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Teacher-guilt and its possible implications

A study of how the emotion of guilt affects teachers' lives and work in the teacher profession.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether the emotion guilt was experienced by teachers in the Norwegian educational system and why, followed by further examinations as to see whether this had consequences for these teachers. Data was collected from Utdanningsnytt.no, a Norwegian webpage being a platform for articles both written by teachers themselves, interviews with teachers and research articles conducted in Norwegian educational settings. A document analysis approach was used to investigate the 10 articles that was used to examine the papers thesis, where the articles were analyzed separately before a process of comparison and separation was completed to see whether parallel assumptions pointed towards results. As for the first question of the paper, consistency was found in the data emphasizing how guilt is in fact highly present in the teaching profession deriving from teachers limited time to accomplish their workload and provide care for their students. The further examination distinguishing the findings to answer the second question also suggested cohesive negative outcomes as a result of their teacher-guilt. As far as I am aware, this study is one of the few conducting research on teacher-guilt in the Norwegian educational system leading it to contribute as preliminary assumptions within its field.

Key words: Teacher-guilt, Persecutory-guilt, Depressive-guilt, Burnout

Sammendrag

Formålet med denne studien var å undersøke hvorvidt skyldfølelse ble opplevd av lærere i det norske utdanningssystemet og eventuelt hvorfor, etterfulgt av ytterligere undersøkelser for å se om dette hadde konsekvenser for disse lærerne. Data ble hentet fra Utdanningsnytt.no, en norsk nettside og plattform for artikler skrevet av både lærerne selv, intervjuer med lærere og forskningsartikler utført i norsk utdanningskontekst. En dokumentanalysemetode ble brukt for å undersøke de 10 artiklene hvor disse først ble analysert separat før en prosess innebærende av sammenligning og separasjon ble fullført for å se om parallelle antagelser pekte imot visse resultater. Når det gjelder studiens første spørsmål, ble det funnet konsistens iblant dataene som understreket hvordan skyld er svært tilstedeværende i læreryrket hvor tydelige funn pekte mangel på tid til å utføre både arbeidsmengde og omtanke ovenfor elevene. Den videre undersøkelsen som forsøkte å svare på studiens andre spørsmål så også sammenhengende negative resultater bland dataen pekende hovedsakelig i retning av utbrenthet som følge av deres lærerskyld. Studien er etter min kjennskap en av de få gjennomførte undersøkelsene om

lærerskyld i det norske utdanningssystemet, den bidrar dermed til preliminære antagelser innenfor sitt fagområde.

Nøkkelord: Lærer-skyld, Forfølgelses skyld, Depressiv skyld, Utbrenthet

Introduction

As teaching has been rated as one of the most stressful professions in the 21 century (Kyriacou 2000; PWC 2001; Nash 2005), the necessity for a focus on the role emotions have for a teacher and the way they teach is becoming essential (as quoted by Day & Qing, 2009, p. 5). The complex tasks which the teacher profession faces today are as Day & Qing (2009) argue driven by “performativity” agendas of the government, where it is primarily seen as the teachers job to improve the students result which teachers’ themselves claim as being judged to a greater extent now compared to earlier measures (p. 17).

This continual set of issues and tasks that the teachers are met with contain interaction with students as well as teachers. The profession is as Mawhinney & Rinke (2017) highlights; a profession of constant personal interaction where this center of this interaction is emotion (Hargreaves, 1998; Jo, 2014; Nias, 1996; Yin & Lee, 2012), underlining how emotions are ubiquitous to the teaching experience (Trigwell, 2012), (as quoted in Mawhinney & Rinke, 2017, p 1083). To experience emotions within the teaching profession seems to be viewed as being a part of the profession itself. There is however a distinction between them, where the emotion of guilt being as Mawhinney & Rinke (2017) underline, the most dangerous of them within the teaching profession (p. 1084). The emotion guilt is as Hargreaves (1994) further emphasized; a central preoccupation for teachers that occurs frequently when they are asked to talk about their work and their relationship to it (p. 142). As emotions and thereby also guilt, is seen as being a part of the profession itself, examining its possible outcomes can be viewed as essential in terms of how present emotions are in the life of a teacher and due to how a number of researches’ (Schwab & Iwanici, 1982; Hakanen, Bakke & Schaufeli, 2006; Van Veen, Slegers, & Van de Ven, 2005) links the emotion of guilt with negative outcomes.

The aim of this paper is to examine whether a pressure seemingly deriving either from the teachers themselves or the Norwegian society, functions as a source of guilt followed by further examination to shed light on whether this possibly existing guilt can have implications for the teachers. Guilt is as Day & Qing (2009) mentions, likely to be present in teachers`

work, but that problems might arise when this negative emotion persists thereby leading to an increased loss of sense of wellbeing by teachers in their ability to succeed (p. 19). The negative implications which Day & Qing referred to as being a result of continued felt guilt, provides evidence for why this field is important to further examine. Since this paper will narrow its scope to focus on teacher-guilt within the Norwegian educational system, it is also necessary to look at why this aspect requires further investigation.

A limitation was found in previous research conducted on the relationship between teacher-guilt and its further possible outcomes in the Norwegian educational system. Nevertheless, a few were possible to obtain on teacher-guilt in Norway (Jakhell, 2009; Håland, 2013), and additional research was done on Norwegian teachers (Richardsen & Martinussen, 2004; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2007) examining burnout as outcome of their work within the profession. Further research was done in a Finnish teaching occupational context (Hakanen, Bakker & Schaufeli, 2006; Pyhältö, Pietarinen, & Salmela-Aro, 2011) where their studies support the importance of examining the relationship between teacher-guilt and burnout in also a Norwegian educational context. As Kalimo & Hakanen (2000) study in Finland referred to teachers as having the highest levels of burnout compared to workers in all other human services and white collar jobs (as quoted by Hakanen, Bakker & Schaufeli, 2006, p. 496), it supports why guilt related to burnout is worth investigation further also in Norwegian. Moreover, the lack of previous research between teacher-guilt and possible outcomes such as burnout, underlines why this aspect appear as relevant for further examination also in a Norwegian context as conducted by this paper.

Theory

Why does teachers experience guilt? (Sub-question 1)

The focus on teacher's emotion within the teaching profession has as Hargreaves (1994) highlights, been of low priority the past decades (p. 141). The emotions are however, as Colley (2006) points out a part of teaching (as quoted by Madrid & Dunn-Kenney, 2010, p. 388), and so profitably, in educational research. Beneficially, the concept of emotional has as Hargreaves (1998) and Nias (1996) underlined, gained more attention in the last decade, emphasizing the importance of attending to teachers emotions as basically inseparable from their cognitions and providing valuable insight into what they have at stake (Van Veen, Slegers & Van de Ven, 2005, p. 918). Since emotions is said to be part of the teaching

profession itself, research conducted has underlined how teaching is an emotional labor (Colley, 2006; Zembylas, 2003) exploring teachers' emotions (Chubbuck & Zembylas, 2007) in order to understand the complexity it has in the classroom (As quoted by Madrid & Kenney, 2010, p. 388). More and recent research within the field affirms that emotions constitute an essential element for teachers work and identity (Hargreaves, 2001; Nias; 1996; Sutton & Wheatly, 2003), (as quoted by Van Veen, Slegers & Van de Ven, 2005, p. 918), further indicating how this field seems to increase in terms of its knowledge being advantageous for the teaching profession.

As this paper's primarily focus is the emotion guilt, a narrower research approach was used to examine whether earlier studies have seen corresponding findings in the links between the teacher profession and guilt. Earlier studies (Hargreaves & Tucker, 1991; Van Veen, Slegers & Van de Ven, 2005), viewing teacher-guilt from an international perspective have confirmed a cohesion between teachers work and guilt. However, as little research seems to have been conducted earlier from a Norwegian teaching context, only a small lens is provided into teacher-guilt in the Norwegian educational system resulting instead in the use of international scholars as theory as a framework for this paper's investigations.

Day Qing (2009) distinguishes between primary emotions and social emotions, where guilt is perceived as a social emotion (p. 30), as it result of a feeling of the self which Lewis (1971) emphasized as being negatively evaluated in connection with something or someone (as quoted by Baldwin, Baldwin & Ewald, 2006, p. 7), one becomes aware of how this phenomenon of guilt is relevant to a variety of everyday experiences (Kugler & Jones, 1992, p. 318). As emotions arise in response to an event, either external or internal (Salovey & Mayer, 1990, p. 186), one can point to them as influencing individuals in general all the time. What is important to distinguish however, is how some emotions is seen as having more negative impact than others (Roseman, 1984), (as quoted by Kugler & Jones, 1992, p. 318). As emotions are, as Madrid & Dunn-Kenney (2010) highlight, constructed through our own beliefs and perceptions, linked to our social and cultural realities and interactions (p. 388), one can in that sense view the emotion of guilt as deriving from a teachers own assumption of what it means to be a teacher; what one experiences as being expected in the occupation, and how one measure ones accomplishments in terms of those expectations. In short one could thereby argue that a teacher will experience guilt as a consequent of sensing unfulfilled towards one's tasks. However, as the profession of teaching has so many complexities

(Mawhinney & Rinke, 2018, p. 1080), the occupations mandatory tasks reflects this complexity.

More scholars have attempted to separate the various tasks within the profession examining their differences and possible outcome (Hargreaves, 1994; Madrid & Dunn-Kenney, 2010; Van Veen, Slegers & Van de Ven, 2005). As Hargreaves` study of guilt was used and referred to by many scholars his research thereby seemed valid within the study of teaching-guilt. As a result, this paper will use a lot of his previous work as a framework. In his book *Changing Teachers, Changing Times* (1994) Hargreaves refers to a “guilt trap” linked to how teaching can create social and motivational patterns which decline or determine the guilt of the teacher (p. 142). He further refers to Alan Davies (1989) work who highlights two kinds of guilt; persecutory- and depressive guilt (p. 143). As Hargreaves (1994) have elaborated further on these types of guilt his studies will be used as framework.

Hargreaves (1994) further elaboration on the two types guilts, distinguishes persecutory guilt as being a type of emotion within the teacher that arises as a result of failing to do something that is expected by one or more external authorities (p. 143). It is possible to view this type of guilt as being created within the teacher itself, as one can argue how it depends on what the teacher experiences as being expected of oneself. On the other hand, the sort of external factors responsible for the creation of guilt such as accountability demands` and bureaucratic control is as Hargreaves (1994) underlines highly present in the teaching profession (p. 143), and thereby a more likely source of teacher-guilt. More investigators shared this assumption, such as Madrid & Dunn-Kenney (2010) who saw the meeting of perceived demands placed on them by colleagues and external systems of bureaucracy as being guilt related (p. 399). Guilt in this sense derive from factors outside the teacher itself, factors they have little to no control over arguably leading them to neither being able to regulate their guilt. Additionally, one can argue how the persecutory guilt is highly present in todays educational system as Oakes & Rogers (2006) emphasized seen in the contemporary educational reforms which have been increasingly technical (i.e. focused on improving test scores), (as quoted by Madrid & Dunn-Kenney, 2010, p. 399). Subsequently, Madrid & Dunn-Kenney (2010) link the increase in accountability measures with possible outcomes such as intensified fears and persecutory guilt (p. 399).

The other type of guilt who Hargreaves (1994) mentions, is the depressive guilt which is an emotion emerging from having to admit to failed to protect a good internal object or its external representation (p. 143). In other words, the emotion of depressive guilt derives from the teachers experiences of not being able to “help” one’s students. Madrid & Dunn-Kenney (2010) also emphasizes similar factors as possible determinants for teacher-guilt, pointing to a deep sense of stress as they attempt to meet the emotional needs of their students (p. 399). Moreover, the commitment to care is as Hargreaves (1994) further states, strong especially among elementary school teachers where this care seems to be the major source of job satisfaction for them (p. 145). “The more important care is to a teacher, the more emotionally devastating is the experience of failing to provide it. In this respect, the more one cares, the more susceptible to depressive guilt one is likely to be.” (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 145). The statement conveys how the feelings of guilt is connected to the teachers own expectations in terms of how much care that is “enough” care. Teaching has however, as Day & Qing (2009) argue, always have been intensely emotional work, but what seems to change is the nature of the work due how the educational system seems to rely upon factors such as teacher guilt, to gain improved student performances (p. 43). Due to this seemingly increase in external expectations in addition to the role of the teacher being what Hargreaves (1994) highlights as diffuse and not clearly defined in social and emotional terms (p. 147), there seems to be a lack of time to handle the professions’ tasks. It is a “never ending story” as Hargreaves (1994) puts it, the work is never over since there is always more assignments to prepare and more care to give to students (p. 147).

Result wise, there is evidence for how persecutory- and depressive guilt both can be experienced by the teacher. What appears necessary and what this paper’s second sub-question tend to examine further is what the possible implications guilt could have for teachers.

What are the possible outcomes of teacher-guilt? (Sub-question 2)

Earlier research has been conducted on the possible outcomes of working in caring-professions like teaching (Maslach et al, 1986; Hargreaves, 1994; Chang, 2009; Schwab & Iwanicki, 1982; Hakanen, Bakker & Schaufeli, 2006; Mawhinney & Rinke, 2018), where scholars’ underlines negative outcomes as appearing when the negative emotion of guilt is present over a longer period of time, viewing it as highly influencing the teachers. However,

as Chang (2009) has highlighted; teacher burnout has been widely reviewed and studied, nevertheless; only limited literature has examined the emotional aspects of teachers' lives and its connection with teacher burnout (p. 193). Nevertheless, a study which have gained much recognition within burnout has is Maslach, Jackson, Leiter, Schaufeli & Schwab (1986) study on the syndrome of burnout, referred to as Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI). Their research will frequently be used as framework due to its well-recognized theory. Moreover, limited investigation has examined the outcomes of teacher-guilt in Norway, although some (Jakhelln, 2009; Håland, 2013), highlighted it as negative, further research was not made. Nevertheless, research has been conducted using the MBI to analyze a quantity of Norwegian teachers (Richardsen & Martinussen, 2004;382; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2007;616), both suggesting a link between the emotional aspect of the profession and burnout.

This “cocktail of challenges” as Day & Qing (2009) describe it, affects teachers in all countries, their work has become more challenging (p. 16). The demands a teacher faces daily will as Lamb (1983) argue make demands on the guilty party whether it comes from a rational or irrational place and it is almost as if guilt is a common and expected emotion for teachers to confront, one that can lead to consequences such as burnout (Mawhinney & Riddle (2017), p. 1085). Ironically, as the contemporary educational reform increases its focus on improving test scores (Oakes & Rogers, 2006) in order to compete in a global market (Madrid & Dunn-Kenney, 2010, p. 399), teacher-guilt can be seen as favoring this reforms in terms of relying upon this guilt to gain improved student performance (demonstrated by rising standardized student test scores), (Day & Qing, 2009, p. 33). Teacher-guilt is in this sense seen as beneficial, demanding them to push themselves in working more as to get rid of the feeling of guilt, resulting in a work-overload due to the lack of “clearly” defined tasks. Moreover, these tasks are what Schwab & Iwanicki's (1982) in their study of role conflict and ambiguity in teaching, demonstrated as having a significant relationship to burnout (p. 71).

As several researches emphasizes burnout as a frequent outcome of negative emotions such as guilt in teaching, a closer examination of the syndrome seems relevant for this paper's second sub-question. Maslach et al. (1986) defines burnout as a psychological syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishments (p. 2). According to Maslach et al, three different aspects of the syndrome. Moreover, considering that all three appear as determinant in a teaching context, as more studies have shown by conducting the MBI within a teaching context (Schwab & Iwanicki, 1982; Richardsen & Martinussen, 2004;

Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2007; Hakanen, Bakker & Schaufeli, 2006), they will all be distinguished further.

A key feature and the first mentioned aspect of burnout syndrome is the emotional exhaustion, resulting in a feeling of emotional deprivation which Maslach et al. (1986) refers to as disempowering teachers to give of themselves at a psychological level (p. 192). This emotional deprivation could additionally be linked to Hargreaves (1994) findings, pointing towards the unending process of constant giving as a creator of candidates for burnout (p. 148).

Furthermore, Schwarzer et al (2000) described fatigue, loss of energy and wearing out as a characteristic of this component (Chang, 2009, p. 196), being the results of what Mawhinney Rinke (2017) saw as in the limited resources, the changing reforms and the administrative pressures which all seemed to play into the emotional labor of guilt within teaching (p. 1095).

The second mentioned aspect of burnout syndrome is what Maslach et al. (1986) refers to as depersonalization, involving negative, cynical attitudes and feelings about one's clients (in the context of the teaching profession; the students), possibly resulting in an unfortunate understanding of students struggles being "deserved" (p. 192). Consequently, teachers might appear demotivated towards helping his/her students acting as rather indifferent (Maslach et al., 2001) instead (as quoted by Chang, 2009, p. 197).

Both the challenges emotional exhaustion and depersonalization imposes on the teaching profession is worth mentioning due to their consequential effects arguably imposed on not only the teacher itself but also the students. Both components can additionally, as Chang (2009) underlined, interfere with effectiveness due to difficulty in gaining a sense of accomplishment when feeling exhausted or indifferent towards helping people (p. 197). The sense of reduced accomplishment is also referred to by Maslach et al. (1986) as being the last aspect of burnout syndrome, a feature highlighted as having to do with a tendency to evaluate oneself negatively, and especially in their work with clients (students) (p. 192).

Maslach's et. (1986) three components of burnout all can be linked to emotions at some level due to how similar research (Demerouti et al., 2001), suggest that job demands refers to those psychological, social or organizational aspects of the job requiring emotional or cognitive effort, are associated with a certain psychological costs (as quoted by Hakanen, Bakker & Schaufeli, 2006, p. 497). Evidently, the emotion of guilt can thereby be seen as "influencing" all components of the burnout syndrome.

Method

The paper's thesis which lens tended to examine whether teacher-guilt could have implications for teachers themselves in a Norwegian context, sought to collect data stated by teachers themselves to analyze. Two sub-questions were made as to structure the content of this paper, where sub-question 1: "*Why teachers` experience guilt?*", first was conducted, followed by sub-question 2: "*What is the possible implications guilt could have for teachers?*". Further on, ten articles retrieved from Utdanningsnytt.no between the period 2008-2016 will be used to conduct the analysis. The Norwegian webpage Utdanningsnytt.no contains both letters to the editor, but also articles written by journalist who have interviewed teachers.

Procedure

The data collected will be examined through document analysis which is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; see also Rapley, 2007) where these documents could be both in a printed or electronic material (as quoted by Bowen, 2009, p. 27). As the examination of teachers' conversations outside the classroom provides opportunities to understand how emotions within teachers is socially constructed, controlled and related to the discourse of emotion in educational spaces (Madrid & Dunn-Kenney, 2010, p. 400), this further emphasizes the importance of using teachers own "voices" as data for the investigation. Since the data collected for this paper fell upon ten articles collected from the Norwegian webpage Utdanning.no the documents analyzed will thereby be of electronic material. All the articles are collected as a result of one search word within Utdanning.no`s search field, where the word; "skyldfølelse" (guilt), was used to find the documents necessary for this paper's research. It didn't appear necessary to also search for "lærer" (teacher), as this webpage is a platform for educational content.

The method for analyzing the documents collected was through a qualitative approach to research which involved examination and interpretation of the data in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge. The data collected for this paper has therefore been analyzed through an interpretation approach in order to perceive the documents` individual meaning. After analyzing each document separately, certain words such as; "utbrenthet" (burnout), "dårlig samvittighet" (guilt) and also "stress" (stress), was marked out in an attempt to further categorize the articles` in terms of their content and relevance to Hargreaves` (1994) persecutory and depressive guilt.

The next step in the procedure was the interpretation of the data collected. Bogdan & Biklen (2006), refers to the process of data interpretation as being where you develop your ideas from the findings you found and further relate them to the literature to broader concerns and concepts (p. 159). The investigator is as Strauss & Corbin (1990) emphasized; the primary instrument of data collection and analysis, due to the approach this research method has where the data is filtered through the analyst interpretive lens (Bowen, 2009, p. 36). To examine the two sub-questions for this text, interpretation was conducted on each article separately highlighting keywords such as guilt, burnout, stress or other seemingly outcomes derived from teacher-guilt. During this process, attempts were made to look for similarities between the texts, as correlative responses would provide a stronger degree of validity.

The further procedure included the use of theoretical framework relevant for the first sub-question such as Hargreaves` (1994) *Changing Teachers, Changing Times*. His work was frequently used, where the two distinguishable types of guilt “*persecutory guilt*” and “*depressive guilt*” was used as framework for identifying and categorize how guilt was experienced by the teachers in the documents analyzed. The approach geared to identifying patterns and discover the theoretical properties in the data which is as Bowen (2009), states; an inductive approach (p. 36).

The proceeding steps applied more theoretical work beneficial for discovering the possible links between teacher-guilt and burnout. A frequently used theory this paper made use of was the research of Maslach et al. (1986), contributing with a theoretical view of the possible outcomes of working in emotional occupations such as teaching. Maslach`s work on burnout has emerged as the dominant framework for studying burnout, where Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) is seen frequently adopted by scholars (Chang, 2009, p. 196). As several articles conducted MBI in their own studies, these articles (Hakanen, Bakker & Schaufeli, 2006; Schwab & Iwanicki, 1982; Richardsen & Martinussen, 2004; Skaalvik & Skaalvik, 2007), and additional relevant ones in terms teaching as an emotional labor (Chang, 2009; Hargreaves, 1994) has also been used as theory to supplement for additional findings.

Findings

In the data collected related to the first sub-question, the word guilt was mentioned by all as this was due to the search word in Utdanningsnytt.no being “skyldfølelse” (guilt). There seemed however to be a distinction in what the teacher linked to as being the cause of their guilt.

Why does teachers experience guilt (Sub-question 1)

The amount data collected on teachers who claimed that they felt guilt related to their workload was relatively high. Out of the 10 articles analyzed, 8 of them mentioned factors coming from “outside” of the teacher in form of tasks perceived as necessary due to high expectations within the profession.

Skjelbred (2008), writes in Utdanningsnytt.no the following: “Everyone has a need for time of without feeling guilty. If the Norwegian-School wants to keep its Norwegian teachers, then something ought to be done with the demands of teaching. It should be based on the actual workload instead of just hours. Its something wrong with a profession where you can’t work a hundred percent” (author translation). What one can read from the following statement is how clearly this teacher sees the amount of work linked with the sense of guilt experienced. She further emphasizes how not only workload is the problematic factor, but the time provided to accomplishing it as being too short. From the data collected there seemed to be more articles with a correlating perception of time functioning as a somewhat problematic aspect within the teaching profession. The following article also mentioned time as a necessity for carrying out the workload, which when being deprived of; created an emotion of guilt.

I am not interested in more pay- I would much rather like to go home from work with a good conscious when I have worked the hours I am paid for. With a work-time on 43,43 hours per week in those 38 student-weeks (given you spread it out) I don’t have the capacity to work more either. I also have a life outside my job. So, for me its much more important that the work-time provides you with the time necessary to do your work. (Lyngstøl, 2011), (author translation).

It thereby seems worth highlighting how time seems to play a relatively major factor in many of the articles pointing to it as being necessary for the teacher to do the work needed without feeling guilty.

Finding that suggested their abilities as teachers as possibly linked to time and guilt was Trædal's (2014) article who in the interview with teachers at Kjellervolla school noted the following statement:

To lose our flexibility was the heaviest. We are working so much in periods that we need to be able to make up for it in other periods, says Viik. -I have been working here for 4 years and have never had a bad conscious for not accomplishing something. Then it becomes even more painful that someone doubts that I am doing my job.
(Trædal, 2014), (author translation).

This teacher seems to view the increasing control from Utdanningsdirektoratet in form of the huge amount of workload they are emphasizing as important, as a lack of trust in him as a teacher. In contrast with the 9 articles conducted for this papers research, this one carries a claim where the emotion of guilt is stated as not being felt in relation to workload and time. The increasing in work amount and lack of time provided is rather viewed by this teacher as questioning his competence as a teacher. A teacher who questioned his own competence himself was Sørbye (2011) who highlighted his own abilities as resulting in not good enough teaching, which further lead to his guilt towards the students. These articles differ from the other 7 presented in this section due to them not only mentioning time and workload as determinant for the sense of guilt, but rather referring explicitly to his own abilities as being the source.

Moreover, 5 articles contained explicit statements correlating both time and workload to a sense of guilt of the 10 articles analyzed. These 5 articles did not however view work amount as the only possible source of their guilt but perceived the workload as a likely determinant depriving them of the time to care for their students.

A correlation was found between time, workload and care in several of the articles analyzed. In the data collected, time was mentioned by 9 out of the 10 articles analyzed as being too short. In all these 9 articles mentioned either explicitly or implicitly how their guilt was linked to the limited time provided and workload as thereby being responsible for the lack of time to provide care for their students. Lyngstøl (2011) states that for her to do her work properly she must work overtime. When she decided 2 years ago not to work for free anymore the results were several obligated tasks which couldn't be accomplished. Based on all the articles analyzed there seemed to be a common perception of time as depriving the profession of one of its main tasks; caring for one's students. More of the articles conducted seemed to be of a

similar assumption. Lillehammer (2008), mentioned for example how many teachers in the Norwegian schools' experiences coerce and pressure, emphasized as being guilty for taking the teacher "joy" from them and moreover, further depriving them of time to meet the individual students need and wishes. As seen suggested by both articles; the deprivation of time to spend with the students and to structure method beneficial for their them, is seen by teachers as a way of showing care towards students. The lack of time to show care is also, as highlighted by both Lyngstøl and Lillehammer in addition to 7 other articles analyzed, a source of these teachers' guilt.

Among the data collected, workload and time was a common perception as a source for guilt. Moreover, the factor seemingly emphasized as having the most prominent effect on teachers-guilt, was the students and the need to care for them. Among the articles collected, teachers referring to care in this sense as involving conversations with the students, customized training, structuring of different methods and not enough time to "see all the students". The emphasize for enough time can be among others seen in Lund's (2014) article, where she highlights how the Norwegian educational system needs to listen to its teachers, since good teachers doesn't want to feel constantly guilty for not having enough time for their students. Hagevold's (2016) article further emphasizes this, where she mentions how to the amount of time provided as being not enough to help students thereby leading to guilt for the teachers. Another similar argument can be found in Skaalvik & Skaalvik's (2009) article, arguing how the amount of things to do and the limited resources available for teachers to manage the given demands is a source of guilt for many since it leaves them unable to fill the needs of their students. In all the three mentioned articles it seems to be a pattern possible to distinguish suggesting how the time provided to accomplish the workload is not enough thereby leading to lack of time to provide care to students which seemed to be the teachers most prominent source of guilt.

The possible outcomes of teacher-guilt (Sub-question 2)

The outcomes of teacher-guilt were seen expressed either explicit or implicit in all the articles analyzed for this paper. Additionally, negative implications were also present in data although no direct link between guilt and possible outcomes were stated clearly in all. However, by interpreting these remaining data more closely, links was discovered within the context of

these articles. As a result, one can argue that all articles mentioned negative outcome linked to guilt in some degree.

From the articles collected, 2 of them mentioned a direct link between the workload connected with the feeling of guilt and burnout. Both articles emphasized the workload as being responsible for the creation of guilt and further; burnout. One of the articles collected from Utdanningsnytt.no which pointing towards burnout was Skaalvik & Skaalvik (2009a) where they state the following: “It should be unnecessary to say that the work-loads teachers are reporting should be taken seriously. The gathered effect these workloads have in the teaching profession are huge, and many teachers are reporting exhaustion and symptoms of burnout” (p.28), (author translation). The second article which emphasizes the direct link between guilt and burnout is by Skjelbred (2008) mentioned by the limited possibility to escape the sense of guilt, unless you want to get burnout or unless you literally don’t care about your job and your students. Both articles argue how the teaching profession contains a workload which is seen as depriving the teachers of energy which they further see as resulting in burnout.

Additional findings discovered in 7 other articles, uttered no direct link between their guilt to burnout. Instead, other possible outcomes were referred to as related to teacher-guilt. Words such as “sliten” (tired), “slutter” (resignation), “makter ikke” (can’t handle it), “fullstendig utslitt” (completely exhausted) and “langtidssykemeldinger” (long-term sick), were found in the articles conducted. One of the articles mentioning a link between teacher-guilt and negative outcomes is Lund (2014) who expresses how the emotion guilt can have further implications in form of resignation from the profession. Moreover, she argues how this tends to be true since most teachers would rather quit than staying in a place where they are continuously put in a position where not enough time is provided for them to accomplish their task which further leads to their felt state of guilt. In Vedvik’s (2013) article this somewhat negative connection is further emphasized, where the interview-object being a teacher, acknowledges how his constant feeling of guilt lead to “et møte med veggen” (a meeting with the wall). A metaphorical phrase which when used in a Norwegian setting indicates that some sort of breakdown has taken place for the individual. Also “Klubben” in Seterbråten school in Oslo (2009) stated in their article how they don’t want to see more colleagues forced away from the profession due to the lack of time to do a proper job. A proses they further emphasized as resulting in either in long-term sickness or resignation for the teachers.

The high work-pressure leads to long-time sickness and that people go to work when they should have stayed home. The lack of substitute-teachers provides a sense of guilt within the teachers since they now it will affect their colleges if they themselves don't show up. ("Klubben" in Seterbråten school in Oslo, 2009).

What the teachers at Seterbråten school claimed to experience seems to be relatable to the other 6 articles due to the correlating evidence found between guilt and the negative implications it catered for the teachers. Additional findings such as Sørbye's (2011) also mentions negative outcomes such as a feeling of total exhaustion, due to how he perceived his way of dealing with the teacher-tasks resulting in a sense of guilt towards his students.

Arguably, there seemed some distinction between what the articles emphasized as being the source of teacher-guilt. Nevertheless, a certain consensus was seen where workload, time and care for students seemed to be the most prominent findings among the data collected.

Discussion

As to structure the discussion-part of this paper, the findings conducted on persecutory guilt will first be presented, as to answer the first sub-question of this paper, before examining the possible outcomes this type of guilt had, which further provides answer to the second sub-question. Thereafter, data proposing depressive guilt as being the derivation is introduced, as to add additional answer to the first sub-question followed by an examination of its possible implications catering for the second sub-question of this paper. However, as seen in the findings, drawing a line between the two types of guilt proved difficult for the depressive type as it frequently seemed to be influenced by the persecutory type. Consequentially, persecutory type of guilt will be linked in relation to the depressive one in the discussion section of this paper.

Why teachers experience guilt and its possible outcomes (persecutory guilt)

Hargreaves' (1994) persecutory guilt, the type of guilt seen as deriving from the sense of not being able to accomplish tasks that is viewed as an obligatory or necessary part of the profession, to be found in 8 of 10 articles. Of these 8 articles only 1 of them seemed to link the feeling of guilt exclusively to "outside" factors like not being able to accomplish tasks or

having enough time to carry these tasks out. Still, as all 8 articles mentioned either explicit or implicit outside factors as at least one of the reasons for their guilt. As a result, all 8 can apply to Hargreaves persecutory type of guilt since both time and workload was factors “outside” the teacher him/herself, as Madrid & Dunn-Kenney (2010) pointed to as coming from perceived demands by colleagues and external systems of bureaucracy. One could thereby claim how the type of guilt these teachers experienced was the persecutory guilt. This was also seen evidential in Trædal`s (2014) article, where he underlined how a lack of trust coming in form of external control. These coinciding results emphasizes workload and time as possibly responsible for the negative emotion guilt experienced by some teachers.

Moreover, the teachers of the persecutory type guilt mentioned likely outcomes such as; exhaustion, stress, burnout, long-term sickness and resignation. The guilt experienced by the teacher seems to derive from a feature of reduced personal accomplishments which was as Maslach et al. (1986) mentioned, an aspect within the burnout syndrome, where one tended to evaluate oneself negatively. We can see this in the way the lack of time provided to carry out the teacher`s task was a continuously demand leading to the teachers becoming frustrated and possibly relating the failure to accomplish tasks to their own abilities as teachers as seen in Sørbye`s (2011) article. This role conflict and ambiguity in teaching, can thereby be viewed as Schwab & Iwanicki (1982) highlights as having a significant relationship to burnout. Other scholars (Day & Qing, 2009) also highlighted how this teacher-guilt could be used by the system as to push teachers in working harder as to improve students` test results.

Another aspect within the burnout syndrome seemingly applicable to the context of persecutory guilt analyzed in 1 of the 8 texts, was the depersonalization. This aspect appears applicable due to how this was found necessary by one teacher to survive the profession. As the teacher from Skjelbred`s (2008) article, state how you either provide more time for the teachers to do their job or teachers would have to stop to care for the students, one can argue how this teacher have entered or will enter the depersonalization aspect of burnout, as a result of the high demands within occupation. However, as Maslach et al. (1986) refers to this component of burnout as involving negative, cynical attitudes and feelings about the students, the short text does not provide enough interpretation justifying clear negative attitudes towards the students. Nonetheless, as his statement neither suggest positive attitudes towards the students, he could be viewed as acting indifferent as Maslach et al. (2001) also emphasized as being a consequence of the depersonalization component.

Why teachers experience guilt and its outcomes (depressive- and persecutory guilt)

Out of the 10 articles analyzed, 2 were possible to distinguish as only containing the type of guilt referred to by Hargraves (1994) as the depressive type. However, 9 of the 10 collected data pointed towards a depressive types guilt which was possible to distinguish as influenced by the persecutory type of guilt.

As for the two articles solemnly containing the depressive type, the guilt seemed to derive from a sense of not being able to provide enough care to his/her students. The total findings of depressive guilt in all 9 articles mentioned however, a relatively parallel assumption viewing the deprivation of time to care given within the profession as the source of their guilt. One can thereby claim how this emphasizes the existence of not only depressive guilt, but also the persecutory type. Similar findings was found by Day & Qing (2009), between the intense emotional work of teaching and the increase in workload due to a need to improve student performances(persecutory guilt), which they further saw as leading to a lack of time to provide the care they wanted to their students(depressive guilt). As comparable conclusions were made by more scholars (Hargreaves, 1994; Madrid & Dunn-Kenney, 2010; Mawhinney & Rinke, 2018), assumptions can be made to claim that guilt is present also in the Norwegian educational system. Moreover, as this teacher-guilt derives from experiencing an overload in tasks also due to the limited time provided to accomplish these tasks, it points in the direction of a persecutory type of guilt. However, as suggested by several scholars and in the data collected from Utdanning.no, the sources creating the persecutory guilt also participates in creating a feeling of depressive guilt for the teachers. This is seen in how teachers felt there was little to no time left to provide care for the students due to how certain tasks of the occupations needed to be prioritized first, as Hargreaves (1994) underlined as having to do with a lack of clear defined tasks within the profession.

What these collaborative evidences could tell us is how important the students wellbeing seems to be for these teachers. These findings could apply to Hargraves` (1994) own, signifying the importance of being capable of affection towards his/her students, and how the more one cares, the more emotionally devastating the experience of failing to provide it becomes. As this provides additional answer to the first sub-question for this paper, further discussion is required as to detect what outcomes the combination of persecutory and depressive guilt might have for the teacher.

Most data collected from Utdanningsnytt.no mentioned a lack of time to accomplish tasks, both the ones related to the organizational aspects of teaching and the providing of care, as being the source of their guilt. This was as the teachers themselves highlighted, followed by outcomes such; tired, resignation, completely exhausted and long-term sickness. Although, no one explicitly mentioned burnout as a possible outcome of their guilt, the characteristics expressed suggest a component of burnout being present. The tasks these teachers referred to as being the reason for their negative outcomes, seems to derive from the role conflict within the profession which was what Schwab and Iwanicki (1982) argued as having a significant relationship to burnout. From the data collected several conformed to Maslach`s et al. (1986) burnout components, where emotional exhaustion and reduced personal accomplishments seemed prominent. Firstly, the emotional deprivation aspect could be distinguished in the way the teachers in the articles stated how it never seemed to be given enough care to the students, a feature Maslach et al. (1986) highlighted as disabling teacher to give of themselves at a psychological level. Secondly, this can also be seen in the teachers highlighted outcomes of their guilt, where being completely exhausted possibly leading to long-term sickness or/and resignation, underlining a loss of energy and wearing out as Chang (2009) highlighted as also being characteristics of the emotional deprivation component of burnout.

Furthermore, the third component; reduced personal accomplishment, could also be found as outcomes when both types of guilt were present. This aspect of the burnout syndrome was discovered through the expressed outcomes teachers` themselves mentioned as being related to their sense of guilt. Due to how some claimed long-term sickness or resignation were possible outcomes, it clearly suggests how these individuals are experiencing exhaustion. This feeling of exhaustion could as Chang (2009) argued, interfere with effectiveness due to how one could have trouble gaining accomplishments when being exhausted. One can thereby see how these teachers were experiencing the third component of the burnout syndrome in the way their exhaustion possibly prohibited them in further gaining a sense of accomplishment, arguably functioning as a negative downward spiral where the continuously feeling of exhaustion only results in a limited feeling of success. This could further lead to what Maslach et al. (1986) emphasized as being another key feature of third component of burnout, namely a negative evaluation of oneself, where teachers` who never experience a sense of accomplishments starts doubting him/herself, linking their lack of success solemnly to their own abilities as a teacher. This was seen evidential in among others Sørbye`s (2011) article who referred to his own lack of in abilities as being the reason for his exhaustion, which one

further can perceive as deriving from teachers sense of accomplishment, which even though not explicitly stated by all the teachers themselves, might be present among them possibly resulting in a belief of inadequacy in one's competence as a teacher.

Conclusions

Since there was an evidential link between the persecutory and depressive type of guilt in 7 out of the 10 articles analyzed, answer to this paper's first sub-question was made possible based on them. As for the first sub-question of this paper; "why teachers experience guilt (in a Norwegian teaching context)", findings pointed towards a lack of time provided, the amount of work as being responsible factors and affection toward students. The data suggested that a link was possible to distinguish between the lack of time provided and the tasks that needed to be done. Limitation in time was viewed as resulting in little to no time for the organizational tasks or to provide care for the students, the latter being the most prominent source of the guilt experienced by teachers. One can thereby claim that the negative emotion of guilt is present also among Norwegian teachers. Moreover, further examination of the further outcomes of teacher-guilt becomes essential due to this being the second sub-question of this paper, but also considering how the data conducted underlined clear negative outcomes.

Almost all the articles analyzed from Utdanning.no highlighted guilt as having negative implications for both them as individuals and their teaching. Unfavorable outcomes such as stress, exhaustion, long-term sickness and resignation was mentioned by the teachers, which as discussed could be potential indicators for burnout. Concludingly, as comparable results were made by a number of scholars within the international educational field and by the data collected for this papers analysis, it is possible to claim how the emotion of guilt arises as a result of lack of time further depriving teachers from their felt need to provide care for their students. This paper's findings highlighted how teacher-guilt is frequently present in the Norwegian educational system among teachers and how burnout was seen as a likely outcome of it. However, as the number of articles analyzed in this paper is based on a relatively small quantity, it thereby leads to its results being of somewhat low validity within the educational field in Norway. Nevertheless, this paper's findings provide a small lens into an aspect of the teaching-profession worth examining further due to the finding's degree of severity. As evidential in the findings of this research, to decrease the level of teacher-guilt would be beneficial not only for the individual teacher, but both for the students as needing motivated

and healthy teachers, and for the school as an organization, as preventing long-term sickness and resignation is seen as profitable in terms of economy and by keeping competence.

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