, accountability, decision-making and results (812); Hayes (2011) argues it is the teacher's' lack of influence upon determining priorities for their own classroom practice; Nias (1996) argues it is because teachers are forced to constantly defend their identity and practice to inspectors, parents and colleagues and are therefore forced to rely on validation from others, 'The more profound and personal their [teachers'] commitment to particular ideals, goals or priorities, the more extreme their reaction when these are threatened or contested' (304). Nias goes on to summarise that there is a sense of loss that a lot of teachers experience throughout their work life: ideals compromised, influence diminished, administrative support withdrawn, privacy invaded and autonomy undermined.

In the UK context, these negative feelings largely centre around The Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted) which routinely evaluate teachers in the school setting. As one of the teachers in Nias' research described, as a result of the inspections, she 'felt mortified and dehumanised, [that] they had lost their pedagogical values and holistic harmony as

persons, [that] in consequence their commitment to teaching had changed' (301). Again, cross-cultural comparisons are very much needed in this area to show that these traumatic experiences UK teachers endure are not universal, or, in fact, even required. As one teacher that worked both in UK and Spanish schools described the inspections in Spain:

'Certainly it [inspection] is focused on teaching and learning but there isn't the threatening feel that teachers often report from UK inspections. Perhaps it helps that the inspecting body is separated from the politics of education. Inspections in Spain still carry a reasonable period of notice and don't come with the ever present threat of being labelled and placed into a category.' (Rolt, 2015)

Another issue with Ofsted is their focus on academic achievement, treating all other educational goals, such as developing social and emotional competencies, as a zero-sum game at worst, or a minor detail at best. Either SEE was helping to increase academic attainment, or it was distracting from the 'real aim' of schools which was solely academic achievement. This tension was very clear in the responses of teachers in the current study:

"N.Q.T. [Newly Qualified Teachers] come into education wanting to make a difference ... You don't come into education to make a mint, you're coming because you are driven to make a difference, and then they come in and they realize, 'They're not going to let me do it. I have to do this prescriptive thing', and even the schools that are very holistic and really switched on to it, because all those other pressures, they can't even do it as much as they want to."

This was corroborated by UK teachers in the quantitative phase who expressed the need for education to go beyond just academic skills:

- *"Social skills in my opinion are just as important as any academic achievement, if not more so";*
- *"To develop the whole child not just the academic side";*
- *"Academic teaching is not sufficient, particularly if we consider ourselves to be in loco parentis";*
- *"To improve social and emotional skills with a focus that goes above academic performance and progress. Provide a means for pupils to develop in the wider sense, not just in academic terms."*

The Spanish teachers' responses were similar, saying that academic knowledge is not the be-all and end-all of education, and that each student needs to be treated as an individual:

- *“The student is not a vessel to be filled, but a person with their individualities and their emotions. Each student is different and comes from a specific and distinct family environment, their experiences are unique and influence their way of acting and interacting. The school must consider all these aspects and not just academic subjects”;*
- *“Educating people in a comprehensive manner, taking into account their personal circumstances and not just introducing academic knowledge.”*

It was interesting to note that this dichotomy between academic attainment and SEE was not as present in the answers from the Greek and Swedish teachers.

Given the socio-political context, the importance UK teachers place on SEE could thus be described as another tool in the proxy war against the government's neoliberal accountability regime. This was a theme commonly discussed in the literature. Education programmes influenced by neoliberal ideology are those where the onus is placed on the student to change, rather than focusing on the students' relationships, environment and society as a whole. By only highlighting one's own efforts as the most important factor for success, social barriers are presented as psychological ones (McLaughlin, 2008). Neoliberal culture thus advocates for the 'responsibilising of the self' and complete self-reliance being the ultimate goal (Peters, 2001).

This importance on complete self-autonomy is also linked to securing employment and to the growth of the economy in general. This neoliberal influence was most visible in the UK answers where 32% of teachers defined the purpose of SEE as preparing students for the future workplace, compared to 21% of Spanish teachers, 16% of Swedish teachers and 7% of Greek teachers. Under a neoliberal

framework, education, and SEE therein, is thus judged by how it benefits a student's employment prospects in the micro-context, and the economy in the macro-context. Because of this, social and emotional education is more likely to be treated instrumentally, that is, as a means of achieving something else (be that academic achievement, social advancement or wealth). But if a child's emotional health is more dependant on how unequal a society is (WHO, 2009), neoliberal suppositions that place the onus on the self for mental wellbeing are extremely problematic. Yet this ideology is ever present throughout the 'founding documents' of SEE discussed in Chapter Two. For example, the European Parliament (2006) defines emotion as 'the ability to relate one's own creative and expressive points of view ... and realise social and economic opportunities.'

The origins of the European Parliament's social competencies framework and its instrumentalist approach to emotion can be found in the UNESCO (1999) policy, 'Learning the Treasure Within.' This paper by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was the first to highlight the needed social and emotional skills that young adults need to function in the workplace - termed as 'learning to do'. This includes the competence to work in teams and to navigate through both formal and informal work experiences. Other categories included 'learning to live together', and 'learning to be', otherwise referred to as 'locus of control'. In their paper, Zembylas & Fendler (2007) highlighted how the term locus of control is used interchangeably in policy and SEE curricula with the term 'emotional intelligence', and argue that this is evidence of policymakers' efforts to instill new forms of morality and utility in education. However, a lot of these warnings from scholars, though warranted, are incomplete by not taking into account how SEE practices on the ground diverge from policymaker's fancies, and fail to discuss how grassroots movements can and have challenged neoliberal agendas. The present study found that SEE provision in schools was much more

likely to have been introduced by teachers themselves, relying on relational approaches, and with no assessment procedures. The warning that SEE works to indoctrinate students also ignores much of the SEE provisions which defines their goal as encouraging autonomy, not mindless compliance (Weare, 2007). In fact, the OECD (2015) study on SEE skills found this to be the case in Switzerland, where SEE programmes were linked to ‘considerable positive effect in improving their [student’s] attitudes towards life, it also raises the likelihood of these children misbehaving, such as having problems with the police, and school delinquency’ (69).

How neoliberal agendas can backfire was also a theme explored by Emery (2016) where he compared how the neoliberal agenda impacted SEAL in England and Wales differently; policymakers from Wales rebelled from the English neoliberal model and ‘created an inclusive, non-prescriptive, policy remit ensuring that whatever SEL was in Wales it was not a national handbook of directions for how to enter the middle classes’ (302). Interestingly enough, Emery identified that one of the ways in which the Welsh SEE provision pivoted was by defining its purpose to prepare for citizenship, not employment - a theme that was also found in the present study.

It could be argued, however, that it is only a matter of time before the accountability regime begins to dictate SEE provision more globally - that, for instance, teachers and schools begin to be judged by their adherence to SEE frameworks using competence-promotion approaches, or that social and emotional skills begin to be judged in the same way as literacy and numeracy scores (e.g., students should develop X ‘EQ’ points per school year). Firstly, this would inevitably prioritise competence-promotion approaches more than they already are, further pushing relational approaches to the sidelines. And secondly, to improve SEE by making teachers more vulnerable than they already are in a

high-stakes accountability culture defeats the purpose of SEE. Thus, how teachers can be more supported in their SEE provision, both through training and mentoring, is the next subject to turn to.

Training and Mentoring

'Understanding the structure of teachers' experience is a necessary condition for any professional development worthy of the name since here is nothing else in terms of which teachers can be 'developed' other than through their own understandings of their own work. Development, like education, implies starting from where you are. Significant personal and professional development requires the unification of learning in the way persons understand themselves.'
(Golby, 1996, 425)

The Education Endowment Foundation's systematic review of social and emotional education research found that professional development and training for staff are more likely to improve emotional and attitudinal outcomes of SEE programmes (EEF Toolkit, 2016). However, the lack of training to support teachers in delivering SEE programmes is regularly mentioned throughout the literature: including that there was a lack of research on teachers' perceptions or understandings regarding the development or implementation of social and emotional skills (Triliva and Poulou 2006), that experienced and first-year teachers alike are not comfortable with identifying and managing their students' social and emotional development (Koller, Osterling, Paris & Weston, 2004; Onchwari, 2010), that teachers feel they did not receive adequate training regarding SEE (Koller et al., 2004), and that little attention is dedicated to teach teachers how to create a positive classroom environment (Jones & Bouffard, 2012). For these reasons, it is no surprise how many studies have recommended that teachers' emotions be included in pre-service training in the literature: Hayes, 2003; Malm, 2009; Darby et al, 2011; Corcoran & Tormey, 2012; Bahia, Freire, Amaral & Estrela, 2013; Schutz & Lee, 2014; Taxer & Frenzel, 2015; Yuan & Lee, 2016; Djambazova-Popordanoska, 2016; Esen-Aygun & Sahin-Taskin, 2017. Almost none of these studies,

however, elaborate any further on the methods as to how teacher training regarding emotions can be put into practice. For this reason, articles that did focus on teacher training methods are discussed at length below.

Teacher training that prioritised competence-promoting approaches included Waajid, Garner & Owen (2013), a team from America, who tested how SEE could be infused into an undergraduate course: 'Contemporary Approach to Curriculum Development'. Students were required to design a social and emotional education curriculum after being given specific resources (the CASEL framework) and specific instructions on conceptual frameworks. Another course evaluated by Dolev & Leshem (2016) used 'EQ' indicators to test the impact of a two-year teacher training programme in Israel that consisted of monthly workshops and personal mentoring. Though the participants felt that their training had enhanced their social and emotional competencies, the researchers judged the progress quantitatively - through 'EQ' scores - and found that there had not been a shift in the emotional intelligence indicators. This highlights the need for mixed-methods research when evaluating SEE teacher training courses in the future.

Training based on more relational approaches included Kimber, Skoog and Sandell (2013), a team from Sweden, who conducted a study of the effects of a teacher training programme to implement SEE in schools (eight, two-hour sessions weekly), with a large part of the training concentrating on self-reflection. From doing a thematic analysis on 122 of the diaries the trainees kept during training, the researchers found that after SEE training, teachers felt they: could better communicate with their colleagues; had a greater self-awareness; and had more strategies at hand to create more positive relationship with students and give them more feedback. However some teachers did feel uneasy after training and expressed concern about their ability to teach SEE. This finding was

corroborated in Reeves and Le Mare's (2017) study of an SEE teacher training course consisting of 14 bi-weekly, 2-hour group discussions- the study found that knowledge of SEE did not always easily translate into practice.

Teachers' lack of confidence with SEE provision was also corroborated in the present study: a majority of the teachers who did receive training did not remember any theories or topics that influenced them, and furthermore, some of those who did remember still did not feel confident in promoting social and emotional skills. This conundrum, however, was resolved in the present study by analysing the demographic variables: in Sweden and the UK, teachers who had over 11 years' experience were significantly more confident in their ability to develop their students' social and emotional competencies compared to teachers with less experience - that is to say, it is not training nor qualifications that gives teachers confidence to deliver SEE, it is experience. A word to explain this is *metis*, which originates from Ancient Greek and means 'advice, wisdom, counsel; cunning, skill, craft' (Etymology Dictionary, 2016). Scott (1998) defines *metis* as knowledge that is applicable to similar but not identical situations requiring quick adaptations that become second nature to practitioners:

'The skills for *metis* may well involve rules of thumb, but such rules are largely acquired through practice and a developed feel or knack for strategy. *Metis* resists simplification into deductive principles which can successfully be transmitted through book learning, because the environments in which it is exercised are so complex and non-repeatable that formal procedures of rational decision making are impossible to apply' (316).

The more SEE provision can be linked to *metis* - both in practice and in training - the more it can be based on local and divergent knowledge that is different from culture to culture. In light of the findings that SEE depends so much on teacher experience, more attention needs to be placed on the creation of support networks and mentorship programmes regarding SEE so that for any relevant

issues that come up throughout a teacher's working life, they can rely on other teachers' experience. Schutz & Lee (2014) suggested that teachers should be encouraged to share their experiences with other teachers as part of 'connection programs' where they can be supported by their colleagues throughout their professional lives. Other methods that were researched by which teachers could be supported with SEE provision were guidance from graduate psychology students (Dolev & Leshem, 2016; Ratkalkar et al., 2017), or one-on-one support from other experienced teachers (Pianta, 2012).

The lack of research on mentorship programmes for teachers in general is one that has already been highlighted by Cunningham (2010) as a neglected professional activity. As the literature now stands, mentorship is usually defined as lesson evaluations or witness statements, and still has a long way to go before becoming a means of: 'Mentoring new entrants (in particular), assisting in their socialisation into their chosen professional field ... that we might perhaps begin to argue that the work of mentors ... could be depicted as an embryonic 'signature pedagogy' (33). In the current study, one-on-one support for new teachers from experienced teachers was available in Greece, but in the example given in the interviews, this was only one woman to be shared by every new teacher on the whole island of Crete. Regardless, this is a start.

Another training avenue for SEE teacher training was online: Greece's longest running SEE provision 'We C.A.R.E' is run as an online platform to teach both teachers and students (Hatzichristou & Lianos, 2016). Laosanurak, Chanchalor & Murphy (2016) piloted an online SEE programme in Thailand to foster social and emotional skills which also doubled as a training tool for teachers. This method of online teacher training shares many attributes with offline training in that it can be a 'two birds with one stone' solution: it can serve both to include teacher emotions as part of both pre-service training and

continuing professional development, whilst simultaneously providing exercises and resources they can give to students. It is interesting to note that how emotions can be incorporated into online courses is already a popular topic of research: a team of Spanish and Greek academics are currently creating an Affective Pedagogical Tutor (APT) so students can get emotional feedback on e-learning environments (Arguedas, Xhafa, Daradoumis, Caballe, 2015).

Finally, one last finding to highlight regarding SEE training was the popularity of the British psychoanalyst John Bowlby's attachment theory. When asked what SEE topics/theories from their professional training had inspired their teaching, 35% of UK respondents, 8% of Spanish respondents, 4% of Swedish respondents and 4% of Greek respondents replied with attachment theory. Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969) purports that the degree of a parent's sensitivity to their child in infancy creates an 'internal working model' - that is to say, the set of expectations the child has of the outside world and the level of support she is likely to expect. Unlike attachment patterns (which are established early in life), the 'internal working model' is dynamic, and with each new relationship one can shift towards more or less secure states of mind. Thus, in the case of teachers, attachment theory implies that sensitive teachers who are responsive to students can potentially help shift them to more secure states of mind (Reeves & Le Mareb, 2017).

In 1951, the World Health Organisation commissioned Bowlby to write a cross-cultural report on the mental health of homeless children in postwar Europe, and it is here that he first elucidated his theory that 'the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother substitute) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment' (Bowlby, 1951, 13). However, this was not the only conclusion. Bowlby emphasised the importance by which the health of children rests on the health of their parents, and so, 'Just as children are

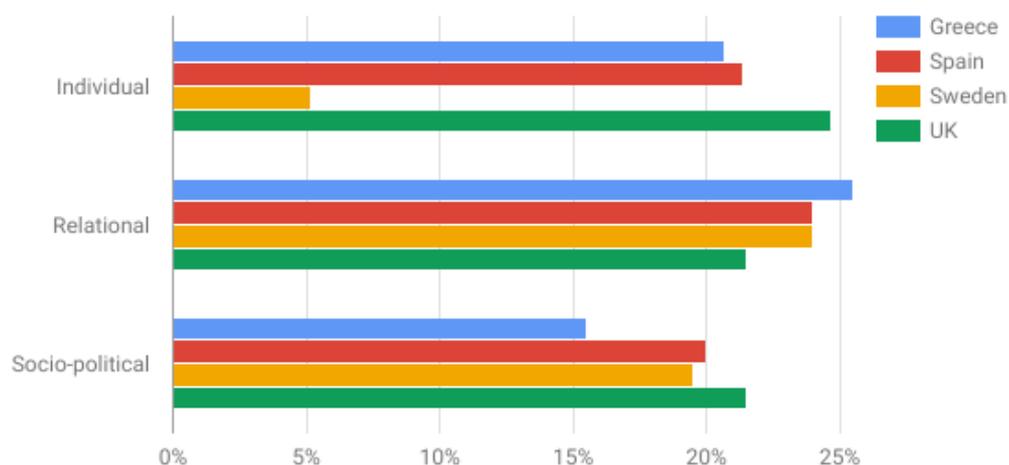
absolutely dependent on their parents for sustenance, so ... are parents, especially their mothers, dependent on a greater society for economic provision. If a community values its children it must cherish their parents' (84). Bowlby's holistic understanding of children's health is an important one to keep in mind given how neoliberal ideology can begin to work against this aim: that is, teacher training where the onus is placed on the student to change and the remediation of behavioural deficits, rather than focusing on students' relationships, their environment and society as a whole.

5.3. Cultural differences

Cross-cultural framework for emotional knowledge

A framework of teachers' emotional knowledge was created in Zembylas' (2007b) paper and divided into three sections: individual, relational and socio-political knowledge. This schematic was used in the present study to organise the vast amount of information from the literature review and findings from the QUAN and QUAL research. To the author's knowledge, this is the first time such a framework is used cross-culturally to try and ascertain the differences (if any exist) between teachers' opinions regarding social and emotional education (be they individual, relational or socio-political). From the answers to the open-ended questions in the survey (the main themes as to the purpose of SEE, and the teacher's self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser), the cross-cultural differences between the four countries were compared as to how much teachers referred to explicit social and emotional skills (competence-promotion approaches), and to their own social and emotional skills (implicit, relational approaches).

Figure 5.2. Emotional knowledge pertaining to students (Explicit SEE provision, competence-promotion approach) (N: 628)



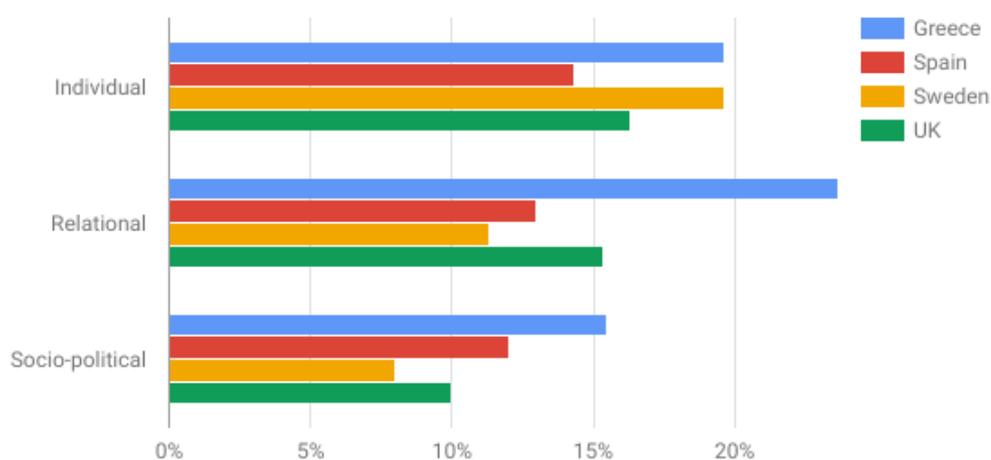
	Greece	Spain	Sweden	UK
Individual	21%	21%	5%	25%
Intrapersonal skills - Understand Self	15%	22%	12%	18%
Intrapersonal skills - Regulate own emotions	40%	36%	15%	36%
Intrapersonal skills - Overcome Adversity	7%	6%	4%	20%
Relational	26%	24%	24%	22%
Interpersonal skills - Understand Others/ Empathy	20%	20%	26%	21%
Interpersonal skills - Good relationships	31%	28%	22%	22%
Socio-political	16%	20%	20%	22%
Equip students for work life	7%	21%	16%	32%
Active democratic citizens (solidarity, critical)	24%	19%	23%	11%
Total teachers responding	107	214	82	225

Individual, relational and socio-political emotional knowledge were evenly spread cross-culturally, except for Swedish teachers who were less likely to mention individual emotional knowledge as it pertained to students (5%) compared to the UK (25%), Spain (21%) and Greece (21%). Relational emotional knowledge was similar in all

four countries (Greece 26%, Spain 24%, Sweden 24% and UK 22%), as was socio-political emotional knowledge (UK 22%, Sweden 20%, Spain 20% and Greece 16%). These numbers also corroborate the findings from the second part of the questionnaire, which found that whilst teachers were more likely to teach interpersonal skills (social awareness, social management) as part of SEE provision, UK teachers were much more likely to concentrate on intrapersonal skills (self-awareness and self-management). The other large difference between the countries was how much teachers from the UK believed themselves responsible for preparing students for the workplace (with 32% of teachers mentioning this in the UK, compared to only 7% in Greece). Swedish and Greek teachers, however, were more likely to see the purpose of SEE as developing the competencies for democratic citizenship: whereas 24% of Greek teachers and 23% of Swedish teachers mentioned citizenship, only 11% of UK teachers did. In this way, the goal of SEE splits into two categories: those teachers who believe their goal is to prepare workers, and those who want to prepare citizens.

As to the differences of emotional knowledge as it pertained to the teacher themselves, significant differences were found not only cross-culturally, but also compared to how much SEE concentrated on students' knowledge (competence-promoting approaches), compared to the teachers' knowledge (relational approaches). The difference is clear between the explicit and implicit knowledge when comparing Figure 5.2 and Figure 5.3: the emphasis on explicit skills (emotional knowledge as it pertains to the students) was much more likely to be mentioned by teachers, especially so in the UK and Spain, compared to the implicit skills and emotional knowledge as it pertains to the teacher. In this way, SEE in both Spain and the UK is described as something that is taught to students, and to a lesser extent, more implicit approaches that are made to shape the teachers' own social and emotional aptitudes.

Figure 5.3. Emotional knowledge pertaining to teachers (Implicit SEE provision, relational approach) (N: 644)



	Greece	Spain	Sweden	UK
Individual				
Facilitate learning	12%	7%	28%	16%
To serve as role models	26%	23%	15%	19%
To fulfill their professional responsibilities	21%	13%	16%	14%
Relational				
Teachers spend a lot of time with students	36%	22%	22%	29%
Teachers can create safe environments	3%	2%	3%	4%
Nurturing teacher-student relationships	32%	15%	9%	13%
Socio-political				
Socialisation of students	44%	31%	18%	13%
Wellbeing/ mental health support	8%	7%	6%	11%
Make up for deficiencies at home	3%	4%	3%	15%
Improve society (peace, justice, humane)	7%	6%	5%	1%
Total teachers responding	111	220	86	227

The most striking contrast between the emotional knowledge that was discussed as it pertains to students rather than teachers

was how the Swedish teachers were much more likely to talk about their own emotional knowledge (20%), rather than as it is taught to students (5%); and conversely, Swedish teachers were more likely to highlight the socio-political knowledge as it pertained to their students (20%) (mostly the importance of democratic citizenship), than they talked about their own socio-political emotional knowledge (8%) (for example, what the role of the teacher is in the process of socialisation). As Sweden was the case study less likely to have teachers involved in SEE provision - be that through introducing it into schools, running SEE classes with their students, and in the past two decades, even training in SEE - these answers show the outcomes of these differences: not that SEE provision disappears altogether, but rather that less competence-promoting approaches are adopted, and more implicit approaches that center around the teachers' meta-emotions are found instead. Greece, on the other hand, had the most balance between student and teacher knowledge, and showed a mix of both competence-promoting approaches and relational approaches in the cross-cultural comparison.

To summarise, how do teachers perceive and practice social and emotional education in different cultures? In Greece, which is the least likely out of the four countries to have SEE as a subject (or even considered as part of other subjects), there is no government-imposed framework to 'learn' and develop emotion using pedagogical tools (outside of the SEE programmes that are run in a small fraction of the school population), and this has not had a negative impact on the emotional ecology of the classroom. On the contrary, Greek teachers had the most balance between competence-promoting approaches and relational approaches cross-culturally.

Spain, on the other hand, had the highest level of teachers being involved in introducing SEE into their schools (at 69%), but the

lowest level of teachers that had been trained in the subject (23%) (although this was fast changing when comparing how many 20 to 30-year-old teachers were receiving SEE training in Spain, compared to the other countries). When listing what topics and subjects had most influenced their practice of SEE the plethora of topics mentioned by teachers highlighted a boom of autodidacts studying social and emotional education.

In Sweden, where it was found that teachers' main purpose for SEE was to develop the social and emotional aptitudes required for active citizenship, it makes sense that they prioritised socio-political knowledge as it pertained to the student, and their individual emotional knowledge in meeting this need. Any social and emotional skills that a student needed to develop could be done with a counsellor, and this was beyond the remit of the Swedish teachers.

In the UK, where teachers had the highest likelihood of having received SEE training (40%), it is no surprise that the teachers were much more likely to reference students' emotional knowledge when discussing the purpose of SEE, rather than their own. UK teachers, like Swedish teachers, were more likely to concentrate on socio-political knowledge as it pertained to the student, but with a focus on preparing for future work life.

The most relevant research done cross-culturally regarding students' social and emotional aptitudes is '*Students' Well-Being: PISA 2015 Results*' (2017) which considered the psychological dimension of learning, defined as:

'Students' sense of purpose in life, self-awareness, affective states and emotional strength. Psychological wellbeing is supported by self-esteem, motivation, resilience, self-efficacy, hope and optimism; it is hindered by anxiety, stress, depression and distorted views of the self and others' (62).

It is important to point out, however, that the only measures which PISA tested were students' self-reports of their motivation for achievement and their anxiety related to school work. However, it is

only a matter of time before the OECD seeks to include social and emotional aptitudes as part of PISA, and they have made no secret of it: in their recent report, *'Skills for Social Progress: The Power of Social and Emotional Skills'* (2015) the OECD concluded with the recommendation that a cross-cultural social and emotional skills framework should be created and applied globally to their 35 member countries. Similarly, in the United Nation's *World Happiness Report* (2015), it was not only recommended that a cross-cultural SEE curricula should be created, but that it should be taught to every student throughout their school life world wide:

'They need a whole curriculum of life skills, at least once a week throughout the school life... this curriculum should be evidence-based and depend as little as possible on inspired improvisation by the teacher. It is universally found that the best results follow from using detailed materials accompanied by a good manual on how to use them and some explicit training of the teachers (this is not so different from what is needed for a good surgical operation) ... The obvious way forward is to draw on the most successful programs worldwide and to combine them into a single curriculum' (118).

These two reports and their recommendations are based on the suppositions of the established camp: that social and emotional aptitudes are universal, and thus a cross-cultural framework can be implemented with little to no improvisation from teachers. However, this directly contradicts countless findings from the literature: simply put, "what works" in one cultural context cannot be simply adopted in another setting with differing traditions, values, and meanings' (Hahn, 1998, viii). Garner et al. (2014) also challenged single models of emotional competency valid across all cultural contexts, finding that social emotional competencies manifest in ways specific to cultural characteristics. Meta-reviews of the transferability of skills in SEE have already been completed (Wigelsworth et al., 2016), with the most important finding being that some SEL programmes showed no impact when transferred internationally, and the authors recommended that:

'As SEL is a global phenomenon, the importance of additional work in understanding the significance of cultural validity specifically

becomes increasingly important, given that results from the current study suggest that SEL programmes identified as successful can be rendered ineffective when transported to other countries' (367).

Other findings included: that successful outcomes in prevention interventions rely on their adaptation to fit with cultural needs (Castro, Barrera & Martinez, 2004); and that some SEE programmes that had been successful in the US had null results even when transferred to the UK, let alone to non-Anglo countries (Baldry & Farrington, 2008). In the present study as well, the significant cross-cultural differences in how teachers taught specific skills, the kind of SEE provision that most suited their needs, and their different relationships to emotion all demonstrate how ridiculous the OECD and the UN's claims are that social and emotional aptitudes could be part of a one-size-fits-all framework and curriculum. Ironically enough, only two decades ago the OECD (1996) sang a very different tune:

'The more complex a professional activity becomes, the more policy interventions have to take into account the view of practitioners and leave space for local adaptations ... practical problems cannot be solved for the institutions by central regulations' (11).

What a cross-cultural framework of social and emotional skills would entail is an oversimplification of reality, and more problematic still, a simplification of something as contested as emotion. As Scott (1998) argues, this is how standardised facts are aggregated through newly created 'common' units of measurement (e.g., social and emotional skills), and how each person is classified against the new assessment (e.g., cross-cultural SEE framework), which effectively reduces a changing social reality to one that resembles the chosen schematic of those in authority. Scott warns that these attempts go wrong when elites disregard local knowledge, practice and context (which is visible in the reports, e.g., 'this curriculum should be evidence-based and depend as little as possible on inspired improvisation by the teacher'). Given that the present research found teachers to be happiest when they themselves had introduced SEE

provision, and the least satisfied when policymakers were involved, should speak for itself.

Hofstede's dimensions and SEE research

As Przeworski and Teune (1970) advised, 'We should go beyond statements such as "In the USA . . . , but in France."' When we find that societies differ with regard to a particular characteristic, we should try to specify what it is about these societies that causes this difference.' It is to this end that we turn next to Hofstede's cultural dimensions and whether they were applicable in predicting the differences found in the current study. In Chapter Two of this thesis, a series of hypotheses about SEE in each of the four case study countries were made. These were based on Hofstede's (1986) paper which created the first cross-cultural framework for the treatment of emotion in educational settings, and differences in the teacher/student relationship. Given the results of the present research, the findings will now be assessed using Hofstede's predictions about the way culture influences emotion and relationships.

Looking first at the uncertainty avoidance index, with the UK and Sweden rating as low on the scale (Hofstede rates UK as 35, and Sweden as 29), the dimensions predict that the Swedish and UK teachers would model the suppression of emotion (the inhibition of affect) and prioritise the control and management of emotion. The curriculum would have vague objectives - if any at all - and SEE would be more likely to be infused into the curriculum as implicit skills learnt via modelling, rather than taught as a separate subject. Furthermore, most teachers would not receive specific SEE training. On the other hand, Greece and Spain were rated high on the Uncertainty Avoidance scale (Hofstede rates Greece as 100, and Spain as 86), predicting that Spanish and Greek teachers would allow for more emotion to be displayed in the classroom (the expression of affect) and prioritise how emotions should be

communicated. The provision would have explicit objectives, would be more likely to be timetabled in the school day and taught didactically as well as by modelling, and most teachers would receive training. The predictions followed by the current research's findings for the Uncertainty Avoidance Index are summarised in Table 5.2.

The current findings thus confirm that the only reliable prediction as to the cultural differences was in the expression rather than inhibition of affect. This dimension originally described by Inkeles and Levinson (1969) was created to explain differences in conflict resolution (by inhibiting or expressing emotion). Whereas the dimension was able to correctly identify the differences in treatment of emotion in the classroom, it did not do so in the case of Greece on account of gender - where female teachers felt more inclined to inhibit emotion rather than express it, contrary to Hofstede's theory. The UK education system was found to act more in line with high uncertainty avoidance countries like Spain and Greece (using specific objectives regarding SEE and emphasis on teacher training), contrary to Hofstede's predictions as well.

Table 5.2. Results in cultural differences in teacher/student relationships and social and emotional education provision according to the Uncertainty Avoidance Index

Country	Prediction	Present research findings	Hypotheses correct?
UK (Low UA)	SEE has vague objectives, and is not timetabled.	The SEAL framework had precise objectives, and SEE provision still present in schools tends to as well. However, SEAL was abandoned and it is only a small number of teachers who continue to use the framework.	Partly. SEAL was discarded after a change in government which led to vaguer objectives. In this way, specific objectives about SEE were due to socio-political differences, not culture.
	Teachers model the suppression of emotion.	Teachers were more likely to disagree that they should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom.	Yes.
	Low training in SEE.	UK had the highest training in SEE out of the four case studies.	No.
	Preference for implicit SEE skills and reliance on modelling.	UK teachers were much more likely to use competence-promotion approaches. Students' social and emotional aptitudes were more likely to be mentioned by teachers.	No.
Sweden (Low UA)	SEE has vague objectives, and is not timetabled.	SEE did have vague objectives and no framework has been created nor implemented in Sweden.	Yes.
	Teachers model the suppression of emotion.	Teachers were found to mostly disagree that they should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom, especially in terms of negative emotion.	Yes.
	Low training in SEE.	Sweden had the highest drop (over the past two decades) in teacher training for SEE out of the four case study countries.	Partly. In the past, Sweden once had a high level of training in SEE, and only recently has this dropped . The change is thus socio-political in nature.

Table 5.2. Results in cultural differences (contd.)			
Country	Prediction	Present research findings	Hypotheses correct?
Sweden (Low UA) (contd.)	Preference for implicit SEE skills and reliance on modelling.	Teachers were much more likely to propose relational approaches and talk about the need for modelling. To talk about social and emotional aptitudes explicitly, students are sent to counsellors.	Yes.
Spain (High UA)	SEE has precise objectives, and is timetabled.	Spain had a large difference in the way SEE was taught between primary and secondary school, with the former relying on more relational approaches, and the latter having more precise objectives. However, many of the Spanish teachers expressed a desire for SEE to be timetabled.	Partly. Differences in the teacher-student relationship between primary and secondary school highlight a contextual difference in SEE provision.
	Teachers encourage the expression of emotion.	Teachers were found to rate high in agreement that they should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom.	Yes.
	High training in SEE.	Highest change in teacher training. Spain once had the lowest percentage of teachers train in SEE, and only recently is it increasing (over the past three decades).	Partly. The change seems socio-political in nature.
	Preference for explicit SEE skills and reliance on didactic teaching.	High percentage of teachers teaching SEE explicitly in secondary, less so in primary.	Partly. Differences between primary and secondary school highlight a contextual difference in SEE provision.
Greece (High UA)	SEE has precise objectives, and is timetabled.	Greece does not have a SEE framework, and was the least likely to have the subject timetabled out of all the four case study countries.	No.

	Prediction	Present research findings	Hypotheses correct?
Greece (High UA) (contd.)	Teachers encourage the expression of emotion.	Only Greek male teachers were found in the study to feel comfortable expressing their emotions in class, including negative emotion.	Partly. Since gender affected the results the change is explained by demographics.
	High training in SEE.	Large emphasis on teacher training for SEE in the university.	Yes.
	Preference for explicit SEE skills and reliance on didactic teaching.	When SEE programmes were implemented, these were taught explicitly using competence-promotion approaches.	Yes.

One correct prediction was Sweden's SEE provision which was more in line with lower uncertainty avoidance countries (vague objectives, and low training). As it relates to SEE provision, the findings highlight that the inhibition of emotion can be socialised as part of more competence-based approaches where self-regulation and the management of emotion is seen as the key goal. Where the predictions were partly correct was found to be due to the socio-political context - the dimensions seemed more predictive of the policies of more Conservative, right-wing ideology, rather than Liberal, left-wing ideology. The dimensions did not take into account the differences in teacher-student relationships in primary school versus those in secondary school, which shows that Hofstede's dimensions were more applicable in the case of older rather than younger students.

The Masculinity Index is another Hofstede dimension whose predictions can be compared to the findings. For this dimension it is the UK and Greece that are rated high on the index, with the score for UK being 66 and Greece 57, predicting that Greek and UK teachers would emphasise skills that help students be independent,

such as: self-discipline and setting goals, developing feelings of self-worth, etc. Teachers of different genders would also hold different views in terms of their responsibility to socialise students - there would be a greater tendency for teachers to believe that the role of education is solely academic achievement, not the socialisation of pupils which they would believe to be the responsibility of parents/guardians. In turn, Spain and Sweden are rated as low on the masculinity index by Hofstede, with the score for Sweden being 5 and Spain 42, predicting that Spanish, but especially Swedish teachers, would help students learn skills that let them live in harmony with others, such as: safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of others; social skills; negotiating and resolving conflict; and appreciating diverse perspectives (empathy). Both male and female teachers would feel responsible in socialising students, and think this responsibility as important as the academic achievement of their students. The predictions followed by the findings for the Masculinity Index are summarised in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Results in cultural differences in teacher/student relationships and social and emotional education provision according to the Masculinity Index

Country	Hofstede prediction	Present research findings	Hypotheses correct?
UK (High M)	SEE emphasises intrapersonal skills more	UK teachers taught intrapersonal skills more regularly compared to Sweden and Spain, and discussed intrapersonal skills as the purpose of SEE more frequently.	Yes.
	SEE believed to be less important than academic subjects.	Many teachers expressed the need for more holistic learning - however many others expressed how academia is more important.	Partly. This was a subject that hugely divided the UK participants with one group believing SEE was beyond their remit, and the other believing SEE was the keystone to learning.

	Hofstede prediction	Present research findings	Hypotheses correct?
UK (High M) (contd.)	Maximum differentiation in gender responses regarding SEE.	UK had the least differentiation between the genders in the present study.	No.
	Female teachers more likely to think they are responsible for socialisation	Both male and female teachers believed themselves responsible for socialisation and no significant difference was found between the genders.	No.
Greece (High M)	Maximum differentiation in gender responses	Greece had a significant difference between the genders compared to the other countries.	Yes.
	SEE emphasises intrapersonal skills more	Greek teachers taught intrapersonal skills more regularly compared to Sweden and Spain, but were on average more likely to regularly teach interpersonal skills compared to intrapersonal skills.	Partly.
	SEE believed to be less important than academic subjects.	SEE was looked at as a way to improve academic attainment, not as the basis of it, for some participants. This issue deeply divided the participants.	Partly. One group of teachers believed SEE was beyond their remit, and the other believed SEE was the keystone to learning.
	Female teachers more likely to think they are responsible for socialisation	Both male and female teachers believed themselves responsible for socialisation, and in this respect no differentiation was found between the genders.	No.

Table 5.3. Results in cultural differences (contd.)			
Country	Hofstede prediction	Present research findings	Hypotheses correct?
Spain (Low M)	Minimum differentiation in gender responses regarding SEE	There was a large differentiation between the genders found in Spanish answers.	No.
	SEE believed to be as important as academic subjects	There was a large commitment to SEE and the importance of emotion to learning. Those teachers who believed school was simply about academic attainment made up a small minority of the sample.	Yes.
	SEE emphasised intrapersonal skills more	More interpersonal skills were regularly taught by Spanish teachers.	Yes.
	Both genders feel as responsible for socialising students	Female teachers believed themselves more responsible to socialise students than male teachers.	No.
Sweden (Low M)	Minimum differentiation in gender responses regarding SEE	There was a significant differentiation between the genders found in Swedish answers.	No.
	SEE believed to be as important as academic subjects	SEE is treated as outside of the teacher's remit, but definitely within the school's remit, and school counsellors are available to students.	Yes.
	SEE emphasises intrapersonal skills more	More intrapersonal skills were regularly taught by Swedish teachers.	Yes.
	Both genders feel as responsible for socialising students	Female teachers believed themselves more responsible for socialisation than male teachers in the sample.	No.

The findings thus confirm that the only reliable prediction as to the Masculinity Index was in what skills were more likely to be taught (independence or interdependence). Again, this makes sense once one looks at the original masculinity dimension which Hofstede based his theory on, described by Inkeles and Levinson (1969) as 'self-concept', along with the definition of gender roles. This highlights a fundamental flaw in both Hofstede's dimension of Masculinity Index, and Inkeles and Levinson's study: they believe that cultural differences remain the same, and are treated as relatively stable concepts with 'centuries-old roots'. The inability of the dimensions to predict gender differentiation in three out of the four cases begs to differ. The changes in gender relations over the 30 years since Hofstede wrote his dimensions (and almost 50 years since Inkeles and Levinson's) highlight how culture is not as stable a concept as it was predicted to be.

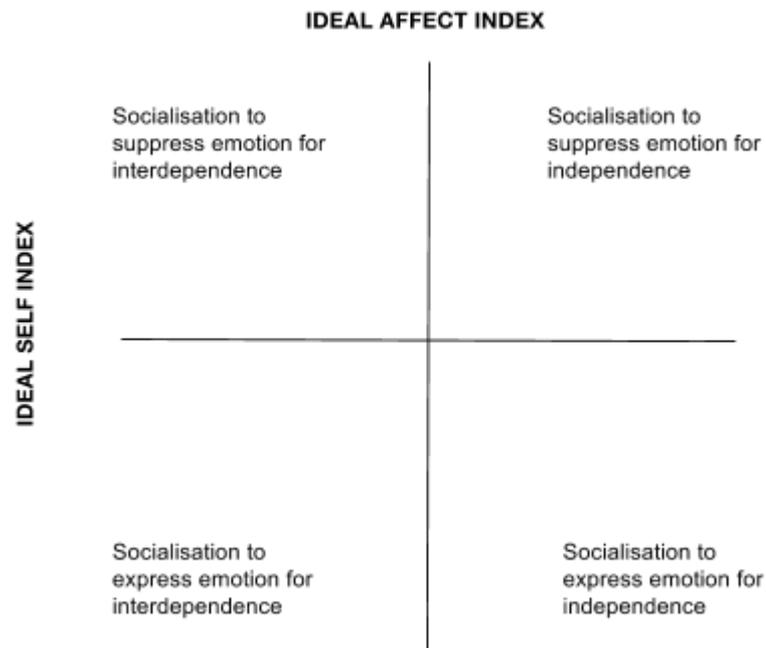
What the dimension was able to predict was the difference in 'self-concept'. Barrett & McIntosh (1982) identified this as the differences between Right and Left political ideology. The Left represents the self as one dependant on other people and the schooling environment is portrayed as a locus of affection that improves student's social and emotional skills for these interdependent relationships. The Right is based on the need for self-help, self-support, self-sufficiency and self-respect, and see the family (and concomitantly, the school system), as a means of instilling authority and a code of behaviour. This ideology of ultimate self-sufficiency is the keystone of neoliberal ideology. The other correct prediction was the similarities between Greece and the UK, both high on the masculinity index, where teachers were found to be not as confident about teaching social and emotional skills to students as they were more traditional subjects, and where teachers

were more likely to be divided about the importance of academic attainment versus SEE.

In conclusion, where cross-cultural differences were found in the present study, Hofstede's dimensions were more likely than not to incorrectly predict the direction of those differences. This was probably due to the fact that similar opinions regarding teacher's self-perceived role as an emotion socialiser did not necessarily lead to similar SEE provision (Greece and the UK being a good example). Where Hofstede's dimensions were able to predict the differences in all four of the case studies was with the prediction that teachers were more likely to suppress rather than express emotion ('Ideal Affect'), and with the emphasis on more intrapersonal skills versus interpersonal skills ('Ideal Self'). However, these correct predictions were vastly outnumbered by what the cultural dimensions failed to take into account, including: differences in teachers' opinions according to gender, the differentiation of the teacher-student relationship between primary and secondary school, and what countries were more likely to teach SEE more implicitly (relational) rather than explicitly (competence-based approach).

But as Feyerabend (1975) advised, 'Theories become clear and reasonable only after incoherent parts of them have been used for a long time. Such unreasonable, nonsensical, unmethodical foreplay thus turns out to be an unavoidable precondition of clarity and of empirical success.' For this reason, more detailed variables of cultural differences in SEE need to be identified, so in order to contribute to this endeavour, an updated conceptual framework has been created in Figure 5.4 for use in future research, using the dimensions of ideal affect (whether the teacher is more likely to feel comfortable expressing emotion in the classroom), and ideal self (whether the teacher is more likely to focus on skills for interdependence or independence).

Figure 5.4. Plot graph of Ideal Affect (suppression versus expression of emotion) and Ideal Self (interdependence versus independence)



5.4. Conclusion

This applied analysis and close literature reading attempted to weave the findings of the present research with those of the existing literature. The first section was divided thematically into individual, relational and socio-political knowledge.

In terms of individual knowledge, cross-cultural differences were discussed under three sub-themes: the teachers' ideal affect reflected in their meta-emotions (what 'emotion rules' they followed in the classroom); their beliefs about the way emotions impact learning (whether they were based on suppositions of the established camp that emotion and reason are separate, or those of the emergent camp that emotion is permeated by reason and vice versa); and their beliefs about their role in socialising emotion (whether this was their role as a pedagogue, or whether it was the role of other professionals such as psychologists, or better left to the parents).

In terms of relational knowledge, differences were also discussed under three sub-themes: whether SEE provision was taught as an explicit competence-based approach or through more implicit relational approaches, and whether students' intrapersonal or interpersonal skills were more likely to be targeted; whether teacher-student relationships were based on the need for control compared to greater emotional understanding; and finally, whether teachers were more likely to share behavioural goals with students' parents or have opposing ones.

Finally, in terms of socio-political knowledge, the institutional context teachers worked in was discussed in relation to more hierarchical versus egalitarian practices; and finally, SEE training was discussed as it related to pre-service & CPD provision, mentoring, or teachers teaching themselves. The final section of this chapter presented a cross-cultural comparison of individual, relational and socio-political knowledge and found significant differences between the case studies, directly contradicting recent recommendations from the OECD and the UN which called for a cross-cultural social and emotional skills framework to be created and used globally.

The section ended with an analysis of Hofstede's dimensions, comparing them to the present study's findings to see whether they did indeed predict cultural differences accurately, inevitably showing the hit and miss nature of Hofstede's theory.

Chapter Six.

Discussion and wider literature implications.

This chapter will present each of the findings from the current research individually and discuss their wider literature implications. This will then be followed by recommendations and research gaps that need more attention in the future. The chapter will finish with an assessment of the limitations of the current research and the conclusion of the study as a whole.

6.1 Discussion of the main findings

The findings from the present study can be summarised into nine main findings. Of course, there is a risk here of stereotyping the countries and the teachers therein, and of course the reality of the situation is much more complex and intra-cultural differences are not all taken into account, but the findings are presented in a general way so as to highlight the differences found.

Finding one: Spanish teachers' beliefs about emotion and SEE were significantly different to the other three countries in the study.

Both the quantitative and qualitative findings were clear that the Spanish teachers had significantly different self-perceived roles as emotion socialisers and higher confidence in promoting emotional and social competencies in their students, compared to the other three countries. This could not be explained by extra training (as Spanish teachers were the least trained in SEE compared to Greek, Swedish and UK teachers), nor by extra time devoted to the subject (which was less commonly taught as its own subject - especially in

primary schools - compared to the UK), nor by policy (which the Spanish shared with the Greeks - the recommendations from the European Parliament's 2006 Key Competencies). Because a majority of the Spanish teachers in the study did not rely on formal SEE training nor continuing professional development, the majority of them were autodidacts, learning about new theories and topics that applied to SEE of their own volition: including, one could argue, the emergent theories of emotion that formal education has been slower to adopt into its curricula.

So how did these differences emerge in the findings? Firstly, many of the Spanish teachers described emotion as a social interaction, embodied and created by the teacher themselves. Secondly, Spanish teachers were more likely to describe their classrooms as being very permissive of expressing emotion: both the students' and the teachers' emotions. Thirdly, Spanish teachers were prone to treat the school like a home away from home, both in the language they used to express their time at school (that they *lived* together with their students) and the behaviour they encouraged in their students (to make the class *feel* like a sitting room). Spanish teachers felt that there was less of a division between home and school and a lot of teachers believed it was their responsibility to not compartmentalise the school and the home emotionally - a finding that adds weight to ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), which purports that children will encounter difficulties when there are disconnects between parents and educators.

Finally, Spanish teachers discussed at great length how they rejected more authoritarian teacher identities and the need for constant control of their classrooms. This showed a rejection of Goleman's (1995) definition of the emotionally intelligent individual - that is, the high-status emotional capital of the white, middle-class professional male that lets them be 'in control' - and was more in line with Hochschild's (1983) argument that described this kind of professional identity as built on emotional labour and the 'selling out

of the emotional self'. As one Spanish teacher described it, *"My science is exact, but I am not ... I got so tired of the role of the perfect teacher, because it didn't even work. I was suffering because of this. Because the reality in the classroom is that you can't control everything."*

The need for less hierarchy in the classroom was seen as achievable only by the teacher humanising themselves to their students, and most importantly of all, *"being in a good relationship with yourself."* This process highlighted a way forward for the problem mentioned by Shapiro (2010): the dichotomy between the teachers' professional identity (model teacher) and their personal identity (human being). The need for less hierarchy was also brought up by Spanish teachers in their relationship to inspectors and policymakers - there was not such a constant threat in Spain, like there is in the UK, to be labeled and be made an example of by inspections precisely because the inspecting body is separate from the politics of education. Thus, there is not a culture of high-stakes accountability where teachers are routinely and systematically dehumanised. Such an imposition from authorities to be the 'perfect teacher' and to improve academic achievement above all else, only strengthens the pressure for teachers to dichotomise their professional identity from themselves as a human being.

The differences between Spanish teachers and the other case study countries were thus found to differ, both quantitatively and qualitatively, on all three levels of knowledge that make up SEE: individually, relationally and socio-politically.

Finding two: More teaching experience led to higher confidence in promoting students' social and emotional skills, whereas SEE training did not

Sweden, Greece and the UK had similar SEE training - both in the percentage of teachers who undertook it, and in the theories and subjects taught (which could be described as piecemeal psychology

topics, see the training section in Chapter Three). However, only in the UK was SEE training seen to impact teachers' opinions and practice, with teachers who had undergone training being more likely to believe that emotion is fundamental to learning, that SEE improved their relationships with students, that they were responsible for socialising students (this was also the case with Swedish teachers who had received SEE training), and that their students had similar behavioural goals between home and school. One notable and important exception was that SEE training did not influence UK or Swedish teachers' confidence in developing social and emotional competencies. This conundrum of teachers not feeling confident in delivering SEE in their classrooms even after SEE training was found in other studies in the literature including Kimber, Skoog and Sandell (2013), and Reeves and Le Mare (2017). The conundrum was solved in the present study: In Sweden and the UK, teachers who had over 11 years' experience were significantly more confident in their ability to develop their students' social and emotional competencies compared to teachers with less experience - that is to say, it is not training nor qualifications that gives teachers confidence to deliver SEE, it is experience. A teacher in Greece with over a decade in teaching experience put it more bluntly:

"We had some psychology lectures [in initial teacher training] ... I think it's worthless because you can relate to students only by teaching them, not by having pre-conceived notions of how students should be. Because this kind of stuff doesn't exist."

This finding was able to give weight to Scott's (1998) definition of experience as '*metis*', rules of thumb which are acquired solely through practice and a developed 'knack' for strategy. This finding does not take away from the positives of SEE training, however, especially in the UK where it was significantly found to improve the mesosystem between home and school, making teachers more aware of the importance of emotion to learning, making teachers more aware of their role in socialising emotion (which was also the

case in Sweden), and making teachers feel their relationships with their students had improved.

Another finding was how the Spanish teachers took for granted their confidence in promoting social and emotional skills - less experienced teachers did not increase in confidence over the years because they started out with the confidence that they could effectively promote social and emotional aptitudes in the first place. Why this is the case is arguably more difficult to answer, but it gives weight to Chomsky's (2013) observation that *metis* (experience) passes from one generation to the next as 'a repository of endless tradition ... as accumulated, unarticulated knowledge.' Regardless, the point is clear: qualifications and training are not enough to ready teachers for social and emotional education. The need, therefore, for teachers to access the *metis* of more experienced teachers cannot be overstated - not by trial-by-fire inspections every so often, nor by yet another course with more piecemeal psychology theories and assessments (which are more than likely to be forgotten), but by mentorship from more experienced teachers with a treasure trove of experience; teachers who can pass down their hard-won knowledge about very specific problems which teachers constantly encounter throughout their professional lives. The good news is that the present research found this practice has already started in Greece, although the need is much bigger than the time and resources made available so far. The other pertinent suggestion from the literature in this regard was Schutz & Lee's (2014) 'connection programs' where teachers can be supported by their colleagues throughout their professional lives. What teachers need is more support and access to other experienced teachers, especially in their first decade teaching, as the findings of the present research indicate for UK and Sweden in particular. A recommendation from the findings is thus that SEE provision should be built upon grassroots teachers' movements to set up both mentorship and connection programmes for their colleagues.

Finally, it was found that the more experienced teachers became, the more importance they started placing on their relationships to students in the learning process. Here McLaughlin's (2008) advice is extremely pertinent:

'It is not easy to develop a language around relationships and engagement for it is not the language we have spoken in education for a long time. There is a language in early years education that we could learn much from' (363).

In fact, this was found to be the case in one example in the present research, where a secondary teacher recounted how her students who had just left primary school were demanding that as much attention be placed on SEE as they were used to when they were younger. This highlights an interesting new bottom-up approach to influencing SEE provision: where students themselves help teachers introduce, develop and run the SEE provision in their schools.

Finding three: Similar beliefs about SEE did not necessarily lead to similar practices

SEE provision in Greece, Sweden and the UK could not be more dissimilar from each other. Be it the way SEE was legislated for, trained for, and introduced into schools, each of the countries had a different story to tell in this regard. Ultimately, whilst SEE provision had not been introduced into schools for 3% of UK respondents, this jumped to 35% of Greek and 19% of Swedish respondents with no SEE provision in their schools. Yet, regardless of these differences, teachers' beliefs in all three of these countries about the role of emotions, relationships, the responsibilities of the teacher and the boundaries between home and school were found to be statistically similar.

So in what particular instances did teachers' beliefs about emotion actually change? The answer is SEE provision itself. UK teachers were found to be much more comfortable expressing their emotions in class only when they themselves explicitly taught SEE to

their students- aside from gender in the Greek responses, and the difference in emotional expression between primary and secondary teachers in Spain and the UK, this was the only variable found to significantly change teachers' meta-emotion in the entire study. This was an important finding: when UK teachers' SEE provision was taught exclusively and explicitly as its own subject, that is to say, when SEE provision allowed teachers and students alike to actively and consciously analyse their relationship to emotion, only then could beliefs about emotion change. This finding gives further weight to Feldman Barrett's (2017) theory of constructed emotion: that is, emotions are a product of human agreement, and thus they do not 'happen to you', you create them yourself.

Given that the majority of Greek teachers in the sample were unhappy with their school's current SEE provision and the opportunities given to students to verbalise their emotions, a challenge to the current 'emotional rules' of the school and SEE provision can be underpinned by the theory of constructed emotion and by the present findings of the study. That their school's lack of SEE provision as well as the 'emotional rules' of the classroom are not a fixed, 'natural' state of things and that this can be changed, will no doubt be of great importance to teachers who are unhappy with their school's current SEE provision and/or find the emotional rules of their profession challenging and detrimental to both their wellbeing and their students' wellbeing.

Finding four: The 'emotional rules' for Swedish and UK teachers meant they were more likely to hide their emotions in the classroom than express them

According to a large number of respondents from UK and Sweden (as well as female teachers from Greece) teachers' emotions do not really belong in the classroom. This supposition was confirmed in the interviews in the way teachers emphasised

suppressing their emotions in class (and concomitantly, their students' emotions). For example:

- Swedish teacher: *"When we're in the classroom then we have this classroom attitude, if I can call it that. And the classroom is not the place to get emotional."*
- UK teacher: *"There has to be an appropriate level of emotional intelligence displayed by the teacher, too much emotion... can prove destructive to the learning environment."*
- Greek teacher: *"In the classroom you are kind of hysterical, even if you're not shouting at them ... what are they going to do now, who's going to stand up, what's going to happen."*

That most teachers from these three countries (albeit, not including male Greek teachers), share the same aversion to displaying emotion is an important finding because, (1) adults socialise children's emotion by modelling behaviour (and thus students are more likely to suppress their own emotions in class), and, (2) the literature has found that there are negative consequences to regularly suppressing emotion, particularly to the teacher's mental health and the concomitant desensitisation to other people's emotions (Cameron & Payne, 2011; Taxer & Frenzel, 2015; Lee et al., 2016).

Similar to the findings of the present study, Taras, Kirkman and Steel (2010) found that the predictive power of culture was higher than that of other demographic variables regarding emotion (or the 'ideal affect' of any given culture), so what does this mean for a culture that is more likely to model the suppression of emotion given the many negative consequences found in the literature? And does the routine suppression of emotion in schools negatively impact emotional wellbeing overall? Currently, emotional wellbeing is more likely to be linked to social inequality: for example, the World Health Organisation (2009) reported that emotional wellbeing is more dependent on how unequal a society is as a whole than individual

socioeconomic factors. Yet, Sweden has the lowest GINI index out of the case study countries (27.32, meaning a lower rate of inequality) and Greece the highest (36.68), and multiple indicators of emotional wellbeing showed Sweden to be worse off than Greece. For example, even in the middle of Greece's economic crisis which has seen a rise in suicide rates, Sweden had a suicide rate of 12.7 per 100,000 people, and Greece 3.2 per 100,000 according to the World Health Organisation (2015b).

Another example is Spain compared to the UK, with Spain having higher inequality (GINI index of 35.89) than the UK (32.57) (World Bank, 2012). Yet, in UNICEF's (2013) report '*Subjective Wellbeing of Children in Rich Countries*', Spanish children are ranked as having the second highest position for wellbeing, whilst UK children are placed in the 16th position (and in the preceding report by UNICEF had come dead last). This is all to highlight that, without discounting the effects of income inequality and socio-political factors, emotional wellbeing can be influenced by many other variables, and it should be a subject of further study just how much culture and the socialisation of emotion (especially in cultures where emotion is more regularly suppressed) are factors in overall emotional wellbeing.

Emotional rules to inhibit emotion were felt by some teachers in the present study to be an imposition as a result of the 'artificial' nature of the classroom, or as a necessity to 'act professionally' thus leading to a dichotomised identity between the model teacher and the human being. This was especially so with secondary school teachers. Though this partly corroborates findings from Hargreaves' (2000) research which described secondary school teachers as more likely to treat emotions like intrusions in their class, the present research also contradicted Hargreaves' findings in that some secondary school teachers believed it was organisational policies and rules - the institutional context - that imposed these 'emotional

rules', not the teachers themselves. The majority of secondary school teachers from all four countries wanted more importance to be given to SEE, and were just as likely to agree with primary school teachers that the key to learning was the teacher-student relationship.

Finding five: Teachers that were not in favour of SEE provision were more likely to dichotomise reason and emotion

The teachers who believed schools were meant solely for academic attainment were more likely to think that developing their students' social and emotional aptitudes was beyond their remit as teachers. As one teacher working in Sweden put it, "*The postmodern concept of a teacher should be that of a mother ... But then, how efficient is a mother in ensuring that the child learns sufficient scientific knowledge?*" This statement is key to understanding the needs of teachers who believe SEE takes time away from what matters most in schools: as the established camp supposes, they believe emotion to be mutually exclusive from reason, and thus see time given to SEE in the classroom as a zero-sum game to learning.

For this reason, the evidence of how emotion positively impacts the learning process cannot be emphasised enough in order to challenge the treatment of emotion as 'noise', pandering to students' whims or an annoyance in the classroom which risks making the "*classroom ineffective. It shouldn't take over.*" As Immordino-Yang & Damasio (2007) remind us, 'The neurobiological evidence suggests that the aspects of cognition that we recruit most heavily in schools, namely learning, attention, memory, decision making, and social functioning, are both profoundly affected by and subsumed within the processes of emotion' (3).

Finding six: Hierarchy made a difference in how teachers in the UK and Sweden approached SEE, with headteachers and teachers having significantly different opinions

In the UK and Sweden's highly decentralised education systems, headteachers have significantly more power than their Greek and Spanish counterparts to run 'their' schools, and this difference was reflected in headteachers' opinions regarding SEE compared to those of teachers. Headteachers were much more likely to have played a role in introducing SEE into their schools in the UK and Sweden, but especially the former - 70% of UK respondents and 46% of Swedish respondents in the study said their headteachers were involved in introducing SEE provision, compared to 23% in Greece and 37% in Spain. Headteachers in the UK were also much more likely to be satisfied with SEE provision in their schools and with the opportunities given to pupils to verbalise their emotion, compared to teachers.

So is this necessarily a problem? Considering that (1) it was found that the less involved teachers were in the introduction and implementation of SEE provision, the more dissatisfied they were with the provision, and (2) younger teachers on lower salaries were more likely to be dissatisfied with SEE provision, especially newly-qualified secondary school teachers who felt powerless to do anything about it: yes, it is a problem. All is good and well when headteachers and teachers are on the same page, but when they are not, as Jones (2016) warns in her study about headteachers' influence on SEE provision, headteachers have 'influence on everyone involved in the system, but do not seem to be easily influenced by others' (ix). This mirrored the power struggle between teachers and policymakers. Hinton et al.'s (2008) study said that practices in school that uphold democratic classrooms where all

students and staff contribute to the rule-making and governance are vital, and this should also hold true between educational professionals and policymakers in the provision of SEE.

Finding seven: Different cultures teach different social and emotional skills

The regularity at which SEE skills were taught from culture to culture was found to be significantly different, with the largest differences being between Sweden and the UK (which is arguably due to the fact that Sweden has in-school counsellors and SEE is believed to be beyond the teacher's remit). Sweden and Greece were the two countries least likely to regularly teach social and emotional skills to students in the previous academic year (2015/16), and UK teachers were the most likely to teach SEE skills (especially intrapersonal skills). It was also interesting to note that Hofstede's cultural dimensions were able to predict the direction in which culture influenced what skills were more likely to be taught, with the UK and Greece more likely to teach intrapersonal skills compared to Spain and Sweden who were more likely to concentrate on interpersonal skills. Since each country was found to be different - *significantly different* - this means that the OECD and the UN's recommendations to create a cross-cultural social and emotional skills framework will at best be ignored, or at worse impose a specific model of emotional competency where it does not belong.

The present findings highlighted a possible explanation for why meta-reviews of the transferability of skills in SEL programmes showed no impact when transferred internationally (Wigelsworth et al., 2016): in the Likert scales it was found that the more intranational variation there was, the less international variation and vice versa. Though beliefs about SEE were found to be quite uniform about some issues intranationally, this uniformity meant that there was a higher likelihood that there would be more international variation on

the issue. In other words, even though the majority of people are in agreement of 'what works' in one culture regarding SEE, this does not necessarily mean that this makes it all the more transferable outside of that culture. Thus, singular models of emotional competency across all cultural contexts must be challenged: research to highlight how social and emotional competencies manifest in ways specific to each cultural context will be integral in doing so.

Finding eight: Hofstede's dimensions were a hit and miss in their ability to predict cultural differences

First the misses: The issue of gender highlights the hit and miss aspect of Hofstede's (1986) framework when considering both Uncertainty Avoidance and the Masculinity Index. Whereas Greece was correctly predicted as having a high level of gender differentiation and a greater likelihood to be more emotionally expressive, the UK was predicted as having a high level of gender differentiation in opinion (which it did not), and the Swedish and Spanish were predicted as having less gender differentiation in their opinions (which again, they did not, since female teachers in both countries were more likely to feel responsible for socialising students than male teachers did). Many studies, including the meta-analytical review of research using Hofstede's framework (Taras, Kirkman, Steel, 2010) have expressed a need for a moratorium on Hofstede's country scores due to their age (the dataset is from the 1960s and early 1970s), but the present study highlighted another flaw: that the majority of respondents in Hofstede's original dataset (employees of IBM in the 1960/70s) represent mostly male opinions in a male-dominated workplace and can therefore not predict the opinions of females, nor males in more female-dominated workplaces like education.

The only correct prediction of Hofstede's about gender - that is in Greece - was not really anything to celebrate either, since the differences between male and female teachers were believed by Greek interviewees in the present research to be due to sexism: male teachers having the male privilege to be 'themselves' in class and not needing to abide by stringent 'emotional rules', whereas female teachers had more pressure (from headteachers and parents) to live up to the affect-less, perfect teacher model. That is not to say that teachers interviewed from these three countries did not have emotional outbursts in class, many confessed that they did, but the only ones to do so were, in fact, male teachers. This corroborates a finding from previous research that female teachers are expected to perform more emotional labour than male teachers in the classroom (Nias, 1996).

And the correct predictions? Some have already been discussed above, but to summarise they include the correct prediction that a culture was more likely to inhibit rather than express emotion (from the Uncertainty Avoidance Index), and more likely to concentrate on intrapersonal skills compared to interpersonal skills within SEE provision (from the Masculinity Index). That these predictions were correct corroborates Taras, Kirkman and Steel's (2010) conclusion that Hofstede's dimensions remain theoretically relevant to the study of cultural differences.

Finding nine: SEE is a bottom-up grassroots movement, not just a top-down policy fad

Bottom-up, grassroots initiatives by teachers were found to be the most likely means by which SEE was introduced into classrooms, which has led to SEE provisions where social and emotional competencies are taken into account for each subject but not itself taught as its own separate subject. Educational policy was the least likely means by which SEE provision was introduced into schools,

but had the highest likelihood that SEE was taught as its own subject in schools. This, however, is a conundrum: though teacher participation in the introduction of SEE in schools led to higher levels of teacher satisfaction with SEE provision, it was only when SEE was introduced by policy that SEE was more likely to be taught as its own separate subject in schools. In the UK, having SEE be taught explicitly positively correlated to teachers feeling comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom, and in Spain, it positively correlated to teachers believing their relationships had improved with students. And yet, when SEE was introduced by policy alone, teachers were the most dissatisfied with the provision. This may be due to several factors: (1) SEE programmes being imposed top-down are more likely to be competence-based approaches shaped by a neoliberal agenda of auditing, measuring and assessing, and teachers felt this to be yet another project that takes up their most valuable resource: time; (2) Teachers did not feel confident teaching SEE provision because it blurred the boundaries between themselves as professionals, and themselves as human beings, as one Spanish teacher said, *"I know more about maths than my boys and girls, but not more about life"*; and (3) Some teachers did not believe SEE was in their remit as teachers and resented having this responsibility placed on their shoulders (this was especially the case in the UK and Greece).

Regardless, what top-down policy does is decide the ultimate goal of SEE, and thus, it also has a pernicious influence on grassroots movements. In the UK for example, SEE has been instrumentalized by policymakers to prepare children for future employment, and it was no surprise to find that teachers in the UK were more likely than the other three countries to describe the purpose of SEE as increasing future employment prospects, i.e., 'help kids land a job'. This cross-cultural difference was clear to many of the teachers interviewed, as one self-described Conservative Swedish teacher said of the British education system, *"It was*

horrifying but it was brilliant ... they are always gearing them towards a career." Considering that the UK is the lowest performing country for social mobility across the OECD (Sutton Trust, 2017), preparing students for careers that social barriers will prevent them from accessing is just cruel - yet under neoliberal ideology the fault lies with the individual, not the system. This shows the masterful neoliberal appropriation of SEE provision (and the education system in general) in the UK.

It is important to identify the agenda of powerful interests in the development of a new generation's social and emotional aptitudes, and especially their definition of emotional intelligence (and alarm bells should ring when, like Goleman (1995), strong emotion is described as 'making smart people stupid'). As Feyerabend (1975) warns, we must protect against narrow ideologies that might work in restricted domains, but are incapable of sustaining a harmonious life.

6.2. Limitations

There were many limitations in the present research. Starting with the definitions used for culture and emotion which will no doubt leave some anthropologists and psychologists feeling unhappy. Considering how contested the terms are, this is inevitable unfortunately. Methodologically, a reliance on school emails sent to headteachers was the main limitation - themselves gatekeepers of their school environment which might have influenced the results. Emails were also easily ignored and though the invitation was sent twice (and thrice in the case of Sweden), tens of thousands of schools did not respond. Furthermore, there was still a self-selection bias and it is unclear why some teachers were unwilling to participate.

Also, the comparing of SEE provisions cross-culturally was based off a competence-based approach (objective list theory of wellbeing), where specific social and emotional skills were chosen

from largely English-speaking settings (and the reports and papers that evaluated them). The finding that the UK teachers taught *more* social and emotional skills vis-a-vis the other countries might in fact be due to the skills in the study being biased towards UK practice.

Another limitation was the size of the sample: the total respondents in the current research (750 people) was still too small for some statistical analysis- for example, in the comparison of primary and secondary school teachers' opinions, Sweden and Greece could not be taken into account as there were not enough primary school teachers in the study: that is, a minimum of 30 respondents, because of the Central Limit Theorem which states that if a sample size is large enough you will have a normal distribution. The theorem is contested but was nevertheless used as a cut-off point for the present research when comparing groups, see: Kar & Ramalingam (2013). Another demographic variable that was not included in the analysis was ethnicity since out of the 750 respondents only six were Asian, three were Black, and 12 responded they were of mixed ethnicity. This is therefore one of the major limitations of the questionnaire that needs to be taken into account when discussing the findings: the majority of teachers (85%) identified as white/caucasian.

Other methodological limitations that were discussed in more detail in Chapter Two include: Equating nation with culture; That culture is stable and heterogenous; That culture can be captured quantitatively by self-report questionnaires and their mean scores; and that cultural dimensions have a predictive power to results separate from social, political and/or economic measures.

As for why Spaniards' opinions were so different, one topic that was not looked into was religion. Given ethical considerations, a future means by which this demographic can be factored in would be by asking whether the school is secular or faith-based.

And finally the last limitation is the need for linguistic and cultural immersion in comparative perspectives. For this research,

this was possible in Spain, UK and Greece, but less so in Sweden where the author did not spend an extended period of time compared to the other three countries.

6.3. Recommendations and further research

Given the present findings, the following five recommendations are given: First is the need for more cross-cultural research regarding SEE - especially as it pertains to more relational and implicit provisions, rather than competence-based approaches or teachers' fidelity to manuals which have already been extensively covered in the SEL literature. To aid this future work, all the anonymised data from the 750 respondents of the quantitative phase of this study will be made available to anyone upon request.

The second recommendation is the further use of the 'Ideal Affect' and 'Ideal Self' conceptual framework, as well as Table 5.1 of skills, as a means to understand cross-cultural differences regarding SEE in future research, alongside the many other variables identified in the study as impacting teachers' perceptions and practice of SEE, including:

- Individual
 - Ideal Affect
 - Beliefs about learning
 - Role in socialisation
- Relational
 - Relationship to students
 - Relationship to parents
 - SEE provision
- Socio-political
 - Institutional context
 - Training

The third recommendation is for a moratorium on the established camp's suppositions that emotions are universal, that emotion and reason are mutually exclusive, and that emotional competencies should be modelled on the high-status emotional capital of white, middle-class male professionals. And a rejection of

the recommendations of the OECD (2015) and UN's (2015) 'World Happiness Report' to create a cross-cultural social and emotional framework based on this supposition that a single model of emotional competency exists across all cultural contexts.

Fourth, the present findings found that until Swedish and UK teachers had at least 10 years' teaching experience, they did not feel comfortable developing their students' social and emotional competencies implicitly, let alone delivering SEE provision explicitly. Teachers need access to more experienced teachers, as in Greece, to help them acquire 'rules of thumb' which 'are largely found through practice and a developed feel or knack for strategy' (Scott, 1998, 316). Future SEE training for teachers needs to evolve to support them throughout their entire professional careers, rather than push them into the deep end and assess them routinely on how they sink or swim (or worse, watch them become a statistic in teacher attrition rates). The answer is less about training, and more about easily accessible and freely available support from more experienced teachers, and ideally, mentorship programmes run for teachers, by teachers.

And finally, SEE is wholly dependant on the teacher's emotional wellbeing. In his report for the World Health Organisation, Bowlby (1951) concluded that if a community values its children it must cherish their parents. The present study simply adds to Bowlby's original recommendation that if schools cherish their students, they must cherish their teachers also. In all four countries, teachers felt disrespected in the way they were treated by their community (and by parents in particular), and as one Greek teacher pointed out, this might indicate an underlying sexist prejudice female teachers have always had to face. This derisive treatment of teachers, however, was sometimes found to be systemic. In the UK, school inspectors work for a non-ministerial department of the government (Ofsted), and wield massive power over schools and teachers. These inspections have left UK teachers feeling mortified

and dehumanised, and negatively impact teacher's emotional wellbeing. In Spain, however, the inspecting body is separate from the politics of education. Teachers in the UK should be made aware that there are alternatives: ones where they are not treated like feckless individuals in need of supervision, and their performance as teachers judged by simplified schematics for political purposes. The pernicious effect of hierarchy, and the power imbalances in the UK education system in particular, have negative consequences for teachers' emotional wellbeing and this needs much more attention in future SEE research.

6.4. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to identify and understand the role of culture in the creation and conception of social and emotional education (SEE), so it is fitting to end with this basic yes or no question: Does culture influence SEE? The answer is a resounding yes. This finding itself rejects the hegemonic supposition that emotions are universal reflexes (mutually exclusive from reason), and instead relies on an understanding of emotion from the 'emergent camp' in the literature, which treats emotions as social experiences dependant on culture. The differences between cultures in the study were found to be individual (the teachers' meta-emotions, especially how culture influences the inhibition and expression of emotion in the classroom); relational (relationships to students, to other teachers and to students' parents); and finally, linked to the wider socio-political context (what SEE is *meant* for - employment, citizenship or wellbeing).

In the introduction of the thesis, the main goal of this research was described as gathering as many facts as possible, so in a condensed form for this conclusion, here they are: The main purpose of SEE was seen by most teachers as the development of the social and emotional competencies of students, both intrapersonal skills

and interpersonal skills - and culture influenced SEE provision as to what skills were more likely to be prioritised and taught. SEE was more likely to be introduced by teachers than by policymakers: whereas teachers were more likely to introduce SEE provision that was relational (where teachers explicitly focus on the quality of their interactions with students to promote social and emotional competencies), the policymakers were more likely to introduce SEE provision that was explicit (competence-based approaches that were taught from a manual or framework). Teachers were more likely to be satisfied with SEE provision when they themselves had had a part in introducing it. What teachers think their role is in socialising emotion (their role *in loco parentis*), was seen to differ from culture to culture - the boundaries between home and school being much more defined in the UK, Greece and Sweden. Furthermore, these three countries had similar training for SEE - piecemeal psychology topics - whereas Spanish teachers were more likely to be autodidacts regarding SEE, or have trained in it as a pedagogic subject.

The main findings of the study given these facts are thus: that different cultures teach different social and emotional skills, some more intrapersonal (e.g., developing feelings of self-worth, self-discipline, managing stress), some more interpersonal (e.g., safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of others, negotiating and resolving conflict, appreciating diverse perspectives); that Swedish and UK teachers have much stricter 'emotional rules' in the classroom that inhibit emotion, compared to Spanish teachers and male Greek teachers, who tend to be more comfortable expressing and letting students express emotion in class; that hierarchy made a significant difference in how teachers in the UK and Sweden approached SEE, with headteachers having significantly different opinions to teachers; that Hofstede's dimensions were a hit and miss in their ability to predict cultural differences, although in being able to predict in the four case studies the teachers' opinions about how much (or how little) they should express their emotions in class, and

what kind of skills they should concentrate on as part of SEE, Hofstede's dimensions remain theoretically relevant to the study of cultural differences; and finally that SEE is a bottom-up grassroots movement, although it is susceptible to the prevailing ideologies imposed by top-down policy in that they frame what SEE is for (e.g., neoliberal policies instrumentalising social and emotional skills for the benefit of the labour market).

The study ended with various recommendations, the most pertinent being that rather than a top-down universal framework for social and emotional competencies as the OECD recommends, more cross-cultural research would allow for a grassroots 'contrast of contexts' framework to highlight how emotional competencies are culturally dependant. This would be an alternative to a one-size-fits all schematic for all cultures, and its concomitant PISA-like emotional intelligence assessments that would rank countries for political motives; these universal frameworks would do more harm than good because they cannot *by design* take into account the plastic, local and divergent knowledge that make up social and emotional education in each context.

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Appendices.

Appendix One. Cross-cultural research history.

In the mid-20th century, Parsons and Shils' (1951) '*Toward a General Theory of Action*', set the groundwork for following cross-sectional research designs studying culture. The sociologists used a spectrum to divide cultural traits into five different variables: (1) need gratification versus restraint of impulses; (2) self versus collective orientation; (3) universalism versus particularism; (4) judging others by who they are versus judging them by what they do; and (5) limiting social relations versus no limitations to social relations. Anthropologists, like Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), instead ran field studies in different ethnic communities (Navaho and Zuni Indians, Hispanic Americans, Mormons and White Texans), and though they too used five variables, they used a tripartite spectrum of difference in their cultural dimensions: (1) An evaluation of human nature (evil - mixed - good); (2) The relationship of man to the surrounding natural environment (subjugation - harmony - mastery); (3) The orientation in time (toward past - present - future); (4) The orientation toward activity (being - being in becoming - doing); and (5) Relationships among people (linearity, i.e., hierarchically ordered positions – collaterality, i.e., group relationships – individualism). Attempts to isolate the variables that make up culture - and comparing case studies via spectrums of difference - has continued until the present day, as can be seen in the table below.

Comparison of cultural frameworks, 1946 to present

Author	Masculine Feminine	Conflict	Power Distance	Individual versus Collective	Indulgence versus restraint	Time orientati on
Benedict (1946)				Shame versus guilt		
Parsons and Shils (1951)	Judging others by who they		Limiting social relations	Self versus collective orientation //	Need gratification versus	

	are versus what they do		versus no limitations	Universalism versus particularism	restraint	
Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961)	Human nature	Relationship to surrounding environment	Relationship among people			Orientation in time
Inkeles and Levinson (1969)	Self-concept	Conflict resolution	Relation to authority			
Hall (1976)		High context/Low context		High/low territoriality		Monochronic/Polychronic
Hofstede (1980)	Masculinity/Femininity	Uncertainty Avoidance	Power Distance	Individualism versus Collectivism		
Chinese cultural connection (1987)	Human heartedness			Integration	Moral discipline	Confucian work dynamism
Clark (1990)	Relations to self	Relation to risk	Relation to authority			
Markus & Kitayama (1991)				Independent versus interdependent		
Trompenaars (1993)	Paternalism	Neutral/emotional		Universalism versus particularism		Attitudes to time
Schwartz (1994)	Mastery/harmony		Hierarchy/egalitarianism	Autonomy/conservatism		
Smith et al. (1996)				Loyal involvement/ utilitarian involvement		
Hofstede (2001)	Masculinity/Femininity	Uncertainty Avoidance	Power Distance	Individualism versus Collectivism	Indulgence versus restraint	Long term/short term orientation
Steenkamp (2001)	Mastery/nurturance	Uncertainty avoidance	Egalitarianism versus hierarchy	Autonomy/collectivism		
GLOBE House et al. (2004)	Gender egalitarianism // Humane orientation	Uncertainty avoidance	Power distance	In-group collectivism / Institutional collectivism		Future orientation
Gelfand, et al. (2006)				Societal tightness/looseness		
Nardon & Steers (2009)	Mastery versus harmony		Hierarchy versus equality	Individualism versus collectivism // Universalism versus		Monochronic/Polychronic

				particularism		
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Other variables that did not fit into the framework above:

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) Orientation toward activity;
 Trompenaars (1993) Specific/ diffuse, Attitude towards the
 environment; Fukuyama (1995) Low trust and high trust cultures;
 GLOBE House et al. (2004) Performance orientation, Assertiveness.

Different methodological systems for comparing educational curricula
 can also be adopted from other fields in future research (see,
 Nicholls (2006) using a constellation of parts to compare history
 syllabus in Sweden, Japan and UK, or Hahn (1998) in her
 decade-long study of citizenship education in England, Denmark,
 Germany, the Netherlands and the United States).

**Appendix Two. Contextual variables in the four case
 study countries.**

	Greece	Spain	Sweden	UK
Centralised/ Decentralised	90/10	75/25	18/82	0/100
Education expenditure	7.8%	9.3%	13%	12%
Teacher to student ratio	12	14	6	20
Expected years in education	11	10	12	13
Compulsory education est.	1834	1838	1842	1870
Child poverty rate	16%	17.1%	7.3%	12.1%
Gini coefficient	36.68	35.89	27.32	32.57

Centralised/Decentralised: Percentage of decisions taken at each level of government in public lower
 secondary education. (Local/School) OECD (2012); Expenditure of education as a percentage of total
 expenditure, Eurostat (2015); Teacher to student ratio, UNESCO (2015); Mean years of schooling,
 UNESCO (2015); Child Poverty: UNICEF (2012); Gini coefficient, Worldbank (2012).

Appendix Three. Questionnaires in each language.

Social and emotional education in classrooms	Socialt och emotionellt lärande i klassrummet	El aprendizaje social y emocional en las aulas	Κοινωνική και συναισθηματική μάθηση στη σχολική τάξη
<p>Thank you for your time in answering this questionnaire. The central motive for conducting this research is to investigate how different countries treat social and emotional education within pedagogical practice and policy to better understand how teachers perceive and practice social and emotional education. Teaching staff from preschool through to secondary school from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom are invited to answer the questionnaire. Any further questions about the research can be directed to Edurne Scott Loinaz. Thank you.</p>	<p>Tack för att du tar dig tid att fylla i enkäten. Huvudsyftet för undersökningen är att se hur olika länder använder socialt och emotionellt lärande inom pedagogisk teori och praktik för att få en högre förståelse för hur lärarpersonal uppfattar och praktiserar socialt och emotionellt lärande. Lärarpersonal från förskola upp till högstadiet från Grekland, Spanien, Sverige och Storbritannien är inbjudna att fylla i enkäten. Frågor om undersökningen kan ställas till Edurne Scott Loinaz. Tack.</p>	<p>Gracias por su tiempo en contestar a este cuestionario. El motivo central para la realización de esta investigación es el estudio, de como diferentes países tratan la educación social y emocional (ESE) dentro de la práctica pedagógica y política, para interpretar mejor, como los profesores perciben y practican la educación social emocional. Profesores desde preescolar hasta la escuela secundaria de Grecia, España, Suecia y el Reino Unido están invitados a responder el cuestionario. Más preguntas acerca de la investigación pueden ser dirigidas a Edurne Scott Loinaz. Gracias.</p>	<p>Σας ευχαριστώ για τον χρόνο που θα αφιερώσετε για να απαντήσετε σε αυτό το ερωτηματολόγιο. Το βασικό κίνητρο για την εκπόνηση αυτής της έρευνας είναι να διερευνηθεί το πώς διαφορετικές χώρες αντιμετωπίζουν την κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή μέσα από την παιδαγωγική πράξη και πολιτική, ώστε να γίνει καλύτερα κατανοητό το πώς οι καθηγητές αντιλαμβάνονται και εφαρμόζουν την κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή. Εκπαιδευτικοί από την προσχολική έως και τη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση στην Ελλάδα, την Ισπανία, τη Σουηδία και το Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο καλούνται να απαντήσουν στο ερωτηματολόγιο αυτό. Περαιτέρω ερωτήσεις σχετικά με το ερωτηματολόγιο μπορείτε να απευθύνετε στην Edurne Scott Loinaz. Σας ευχαριστώ.</p>

1. What country do you teach in?	1. Vilket land är du lärare i?	1. ¿En qué país trabaja como profesor/a?	1. Σε ποια χώρα διδάσκετε;
Greece	Grekland	Grecia	Ελλάδα
Spain	Spanien	España	Ισπανία
Sweden	Sverige	Suecia	Σουηδία
United Kingdom	Storbritannien	Reino Unido	Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο
Other	Annat	Otro	Άλλη
2. What region?	2. Vilken region?	2. ¿En qué región?	2. Σε ποια περιοχή;
3. How old are you?	3. Hur gammal är du?	3. ¿Qué edad tiene?	3. Πόσο χρονών είστε;
4. What gender are you?	4. Kön?	4. ¿De qué sexo es?	4. Ποιο είναι το φύλο σας;
Male	Man	Hombre	Άνδρας
Female	Kvinna	Mujer	Γυναίκα
Other	Annat	Otro	Άλλο
5. What is your ethnicity?	5. Vad har du för etnicitet?	5. ¿Cuál es su origen étnico?	5. Ποια είναι η εθνικότητά σας;
White / Caucasian	Vit	Blanco / Caucásico	Λευκός-ή / Καυκάσιος-α
Black	Svart	Africano	Μαύρος-η
Asian	Asiatisk	Asiático	Ασιάτης-άτιστα
Hispanic	Latino	Hispano	Λατίνος-α
Mixed	Blandad	Mixto	Διαφυλετικός/ή
Prefer not to say	Föredrar att inte svara	Prefiero no decir	Προτιμώ να μην πω
Other	Annat	Otro	Άλλο
6. How long have you been teaching?	6. Hur länge har du arbetat som lärare?	6. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha estado enseñando?	6. Πόσον καιρό διδάσκετε;
Less than 2 years	Mindre än 2 år	Menos de 2 años	Λιγότερο από 2 χρόνια
2 - 5 years	2-5 år	2 - 5 años	2 - 5 χρόνια
5 - 8 years	5-8 år	5 - 8 años	5 - 8 χρόνια
8 - 11 years	8-11 år	8 - 11 años	8 - 11 χρόνια
11 - 14 years	11-14 år	11 - 14 años	11 - 14 χρόνια
15+ years	15+ år	más de 15 años	15+ χρόνια
7. What is your level of education?	7. Vilken utbildning har du?	7. ¿Cuál es su nivel de educación?	7. Ποιο είναι το μορφωτικό σας επίπεδο;
No qualifications	Inga kvalifikationer	Sin calificaciones	Χωρίς απολυτήριο
High school	Gymnasieskola	Escuela secundaria	Απολυτήριο λυκείου
Undergraduate degree or similar	Kandidatexamen eller liknande	licenciatura o similar	Πτυχίο ή σχετικός τίτλος
Postgraduate degree or similar	Magister eller doktorsexamen eller liknande	Título de postgrado o similar	Μεταπτυχιακό ή σχετικός τίτλος

8. What age are your students? (Click all that apply)	8. Hur gamla är dina elever? (fyll i det som stämmer)	8. ¿Qué edad tienen sus estudiantes? (Haga clic en todas las que apliquen)	8. Πόσων χρονών είναι οι μαθητές σας; (σημειώστε όλες τις πιθανές απαντήσεις)
Less than 5 years old	Yngre än 5 år	Menos de 5 años	Λιγότερο από 5 χρονών
5-7 years old	5-7 år	5-7 años	5 - 7 χρονών
8-10 years old	8-10 år	8-10 años	8 - 10 χρονών
11-13 years old	11-13 år	11-13 años	11 - 13 χρονών
14-16 years old	14-16 år	14-16 años	14 - 16 χρονών
17-18 years old	17-18 år	17-18 años	17 - 18 χρονών
9. What is your annual income after tax?	9. Vad är din årsinkomst efter skatt?	9. ¿Cuál es su ingreso anual después de impuestos?	9. Ποιο είναι το ετήσιο καθαρό εισόδημά σας;
Your views	Dina åsikter	Tus opiniones	Οι απόψεις σας
10. What do you believe is the purpose of social and emotional education?	10. Vad tycker du är meningen (syfte) med socialt och emotionellt lärande?	10. ¿Cuál cree que es el propósito de la educación social y emocional?	10. Ποιος πιστεύετε ότι είναι ο σκοπός της κοινωνικής και συναισθηματικής αγωγής;
11. Emotion is fundamental to learning	11. Den emotionella aspekten är grundläggande för lärande	11. La emoción es fundamental para el aprendizaje	11. Το συναίσθημα είναι θεμελιώδες στοιχείο στη διαδικασία μάθησης
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
12. Children can be taught social and emotional skills just like any other skill (reading, writing, playing an instrument)	12. Barn kan lära sig sociala och emotionella färdigheter precis som vilka andra färdigheter som helst (läsa, skriva, spela instrument)	12. Los niños se les puede enseñar habilidades sociales y emocionales al igual que cualquier otra habilidad (leer, escribir, tocar un instrumento)	12. Τα παιδιά μπορούν να διδαχθούν κοινωνικές και συναισθηματικές δεξιότητες ακριβώς όπως οποιαδήποτε άλλη δεξιότητα (ανάγνωση, γραφή, παίξιμο μουσικού οργάνου)
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
13. Teachers are responsible for socialising	13. Lärare är ansvariga för att socialisera	13. Los profesores son responsables de la socialización	13. Οι δάσκαλοι είναι υπεύθυνοι για την κοινωνικοποίηση των

students just like any other significant adult in the child's life.	eleverna, precis som alla andra viktiga vuxna i ett barns liv.	de los estudiantes como cualquier otro adulto importante en la vida del niño.	μαθητών ακριβώς όπως οποιοσδήποτε άλλος σημαντικός ενήλικας στη ζωή του παιδιού.
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
14. In response to the previous question (question 13), why do you think this is?	14. Knutet till ditt svar på den förra frågan (fråga 13), varför tycker du det?	14. En respuesta a la pregunta anterior (pregunta 13), ¿por qué cree que es esto?	14. Σχετικά με την προηγούμενη ερώτηση (ερώτηση 13), γιατί νομίζετε ότι συμβαίνει αυτό;
15. Not enough attention is devoted to social and emotional education in my school	15. Det läggs inte tillräckligt med uppmärksamhet på social och emotionell utbildning på min skola	15. No hay suficiente atención a la educación emocional y social en mi escuela	15. Δεν δίδεται επαρκής σημασία στην κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή στο σχολείο μου.
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
16. How was social and emotional education introduced in your school? (Click all that apply)	16. Hur introducerades socialt och emotionellt lärande på din skola (fyll i alla som stämmer)	16. ¿Cómo se introdujo la educación social y emocional en su escuela? (Haga clic en todas las que apliquen)	16. Με ποιο τρόπο η κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή έχει εισαχθεί στο σχολείο σας; (σημειώστε όλες τις πιθανές απαντήσεις)
Initiated by teachers	På lärares initiativ	Iniciado por los profesores	Με πρωτοβουλία των δασκάλων
Initiated by senior management team at school	På skollidningens initiativ	Iniciado por el equipo directivo en la escuela	Με πρωτοβουλία της διοίκησης του σχολείου
Initiated by government policy	På skolstyrelsens eller kommunens initiativ	Iniciado por el gobierno	Μέσω κυβερνητικής πολιτικής
Social and emotional education has not been introduced into my school	Socialt och emotionellt lärande har inte introducerats på min skola	La educación social y emocional no ha sido introducida en mi escuela	Η κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή δεν έχει εισαχθεί στο σχολείο μου.
17. How is social and emotional education (SEE) taught in your	17. Hur lärs socialt och emotionellt lärande (SEL) ut	17. ¿Cómo se enseña la educación social y emocional (ESE) en	17. Πώς διδάσκεται η κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή (ΚΣΑ) στο

school and/or classroom?	på din skola och/eller i ditt klassrum?	su escuela y / o en el aula?	σχολείο και/ή στην τάξη σας;
SEE is taught as a separate subject (time is dedicated to teach SEE exclusively throughout the academic year)	SEL lärs ut som ett separat ämne (tid viks till att lära ut SEL separat under skolåret)	ESE se enseña como una asignatura independiente (el tiempo está dedicado a enseñar ESE exclusivamente durante el año académico)	Η ΚΣΑ διδάσκεται ως ξεχωριστό μάθημα (αφιερώνεται χρόνος στην αποκλειστική διδασκαλία της ΚΣΑ καθ' όλη τη διάρκεια του έτους)
SEE is taught as part of other subjects (e.g., religious education, health, citizenship studies)	SEL lärs ut som en del av andra ämnen (exempelvis religion, hälsa, samhällsorientering)	ESE se enseña como parte de otras asignaturas (por ejemplo, religión, salud, ciudadanía)	Η ΚΣΑ διδάσκεται ως μέρος άλλων μαθημάτων (π.χ. Θρησκευτικά, Υγιεινή, Αγωγή του πολίτη)
Social and emotional aspects of learning are considered for every subject that is taught, but SEE is neither a separate subject nor a module in other subjects	Sociala och emotionella aspekter i lärandet tas hänsyn till i alla ämnen, men SEL är varken ett separat ämne eller ett delmoment i andra ämnen	Se consideran aspectos sociales y emocionales del aprendizaje para cada tema que se enseña, pero no como un tema separado ni un módulo en otros temas	Κάθε μάθημα που διδάσκεται περιλαμβάνει κοινωνικές και συνασθηματικές πλευρές της μάθησης, αλλά η ΚΣΑ ούτε αποτελεί ξεχωριστό μάθημα, ούτε κεφάλαιο μαθήματος
No time is dedicated to social and emotional education, and social and emotional aspects of learning are not considered in other subjects	Ingen tid viks till socialt och emotionellt lärande. Sociala och emotionella aspekter av lärandet tas inte hänsyn till i andra ämnen	No se dedica tiempo a la educación social y emocional, y no se consideran aspectos sociales y emocionales del aprendizaje en otras asignaturas	Δεν αφιερώνεται χρόνος στην κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή και οι κοινωνικές και συναισθηματικές προεκτάσεις της μάθησης δεν λαμβάνονται υπόψη στα μαθήματα.
18. Do you personally focus more on teaching interpersonal skills or intrapersonal skills?	18. Fokuserar du personligen på att lära ut självständighet eller samverkan?	18. ¿Usted personalmente se centra más en la enseñanza de habilidades interpersonales o de habilidades intrapersonales?	18. Εσείς προσωπικά εστιάζετε περισσότερο στη διδασκαλία των διαπροσωπικών ή των ένδοπροσωπικών δεξιοτήτων;
Interpersonal Skills	Självständighet	Habilidades interpersonales	Διαπροσωπικές δεξιότητες

Intrapersonal Skills	Samverkan	Habilidades intrapersonales	Ενδοπροσωπικές δεξιότητες
Don't know	Vet ej	No sé	Δεν ξέρω
In the past academic year, did you teach these social and emotional skills and knowledge in your classroom?	Har du lärt ut följande sociala och emotionella färdigheter och kunskaper i ditt klassrum under det senaste skolåret?	¿En el último año académico, enseñó estas habilidades sociales y emocionales en tu aula?	Το προηγούμενο σχολικό/ακαδημαϊκό έτος διδάξατε αυτές τις κοινωνικές και συναισθηματικές δεξιότητες και γνώσεις στην τάξη σας;
19. Understanding, identifying and labelling emotions	19. Att förstå, identifiera och sätta ord på	19. La comprensión y identificación de las emociones	19. Αναγνώριση, έκφραση και διαχείριση των συναισθημάτων
Regularly Occasionally Never	Regelbundet Ibland Aldrig	Regularmente De vez en cuando Nunca	Συχνά Σπάνια Ποτέ
20. Relaxation Techniques (e.g., mindfulness, controlled breathing)	20. Avslappningstekniker (t.ex. mindfulness, kontrollerad andning)	20. Técnicas de relajación (por ejemplo, 'mindfulness', control de la respiración)	20. Τεχνικές χαλάρωσης (π.χ. Ενσυνειδητότητα, ελεγχόμενη αναπνοή)
Regularly Occasionally Never	Regelbundet Ibland Aldrig	Regularmente De vez en cuando Nunca	Συχνά Σπάνια Ποτέ
21. Safeguarding and promoting the wellbeing of others	21. Självbevarelse och hänsyn till andras välmående	21. Proteger y fomentar el bienestar de los demás	21. Διασφάλιση και προώθηση της ευημερίας των άλλων
Regularly Occasionally Never	Regelbundet Ibland Aldrig	Regularmente De vez en cuando Nunca	Συχνά Σπάνια Ποτέ
22. Practicing/rehearsing social skills	22. Praktisera/öva sociala färdigheter	22. Practicar / ensayar habilidades sociales	22. Εξάσκηση/προβάρισμα κοινωνικών δεξιοτήτων
Regularly Occasionally Never	Regelbundet Ibland Aldrig	Regularmente De vez en cuando Nunca	Συχνά Σπάνια Ποτέ
23. Negotiating and resolving conflict	23. Förhandling och konfliktlösning	23. La negociación y la resolución de conflictos	23. Διαπραγμάτευση και επίλυση συγκρούσεων
Regularly Occasionally Never	Regelbundet Ibland Aldrig	Regularmente De vez en cuando Nunca	Συχνά Σπάνια Ποτέ
24. Appreciate diverse perspectives	24. Uppskatta olika perspektiv	24. Apreciar diversas perspectivas	24. Συνεκτίμηση διαφορετικών προοπτικών

Regularly Occasionally Never	Regelbundet Ibland Aldrig	Regularmente De vez en cuando Nunca	Συχνά Σπάνια Ποτέ
25. Develop self-discipline and set goals	25. Utveckling av självkontroll och målsättning	25. Desarrollar la autodisciplina y establecer metas	25. Ανάπτυξη αυτοπειθαρχίας και θέση στόχων
Regularly Occasionally Never	Regelbundet Ibland Aldrig	Regularmente De vez en cuando Nunca	Συχνά Σπάνια Ποτέ
26. Developing feelings of self-worth and self-confidence	26. Utveckling av självförtroende och självsäkerhet	26. Desarrollando sentimientos de autoestima y confianza en sí mismo	26. Ανάπτυξη αισθημάτων αυτοαξίας και αυτοπεποίθησης
Regularly Occasionally Never	Regelbundet Ibland Aldrig	Regularmente De vez en cuando Nunca	Συχνά Σπάνια Ποτέ
27. Recognising triggers of anger	27. Känna igen vad som frammanar ilska	27. Reconocer como se provoca la ira	27. Αναγνώριση αιτιών θυμού
Regularly Occasionally Never	Regelbundet Ibland Aldrig	Regularmente De vez en cuando Nunca	Συχνά Σπάνια Ποτέ
28. Are there any other social and emotional skills you have taught not included in the list above?	28. Finns det andra sociala och emotionella färdigheter som du har lärt ut, som inte finns med i listan?	28. ¿Hay otras habilidades sociales y emocionales que has enseñado que no figuren en la lista anterior?	28. Υπάρχουν άλλες κοινωνικές και συναισθηματικές δεξιότητες που διδάξατε αλλά δεν υπάρχουν στην παραπάνω λίστα;
29. Teachers should feel comfortable expressing their emotions in the classroom	29. Lärare bör känna sig bekväma med att uttrycka sina känslor i klassrummet	29. Los profesores deben sentirse cómod@s expresando sus emociones en el aula	29. Οι δάσκαλοι/καθηγητές θα πρέπει να νιώθουν άνετα με το να εκφράζουν τα συναισθήματά τους στην τάξη.
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
30. Anger, sadness and any other negatively evaluating emotion are emotionally intelligent reactions to a certain state of	30. Ilska, sorg och andra negativt värderade känslor är emotionellt intelligenta reaktioner till specifika situationer och	30. La ira, tristeza y cualquier otra emoción negativa son reacciones emocionalmente inteligentes y pertenecen en el aula	30. Ο θυμός, η λύπη και οποιοδήποτε άλλο αρνητικό συναίσθημα είναι συναισθηματικά έξυπνες αντιδράσεις σε συγκεκριμένες καταστάσεις και ανήκουν στον χώρο της σχολικής τάξης

affairs and belong in the classroom	hör hemma i klassrummet		
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
31. My students have consistent behaviour goals between home and school	31. Mina elever har konsekventa beteendemål både i hemmet och i skolan	31. Mis estudiantes tienen objetivos de comportamiento consistentes entre la casa y la escuela	31. Οι μαθητές/φοιτητές μου έχουν σταθερούς συμπεριφοριστικούς στόχους μεταξύ σπιτιού και σχολείου
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
32. My school provides enough opportunities for pupils to verbalise their emotional experiences	32. Min skola ger tillräckligt med möjligheter för eleverna att uttrycka sina emotionella upplevelser	32. Mi escuela ofrece suficientes oportunidades para que los alumnos verbalizen sus experiencias emocionales	32. Το σχολείο μου παρέχει αρκετές ευκαιρίες στους μαθητές να εκφράζουν λεκτικά τις συναισθηματικές τους εμπειρίες
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
33. Social and emotional education has improved my relationship with students	33. Socialt och emotionellt lärande har förbättrat min relation med eleverna	33. La educación social y emocional ha mejorado mi relación con los estudiantes	33. Η κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή έχει βελτιώσει τη σχέση μου με τους μαθητές
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
N/A	Inte tillämpligt	N / A	Δ/Α
34. In my opinion, the key to learning is the relationship between the	34. Enligt min åsikt är relationen mellan lärare och elev	34. En mi opinión, la clave del aprendizaje es la relación entre el	34. Κατά τη γνώμη μου, το μυστικό της μάθησης είναι η σχέση δάσκαλου-μαθητή

teacher and student	en nyckelfaktor för lärande	profesor y el estudiante	
Strongly Agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly Disagree	Håller verkligen med Håller med Neutral Håller inte med Håller verkligen inte med	Totalmente De Acuerdo De Acuerdo Neutral En Desacuerdo Totalmente En Desacuerdo	Συμφωνώ Απόλυτα Συμφωνώ Είμαι ουδέτερος-η Διαφωνώ Διαφωνώ απόλυτα
Training	Utbildning	Formación	Επιμόρφωση
35. Did your teacher training or continuing professional development include social and emotional education?	35. Inkluderar din lärarutbildning och fortbildning socialt och emotionellt lärande?	35. ¿Su formación maestro incluyó el tema de la educación social y emocional?	35. Η κατάρτιση και η συνεχής επιμόρφωσή σας ως δασκάλου/καθηγητή περιλάμβανε κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή;
36. What SEE topics/theories in your professional training have inspired your teaching the most (eg., Attachment theory, Developmental Psychology)? If none come to mind or you do not remember any specific theories, please answer 'Do not remember'.	36. Vilka ämnen/teorier inom SEL i din professionella utbildning har inspirerat undervisning mest (t.ex. anknytningsteori, utvecklingspsykologi)? Ifall du inte kommer fram till någon eller inte minns några specifika teorier kan du svara "Jag minns inte".	36. Qué ESE temas/teorías en su formación profesional han inspirado su enseñanza? Si ninguno vienen a la mente o no se acuerda de cualquier teorías específicas, por favor conteste 'no recuerdo'.	36. Ποια από τα θέματα/θεωρίες της ΚΣΑ κατά την επαγγελματική σας κατάρτιση ενέπνευσαν περισσότερο τη διδασκαλία σας (π.χ. η θεωρία της προσκόλλησης, η αναπτυξιακή ψυχολογία). Εάν καμία δεν σας έρχεται στο νου ή δεν θυμάστε συγκεκριμένες θεωρίες, σημειώσατε "Δεν θυμάμαι".
37. Do you wish to take further training regarding social and emotional education, and if so, on what topics?	37. Skulle du vilja ta del av vidare utbildning inom socialt och emotionellt lärande, och om så är fallet, inom vilka ämnen?	37. ¿Quiere tener más formación en materia de educación social y emocional, y si es así, en qué temas?	37. Θα θέλατε να καταρτιστείτε περισσότερο στην κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή κι αν ναι σε ποια θέματα;
38. Would you be interested in being contacted to discuss your opinions further? If so, please add an email address below:	38. Skulle du vara intresserad av att bli kontaktad för att diskutera dina åsikter? Om så är fallet, skriv din e-postadress nedan:	38. ¿Estaría usted interesada/o en discutir sus opiniones más? Si es así, por favor, añadir una dirección de correo electrónico a continuación:	38. Θα σας ενδιέφερε να επικοινωνήσω μαζί σας για να συζητήσουμε περισσότερο τις απόψεις σας; Αν ναι, συμπληρώστε παρακάτω την ηλεκτρονική σας διεύθυνση:

Appendix Four: Invitations to participate in the research

English version.

Dear principal,

I am a PhD student at the Institute of Education (UCL), where I am currently conducting research to investigate how different countries treat social and emotional education within pedagogical practice and policy - the aim is to better understand how teaching staff perceive and practice social and emotional education and what differences (if any) exist from country to country.

I'm writing to ask whether you could answer a questionnaire (which takes 10-15 minutes, and can be done anonymously), and ask a number of your teaching staff to complete the questionnaire as well (between 5-10 participants would be ideal). Teaching staff from preschool through to secondary school from Greece, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom are currently participating in the study.

If you and your staff are interested in participating, the questionnaire can be completed here: <https://opinio.ucl.ac.uk/s?s=43217>

For your convenience I have also created a document with the individual questions which can be viewed before answering, available here: <https://goo.gl/QOT2DV>

It will also be possible to forward you the results of the study before they are published (approximately at the end of 2017) - if so, please email me back expressing your interest. Any further questions about the research can be directed to: edurne.loinaz.15@ucl.ac.uk

Best,

Edurne Scott Loinaz

Greek version.

Κύριε Διευθυντά,

Είμαι υποψήφια διδάκτορας στο Institute of Education (UCL). Εκπονώ μελέτη όπου διερευνώ το πώς διαφορετικές χώρες αντιμετωπίζουν την κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή μέσα από την παιδαγωγική πράξη και

πολιτική. Σκοπός μου είναι να καταλάβω καλύτερα το πώς οι καθηγητές αντιλαμβάνονται και εφαρμόζουν την κοινωνική και συναισθηματική αγωγή και ποιες διαφορές υπάρχουν –κι αν– από χώρα σε χώρα.

Σας γράφω για να σας ρωτήσω εάν θα μπορούσατε να απαντήσετε σε ένα ερωτηματολόγιο (το οποίο χρειάζεται 10-15 λεπτά και μπορεί να γίνει ανώνυμα) και να ζητήσετε από το εκπαιδευτικό σας προσωπικό επίσης να απαντήσει στο ερωτηματολόγιο (5-10 συμμετέχοντες θα ήταν το ιδανικό). Εκπαιδευτικοί από την προσχολική έως και τη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση στην Ελλάδα, την Ισπανία, τη Σουηδία και το Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο συμμετέχουν ήδη στην έρευνα.

Αν εσείς και το προσωπικό σας ενδιαφέρεστε να συμμετέχετε, μπορείτε να συμπληρώσετε το ερωτηματολόγιο πατώντας σε αυτόν τον σύνδεσμο: <https://opinio.ucl.ac.uk/s?s=43217&lang=en>

Για δική σας διευκόλυνση έχω επίσης δημιουργήσει ένα αρχείο με τις ατομικές ερωτήσεις που μπορείτε να δείτε πριν απαντήσετε και το οποίο είναι διαθέσιμο εδώ: <https://goo.gl/QOT2DV>

Υπάρχει επίσης η δυνατότητα να σας προωθήσω τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας πριν δημοσιευθούν (περίπου στο τέλος του 2017). Αν ενδιαφέρεστε για αυτά, μπορείτε να μου τα ζητήσετε μέσω email. Περαιτέρω ερωτήσεις σχετικά με την έρευνα μπορείτε να απευθύνετε στο: edurne.loinaz.15@ucl.ac.uk

Με εκτίμηση,
Edurne Scott Loinaz

Swedish version.

Till lärare,

Jag är doktorand på London University College (UCL), där jag för närvarande utför en undersökning för att se hur olika länder utför socialt och emotionellt lärande inom pedagogisk teori och praktik. Målet är att bättre förstå hur lärarpersonal uppfattar och praktiserar socialt och emotionellt lärande och vilka, om några, skillnader det finns mellan olika länder.

Jag kontaktar er för att be er att delta i en enkätundersökning (vilken tar 10-15 minuter och kan göras anonymt). Lärarpersonal i förskolan upp till högstadiet från Grekland, Spanien, Sverige och Storbritannien deltar för närvarande i undersökningen.

Om du är intresserad av att delta kan enkäten fyllas i här: <https://opinio.ucl.ac.uk/s?s=43217&lang=sv>

Jag har också gjort ett dokument med de individuella frågorna så att man kan få en översikt av dem. Den finns här: <https://goo.gl/QOT2DV>

Ni kan också få möjlighet att ta del av undersökningens resultat innan det publiceras (uppskattningsvis i slutet av 2017). Om ni är intresserade av det kan ni skicka e-post till mig med en förfrågan: edurne.loinaz.15@ucl.ac.uk

Med vänliga hälsningar,
Edurne Scott Loinaz

Spanish version.

Estimado/a Director/a,

Soy una estudiante de doctorado en el Instituto de Educación (UCL) en Londres, donde estoy investigando como diferentes países tratan la educación social y emocional dentro de la práctica pedagógica y política. El motivo central de esta investigación es para interpretar de como los profesores perciben y practican la educación social emocional en cada país. Profesores desde preescolar hasta la escuela secundaria de Grecia, España, Suecia y el Reino Unido están participando en el estudio.

Le estoy escribiendo para solicitar si usted podría colaborar en responder a un cuestionario. Se tarda de 10-15 minutos en completarlo y es totalmente anónimo. Sería ideal que un numero de maestros de su escuela podrían responder también a este cuestionario - y serviría de gran ayuda en el estudio, gracias.

Si usted y sus educadores están interesados en participar, el cuestionario se puede completar aquí: <https://opinio.ucl.ac.uk/s?s=43217&lang=es>

Las preguntas individuales se pueden ver antes de contestar, disponible aquí: <https://goo.gl/QOT2DV>

También será posible enviar los resultados del estudio antes de su publicación (aproximadamente a finales de 2017). Más preguntas acerca de la investigación pueden ser dirigidas a: edurne.loinaz.15@ucl.ac.uk

Atentamente,
Edurne Scott Loinaz

Appendix Five: Regional differences in two Likert scales

Satisfaction with SEE provision				
	South East	Scotland	East Anglia	Midlands
Mean	2.63	2.53	2.43	2.39
SD	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.3
Number	62	19	40	31
Scotland	0.08	-	-	-
East Anglia	0.15	0.08	-	-
Midlands	0.19	0.11	0.03	-
	Macedonia	Attica	Peloponnese	Thessaloniki
Mean	3.3	3.11	3.06	2.94
SD	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.1
Number	23	27	16	17
Athens	0.17	-	-	-
Peloponnese	0.21	0.04	-	-
Thessaloniki	0.33	0.15	0.1	-
	Navarra	Balearic islands	Castile Leon	Canary islands
Mean	3.43	3.27	2.96	2.95
SD	0.9	1	1.1	1.2
Number	37	60	25	44
Balearic islands	0.17	-	-	-
Castile Leon	0.47	0.29	-	-
Canary islands	0.45*	0.29	0.01	-
Sweden	South	Stockholm	North middle	West
Mean	2.88	2.79	2.5	2.46
SD	1.1	1.2	0.8	1
Number	17	29	16	13
Stockholm	0.08	-	-	-
North middle	0.4	0.28	-	-
West	0.4	0.3	0.04	-

Home and school boundaries				
	East Anglia	South East	Midlands	Scotland
Mean	3.2	3	2.9	2.8
SD	1.2	1.1	1.3	0.9
Number	39	50	33	19
South East	0.17	-	-	-
Midlands	0.24	0.08	-	-
Scotland	0.38	0.2	0.09	-
	Peloponnese	Thessaloniki	Attica	Macedonia
Mean	3.1	3.1	3	2.7
SD	0.88	0.8	0.87	0.93
Number	15	16	26	19
Thessaloniki	0	-	-	-
Athens	0.11	0.11	-	-
Macedonia	0.44	0.45	0.33	-
	Balearic islands	Castile Leon	Canary islands	Navarra
Mean	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.2
SD	0.89	0.85	0.97	0.91
Number	53	31	41	30
Castile Leon	0	-	-	-
Canary islands	0.11	0.11	-	-
Navarra	0.33	0.34	0.21	-
Sweden	West	North middle	South	Stockholm
Mean	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.6
SD	1.1	0.73	0.74	0.86
Number	12	14	15	29
North middle	0	-	-	-
South	0.21	0.27	-	-
Stockholm	0.51	0.62	0.37	-