

Emotional routes in Santiago de Chile: the emotion work of professional men and women in their relationships

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Abstract

Several authors point out that we are witnessing a change in the way emotions are understood and experienced in social relationships. These theories are part of the so-called 'emotional turn'. The authors' assumptions associated with this shift in research emphasis are that the way emotions are displayed in social relations reveals something about society and that emotions are not only felt, but can also be exercised. Based on this assumption, the study sought the intersection of four elements: emotions, gender, private and public space. It was proposed to research public space through work relationships and private space through couple relationships. To this end, research was carried out to explore the accounts of emotion work performed by Chilean professional women and men in the city of Santiago de Chile. It examined how their emotion work and their way of doing gender is linked to workspace relations and heterosexual couple relationships. A qualitative methodology was used in which twenty-two professionals, eleven school teachers and eleven engineers, were interviewed through a semi-structured interview. The data analysis was organised according to the gender and profession of the interviewees. The results show that new and traditional normative gender ideals circulate in the relationships studied, which are manifested in expectations in relationships. These are worked on by the participants through the emotion work they carry out in their interactions with others. Thus, participants negotiate with these expectations, moving towards, away from or reinterpreting them. It is concluded that it is through this emotion work that people make emotions and gender in the relationships studied.

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Author's declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Emotions are something we take for granted in our social relationships. When we meet others we know that there is something going on there and sometimes we look for the words to describe what we feel or what we think the other feels. Le Breton (1998) points out that emotions are one of the elements that give 'flesh' to words. Without the 'flesh', according to the author, words are empty words, there is no presence of the other. Emotions are thus a way of being and being with others in the world, even if that means sometimes not being emotionally present in the interaction. This peculiar way we human beings have of inhabiting the world through our emotions gave rise to this research – and asking about emotions is also a question about how people are in the world.

The interest in this research arises in light of the process of discussion that is being generated in two spaces. On the one hand, there is the academic space, where there has been a shift in emphasis in social science and humanities research called the 'emotional turn'. This shift has involved placing emotions at the centre of social analysis. On the other hand, there is a debate that has been generated at a local level in Chile, starting with the social upheaval that occurred in 2019, which is based on the assumption that social changes have been taking place in the country that have not been adequately addressed by social systems. As a result of this social upheaval, the country is in the process of building a new constitution that seeks to reflect these changes. The social crisis experienced in Chile in 2019 has been described by some theorists as an “venting” (Martuccelli, 2019) emphasising the emotional character of the social crisis. We will develop these reasons that support the elaboration of this thesis.

Emotional turn: emotions at the centre

In terms of the context of academic discussion, the so-called 'emotional turn' has been developing in recent times. The emotional turn refers to a change in the emphasis of research in the social sciences and humanities when it comes to understanding and accounting for the changes that are taking place in society. Just as at some point there was a 'linguistic turn' to refer to a new interest in language that assumed that language not only expressed reality, but also produced it (Lopez, 2011), today some authors (Gonzalez, 2017; Lemmings & Brooks, 2014; Lewis 2020; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019) have coined the concept of 'emotional turn' to allude to the trend observed in some disciplines of the social sciences and humanities to place emotions at the centre of social analysis. It seems that emotions have ceased to be considered

only as an individual object outside the social structure, but that their social dimension has been rescued (Burkitt, 2014; Clay-Warner, 2014), as they provide texture to the weavings that are woven into the social relations of everyday life. As Burkitt (2014, p.2) points out, while it is true that our feelings and emotions have a bodily register, which has been largely studied by psychology and neuroscience, "The problem comes when the explanation of emotion stops there, with the feeling itself as a thing that is not connected to the wider world of relations and the pattern of relationships" (Burkitt, 2014, p.2). For the author, the problem of situating emotions only in the body is that it is taken as an aspect that belongs only to the individual and the social dimension of emotions is lost. This way of understanding emotions is part of a larger discussion in sociology, which has been called 'Sociology of Emotions'. This is an area of research that emerged in the 1970s in the Anglo-Saxon world thanks to authors such as Hochschild (1983), Kemper (1978) and Scheff (1990). In recent years it has had a greater prominence under the recognition that subjects do not act only on the basis of their cognition, but that emotions also play an important role when acting and understanding the world (Simonova, 2020). Among the theories of the sociology of emotions that implicitly or explicitly establish a dialogue with the social changes occurring in this historical period called 'late modernity', we will focus on two authors who have contributed to this intellectual line. These are Arlie Hochschild (1979, 1983) and Eva Illouz (2007, 2008). These authors implicitly and explicitly refer to the theory of late modernity, which in general terms points out that due to the exacerbation of individualisation and reflexivity, we find ourselves in a historical moment of the detraditionalisation of society. That is, the traditional scripts that we used to guide our actions in our relationships with others are no longer in force (Isaiah, Valleriani & Adam, 2016; Long, 2008). Consequently, we are in the presence of a transformation of social relations in which the self has become the axis from which to orient ourselves in our interactions with others. We are thus witnessing a diversification of the scripts that guide us on how to behave and what to expect in social interactions (Lemmings & Brooks, 2014; Cunha, Narciso & Novo, 2013). An example that could shed light on the detraditionalisation of society is that if in the past what was considered correct for a woman was to stay at home to take care of the children and put her professional development aside, nowadays, and partly thanks to feminist discourse, it seems that this way of being a woman is no longer correct and that what is expected is rather that women should put their professional development first. Of course, this does not happen in all cases, but the existence of this new ideal in women shows that traditional scripts have been destabilised. It is this recognition of the destabilisation of traditional scripts and their diversification that is at the heart of late modernity theory.

Hochschild (1983,2003) and Illouz(2007,2008), adopt the assumptions of late modernity theory, i.e., the idea that there has been a change in the scripts that guide our social relationships, to think about the emotions that are exchanged in the relationships we establish with others. Influenced by feminist studies, these authors take gender, public and private space to think about the transformations that have been taking place in emotions, under the assumption that by comprehending these changes we can understand something of society. The ideas of feminism that these authors make their own and that will also be part of this thesis are: 1) the questioning of the relationship between reason "in relation to the public, universal, mental, cultural and masculine, on the other hand, the idea of emotion as irrational, natural, private and feminine"(Dominguez & Lara, 2014, pp.280-281). It was partly thanks to feminist studies that these relationships began to be questioned and deconstructed, and that emotions began to be understood not only as a problem of the private but also of the public (Giosca, 2017), 2) the idea that emotions are linked to the way in which the public and private are structured, 3) the idea that the private and public spheres are interconnected, i.e. that "aspects of the public sphere can be shaped around assumptions carried over from the private, and the way in which the private sphere is shaped by influences generated in the public" (Morris & Lyon, 1996, p. 4). Both, Hochschild (1979, 2003) and Illouz (2007, 2008), created a theoretical proposal based on some of the assumptions of feminist studies. These assumptions point out that in order to understand relationships within society, it is necessary to analyze gender relations, emotions, public and private space and the way in which these are interconnected, since these axes allow us to have clues about how our social life is structured. As far as this thesis is concerned, these axes of analysis will also be used in order to explore the emotional management that male and female professionals establish in their experience at work and in their life as a couple. In this way, this thesis will intersect gender, emotions, public and private space, in order to explore how people manage their emotions in these spaces.

Now, up to this point we have described one of the lines of study of the sociology of emotions, which is in line with the direction that this thesis will take. This line of research and in general the area of the sociology of emotions has been developed mainly in the 'northern' countries (United States and Europe), so that the reflections that have been generated in this area are usually subordinated to what happens in these cultures. When reviewing the studies that have been carried out in the area of the sociology of emotions in the last ten years, we observe that the development of this area predominates in Europe and the United States. Thus, it is possible to find research that addresses the display of emotions in the virtual world (Malmqvist, 2019; Vermeulen, Vandebosch &Heirman, 2018) the ways in which people deal

with emotionally intense situations (Pearce, 2019; Davou & Demertzis, 2013) the emotional management that people perform in their professional practice (Kanasz & Zielinska, 2017; Edward, Hercelinsky & Giandinoto, 2017) and the relationships between emotions and gender (Maurer, Pizzuti & Costa, 2014; Brescoll, 2016), among others. To this we must add the journals on emotions that have been launched in the 'north'. Some of the journals in circulation are *'Emotions and Society'*, *'Emotion Review'*, *'Emotion, Space and Society'*, *'Emotions: History, Culture and Society'*, *'International Journal of Work Organization and Emotion'*. Thus, it is possible to find a varied number of publications specialising in emotions from a social perspective, which indicates that there is development in this area in the 'northern' cultures.

Nevertheless, there are attempts to produce a sociology of emotions from the 'South' and in particular from the Latin American region. Although there are advances in the construction of this area, it seems that it is still in a process of institutionalisation in Latin American universities. Ariza (2021) mentions that the introduction of this line of research was done from an interdisciplinary perspective that does not only respond to the objectives of sociology. Although this could be considered an advantage of the way in which this line was instituted with respect to other parts of the world, since it allows the analysis of social phenomena to be enriched by incorporating perspectives such as anthropology and philosophy, it also generates confusion since there is no prior delimitation of what the sociology of emotions is. According to Ariza (2021) the lack of delimitation of this area means that when interdisciplinary analyses are carried out, the object of research of the sociology of emotions (which according to the author is social relations) is confused with other areas of study and that the reconciliation of the different theoretical frameworks from the different disciplines is not consistent in order to analyse social phenomena. Thus, the author (Ariza, 2021) points out that one of the tasks facing this area of knowledge in Latin America is to generate its own knowledge programme in the region that distinguishes it from other areas and, at the same time, facilitates its institutionalisation in the academy.

Scribano (2012, 2016) is another Latin American academic who has tried to institute and give direction to the sociology of emotions in Latin America. He points out that the particularity of the sociology of emotions in the region is that it must be understood as a sociology of bodies/emotions. That is, when emotions are investigated, the body is investigated in turn, and vice versa. Therefore, the assumptions made when investigating the body, such as that it is anchored to a certain historical moment, in a certain space, under certain material conditions, in a culture that has certain imaginaries about bodies and emotions, must operate

in turn for the emotions. Finally, Scribano (Scribano, De Sena & Cena, 2015; Scribano, 2009) mentions that the sociology of bodies/emotions in Latin America should focus on the domination that capitalism produces over the sensibilities of society and the ways in which people resist capitalist domination through their bodies/emotions. The latter is also shared by other scholars who assume that in Latin America there is a neo-colonial capitalism that structures the region's sensibilities (Grosso & Boito, 2010).

Another scholar who has tried to legitimise the study of emotions in Latin America from a social perspective is Rodriguez (2008), who points out that emotions "are precisely a way of accessing the propositions and cultural resources that enjoy greater acceptance and personal adherence (...) In this sense, they are indicators of whether people care about certain things more than others and why." (p.157). Thus, the researchers presented try to justify why emotions should be an important field of study in disciplines that try to understand society.

Regarding the research that has been carried out on emotions in Latin America in the last ten years, we can observe themes related to the affective relationship that people establish with the city (Holanda, 2020; Del Sarto, 2021; Tironi & Mora, 2018), the emotions that circulate in violence (Asakura, 2016; Cervio, Lisdero & D'hers, 2020; Di Napoli, 2014), emotions in the experience of migration (Cienfuegos, 2017; Hirai, 2014; Ariza, 2017), emotions in the workspace (Arango, 2015; Quiñones & Díaz, 2021; Tizziani, 2017), among others. The journals that exist in Latin America on this subject are: '*Revista Iatinoamericana de estudios sobre cuerpos, emociones y sociedad*' [*Latin American Journal of Studies on Bodies, Emotions and Society*] and '*Revista Brasileira de Sociologia da Emoção*' [*Brazilian Journal of the Sociology of Emotion*]. These data provide indications that suggest that the sociology of emotions is an incipient area in Latin America that is in the process of generating greater theoretical density based on different research and intellectual reflections, which will allow it to consolidate itself within the academy in the region. This would allow the area to develop under the problems that affect the region, as well as to contribute from the Latin American perspective to the global discussion on emotions from a social perspective.

In summary, we could say that the sociology of emotions in the 'north' is characterised as an area that is in the process of consolidation, with a strong emphasis on social interaction. We can see the development of a line of research that attempts to generate a dialogue between emotions and the social changes of the historical period in which we find ourselves. For its part, the Latin American sociology of emotions from the 'south' is characterised by being an incipient area, by having a strong interdisciplinary component, by making domination and

resistance one of its axes of analysis and by being in a search to find its particularity. This thesis seeks to contribute to the construction of a Latin American sociology of emotions through the empirical study of the emotion work carried out by male and female professionals in work relations and couple relationships in Chilean culture. Thus, this research seeks to produce empirical knowledge from the social interactions that occur in a culture different from those of the 'north' in order to accumulate knowledge and reflection for the area of the sociology of emotions in Latin America but also, through the findings, to contribute to the debates that occur in the cultures of the 'north'.

Emotion work: accessing the subjective without renouncing the social

In this respect, the study of emotions poses certain challenges since it seems to be an aspect of our relationships that is difficult to grasp because it is diffuse, changing and often implicit. For this purpose, the concept of emotion work by Arlie Hochschild (1979) was used. The author defines this concept as "the act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling (Hochschild, 1979, p.561). From this definition, the author suggests that subjects are active to the extent that they modify their emotions to adapt them to each context. It should be noted that Hochschild's work (1979) goes from a lesser to a greater differentiation of her concepts, so that at the beginning she uses the notion of emotion work in a broad way, to refer to the work that is done on emotions. Subsequently, the author creates the distinction between emotion work, which is the emotionality that is exercised in private relationships, and emotional labour, which is the emotional work that is carried out in the working setting. For the purposes of this thesis, the broad concept of emotion work proposed by the author was taken. The use of this broader notion was preferred to the distinction between emotion work and emotional labour because the latter assumes that people perform different emotional management in the public and private space, which is motivated by completely different objectives. In the public space emotions are subjected to commercial logics while in the private space emotions are managed to establish meaningful relationships. In contrast to this approach, the thesis will start from the assumption that we do not know what motivates emotion work in each of the spaces; this will have to be elucidated from the participants' accounts.

In contrast to psychological theories, Hochschild's theory seeks to build bridges between social theory and emotions, which have previously been approached by psychology as an individual phenomenon that is independent of context and social interactions (Watson &

Kimble, 2007; Cosmides & Tooby, 2000). Thus, the author points out that emotions are relational phenomena that are part of the work of individuals, are consciously managed (which does not detract from the fact that they also have an no-conscious dimension) and are attuned to social interactions. For the author, as emotions are part of social relations, they are constructed with others through the exchange that is generated in interactions under "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1979, p.563). Feeling rules are social orientations that indicate what and how to feel in different situations and stem from culturally embedded conventions. For example, at a funeral the feeling rules would be to be sad, to show sadness to others and to cry. Hence, feeling rules tell us what emotion is expected in each situation and how that emotion should be expressed. Feeling rules also have a normative character, since if someone goes against what is expected in emotional terms in a certain situation, this would generate tension in relationships and people could even judge negatively the emotional behaviour of the person who does not respect the feeling rule of the moment. For example, if at a funeral a person starts laughing or making jokes, they would be violating what they are expected to feel and express (grief, sadness), which could be socially punished, for example by social exclusion. However, feeling rules are not large guiding frameworks for situations, but specific orientations that guide concrete situations. Björk (2018) differentiates between *social norms* that prescribe the direction emotions should take and provide a broad context of the situation, and *feeling rules*, which are fragments of the emotional norms of specific moments of interaction. Björk (2018) points out that a social norm can have a set of sometimes contradictory feeling rules.

In line with the above, people cope with these normative demands on emotions in different ways. Some authors, who read Hochschild's theory (Yin et. al. 2013; Diefendorff, Croyle & Goserrand, 2005), mention that she proposes two emotional strategies that people use to respond to the perceived emotional demands of situations: surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting corresponds to the expression of emotions that are not felt, i.e., the person pretends to feel something they are not feeling at that moment in order to adapt to the emotional expectation of the context. On the other hand, deep acting is when the person makes an effort to feel an emotion that is not generated spontaneously, generating as a consequence of this intervention, a felt emotion and not a feigned emotion. Through this act, according to Hochschild (1979), people not only change what they feel, but also alter themselves in the process. Both forms of managing emotions, surface acting and deep acting, assume that emotions are managed according to a certain intentionality, i.e. that there is something of the individual's will at play in this way of mobilising emotions. In this regard, it

should be noted that this thesis will start from the assumption that one of the forms that emotion work can take is that of emotional strategies. This concept will be understood here as one of the forms that emotion work can take, and consist of the intentional management of emotions to produce a certain effect on others or on oneself. Some authors (Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch & Wax, 2012) propose the relationship between deep and surface acting in relation to congruence with the expectations of the context, pointing out that surface acting would show an incongruence between what is felt and what should be felt in a given context. This would be masked by people through the expression of emotions that they do not feel. Deep acting would also show an incongruence with the expectations of the context but an effort on the part of the individual to make what he or she feels coincide with what is expected in a given situation. Here there would be a search for congruence on the part of the person with the context, as if he or she wanted to align his or her self with what is expected of him or her in that situation.

With regard to the research that has been carried out using Hochschild's (1979) concept of emotion work, it is often used to analyse different contexts and types of relationships. It was also noted that the author's concept of emotion work is used with some variations. Some use it as emotional labour, emphasising the work context, others refer to emotion work as work that takes place in the private space, and still others rescue the concept of emotion work as a broad concept that is not anchored to either the private or the public, but informs the way people use their emotions in relationships. As far as this thesis is concerned, we focused mainly on those studies that dealt with work relationships and couple relationships, since this is the focus of this thesis.

Research on emotion work in workspace

The studies that deal with emotion work in work relationships address different professions, occupations and contexts. Among them, it can be seen that there are studies that use Hochschild's concept of emotional labour to understand individual aspects of people. Thus, it is possible to find research that analyses emotional labour to understand the job satisfaction and organisational commitment of a company's employees (Cho, Rutherford & Park, 2013). There is also the study by Funk, Peters and Stieber (2017) that analyzes how in a group of healthcare workers two identities (that of the caregiver and that of the healthcare professional) come into conflict when caring for dying patients. In another context, a study by Biron and van Veldhoven (2012) studied the effect of psychological flexibility, which is the acceptance of emotions in

relation to daily demands and fatigue . From the study of a group of employees of non-profit institutions, they concluded that people who had greater psychological flexibility, that is, who accepted their emotions instead of trying to modify them, tended to attenuate the perception of daily demands and daily exhaustion.

Another variable that was addressed in different studies on emotional labour in the workspace was gender. Studies examining the work performed by academics in their workspaces can be observed. For example, Tunguz(2016) investigated how tenure and gender of academics influence the exercise of authority towards students. He concluded that tenured men perform less emotional labor than tenured women when assuming an authority role toward students. Tenured women had to perform more emotional labor and suffered more stress when they had to exercise an authority role in front of students. In another study (Scott & Barnes, 2017) addressing gender but in another occupational context, the behavior of variables referring to positive and negative affective states, job abandonment, and the moderating effect of gender in bus drivers was investigated. Through the application of a survey, the results showed that the drivers' affective states worsened when they had to use surface acting and improved when they used deep acting. It was also concluded that, for women, intra-individual relationships were more important than for men in deciding whether to stay or leave the job. On this last point, little research was found on the emotional labour that workers perform with respect to the relationship they have with their co-workers in the workplace. While it is possible to find some research that addresses the emotional labor performed by workers in their interactions with others in the workplace, it appears that this dimension of work and emotions is marginal to other workplace research in which the individual emotional dimensions of workers are more developed.

Research on emotion work in couple relationships

With regard to the research that deals with emotion work in the private space of the couple, it can be observed that the vast majority uses gender relations to either explain or examine the consequences of emotion work. In this way, gender relations take on a relevant role when it comes to understanding couple bonds. Likewise, studies tend to explore the marital satisfaction of couples and the quality of relationships. Along these lines, we can find research such as that of Lynn, Pedersen and Mannon (2010)'s on different couples in the United States, concluded that there is a positive relationship between marital satisfaction and the emotion work performed by each of the partners. That is, the more emotion work a couple does, the

greater the marital satisfaction. Another study that also addresses emotion work in relation to the division of domestic work is that of Erikson (2005), who studies the importance of emotion work in the division of domestic work in relation to gender. Through the analysis of the results of a survey used for another study, he concludes that the construction of gender in the couple predicts the way in which emotion work is performed. In turn, the differential way in which emotion work is performed between men and women provides a key clue to understanding how men and women construct their gender in the marital relationship. Another piece of research that also follows this line is that of Curran et. al. (2015), who investigated how gender and the emotion work that couples perform in their daily lives predict relationship quality. Their findings indicate that neither gender nor emotion work predicts relationship quality in couples. Furthermore, the study points out that gender fail to explain the full complexity of the emotion work that occurs in a couple's relationship. Similar research (Horne & Johnson, 2019) conducted in Germany linked the emotion work performed by the partner in the relationship and marital satisfaction. The findings showed that emotional work can be interpreted by couples as a labour of love towards each other that generates marital satisfaction.

The review of the literature on the relationship between emotion work and the couple relationship shows that emotion work is carried out in couples and that although gender cannot explain all the complexity that occurs in couples, it provides certain clues to understand and explain how and why emotion work occurs in couple relationships. The research presented seems to tend to prove or disprove certain hypotheses regarding emotion work, making it an element for predicting the satisfaction or quality of the couple's relationship. In this regard, there is little research on emotion work that seeks to explore couple relationships through the emotional management that couples carry out in the relationship. While studies that attempt to predict the quality of couple relationships through the analysis of emotion work are a contribution to the discussion, perhaps it is necessary to take a previous step and build more knowledge about how people actually 'do' couples through their emotions. The present thesis is intended as a contribution to this area of study and as a contribution to the debate on the management of emotions in everyday life in Latin American culture.

Thus, up to this point, the reasons that justify the elaboration of this thesis are: 1) the need to generate more empirical research on Latin American culture that contributes to the construction of the sociology of emotions from 'the South'; 2) the relevance of research that addresses the intersection between emotion work, gender and work relations in order to contribute to the understanding of the performative dimension of emotion work and gender in

the relationships that are established in the workspace; 3) to contribute to the reflection on the changes that have been generated in recent years in the way emotions are exercised in couple relationships and how gender is associated with this understanding of emotionality.

Social context: Chilean social outbreak

The second argument that provides context to this thesis is the social situation in which Chile finds itself during and after the social outburst of the political context that occurred in 2019. This argument was not part of this thesis initially, but was an event that occurred during the development of this research project. In order to understand the scale of this event, it is first necessary to give a general framework about the country. Chile is a country located in South America, has 17,574,003 inhabitants (National Institute of Statistics, 2018) and its last recorded GDP per capita before COVID, is €13,481 (World Bank, 2018). Chile's recent history has been marked by military dictatorship, which began in 1973 and ended in 1989, and democracy, which began in 1990 and is still in force today (Pinto, 2017). With this in mind, we must go back to 18 October 2019 in Santiago de Chile when what has been called the 'social explosion' (Martuccelli, 2019) took place, culminating in a plebiscite called on 26 April 2020 to approve the creation of a constitutional convention whose mission would be to create a new constitution for Chile. The justification for this plebiscite, was that the current constitution did not represent the changes that Chile had undergone in the last 30 years since the return to democracy (Chile suffered a coup d'état in 1973 that lasted 18 years and ended in 1989) (Astroza, 2020). This event in Chile seems to condense some of the conflicts experienced by Chilean society, however, there seems to be a certain consensus among different social analysts (Vera, 2017; Mayol, 2020; Araujo, 2009) that the outbreak was a symptom of a social unrest that began to take shape since the return of democracy and that is closely related to the economic changes that arose during the Chilean dictatorship between 1973 and 1989 and that lasted with the return to democracy in 1990. These economic changes have been referred to by various Chilean analysts (Gaudichaud, 2015; Ruiz & Caviedes, 2020; Undurraga & Frei, 2015) as 'neoliberal'; these changes are characterised by a series of policies such as financial market liberalisation, privatisation of public companies, indiscriminate opening to imports, reduction in the size of the public sector, access to credit, among others (Ffrench-Davies, 2003). These economic policies generated as a consequence changes in the societal matrix of Chilean society, which according to Araujo and Martuccelli (2012) resulted in the following: through repressive means, a devaluation of the public for the benefit of private interests. The promotion of competition in social life, making success the individual ideal, which would

translate into the monetary capacity of each individual. In the same way, the individual responsibility of the people for their destiny was encouraged through privatisation policies such as health insurance, individual pension savings, individual entrepreneurship policies, among others. In this way, the military dictatorship changed the direction the country had been taking up to that point and oriented it towards consumption and the market as the organising axis of society. These organising axes were subsequently maintained with the beginning of democracy in 1990.

From this brief summary of the changes that have taken place in the country, the intention is to show that Chile has undergone major cultural changes in its recent history, marked mainly by the policies of the military dictatorship and then by the maintenance of some of these policies during democracy. This has in turn implied changes in the experiences that are generated at the level of the relationships that are produced in the private space (represented in couple relationships for the purposes of this thesis), and in the public space (represented in the workspace), especially with regard to how gender and emotionality are produced in both types of relationships. Proof of this is the research that has been carried out in Chile on the changes that are taking place in the workspace (Sisto, 2009; Garcés & Stecher, 2021; Soto, 2009) and in the private space of the couple (Svensson & Siles, 2014; Herrera & Teitelboim, 2010; Sharim et. al., 2011), which will be developed in more detail throughout this thesis. These cultural changes produce new expectations bringing with them new normative ideals (Araujo, 2009) that are put into play in social relations. By normative ideal¹ we mean the guiding principles that define a 'ought to be', that is, a correct way of 'being' in a given context. While it had already been noted in various research that people were experiencing great dissatisfaction with the Chilean development system and that there was great social irritability (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012), the way in which this dissatisfaction became present, as a great emotional 'venting' (Martuccelli, 2021) was something that caught much of the researchers off guard. It would seem that the conceptual frameworks that had been used for a long time to understand Chilean society did not serve to make sense of what is happening in the country to

¹ This 'ought to be' allows individuals to have an idea about the direction they should give to their actions in their relationship with others. Now, the normative ideal functions as a reference for individuals, but this does not mean that they always follow this ideal. On the contrary, sometimes individuals act contrary to the ideals. In this way, ideals can be strained by experience. There would therefore be a gap between what the ideal proposes and what individuals live in their everyday experience. Furthermore, ideals are not always coherent; sometimes they involve contradictions that individuals try to resolve in their social practices (Araujo, 2009; Cuenca & Cáceda, 2017).

this day. Everything suggests that Chilean society is moving towards a different societal model, but it is not yet clear which one. Likewise, there is currently no consensus on the causes of this malaise. Some point to the social inequality that deepened during democracy due to the maintenance of the neoliberal system (Heiss, 2020), others to the lack of political representation felt by a large part of the population (2011), others to the incompetence of the political class (Jimenez-Yanez, 2020). Although the explanation of this phenomenon still needs time to be understood, it is at least possible to point out two aspects of this event. On the one hand, the analyses carried out prior to the social outbreak did not consider other relevant elements that were being forged in social relations, such as emotions. Although it is possible to find some research on emotions from a social perspective (Pincheira, 2019; Toro, 2015), the truth is that it is a very marginal conceptual framework compared to other frameworks that have been used to understand social relations in Chile (such as economic inequality). On the other hand, the difficulty to anticipate the outbreak and then to provide a consistent explanation for it may be an indication of the limitations that exist in the conceptual frameworks that have been used to understand the societal changes that have occurred in recent decades in Chile. This is not to say that the entire arsenal that has been built up over the years to draw the contours of Chilean society needs to be renewed, but rather that perhaps new comprehensive frameworks need to be integrated, others maintained and some existing ones reworked in order to understand what is happening to the social bond of Chilean society. Although emotions have been previously addressed in research on Chilean society, these tend to address them by defining in advance what are the positive and negative emotions in society without exploring how people understand their emotions and those of others in their experience (Pincheira, 2019; Arqueros & Squella, 2020; González, Manzi & Noor, 2013).

The research was carried out in Chile due to the dizzying changes that the country has undergone in recent decades. One of the great transformations that the country has undergone is the massification of higher education. According to Espinoza (2017), if in 1990 higher education covered only 15.6% of the universe of people between the ages of 18 and 24, in 2015 this percentage increased to 53%. If we analyse the speed of these changes, we observe that between 1990 and 2000, higher education coverage grew by 9.3%. In contrast, between 2000 and 2015, higher education coverage grew by 15.3%. These changes are due to a series of policies implemented by the Chilean state, especially in 2005² , with the aim of

² One of the most important public policies in terms of student financing for access to higher education was the Crédito con Aval del Estado (CAE). This benefit consisted of the State acting

giving access to higher education to classes that had been historically excluded (Kremerman & Paez, 2016). To this we add the growth of the middle class in Chile. Mac-Clure (2012) conducted a study where he concluded that in Chile there is a new emerging middle class, i.e. a class whose immediate ancestors belonged to the country's working class. In 1996 this class was 7% of the population, while in 2009 it was 44% (Mac-Clure, 2012). Another fact that reflects the speed of change in the country is the reduction of extreme poverty. In 2006 Chile had 16.5% extreme poverty, while in 2017 this percentage was 6.3% (Ministry of Social Development and Family, 2020). Another fact that reflects the speed of change is that in 2010 Chile joined the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which seeks to generate cooperation between 38 countries in order to compare public policy experiences and jointly seek solutions to their problems. The countries that make up this organisation represent 72% of global GDP, with the United States being the member country with the highest GDP (Saez, 2010). Chile's entry into this organisation has implied constant monitoring of its indicators and the obligation to approach the rates of developed countries. This has had as a consequence the acceleration of changes in Chile not only at the economic level but also at the cultural level. As mentioned above, there is little research in Chile that addresses societal changes based on the way in which emotions are deployed in social relations. Research into this aspect of society could contribute to an understanding of the effects of these changes on the social fabric. The choice to carry out this research in Santiago, the capital, is due to the fact that Chile is a centralised country (Ferrada, 1999), so that decisions made in the country tend to affect the capital first. In this way, the accelerated modernisation that the country has experienced has had a strong resonance in the capital.

This thesis aims to contribute by placing emotions at the centre of social analysis but from the perspective of the participants. The aim was to analyse a fragment of the relationships that exist in Chilean society that could shed light on how people face some of the tensions that are experienced on a daily basis. In this way, this thesis did not seek to generate great generalisations about Chilean society, but rather to contribute to the social scientific debate that attempts to reflect on the cultural changes that have been generated in the country as a result of the accelerated process of modernisation that Chile has undergone since the

as a guarantor of loans granted by banks to all students studying in accredited higher education establishments. In this way, in practice, the student became responsible for the debt contracted with the bank to pay for his or her university enrolment, but the State provided guarantees to the bank that if the student was not able to pay the debt, the State would ultimately be responsible for it (Kremerman & Paez, 2016). This policy was subject to several criticisms in Chile, as the cost of the loans was higher than the benefits gained from studying in higher education.

implementation of the neoliberal model. Considering the above, this thesis seeks to make the following contributions: 1) Contribute to the discussion on the understanding of the changes that Chile is experiencing at a social level, through the analysis of the emotions that are deployed in social relations, 2) Contribute to the process of consolidation of the sociology of emotions in Latin America by providing empirical findings that help to think about the critical knots that Latin America is going through in the historical period of late modernity.

From the research process embodied in this thesis, what will be shown is that male and female professionals in Chile carry out emotion work on the emotional gender expectations that are put into play in their work relationships and heterosexual couple relationships. In this way, professionals do work redefining, adhering to or rejecting expectations about how they should behave emotionally according to their gender. These findings are in line with those who state that we are witnessing a detraditionalisation of the scripts that used to show us how to exercise our role in society, while at the same time showing that the cultural changes Chile is undergoing have implied active work by individuals on the daily relationships they have with others.

Research aim and objectives

Taking the above into account, the question that will guide this thesis is what gendered emotion work do Chilean professionals do in the workspace and within their heterosexual couple relationships? Thus, this research aims to revisit the male and female binaries in order to account for the changes that have been generated between both genders based on the emotions that are brought into play in public and private relations. In line with the above, the main objective of this thesis is to explore the accounts of gendered emotion work carried out by Chilean professionals in the city of Santiago, and to examine how this work is linked to workplace relationships and heterosexual couple relationships. Based on this question and main objective, the following specific objectives are derived from it:

1) To identify the emotional normative frameworks that circulate in the school teaching and engineering profession through the characterisation of the emotional culture of both professions.

2) To identify the emotional challenges faced by professional men and women to explore the emotional strategies they exercise to cope with these challenges in the context of their emotional culture.

3) To explore the emotional tensions faced by women and men in their couple's relationships and to explore how they navigate these tensions through the exercise of their emotion work.

4) To explore the emotion work that people do to deal with the boundaries between their work life and their couple life.

It was decided to investigate couple relationships and workspace relationships insofar as they can be conceived as representing public space and private space. This choice was related to continuing the tradition that has had a line of research in the sociology of emotions, such as the line of Hochschild (1983) and Illouz (2007), who, influenced by feminist studies, start from the premise that public and private space has a structuring role in society. But it is not only this that explains the choice to study both spaces. It is also based on the current debate about whether it is still plausible to point to a division of the two spaces, given that a number of devices and discourses are changing our relationship to the public and the private. For example, West, Lewis and Currie (2009) point out from a study on the use of Facebook by a group of students that the students do not seem to conceive of two separate realms (public and private) in the social experience. In another context, Sabilia (2008) mention that we are witnessing a greater exposure of people's private lives in public life, calling this phenomenon "the show of the self" (Sabilia, 2008), which seems to question the traditional limits of what we conceive of as public and private. Because emotionality plays an important role in the division of these two spaces, the choice of these spaces was also influenced by this current debate. If we start from the assumption that public and private spaces structure society and that emotions play a role in the boundary between these two spaces, then the study of what happens in these spaces becomes relevant.

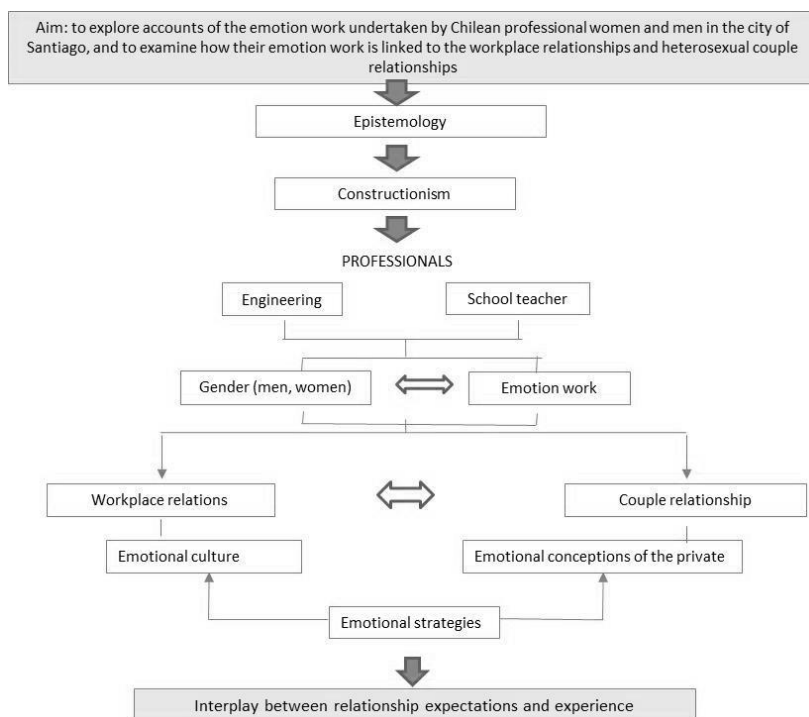
Thesis structure

The thesis is made up of eight chapters. Chapter one is the current chapter and aims to introduce the research topic and explain why it is important to investigate the emotion work performed by professional men and women in the city of Santiago, in their couple and work relationships. Chapter two seeks to explain the concepts that will be used in the thesis from the context of late modernity theory and the Latin American cultural context. Chapter three describes the methodology used in the study. Then, in chapter four, the first findings obtained from the participants' accounts are presented. We describe the emotional culture found in the

narratives referring to the work contexts of engineers and school teachers and how the participants interact in these cultural contexts. In chapter five we look at the participants' conceptions of the relationship between men and women in their workspace. Chapter six analyses the emotional strategies used by the interviewees in the interactions they establish in the workspace based on the challenges they face in their work. Chapter seven addresses the emotions that unfold in the couple's relationship. It analyses the impact that work has on the way in which the couple relationship is constructed and how the interviewees try to create a boundary between private and workspace. Finally, chapter eight details the main findings of the thesis, discusses some of the theories used and points out the contribution and implications of the research. Through this journey, we will show the intertwining that exists between the expectations that take place in relationships and how people cope with those expectations through their emotion work, and how gender and emotions in social ties are constructed and reconstructed through this work.

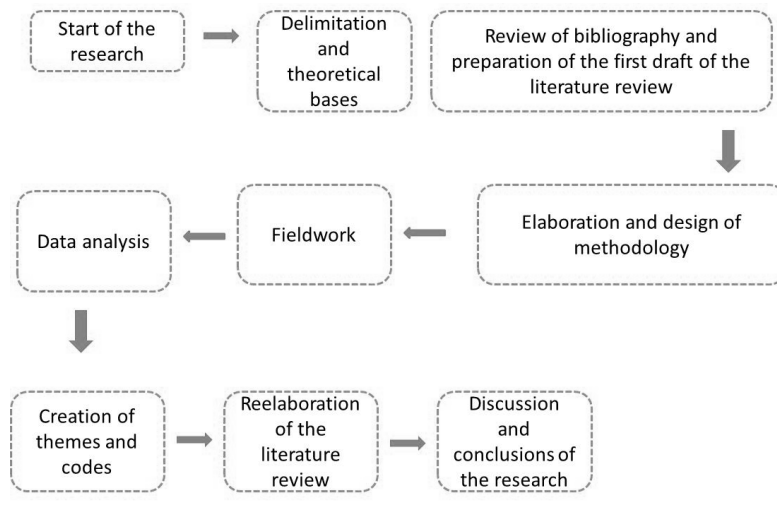
The following is a scheme that shows the relationship and organisation that exists between the different concepts that were addressed in the thesis. In this way, it is expected to provide a first approach to the route that will be followed throughout this thesis. Subsequently, a second outline is presented which explains the stages followed in the research. It is hoped that the reader will be able to get an idea of the multiple reelaborations that were made in the research process and that although an order was followed to elaborate the study, this order was more like a spiral than a line, so that the findings were constantly re-read and the engagement with literature was modified according to the analysis. Finally, the next chapter will discuss how some of the core concepts of the study were understood and what theory was used in understanding couple relationships and work relationships.

Figure 1: Thesis outline



This scheme shows the logic of the concepts used in this thesis. The base epistemology is indicated and then the study group with which we worked (professional engineers and school teachers). Then the two dimensions that were chosen to be analysed are shown (gender and emotion work), followed by the relationships that would be addressed. In this sense, gender and emotion work were analysed in the relationships in the workspace and in couple relationships. Emotional culture is derived from work relationships and from couple relationships the emotional conceptions that circulate in these relationships. Then it is shown that in both types of relationships there is a use of emotional strategies. Finally, this path generates a final conclusion which will be worked out in the course of this thesis.

Figure 2: Thesis sequence



This outline shows the sequence followed in the thesis. As can be seen, the main theoretical bases of the thesis were established at the beginning, which served as guidelines for the design of the research. Subsequently, the elaboration of codes and themes based on the data made it necessary to review the literature again and redefine it according to the findings. The last stage of the thesis consisted in the elaboration of the discussion and conclusions chapter.

Chapter 2: The private and the public: relationships, emotions, and gender

This chapter will address concepts related to workspace relations and couple relations from the perspective of late modernity. The analysis of these relationships will be directed towards the conceptions of gender and emotions that circulate in these two types of relationships. Thus, through the confluence of these relationships (workspace and couple relationships) and dimensions (gender and emotions) it is intended to understand what form these different areas of everyday life take under the framework of late modernity. The concepts introduced and discussed in this chapter will underpin the analyses conducted in later chapters. The relationships that will be analysed are thought of under the distinction of the public and the private. This distinction has been addressed in sociology on the basis of feminist thought (Morris & Lyon, 1996). Feminism has implied the opening up of sociology to new questions and an interest in private space that did not exist before, since historically the focus of sociology's study was centred on public life (Bailey, 2000). As far as this thesis is concerned, it will understand the distinction between public and private from the sociological readings that have been made of feminist studies, since it is in their conceptualisations where it is possible to find the link between gender and these two spaces. Accordingly, a first approach to the categories of public and private is to understand them as concepts used to distinguish different spheres of everyday life (Gavison, 1992). In this respect, it is possible to find different ways of approaching the distinction between the two categories. Some understand it from the perspective of ownership (Megginson et. al., 2005), understanding public as that which belongs to the state and private as that which belongs to an individual or groups of individuals. Others understand it from the perspective of the service provider, where a comparison is made between state services and those delivered by the market (Coulson, 2009). Others understand the distinction between public and private from a political perspective, understanding the public as the space of debate between citizens, of the commons, and the private as the space that does not respond to the interest of all (Quintero, 2019). As far as this thesis is concerned, the public and private will be understood on the basis of what is accessible and inaccessible. As Gavison (1992) notes "The private is that which is unknown and unobserved; the public is that which is known or observed, or at least is capable of being known or observed, because it occurs in a public place" (p.6). In this way, the private is that which is inaccessible, or what is accessible only to a small group of people, such as a family. The inaccessible character is given because it is not something that is visible to everyone and

because the knowledge that circulates there is only for those who have close ties with each other. On the contrary, the public is that which can be seen by all and whose circulation of knowledge is made so that it can be accessible to all, even if they do not have close links (Gavison, 1992). On the basis of this definition, the relations of the workspace will be taken as representative of the public.

This tendency to associate work with public space can be observed in the work of different authors (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Boyd, 1997; Grunig, Childers & Toth, 2001) who have investigated the impact of women's presence in public space. In this way, the workspace and its relationships have been linked to the public space. In contrast, couple relationships have been considered by different authors (Mashek & Aron, 2008; Gutierrez, 2002) as part of people's private lives. Although we will use the distinction between the private and the public as two separate instances that have different logics, the analysis will demonstrate the problematic nature of these terms. The decision to take the categories of public and private arises in order to organise the data obtained, but also because this distinction allows us to identify the tensions that exist in the construction of these categories based on the interviewees' accounts.

Taking into consideration the above, this chapter aims to make an initial approach to the linking of the concepts that will be used in the thesis and that will serve to interpret the findings from the accounts of the participants. To this end, a journey will be made that will begin with the relationship between gender and emotions in the light of the changes proposed in late modernity. Subsequently, different readings and research that have been carried out on the changes that couple relationship's have undergone in late modernity and how they relate to emotions and gender will be addressed. This will allow us to have a first notion of the normative ideals that late modernity identifies in this type of relationship and to understand how the findings obtained in this thesis approach and distance themselves from these theories. The same will be done with the relations of the labour space, that is, to describe the changes that late modernity theory postulates have occurred in this social space and to identify the normative ideals that according to this theory would be in force in the workspace. Subsequently, the cultural changes explained by the theory of late modernity will be contextualised in Latin American culture. To do so, we will first explain how Latin American culture will be understood and what particular characteristics this culture presents from the point of view of late modernity.

Gender and emotions : a review on the subject

Gender is a concept that has been worked on from different perspectives. Some have approached it from a biological perspective (Knafo, Iervolino & Plomin, 2005), pointing out that it is genes that generate differences in the behaviour of men and women, so that gender would be given by biology. Another perspective, is evolutionary psychology. In this case, it is assumed that men and women are different and that these differences are explained by adaptations made by each gender to survive the environment (Kay, Yuan & Yang, 2019). This would have caused certain genes to predominate over others in men and women and therefore they present different behaviours. Finally, we find cultural approaches in sociology that emphasise the construction of meaning in social relations (Spillman, 2020). Within this framework we find West and Zimmerman's (1987) perspective of 'doing gender', which is based on the assumption that gender is something that is done. According to these authors, "doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional and micropolitical activities that yield certain activities as expressions of male and female 'natures'" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p.126). In contrast to other definitions of gender (Christov-Moore et. al, 2014; Miraglia et. al., 2015) the authors try to move away from the idea that gender is an isolated and fixed element, independent of the situation in which it is configured. On the contrary, West and Zimmerman (1987) propose that gender is not a private property, something that one 'has' and that always remains the same, but an emergent element of the situation. In addition, gender is part of a 'fabric'; it cannot be understood without relating it to other elements. West and Zimmerman (1987) point out that when we construct gender in interaction we try to account to others for our masculinity or femininity, i.e. our actions are evaluated by the others with whom we interact. To account for our gender "we draw on a repertoire of learned gendered activities to appear as women or men" (Kelan, 2010, p.179). This means that our femininity or masculinity is a construction that takes place during our life history, in the interactions we have with others and we generate a set of repertoires that help us to represent our gender in different situations. In summary, West and Zimmerman's proposal postulates that gender: is constructed in social interactions, is the product of an interaction situated in a certain context, is performed and evaluated by others, social norms guide our behaviour and give us clues about how to be feminine or masculine.

The proposals of these authors have inspired research and discussions by different authors (Mavin & Grandy, 2012; Westbrook & Schilt, 2013; Sander, 2008). One of the discussions that deserve special attention is related to undoing gender (Kelan, 2010). The term undoing gender

was coined by Butler (2004) who, from a critical post-structuralist analysis of gender categories, points out that gender and sex are an effect of discourse. Butler's (2004) social discourses provide positions and in the case of gender, the positions would be contested to the feminine and masculine. Under this assumption, our gender identity would be the effect of this heterosexual social matrix that allows only two positions, feminine and masculine, in the social spectrum. In turn, these positions would make us intelligible in society, that is, our existence would be recognised by others to the extent that we fit into this binary matrix. If we do not belong to any of these genders, our existence as human beings would not be recognised (Kelan, 2010). For example, a transgender person would not fit within this heterosexual matrix as there is no place in social discourse for them, so their existence as a human being would not be socially recognised. This reveals that social discourse defines who can or cannot exist and in what way they should exist, which shows that it has a normative character, as it prescribes how we should conduct ourselves in life. Furthermore, Butler (2004) proposes that discourse has a performative character, i.e. there is no biological nature to gender but that gender is 'made' when we act it out in everyday life and it is the repetition of these acts that constructs gender norms and tells us how to act in a feminine or masculine way (Butler, 1988; Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018). However, while we try to act out the discourse in everyday life in order to have a position in the social spectrum, we never manage to comply with the norm that this discourse prescribes, as this is an ideal. For example, if the social discourse says that to be feminine you have to be delicate, this does not mean that we act that way all the time, nor that when we act out 'being' feminine we do so in the way the social discourse prescribes. For Butler (2004), this distance between the normative ideal of the discourse and the performance we give in order to comply with the discourse norm allows discourses to be destabilised. If every time we repeat our actions to achieve the discourse ideal we do something different from what this ideal proposes (because it is impossible to act as the social discourse prescribes) then there is the possibility that through our actions we generate variations in the discourse (Seregina, 2018; Liu, Li & Wu, 2020) that allow the entry of other forms of life, such as transgenderism, and this would allow for the 'undoing' of gender.

Another approach to undoing gender that emerges from ethnomethodology is based on West and Zimmerman's (1987) conception of doing gender. Although at the beginning of their theory these authors only developed the idea of doing gender, understood within the field of social interaction, they later referred to the notion of undoing gender due to the commotion that the concept of doing gender was causing and the criticisms they were receiving from different places regarding this theory. In 2009 West and Zimmerman point out that they do

not believe in the concept of undoing gender, as this would imply that gender is linked to a fixed set of characteristics that are no longer in force, producing undoing gender. The authors mention that rather than undoing gender, what exists is a change in the normative conceptions of gender that generate that in certain situations we do not have to account for our gender. In response to this, the authors propose that rather than undoing gender, what is happening is a redoing of gender under new norms. For both authors, social problems do not arise because of gender differences, but because of the inferences that are made from these differences. For example, it is one thing to say that women tend to wear heels and another to say that because they wear heels, they are more delicate. To understand these inferences and their consequences, it is necessary to understand how interactions are organised in order to understand their changes (West & Zimmerman, 2009). Thus, it is possible to appreciate that the differences between Butler's and West and Zimmerman's proposals on undoing gender are related to: the focus of analysis: while Butler focuses on social discourses and their effects on subjectivity, West and Zimmerman focus on social interactions and their consequences; the conception of gender: while Butler understands gender from a macro level, as a discursive effect that is created and recreated, West and Zimmerman understand it at a micro level as an effect of social interactions. Finally, while Butler emphasises social discourse and the actions that the subject performs in order to access the ideal of this discourse, West and Zimmerman emphasise the interaction between individuals. To this discussion on gender that arises from ethnomethodology, we will add what Hirschauer (2013) proposes, who points out that although gender is omnipresent, that is, we tend to assign a gender to people during social interactions, it is not omnirelevant. By the latter, the author means that gender is not always the object of the interaction so sometimes people are indifferent to gender because there is another aspect that becomes more important for the people to explain what is going on. In this way, the author shows that gender is discontinuously present in social interactions.

For the purposes of this thesis, we will take West and Zimemrman's (1987) theory as a point of reference when understanding gender. Thus, gender will be understood as something that is made in social relations and that is historically and culturally situated. The reason why a conception of gender akin to social interactions will be privileged over other perspectives such as those proposed by Butler (2004) is because the aim of this thesis is to explore the connections that arise from emotions, gender, workspace relationships and couple relationships. This implies taking a different direction to that proposed by Butler (2004) who focuses on power relations and how social discourses become hegemonic and the ways in which people resist these discourses. In the case of this thesis, the aim is to understand how

participants put gender into play in their social interactions and how, through this act, they define themselves and their relationship with others. In this manner, the aim of the research is not along the lines proposed by Butler (2004). Nevertheless, we will consider some of the author's ideas that there is not only one femininity or masculinity, but that in the different relationships we establish with others, different masculinities and femininities are put into play, which are limited by the context that sustains such interaction.

As for emotions, they will be understood, like gender, as something that is 'done' in relationships (Kuby, 2012). This means that emotions emerge from interactions with others, be they the others with whom we interact face-to-face or symbolisations of others with whom we interact when we are alone, for example, in inner speech (Wertsch, 1980). In line with this, Hochschild (1979) mentions through her concept of emotion work, that emotions are something we can exercise and manage in our relationships with others. To this we will add that emotions are something that is done in a certain situation that is in turn situated in a certain socio-historical context. Emotions cannot be understood in a vacuum since they convey cultural meanings that can be understood from the context. As Illouz (2007, p.11) points out, emotions "cannot be separated from the ways in which culturally encoded social relationships are lived in and by the self" (p.11). This is why in order to understand emotions we must refer to the interaction that is taking place and the culture in which that interaction is taking place.

With this in mind, the present thesis will investigate the intersections that occur between gender and emotions in workplace relationships and couple relationships. A review of the literature shows that the relationship between gender and emotions has been predominantly approached from a normative perspective. That is, stereotypes linking gender and emotions are taken as points of reference, for example, when it is stated that women are empathetic and men aggressive, and then these statements are tested through different methodologies. In line with the above, it is possible to find research (Maurer, Pizzuti & Costa, 2014) that hypothesised that women tended to have higher shopping satisfaction than men. The researchers concluded that by promoting positive emotions in the shopping process, it is possible to produce the same shopping satisfaction in men that women have. Another study (Offer & Schneider, 2011) addresses the effects on women's and men's emotions of the role of multitasking, meaning the tasks they have to perform in the domestic and workspace. The findings show that women experience an increase in negative emotions such as stress, as they perform more tasks than men in the domestic space. Men, on the other hand, do not experience negative emotions with the multitasking role. Another study (Iosub et. al., 2014)

addressed the communications generated in a team working together to produce content for the virtual platform Wikipedia. They concluded that female editors of this virtual platform tended to promote emotions that allowed for social affiliation and emotional connection between the different collaborators. However, the researchers mention that emotional expression depends on the intersection between gender, status and the collaborative digital platform. Research (Björk,2018) conducted in Sweden indicates that due to the prevalence of a gender-equitable normative framework in that society, men are subject to different emotional norms than those societies that have not yet succeeded in consolidating the gender-equitable discourse in society. Thus, it is assumed that men are governed by normative ideals that prescribe that men should be sensitive and active partners in child-rearing. The findings show that fathers try to connect emotionally with their children on the basis of their ideals of good childhood and gendered ideals of fatherhood. These investigations take as a reference a certain normative ideal about the emotional behaviour of men and women and then conduct research to test these notions. Thus, they show transgressions of these ideals or how different genders adhere to these ideals.

In relation to this, Shields (2000) points out that it is possible to identify in societies beliefs about gender and its emotional expression. The author mentions that these beliefs help people to try to understand their own emotions and those of others. Even if gender is conceived of as something that is 'done', the author points out, this doing is not done in a vacuum, but is practised in a context where certain beliefs about gender and its associated emotions exist. However, these beliefs do not determine how gender will be 'done' but will serve as norms that will guide people on how to express and experience gender. This thesis will build on these assumptions and seek to investigate how interviewees negotiate the normative beliefs that circulate about gender in their workplace and intimate partner relationships. To do so, it will be necessary to review the changes that have taken place in both types of relationships in late modernity in order to understand the contextual framework in which participants construct gender.

Couple relationships in late modernity

When reviewing the literature on couple relationships in late modernity, what can be seen is that reference is made to the demographic changes that couple relationships have undergone, especially since the twentieth century. The changes mentioned are related to: a decline in the

number of people getting married and an increase in unmarried cohabitation; marriages or civil partnerships are events that seek to symbolise the consolidation of a relationship rather than create the basis for the consolidation of couples (Blake & Janssens, 2021); an increase in divorce; unmarried parenting; same-sex partnerships and marriage; the rise of blended families; gender equity as a longing of couples (Brooks, 2017). These demographic changes observed in couple relationships have also been observed in research carried out in Latin America (García et. al., 2016), where changes such as couples deciding not to have children, an increase in the divorce rate, an increase in cohabitation over marriage, an increase in women's participation in the labour market, among others, are noted. Other demographic changes specific to the region are also noted, such as an increase in the number of women homeowners who work and raise children without the participation of men, greater migration of families to other countries, and a smaller number of inhabitants per household than in the past (García et. al., 2016).

These demographic changes have been explained in late modernity theory as a product of accelerating modern processes characterised by "globalisation, detraditionalisation and individualisation" (Heaphy, 2007, p.70). These processes affect all areas of people's lives, including their lives as couples. One of the explanations provided by late modernity to make sense of the demographic changes that societies are experiencing is that we are in the presence of a detraditionalisation of societies (Giddens, 1992) that implies the abandonment of traditional scripts that supported heterosexual marriages for life and that organised couple roles in terms of child-rearing (in the case of women) and work (in the case of men) (Brooks, 2017). The late modernity thesis posits that since the twentieth century we have witnessed a change in the way we relate to each other and in particular in couple relationships. Giddens (1992), one of the leading figures in the theory of late modernity, puts the change in terms of self-identity and intimacy (Jamieson, 1999). According to the author (Giddens, 1992), the cultural changes that have been generated have implied a change in the intimacy of the couple that has had consequences in the gender order. These changes in intimacy take certain forms in contemporary times, Giddens (1992) proposes the form of "confluent love"(p.61). "Confluent love" (Giddens, 1992, p.61) would be a type of couple bond characterised by the fact that in this relationship, individuals carry out a self-exploration through the couple bond. In this bond, the members of the couple conceive the relationship as something contiguous; they do not assume that the bond will last for life, but that its duration is tied to the satisfaction that both have in the love encounter. In this sense, it is pointed out that this couple relationship has an egalitarian ethos insofar as it is based on the assumption that the

relationship must satisfy the individual needs of both partners and not just one of them, which implies a permanent negotiation about the type of relationship they want to have (Blake & Janssens, 2021). To do this, couples must reflect on the type of relationship they have and express their personal feelings in order to build the trust that can only be achieved through self-disclosure to each other, as old rituals, such as marriage, no longer guarantee the continuation of the relationship (Jamieson, 1999). These new ways of conceiving the couple in turn imply new normative orientations on how to be a woman and a man in the intimacy of the couple as well as how emotions should be exercised in that space.

The explanation of late modernity propose that the change of era has generated new scripts on the relationship between men and women and new ways of thinking about gender. Here we could take as a reference point the theory of Illouz (2008) who, taking the theory of late modernity as a backdrop, proposes that economic logic has disrupted the relations between men and women, creating new normative ideals that guide the behaviour of these two genders. Broadly speaking, Illouz suggests that some changes such as the massive entry of women into paid work, access to consumption for large masses of the population, the creation of different lifestyles through consumption, among others, (which she relates to economic processes), have modified the way in which men and women were conceived in the traditional gender discourse. According to Illouz (2008), these changes that have been generated as a result of capitalism, have implied a destabilisation of the binaries man/public space, woman/private space (Thompson, 2010). Illouz (2008) argues that we are in the presence of a transformation of gender relations that has generated new normative ideals where men are required to show emotions and attitudes that were previously considered feminine (such as empathy) and women are required to show emotions and attitudes that were previously reserved for men (such as autonomy and emotional detachment). Likewise, this disruption in the relationship between men and women has implied a disruption of public and private space. According to Illouz (2008), the intimate space of the couple has acquired a rational economic logic, which is expressed in the tendency to believe that the way to generate a healthy bond is to distance oneself from emotions by making them explicit in the relationship (for example, when someone in a couple says 'when you behave in this way, you make me angry'). In this way the rational would be understood as the act of distancing oneself from emotions and labelling them. On the other hand, the workspace is becoming saturated with the emotions of the private space insofar as the emotions that circulate in work organisations are becoming the object of company management. The relationships that occur at work would be managed in corporations through the use of elements of private emotionality (for example,

when managers try to empathise with workers or when a happy atmosphere is promoted in the company) since there would be a belief in companies that workers' emotions have an impact on their productivity.

In a similar vein to Illouz (2008), Budgeon (2011) notes that in late modernity femininity will be reconstructed on the basis of the discourse of individuality. This entails normative ideals that promote an image of women as affectively independent, and as agents of their own lives, which encourages women to reflect on themselves as individuals who can define how they want to be and live their lives. It would also encourage women to validate and make visible their experience and seek to relate to men as equals. The new ways of understanding the couple relationship and the normative ideals that govern women's experience would imply that women consider that the satisfaction of their affective and sexual needs are also legitimate in the relationship and that their relationship with their partner would be constantly reviewed in the light of what is happening in the relationship. In this way, it could be thought that the emotionality at stake is one in which there is an emotional commitment on the part of the woman towards the relationship, but this commitment is in line with her self-conception as an individual, which implies conditioning this loving commitment to the safeguarding of certain personal freedoms and the maintenance of a personal space that is different from the couple's relationship. As for men, the literature is not clear about the normative ideals expected of men in late modernity. However, from the way in which new forms of intimacy are theorised, it can be inferred that ways of reconstructing intimacy in the face of the changing times tend to encourage men to be reflective, to be able to create a narrative about themselves where they reveal what they think and feel about the couple relationship (De Boise & Hearn, 2017). Some authors call these changes a "softening of masculinity" (Elliot, 2019), emphasising men's greater involvement in caregiving and parenting, which would be understood as a greater capacity for men to express, receive and validate emotions. These attitudinal changes in men would be promoted in late modernity as it would be thought that in this way of managing emotions there is a search for more equitable relationships with women (De Boise & Hearn, 2017).

This theory of new ways of 'doing' couplehood in late modernity has been criticised by different authors. Jamieson (1999) points out that the models of couplehood presented by the theory of late modernity are not being fulfilled in the everyday life of couples. She mentions that the gap between the ideals of equity and the inequalities between genders generated by social structures are producing new responses in individuals that are not considered by the

conceptions of the couple proposed by the theory of late modernity. The author emphasises the creative capacity of individuals to create a sense of intimacy despite structural gender inequalities. The author also mentions that the individualistic conception of the couple does not consider other dimensions of intimacy such as the love and affection that people have for each other in this type of relationship. Other authors (Holmes, 2015; Elliot, 2019; Bartholomaeus, 2012), while not directly criticising Giddens' theory, have found in their research that men are governed by different ideals. This could be showing that there are different ideals at play for men and women and that one of them is the one described by late modernity, but that traditional ideals are still operating in society, so one could not claim that couple relationships are 'done' in a way that is completely unanchored from traditional scripts. In line with the above, other research, conducted by Blake and Janssens (2021) on couples living in the UK, found that there is a diversification in the ways of 'doing' a couple and that some of them coincide with the ideal of 'confluent love' mentioned by Giddens(1992) but others do not. In this way, it could perhaps be pointed out that the theory of 'confluent love' tries to explain the cultural and demographic changes that current couples have undergone, but that as it is a theory it must be permanently contrasted with empirical reality.

Workspace relationships in late modernity

The theory of late modernity refers to a series of changes that the world of work has undergone and that are affecting the ways in which people relate to each other in the workspace. In this regard, it is pointed out that we are witnessing a new form of work organisation that favours horizontal networks of collaboration between workers (Regiani, Rosende & Pontes, 2019) and a decentralised structure, made up of a set of different units with relative autonomy (Desai, 2009). This process of change in companies has been accompanied by increasingly individualised contractual forms, without the mediation of collectives that negotiate the contractual relationship with the company. Workers are no longer thought of as one of the indispensable building blocks for the work to be carried out, but rather a short-term contractual relationship is promoted where jobs are expected to be places of transit in the biography of workers and not places to stay (Soto, 2009). In this regard, the metaphor of the "portfolio worker" (Sisto, 2009) has been coined to describe a worker who constantly migrates from one job to another, and who carries with him or her a portfolio, which corresponds to the set of skills acquired through training and on-the-job experience and which corresponds to what he or she sells to different organisations. As a consequence, job

biographies are becoming less linear and the worker is expected to be a manager of him/herself, managing his/her portfolio to make him/herself attractive to companies (Sisto, 2009). This new way of conceiving the relationship between work and worker is in line with labour market flexibility (Rodgers, 2007). Labour market flexibility involves the following: employment protection, allowing employers to hire and fire workers with ease; wage flexibility, allowing firms to change workers' wages according to supply and demand but without going beyond the minimum wage threshold; internal flexibility, which corresponds to the permanent organisation and reorganisation of companies using the workforce according to what is required in each of the company's internal transformations (for example, changing working hours, the qualifications required for each job, among others); flexibility of the labour supply, which gives workers some flexibility in their working day as long as they comply with certain company goals (Rodgers, 2007).

Latin America has not been exempt from the transformations of flexible work. These changes in the form of work mentioned in late modernity have also been part of the transformations that Latin America has undergone since the twentieth century (Ibarra, 2006; Macias-Prada & Suescún, 2012; Beylis et. al., 2020). The literature points out that the Latin American region has been exposed to processes of productive reorganisation and business management, such as the decentralisation of production, networking, labour flexibilisation, individualisation of work with the consequent weakening of work relations (Stecher, 2014). Flexible forms of contracting are also mentioned, which have led to greater entry of women into the world of work, but have also resulted in the precariousness of work (such as part-time work, project work, etc.), and principles of inter- and intra-company competition, among others (Stecher, 2014).

These new forms of work have had a number of consequences for workspace relations. Arthur (1994) mentions that flexible working makes it more difficult to create community within the workspace and commitment to the organisation. Workers' identity becomes more independent of the firm and relationships between colleagues take on a transactional tone (Arthur, 1994), due to the awareness that they will only be there for a limited period of time, making it difficult to build long-term bonds in the workplace. It is also mentioned that this form of work enhances the sense of autonomy of the workers, since they have the freedom to organise tasks and actions within a given time to fulfil the responsibilities of their position, so there would be a sense of independence from others to fulfil the tasks of the position (Kattenbach, Demerouti & Nachreiner, 2010). However, this sense of autonomy would be

strained when work and non-work time come into conflict. Since time management is the responsibility of the employees, it is up to them to resolve these tensions that arise from the demands of work (Kattenbach, Demerouti & Nachreiner, 2010). It also points out the consequences for labour relations when there are profiles of workers whose skills are in line with the flexible way of working while others, usually older, seem to have skills that are considered obsolete. These differences are understood within companies within the categories of 'winners' and 'losers', generating competitive climates in labour relations (Currie, Tempest & Starkey, 2011).

In this regard, Araujo and Martuccelli (2011), based on an investigation of Chilean society, point out that work flexibilisation in Chile has brought with it a feeling of "positional inconsistency" (p.166). This concept is understood as the perception that one's place in society is very fragile and can easily be lost. This produces in individuals a permanent concern of losing social status, which is accompanied by a series of emotions that people experience in their daily lives such as fear, feelings of insecurity, vulnerability, among others (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2011). With regard to the relationship between men and women in the workplace, some authors have discussed the process of "feminisation of work" (Fondas, 1996; Chepkemei et. al., 2013). This term refers to the massive entry of women into the workplace, especially those usually designated for men, and the diffusion of characteristics that are culturally assigned to women (Fondas, 1996), including emotions such as empathy and care. According to this idea, this feminisation of workspaces has implied a new organisation of the relationship between men and women in the workplace and a new way of conceiving men and women in this context. One of the concepts that refers to the new imaginaries about women at work is postfeminism (Gill, Kelan & Scharff, 2017). According to Budgeon (2011) postfeminism "represents a general set of features associated with the particular gender regime characteristic of late modernity" (p.23). The characteristics of postfeminism are usually described as a new sensibility that involves an emphasis on individualism, freedom of choice and agency in women (Gill, 2016). This understanding of the current situation of women is based on the assumption that gender equality has been achieved. As a consequence, women would be more empowered than before in today's society and this would allow them to think of themselves as autonomous, independent and individual persons and not as victims of patriarchy (Budgeon, 2011). This vision of post-feminism would translate into women abandoning the values that were usually associated with a traditional idea of a subservient woman who was concerned with the needs of her husband and children, to a woman who puts her own needs at the centre and fulfils herself professionally while at the same time being able

to raise a family with children (Lewis, Benschop & Simpson, 2017). Ringrose (2013) points out that this new imaginary of how to be a woman is accompanied by, among others, the belief that women must exercise power and to do so they must emulate the aggressive qualities of power, especially in the workspace. In this way we could say that post-feminism has a certain aesthetic about the image that women should project to others, which includes looking confident, effective, resilient, and powerful, among others. This in turn implies new emotional norms that indicate which emotions can and cannot be felt (for example, feeling insecure would be a feeling that does not fit with the aesthetics of postfeminism) (Gill, 2017). Thus, the discourse of post feminism provides stereotypes that function as normative orientations that are available to people to think of themselves in social relations, but it does not mean that people consistently embody these stereotypes. Furthermore, this new sensibility (Gill, 2017) would mean that men are stressed by these changes in women and are in an existential crisis because feminism's undermining of patriarchy has meant that men can no longer fall back on the traditional masculine values that gave them a sense of security about how they should 'be' men (Rumens, 2017). It seems simplistic to situate the crisis of men only as the product of feminism, so we will take the analyses made by other authors (Edwards, 2006; Chant, 2000) and point out that the existential crisis that men experience about how to be a man is the product of a series of changes that have been generated in late modernity such as: greater job insecurity which makes it difficult for men to construct an identity around work as in the past; a saturation of the professional markets which makes the labour market more competitive than in the past; changes in the family order, which means that certain responsibilities such as being solely responsible for financing the family have been taken away, but also new demands such as raising children; new expectations of women with respect to men's sexuality, among others.

Parallel to these normative ideas are the tensions described by Caro, Román and Armijo (2021). They point out that the entry of women into workplaces considered masculine, such as mining, has generated tensions that question the traditional order of these spaces. These tensions would be on the side of the men who make up the workspace, insofar as they perceive women as a threat to the traditional masculine order that circulates in the workplace. They would also be on the side of women, who must endure the naturalisation of demeaning treatment, the demand to masculinise themselves and suffer experiences of paternalism on the part of men (Armijo, 2021). Other authors (Jimenez & Hernandez, 2020) refer to the changes that have been generated in the workplace with the massive entry of women into the workplace and the public policies that have been implemented in some Latin American

countries, including Chile. These changes have been an attempt to generate a balance in the number of women in spaces that have traditionally been considered masculine. The resistance that this process has provoked in these workplaces and the inequalities in the opportunities that are generated in the same workspace for men and women are pointed out (Jimenez & Hernandez, 2020). In this way, it is observed that work flexibility has affected the normative ideals that guide the behaviour of individuals within the labour space, as well as the relationship between men and women due, among other things, to the massive entry of women into spaces that were previously reserved only for men and the new attitudes expected of men and women.

The theory of late modernity understands these changes in a continuum that goes from the logics of industrialisation, which affected a large part of the population of Europe and the United States, to the labour logic of flexibility. The period of industrialisation is taken as an axis from which to think about the 'traditionalisation' of work, characterised by long-term contracts, the continuity of labour trajectories, social security, workers' unions, among others, which allowed workers to construct their identity around work and to project themselves into the future (Sennet, 1998; Payo, 2008). Flexibilisation of work, on the other hand, is a symptom of the detraditionalisation of societies that tend to individualise workers and diversify forms of contracting (Soto, 2009). This historical trajectory has not been shared by all countries. In Latin America it is possible to observe that the period of industrialisation was not as massive as in Europe and the United States (Esser, 1993; Fajnzylber, 1986), but the flexible work model has been incorporated by a large proportion of the population. For example, in Chile, 69.8% of workers have an open-ended employment contract while 30.2% have a short-term contract. However, if we analyse 100% of workers who are formally employed, 42% are subject to employment modes where work flexibility prevails (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Chile, 2019). Thus, due to the productive and labour trajectory of Latin American countries, certain nuances must be made to the premises proposed by the late modernity theory. The following section will address the particularity of late modernity in Latin America and how the history of this region has influenced modernisation to take a different trajectory from that of Europe and the United States

Latin American coordinates: from colonization to late modernity

So far we have delved into some aspects that the theory of late modernity raises with respect to couple and work relations, and we have reviewed the discussion on the emotional turn,

which allows us to situate this research within a field of discussion. At this point, the reader may wonder whether it is possible to transfer these debates from the 'North' to think about social relations in Latin American culture. To introduce this discussion, a question will be posed to open the debate on how the theories mentioned above could be thought of in Latin American culture. The first question that will guide this discussion will be, *what is Latin America?*, and *what are the characteristics of Latin American culture that differentiate it from other cultures?*

What is Latin America?

The term Latin America was invented in the 19th century by French and Spanish-speaking intellectuals of Spanish origin living in South America. This denomination sought to create a cultural difference between Anglo-Saxon America and Hispanic America (Martuccelli, 2010). These attempts to create an identity of their own is pointed out by several authors as something that runs through the history of Latin America (Ramos, 2003; Larraín, 1994; Sosa, 2009). According to Ramos (2003), this question of *who are we Latin Americans* arises from the tensions produced as a result of the process of colonisation in Latin America. Unlike other colonisations (such as those carried out by England), one of the characteristics of the Spanish conquest was that the colonisers mixed with the local natives (Crist, 1968). Colonisation produced an ethnic but also a cultural mix, as the colonisers sought to convert the natives to Catholicism, which culminated in what has come to be called syncretism. Syncretism³ consisted of the mixture of elements of indigenous religiosity with Catholic religiosity, which was the way in which the natives of Latin America appropriated the worldview of the colonisers, making it their own (Barbosa, Figueroa & López, 2012).

As for the ethnic mix, it was the product of the violent encounter that the conquistadors had with the indigenous people living in America, generating a particular type of relationship, since the Spanish men left their wives in Spain and went to America to have children with the local natives and then return to Spain (Catelli, 2010). The product of this encounter produced sons and daughters who were labelled in Latin America as 'mestizos' (people of mixed ethnicity). The 'mestizos' were rejected by the indigenous people because they were associated with the colonisers. The Spanish, for their part, accepted the 'mestizos' not as their son's or daughter's

³ An example of this syncretism is the image of the Virgin Mary, which was associated by some indigenous people with the Pacha-mama (mother earth), a divinity of nature. Today it is possible to find traces of this syncretism in popular culture, where 'pagan' celebrations are held to venerate the Catholic Virgin Mary (Gentile, 2012).

but as servants, since they were the fruit of 'extra-marital' relationships (Catelli, 2010; Bracho, 2008). In this way the 'mestizo' was not sufficiently indigenous but neither was them sufficiently European to belong to Spain. This difficulty of the 'mestizo' to make a place for themselves and to have a clear identity due to their mixed origin, began to be part of the cultural imaginary of Latin America (Bracho, 2009). According to Canclini (2001), the creative history of Latin America shows that Latin American culture is a hybrid culture, where hybrid is understood as "socio-cultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, which existed separately, combine to generate new structures, objects and practices" (p.14). Hybrid does not describe a harmonious process of cultural and ethnic mixing; on the contrary, hybrid is fraught with tensions, ambivalences and conflicts that make it impossible to make categorical statements about what a culture is like. Nevertheless, we can approach the characteristics of a culture by keeping in mind that these characteristics are always in flux and are constantly re-signified by those who inhabit it. For example, one way in which the hybrid dimension of Latin American culture is expressed is that mentioned by Girola (2009). The author investigates the relationship that Latin Americans have with formal social norms. She points out that in Latin America different value systems coexist and that depending on the context and the particular characteristics of the people (for example, their social class), one or the other predominates. She identifies at least two value systems at play in the interaction between people in Latin America. On the one hand, there are forms of organisation that have their origins in pre-Columbian and colonial societies that validate authoritarian and arbitrary forms in the exercise of the rule of law, and on the other, a value system typical of modernity that is based on the values of equality, universality and the rational exercise of the law. In this way, it is possible that a person who acts honestly in his work (he does not steal materials, he tries to do his job in the right way) might try to bribe a policeman not to charge him a fine for running a red light. The author mentions that in Latin America there is an accommodating use of the norm and that this use is explained by the fact that different value systems coexist, sometimes contrary to each other, and that both are considered legitimate depending on the circumstances (Girola, 2009).

Characteristics of Latin American modernisation

After this brief overview of the history of Latin America, it is worth asking whether it is possible to recognise particular characteristics of the Latin American modernisation process and, in particular, whether it is possible to speak of a late modernity in Latin America. According to Ramos (2003), modernisation processes in Latin America began in the nineteenth century with

the construction of states in Latin American countries. This process was marked by foreign European discourses that were appropriated by the region. In recent times, the modernisation process was marked by Marxist and socialist discourses in the 1960s and 1970s, and then by neo-liberal free market discourses in the late 1970s and 1980s, which were installed by dictatorships and then maintained in democracies. According to Larrain (1997), although modernity is a process that emerged in Europe, its globalising character was appropriated and adapted to the Latin American context. In this way, Latin American modernity is not the same as European modernity, but rather a hybrid product of the mixture of cultures. This hybrid mix of Latin American cultures would have caused the process of Latin American modernisation to be marked by the following tensions: understanding modernity as a process that comes to erase the indigenous characteristics of Latin American culture, which is embraced by some and resisted by others; a state that has a low role in directing the country's production route; social security coverage by the state that covers only a low proportion of society and provides partial coverage, which generates a strong experience of lack of protection for people; the incorporation of the forms of interaction of the Latin American middle classes into the structures of power, which would give way to clientelism and caudillismo⁴ in politics; fragile democratic institutions that have been interrupted by dictatorships (Larrain, 1997; Marin & Morales, 2010). In this way, Latin America has generated its own way of inhabiting modernity that differentiates it from other countries and is in line with its own history.

In this regard, one of the debates that has taken shape in recent years in Latin America is whether it is possible to speak of a Latin American late modernity. One of the forms this debate has taken is the discussion about whether individuals exist in Latin America (Martuccelli, 2010). As mentioned above, the theory of late modernity is based on the assumption that the processes of detraditionalisation inherent to modernity have been radicalised. As a consequence, social experience has become more uncertain since there are no longer referents (or rather there is an excess of referents) to guide people as to which path to follow in order to direct their action in the world and their relationship with others. Thus, individuals must work on themselves through reflexivity to find their own criteria for action (Zabludovsky, 2013). However, reflexivity is only possible in the encounter with others. It is through interaction with others that individuals clarify who they are and how to act in the world. The process of reflexivity is made possible by the action of modern institutions, such as

⁴ The word caudillismo refers to a type of political leadership where what prevails are the charismatic characteristics of the leader. As a consequence, the caudillo legitimizes himself before others by his personality and not by the power that the institutions grant him (Castro, 2007).

the state, and new technologies that constantly challenge individuals about who they are, what they want to do in life, where they are going. But *what happens in other societies where modern institutions have been appropriated in a different way from the United States and Europe, and is it possible to speak of late modernity in Latin American culture?*

Late modernity in Latin America?

Before answering these questions, it is necessary to first characterise the particularity of the Latin American experience. According to Larrain (1997), although each Latin American country's experience is different, it is possible to find certain similarities in these experiences in the region. Some of these similarities are the following: channels of social mobility based mainly on clientelism⁵ as a strategy for social climbing; the presence of a strong control of the ruling classes over the individual liberties of citizens, restricting initiatives that go against conservative morality (such as, for example, the right to divorce)⁶. This has been changing in line with the weakening of the Catholic Church's influence on society; the tendency to solve problems in different social spheres (family, politics, labour) through authoritarianism, which has been explained, among others, as a remnant of the colonisation process (Araujo, 2016); the tutelage of civil society by the state, causing citizens, companies, universities, trade unions, among others, to generate some kind of dependence on the state, either by seeking protection, obtaining jobs, or seeking authorisation to hold social events, among others. An example of this is the fact that in Chile, for example, people have to ask the state for authorisation to hold street protests. Thus, there are authorised protests and protests that are not authorised by the State, which are considered illegal; finally, there is a large proportion of people who work in informal jobs, which constitute real markets that supply the poorest strata of the country, but which operate illegally (Larrain, 1997; Espejo, 2022).

⁵ Clientelism is understood as "those informal relationships of reciprocal and mutually beneficial exchange of favours between two subjects, based on instrumental friendship, inequality, power differentials and control of resources, in which there is a patron and a client" (Audelo, 2004, p.127). Clientelism is embedded in Latin American modes of interaction and usually takes the form of influence peddling and occurs between family members, friends and acquaintances.

⁶ In this regard, it should be noted that since the beginning of democracy in Chile in 1990, there has been an accelerated expansion of individual freedoms. Proof of this is the Chilean divorce law enacted in 2004, the enactment of the civil union law in 2015 and the same-sex marriage law enacted in 2021.

These experiences seem to show that the Latin American experience is marked by a sense of uncertainty and lack of protection in everyday life. However, this experience is confronted through the support that people find in their social networks (Martuccelli, 2010). There is also the feeling that the state, by action or omission, puts obstacles in the way of individuals deploying greater degrees of autonomy. Notwithstanding the above, several authors (Yopo, 2013; Pizarro, 2000; Brunner, 1996) point out that although Latin American modernity took in some respects a different course to the modernity that was established in the 'northern' countries, it is possible to observe characteristics of late modernity in the region, but with certain cultural variations. This goes hand in hand with the transformations that Latin America has undergone throughout its history and which have led to a reduction in poverty and an improvement in the living conditions of its population (Brunner, 1996). Thus, there are characteristics of late modernity in Latin America. Some of these characteristics would be a yearning for horizontal and egalitarian relations in interactions with others. It is a yearning to democratise social relations (Martuccelli, 2010); an implicit mandate to construct oneself as an individual (that is, to be autonomous and self-determining) but an unequal distribution of resources to carry out this yearning; there would be an active construction of biographies and life projects on the part of individuals. These life projects would be made in a context of weakening of traditional authority so that people would have different points of reference from which to think and plan their lives; a questioning of traditional gender roles within families (Yopo, 2013, 2019).

In addition to these characteristics of late modernity, there are also tensions inherent to Latin American culture. In the case of Chile, some of the tensions that run through Chilean late modernity are the following: the longing for the democratisation of relations promised by late modernity, but the lack of social conditions to realise them. There would be an unequal distribution of material and symbolic resources and certain social and institutional practices (such as clientelism) that would hinder the realisation of this ideal. In addition, there would be a strong sense of responsibility on the part of individuals for their choices without providing the means of institutional support from which to sustain this responsibility, which would trigger a strong sense of burden on people. This could be seen, for example, in the fact that people who work all their lives in Chile and who earn a middle-class salary have a pension that does not allow them to pay for basic expenses. This is because neither the state nor the employer contributes to a worker's pension (Yopo, 2013; Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012). Thus, it could be affirmed that in Latin America there are signs that would show the existence of late modernity in the region, however, this process would operate in a different way to late

modernity in Europe, since Latin America would be crossed by different tensions that are the fruit of a particular history of colonisation.

Gender and emotions in Latin America

Considering the above, we will return to the aim of the thesis and focus briefly on the treatment of two of the dimensions worked on in this thesis, which are gender and emotions. In this way, the aim is to draw the particular relationships that have been made between these two themes in the region and to understand how this intertwining has been carried out in order to have it as a reference when analysing the data.

The first thing that stands out to mind when reviewing the literature on gender in Latin America is that a significant proportion of it is devoted to analysing gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is usually understood as violence that is perpetrated against women or men because they belong to the category of male or female (Lopez, 2010). This violence is approached in different ways, as domestic violence (Lopez-Hernandez & Rubio-Amores, 2020), dating violence (Rodriguez, Riosvelasco & Castillo, 2018) and more broadly as femicide (Cabral & Acacio, 2016), which is a category that was invented to account for the murder of women, because they are women (Cabral & Acacio, 2016). It could be inferred from these studies that in Latin American society there is certain aggressiveness in the relationship between men and women. Of course, this does not mean that all relationships between men and women are violent, but the fact that gender-based violence is repeatedly addressed in gender studies seems to inform a pattern that is observed in gender relations in Latin America. Another issue that appears in greater proportion in gender studies in Latin America is gender bias in school and university education. This is mostly addressed in the gender gap in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) disciplines where there tends to be a predominance of men and a low proportion of women (Arredondo, Vásquez & Velazquez, 2019; López-Bassols et. al., 2018) and the influence of gender stereotypes in the choice of university careers (Verdugo-Castro et. al., 2019; Aguas, Sanchez & Gómez, 2019). Although these studies do not make explicit the type of emotionality that is at stake, several of these studies refer to the obstacles that gender stereotypes place in women's choice of STEM careers and in the treatment they receive within them. This could be talking about the predominance of certain ways of understanding and imagining gender that reproduce the gap in this type of disciplines and at the same time, the desire to modify this way of understanding gender in order to achieve greater equality between men and women.

In the case of Chile, gender studies tend to be dominated by research on gender asymmetries in the workplace (Salce, 2021; Ríos, Mandiola & Varas, 2017; Cárdenas, Correa & Prado, 2014; Díaz et. al., 2017), which shows the predominance of interactions between genders where women are at a disadvantage compared to men at work, but also the desire for relations to be symmetrical. Another predominant theme in research on gender is the representation of women in positions of power. In this regard, it is possible to find analyses of the public policies that are being designed to incorporate more women into positions of power in the different branches of government (Rodriguez & Caminotti, 2010), as well as the need to increase the number of women in positions of power in the different branches of government (Rodriguez & Caminotti, 2010), the analysis of the experience of the only woman president the country has had (Valdés , 2010); and the massive protests of women in the streets to make visible the discrimination suffered by women in Chilean society (Reyes-Householder & Roque, 2019).

Although these studies do not explicitly mention emotions, it is possible to point out that they show certain unease with regard to the way men and women relate to each other in society and the aspiration for these ways of relating to each other to change. Taking into account these particularities in the way in which emotions and gender are intertwined in Chile, in the following section we will focus on how the study was carried out and how the context in Chile at the time had an effect on the way in which the fieldwork was planned.

Conclusion

The chapter presented shows that gender and emotions are something that is done in social relations. In every interaction, ways of 'doing' gender and displaying emotions emerge, within the cultural and historical boundaries in which the interaction is framed. The fact that in interaction there are normative frameworks that guide the type of femininity and masculinity that should be put into play, allows us to affirm that there are different ways of exercising femininity and masculinity. In this regard, it is pointed out that interactions are regulated by normative ideals that link gender with emotions and that guide individuals by indicating how each gender should feel and express emotions.

These normative ideals are present in couple relationships and in labour relations. In this respect, it is pointed out that the theory of late modernity states that since the twentieth century we have been witnessing a change in society that implies the detraditionalisation of social relations. These changes imply a questioning of the traditional scripts that guided people's behaviour in the past and the need for individuals to create new guiding criteria. This

has led to the discarding of some normative ideals of the past and the emergence of new demands on people. Late modernity theory postulates the emergence of new normative ideals in couple relationships. These ideals are having an impact on how to 'do' couplehood and are based on the yearning for greater democratisation and gender equity in the heterosexual couple relationship. This involves changes in the way men and women are conceived of in couple relationships.

These normative ideals have also disrupted labour relations. The late modernity thesis postulates that the forms of work have been disrupted by promoting a more individualised relationship between the worker and his or her work. This is understood as an autonomous worker who makes his or her professional career independent of work, and who works him or herself to develop skills in order to be attractive to companies. This understanding of worker and work goes hand in hand with forms of flexible working, which means that workers can adjust their working hours and salaries according to their needs. However, this has resulted in a casualisation of work as these forms of work have led to a detriment of the worker's working conditions. According to the theory of late modernity, flexible forms of work have modified the traditional patterns of relations between workers and between genders, since flexibility has led to a massive entry of women into the workplace, even in those workplaces that had traditionally been reserved for men.

It is pointed out that the entry of women into the workplace is changing the ways in which men and women are perceived, causing gender to reorganise itself in the workplace, demanding new attitudes from men and women. Based on the theory of post-feminism, it is pointed out that women would be required to exercise greater power in the workplace, and this would result in an aesthetic that includes emotions traditionally associated with men but which would now be expressed by women, such as aggressiveness. For their part, men would be incorporating emotions traditionally associated with women, such as empathy, in order to be more efficient in the management of organisations. It is mentioned that this reading of the cultural changes that late modernity is generating must be contextualised in other societies, as is the case of Latin American societies. Because the Latin American region experienced a process of ethnic and cultural mixing, its modernisation process was affected by different tensions than those suffered by the countries of the 'North'. In this respect, it is postulated that although it is possible to speak of a Latin American late modernity, since there are indications that show the existence of a process of detraditionalisation of society, this process would be characterised by certain specificities of Latin American culture. In this respect, the

tensions of late modernity in Chile are specified, which, broadly speaking, consist of the tension between the ideals of late modernity but the lack of institutional support to achieve these ideals. The next chapter is presented, which consists of the characteristics of the fieldwork process of this research in the Chilean context.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter presents the research aim and objectives of the study and introduces the methodology chosen to achieve these aims. This decision was based on the assumption that the objects of study are not static, but are flexible in the face of change and constantly being reinterpreted. Also, as will be explained in this chapter, a number of difficulties occurred during the research that influenced the choices made in the collection and analysis of the results. The methodology adopted in this study shows that working with emotions and gender are dimensions that also come into play in the fieldwork, in the encounter with the study participants. Some issues related to the research process are presented and the ethical considerations of the study are concluded.

Researching emotions: different approaches to the study of emotions

In reviewing existing discussions on how to research emotions, it is noted that some studies emphasise the consistency between the ways in which emotions are defined (as private states, as social meanings, as objects outside of individuals, etcétera) and the methodologies that are used based on these definitions (Zembylas, 2007). Clement and Sangar (2018) mention the challenges of studying emotions as it is a difficult construct to define and operationalise, which generates an ongoing debate about ensuring consistency between the way emotions are conceived and the way they are studied. It also mentions the attempt by social science researchers to create methodologies that go beyond the studies carried out in psychology (Flam & Kleres, 2015). Thus, these researchers have created different methods on the basis that emotions are at play in the interpretations that people make about what they feel and what others feel. In this way, studying emotions requires the researcher to do interpretative work on what they see and/or hear from interviewees and to link this information to the context in which they take place (Flam & Kleres, 2015).

One of the widespread approaches to study is the use of narrative methodologies that have been used in different research (Kleres, 2010; Gabriel & Ulus, 2015; Tilly, Ebner & Livan, 2021). These are based on the assumption that human experience has a narrative structure. This structure is characterised by having a sequential and temporal order similar to when a story is told, where there is a beginning, development and end. It is usually used to study society from the biographies of people (Blanco, 2011), although in some experimental research texts are

analysed with this methodology based on the assumption that texts are narratives (Tilly, Ebner & Livan, 2021). Researchers who take this approach tend to conceive emotions as narratives, so that emotions would be composed of a protagonist who acts before another person or persons, which allows a story to develop (Kleres, 2010). Thus, researchers who take this methodology as a reference, apply the components of storytelling to stories about the emotions of the participants.

Other researchers emphasise different techniques to study emotions. This is the case, for example, in a study by Scott (2022) who points out that researcher field diaries can be used as sources of information in emotion research as they contain the researcher's emotional narratives about the field study. The author points out that the researcher's emotional narratives have great potential to inform and complexify the analysis of data in longitudinal studies. In a similar vein, Spowart and Nairn (2014) propose the study of subjectivity through the application of self-report diaries. The authors point out that this approach allows us to understand not only the individual perspective of the participants but also how they are affected in their relationship with others. This technique is proposed for long-term studies so that the use of self-report diaries can add information about the nuances in the daily lives of the interviewees.

Another technique mentioned in emotion research is interviewing. Demarrais and Tisdale (2002) refer to the use of open-ended interviews from a phenomenological approach to study emotions in participants' accounts. Based on the study of school teachers' anger, the author mentions that unstructured interviews allow for the exploration of various nuances of emotions even those that are not part of the research. However, she also refers to the complexity of working with this technique since at times the interview space seemed to become a therapeutic space. Hoffmann (2007) also reflects on the use of open-ended interviews based on the study of the emotional labour exercised by a group of employees from different sectors to solve problems in their workplace. The author mentions that the interaction with the participants in the interview becomes a source of information since emotional demands and power dynamics were produced with the interviewees that provided information when analysing the data.

Finally, there is research that uses semi-structured interviews to study emotions in social contexts. This is the case of the research conducted by Coupland et. al., (2008) who investigated how a group of employees in a company constructed their emotions based on implicit rules about emotional behaviour within the company. The researchers placed special

emphasis on the construction of identity and power relations in the participants' accounts. The interview was oriented towards moments where participants had experienced anger and anxiety in their workspace. The findings indicated that it is not that institutions impose norms of emotional behaviour but that these rules are found in the role that the interviewees occupy and their relationship with other parts of the company. Another research that used the semi-structured interview technique is that of Brown and Brooks (2002) who used interview and observation as ways of collecting research data. Their research involved the exploration of the emotional work climate in a hospital based on the experience of the nurses working there. To do this, they applied a semi-structured interview in order to understand the meanings that the nurses assigned to their work and the interactions that were established with their colleagues. They also investigated the interactions that took place on site. This shows the flexibility of this study technique as it can be applied in different settings and address different issues involving the emotional dimension of the experience. It is because of this flexibility but at the same time the control it allows over the topics of conversation that for the purposes of this thesis the semi-structured interview was chosen as the technique in this research. In this way it became possible to talk about emotional aspects, but taking care not to transform the interview space into a therapeutic space by directing the conversation towards specific topics.

Aim and objectives

The question of the research was what gendered emotion work do Chilean professionals do in the workspace and within their heterosexual couple relationships? From this question, the aim to explore the accounts of gendered emotion work carried out by Chilean professional women and men in the city of Santiago, and to examine how their emotion work is linked to relationships in the workspace and heterosexual couple relationships was derived. . The aim was to understand the emotional dimension of social relations through the way in which people manage their emotions in work relationships and in their relationships with their partners. This is in line with what was stated at the beginning of this thesis, where it was pointed out that in recent years there has been a change of emphasis in social science research that places emotions at the centre of the discussion to think about the social changes that are taking place in societies. In this respect, the study sought the intersection of four elements: emotions, gender, relationships in the workspace and relationships in heterosexual couple relationships. From the intersection of these elements, the following specific objectives were defined:

1. To identify the emotional normative frameworks that circulates in the school teaching and engineering profession through the characterisation of the emotional culture of both professions. This will be answered in Chapters 4 and 5 of the findings.
2. To identify the emotional challenges faced by professional men and women to explore the emotional strategies they exercise to cope with these challenges in the context of their emotional culture. This will be addressed in Chapter 6.
3. To explore the emotional tensions faced by women and men in their couple relationships and to explore how they navigate these tensions through the exercise of their emotion work. This will be developed in chapter 7.
4. To explore the emotion work that people do to deal with the boundaries between their work life and their couple life. This will also be addressed in Chapter 7.

Research design and method

To address these objectives, qualitative methodology was used, using semi-structured interviews⁷ as a technique and thematic analysis as the model of analysis. According to Bryman (2012), the qualitative approach seeks to generate analysis from particular accounts of experiences. It is also interested in how individuals interpret reality and conceives of reality as an ever-changing phenomenon that is constructed by individuals. This coincides with the aim and objectives of the research insofar as it seeks to understand, from the subjective experiences of the interviewees, how the emotional dimension participates in the way individuals construct reality in their social interactions. However, as Maison (2002) points out, although qualitative methodology requires a prior research design, this design is subject to modification. Qualitative research assumes that its object of study is always in motion, and this property of social phenomena requires that the research design be fluid and flexible, open to being reworked and restructured on the basis of reflection (Maison, 2002).

In terms of the technique used, the semi-structured interview was chosen as the data collection technique. According to Mathers, Fox and Hunn (1998, p.2) the semi-structured interview consists of "involving a series of open-ended questions based on the thematic areas

⁷ To review the questions asked during the interview, please refer to appendix 1.

that the researcher wants to cover". Thus, this type of interview is somewhere in between the structured interview, which does not allow for the generation of contingent questions, since a previously defined scheme of questions must be respected, and the unstructured interview. The latter is characterised by the fact that it does not respect an order in the questions and the topic to be addressed is barely delineated, allowing the conversation with the interviewee to move towards topics that are not related to the initial theme (Miles & Gilbert, 2005). The decision to opt for a semi-structured interview rather than a structured interview was due to the fact that the aim of the thesis was exploratory, so that a structured interview would not have allowed to investigate how the participants signified emotions in social relationships. This is because the structured interview seeks to standardise participants' responses so the questions are designed to limit and narrow the responses to a set of codes pre-established by the researcher, which usually take the form of a survey (Fox, 2009). On the contrary, the semi-structured interview seeks to allow participants to express themselves freely during the interview by bringing into play their way of understanding and meaning reality, which allows exploring how interviewees understand their reality (Kallio et. al., 2016). However, unlike the unstructured interview, the semi-structured interview allows for an in-depth study of specific topics that are of interest to the researcher, which on the one hand allows the participant to express themselves freely in the interview, but at the same time, allows the conversation to revolve around topics that are of interest to the researcher. Thus, the semi-structured interview would allow the interests of the interviewee to be reconciled, insofar as it allows them to show their way of understanding reality, and on the other hand, those of the researcher, who seeks to understand specific issues of reality through the lens of their participants (Fox, 2009). Likewise, the choice of the semi-structured interview was based on the fact that, due to the fact that the research dealt with sensitive issues, such as a couple's relationship, it was necessary to have a certain degree of control over the conversation, as there was a risk that the interview space would become a therapeutic space and that the interviewees would use this space to unburden themselves emotionally. To avoid this confusion on the part of the interviewees, a semi-structured interview was chosen instead of an unstructured interview, to prevent the conversation from generating an expression of intimate emotions that would end up having a negative impact on the interviewee. Finally, the choice of this technique was based on the assumption that emotions have a verbal dimension and can be articulated through language. As Couplan et. al. (2008) point out, language is exchanged in social relations and emotions are constructed in these reciprocal exchanges in the linguistic practices of people in a given culture.

While the research was based on individual interviews, this was not the initial research design. Initially the design also considered the possibility of creating two focus groups. One focus group was planned with women and one with men only, to explore the experience of the participants, considering both their agreements and disagreements on different issues related to the research. The theory of the "synergistic group effect" was taken as a basis, understood as an effect in which "the number of ideas generated by the group would be greater than the sum of the ideas generated by its members working independently of each other" (Fern, 1982, para.35). In this sense, it was thought that focus groups would allow access to aspects of the emotional lives of the interviewees that cannot be accessed through an individual interview, such as the disagreements that occur between members and how they try to justify their opinions on this basis. Unfortunately, these focus groups could not be carried out due to the social unrest in Chile at the time, which will be explained at length in the section 'Context of the fieldwork'.

Context of the fieldwork

A relevant aspect to consider is that the interviews conducted in this thesis were carried out in exceptional circumstances. When the planning of the thesis was designed, it was decided to carry out the fieldwork in Santiago de Chile between 1 November and 29 February 2019. However, the situation in the country changed radically from 18 October 2019 as there was what some sociologists have called a "social explosion" (Martuccelli, 2019). This consisted of an event that disrupted people's daily lives through the simultaneous conjunction of several elements. On the one hand, seven metro stations (the Chilean underground) were burnt down in the space of an hour, producing a complete suspension of this transport service which paralysed the city of Santiago. Hours later, a massive group of people went to protest at La Moneda (the government palace), at which point there was simultaneous looting in different parts of the capital and the burning of shops. The police tried to disperse the demonstrators and the people who were causing damage in the city but were unable to control the situation. The following day, on 19 October, the president, who at the time was Sebastián Piñera, declared a state of emergency in the country and sent the military to the city to control the riots and the feeling of lack of control that was being generated in the country. Days later, on 22 October, the president established a curfew in Santiago because the military presence was not effective in deterring the demonstrators and those who were rioting in the city. Subsequently, on 25 October, one of the biggest protests in Chile materialised, with 1.2 million people taking to the streets to peacefully protest with placards displaying demands ranging

from banning the consumption of animal meat to improving pensions. Then, on 27 October, the State of Emergency is decreed to end, although small-scale demonstrations and acts of vandalism continue in the country (Waissbluth, 2020; Heiss, 2020; Spyer & Alvarado, 2021).

When I arrived in Santiago de Chile on 1 November to conduct interviews, the country was in an abnormal situation. Several companies whose offices were located in different parts of the city had moved the work in-house in online mode. There were places in the city where it was very difficult to get around and the formal media recommended not to go to certain areas of the city as they were taken over by people who were vandalising and illegally charging 'tolls' to get around. Public transport, including the metro (the Chilean underground) and bus services were running at half capacity and were not running in certain sectors of the city, making it difficult to get around. Beside, the social climate in the country was one of fear for what was happening but also of division between those who supported the social uprising and those who were against it. The media reported cases where entire families had become estranged because they had different views on what was happening in the country, creating a sense of high social irritation and a sense of uncertainty about what would happen in the coming months in the country.

This exceptional situation generated different challenges for the fieldwork. This implied a change in the design of the fieldwork, since at the beginning it was planned to carry out the interviews in public places, specifically in the rooms of Chilean universities, so as not to invade the privacy of the participants, but due to the exceptional situation in the country, some interviews were carried out in the home of the interviewees with their consent. It was also decided to extend the fieldwork until the first week of March of 2019 in order to have more time to find people willing to participate in the research. Finally, thinking about the social crisis that Chile was experiencing at the time, it was decided to include the question *'Do you think that emotions play a role in the social crisis we are experiencing?'* in the interview design. Although the social crisis was not part of the analysis of this thesis because it was not directly related to the research aim and objectives, it was thought of as a necessary gesture to bring the social context into the interview and not to deny in the conversation what was happening in the country.

Sample and recruitment

With regard to the choice of the sample, the aim was to recruit as diverse a range of people as possible. In the case of engineers, people were interviewed who had different job positions

(usually mid-level positions), who came from different industries, from construction to retail, and whose private lives were also diverse. In general the participants had diverse private lives, some had children, some did not, some had previous relationships, some did not, among others. It should be noted that in the case of engineers, both civil engineers, who in Chile have different specialisations from civil engineer in computer science to civil industrial engineer, and commercial engineers, whose career is translated in other countries as Business and Administration, were included. A clarification is in order here. In Chile there are several careers that are considered engineering, but only two have been recognised as engineering by the Professional Association of Engineers of Chile⁸: civil engineering and commercial engineering. Civil engineering can be understood as a career that "deals with the design and construction of large infrastructure works" (Universidad de Chile, n.d.), but nowadays it also considers the management of different types of systems, from industrial systems to water resources (Universidad de Chile, n.d.). In Chile, people entering to study civil engineering must follow a common plan, which usually lasts two years, and then specialise in some of the options offered by the university, which normally last 3 years. In total, most of these degrees last 5 years. These specialisations consider traditional branches of this career such as construction, to more contemporary ones such as Industrial, which deals with the management of systems and processes in organisations.

Commercial engineering is equivalent in other countries to the degree of Business and Administration. In Chile, this degree was founded in 1924 and its name is due to the influence of the Université Libre de Bruxelles (Free University of Brussels), which in 1903 gave rise to the commercial engineering degree (Lopez & Paredes, 2007; Larroulet & Domper, 2006). As in the case of civil engineering, in Chile this degree has an average duration of 5 years. The name of the degree exists in a small number of Latin American countries, such as Chile, Colombia and Ecuador. Commercial engineers are dedicated to business management. This involves the planning and analysis of the different systems operating in a company in order to maintain and improve its processes (Larroulet & Domper, 2006; Universidad de Chile, n.d.). Although in other countries this degree is considered a field of economics and not engineering, in Chile it is recognised by the Chilean Association of Engineers as an engineering degree, which can have a specialisation in economics. In this way, a varied group of people were interviewed who had different positions and functions but worked in the corporate industry.

⁸ For more information about the Association, visit the following webpage:
<https://colegioabogados.cl/>

The rationale for choosing civil and commercial engineering in this research was due to several reasons. Firstly, this study took gender as one of the axes of research, so it was thought to choose careers where there was an imbalance in the number of men and women; in this case, engineering showed a significant proportion of men to women. A career with a clear gender culture was also sought. A review of recent history and research on engineering careers showed that this profession was marked by a masculine culture⁹. It was assumed that this characteristic of the profession would generate a different experience for men and women and that therefore the emotion work performed by professionals would be more visible due to the gender bias of the profession. Finally, this career was chosen because of its presence in the Chilean public debate as an example of a career where gender equity is not fulfilled (El Mostrador, 2022; Diario Financiero, 2021). The engineering profession has had greater visibility regarding this issue than other careers that show clear barriers to the insertion of women, such as medicine (Science & Health, 2021). This gender tension in the engineering career and its questioning in the public debate were the reasons why this professional group was chosen to be studied.

In the case of teachers, were recruited mostly from public schools (in Chile there are state and public schools), but whose schools received groups from different social classes. As García-Huidobro (2007) points out, in Chile the school system is strongly segmented by social class, where usually state schools receive groups coming from the lower classes, and in public schools there is a subdivision between schools that receive middle class groups and others that receive groups coming from the upper classes of the country. On this point, teachers were recruited from different schools and, due to the social segmentation of the schools, they had different work experiences. In terms of their private lives, people showed a variety of ways of living their intimate lives. However, some conditions were placed on recruitment with regard to this dimension.

The decision to study this professional group was due to several reasons, one of them being the imbalance in the ratio between men and women, being a predominantly female career (Subsecretaría de educación superior de Chile, n.d.). As will be shown in the following chapters, this profession has a historical trajectory in the country that has given it a markedly feminine character, which implies that the imaginaries and practices that shape this career respond to attributes that have traditionally been associated with women, such as showing

⁹ The male engineering culture will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

affection towards children¹⁰. As in the case of engineering, it was assumed that this particularity of the teaching profession would produce different experiences in male and female teachers, and that due to the gender bias of the career, professionals would be more aware of the emotion work they must carry out in their work. Likewise, the decision to investigate teaching was due to its presence in the public debate, due to the poor working conditions of school teachers, which have been improving in recent years, the high dropout rate of students belonging to public schools and the growing deficit of teachers in the education system (Colegio de profesores, 2022; Sepúlveda & Villegas, 2022; La Tercera, 2021). Thus, education and school teachers have been part of the country's concerns in recent years. In addition to this, there are some disparities in the gender distribution in this career, where it is noted that although the proportion of women in the profession is significantly higher than that of men, the latter tend to have greater participation in positions of greater responsibility (such as principal) than women, especially in those schools that are financially supported by state funds (Centro de Estudios Ministerio de Educación, 2020). These characteristics of the field justified their choice in this research.

Taking this into consideration, the general characteristics of the choice of the sample, both for school teachers and engineers, were as follows:

- a) The age of the professionals ranged from 30 to 60 years old, as this is the period of greatest work consolidation in Chile according to the National Institute of Statistics (2018).
- b) Twenty-two participants were recruited although the original design was to recruit 24 people, of which twelve were women and eleven men. A non-probability purposive sampling strategy was used to meet the objectives of the study. The interviews were digitally recorded and lasted approximately one and a half hours. The decision to keep the 22 participants at the time of data analysis was based on Creswell's (1998) recommendation of choosing a minimum of 12 and a maximum of 60 respondents in qualitative methodologies. We also considered Baker & Edward (2012) who indicate that one of the criteria for determining the maximum number of the sample is when it is possible to identify patterns in the participants' responses that allow us to answer the research objectives. Thus, with 22 interviewees it was possible to establish some frequencies in the responses that allowed us to build hypotheses about the research topic.

The criteria for the selection of participants were as follows:

¹⁰ These career attributes will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

- a) Participants had to reside in the city of Santiago de Chile.
- b) The interviewees had to come from the profession of civil or commercial engineering or school teacher. This was decided on the basis that the interviewees had to belong to a profession that had a higher proportion of women or men in Chile, since the intention was to see how the emotion work of the participants was deployed in a 'biased' professional context where there was a 'feminine' or 'masculine' culture. This choice was made on the assumption that the gender 'bias' of the profession would result in people having to be more conscious of the strategies they had to use at work as they faced more obvious obstacles. The decision to choose the engineering profession was based on the fact that it is a career that has been questioned in Chile because of the low proportion of women, to the point that policies have been established in some universities to protect quotas for women in this career (Universidad de Chile, n.d.), something that has not happened with other careers that also have a gender gap. As for the choice of the profession of school teaching, it was also based on the fact that it is a profession that has become feminised and that in the public debate of recent years the need to improve education in the country has been highlighted.¹¹
- c) The interviewees had to have been working for at least 6 months. Although the literature does not indicate the specific time required to adapt to a job in these particular professions, it was thought that a 6-month stay in a job could guarantee a routine within the workspace where a certain familiarity is generated in the interaction with others.
- d) They had to work in a workspace where they interacted with other colleagues face to face. This was a necessary condition to study through the accounts how relationships with others were established in everyday practices.
- e) They have to be a heterosexual relationship for at least 6 months. It was decided to study heterosexual couples because of the difficulty for homosexual couples in Chile to make their relationship public, as they may suffer discrimination in the workplace. Different Chilean media and LGBT organisations have shown that homosexuals suffer discrimination at work because of

¹¹ This has resulted in a series of investigations that show a number of complexities in the career, some of them being high job dissatisfaction, its level of professionalisation and its high dropout rate (Gaete et. al. 2017; Ñuñez, 2007). Some studies have drawn relationships between these characteristics of the profession and its high feminisation (Ramirez, 2016; González-Castro, 2010), raising the hypothesis that there would be associations between the devaluation and precariousness of this career with the high proportion of women in it.

their sexual orientation (El mercurio, 2016; El mostrador, 2011; Movil, 2015). It is because of this difficulty in recruiting the sample that this study was focused exclusively on heterosexual couples. In terms of the duration of the relationship, it was thought of a period of time that would allow the characteristics of courtship to be established, such as a greater knowledge of the other, public recognition of the couple's relationship (with friends and/or family), the projection over time of the relationship by the couple, the search for stability in the relationship and affective involvement (Rojas-Solís, 2013; Morales & Díaz, 2013; Maldonado, 2005). In this regard, it should be noted that the interview was not conducted with couples, but with people who were in a couple relationship. This is because not all the people were paired with people whose profession was engineering or school teaching.

In terms of recruitment methods, social networks were used, snowball sampling and contacted the Association of Engineers (Colegio de Ingenieros) and the Chilean Association of School Teachers (Colegio de Profesores de Chile). In the case of social networks, recruitment was done through Facebook and Instagram, where the title of the research, its main objective, the name and email of the researcher was included and a link was displayed leading to an information sheet about the study. Regarding the snowball sampling method (Bryman, 2012), participants were asked if they could recommend another person with the criteria set out in the research. If a contact was obtained, communication was established by email or telephone and documents about the research were emailed to them so that they could make an informed decision whether or not to participate in the study. In the case of professional associations, an email was sent to the head of the association requesting a meeting with the attached information sheet to give them access to the key aspects of the study. If a meeting was set up, they were given detailed information about the study and asked if they could disseminate information about the research and the criteria for participation on their networks. In cases where those contacted expressed a desire to participate but did not meet the study criteria, they were thanked for their willingness but were informed that, unfortunately, they did not meet the profile of a participant. Particular care was taken to provide this information following University of York's ethical guidelines.

Data production

As noted above, the fieldwork for this thesis was conducted in Santiago between November 2019 and early March 2020, in a context of social crisis in the country. Although a design for the fieldwork had been planned, the circumstances in which the country found itself at the

time of the execution of this part of the study forced some changes to be made with respect to what was initially planned. Uncertainty about how to get to work or back home, or about the level of violence that would be generated on any given day, was a daily occurrence, so when I arrived in November I was forced to postpone the fieldwork for a month. Later, in December, the country began to normalise and this allowed me to find people who were more receptive to participating in the research. Most of the people who agreed to be interviewed did so as a favour, to help a friend's relative. In addition, a couple of participants were recruited through social media. In this case, it seems that the participants were interested in the research because they had personal interests in the topic of emotions and saw the interview as an opportunity to talk to someone about those interests.

During the month of December, most of the interviews were conducted via Whatsapp. Then, in January, February and March, face-to-face interviews were favoured. In total, 19 people were interviewed face-to-face, while only 3 were interviewed via Whatsapp. Although the plan was to interview participants in the rooms of some Chilean universities, this could not take place because the social crisis forced these institutions to end classes early and close their campuses. Due to this situation, the meetings were held in city cafés located far from the sector where the social conflict was concentrated, and exceptionally in the homes of some participants. An interesting aspect of the recruitment was the difficulty I had in finding women engineers with the desired profile, as most of them did not have partners. Although it is not possible to generalise about this situation, I think it is interesting to mention it because it could be a sign of a cultural change that is taking place at the level of the relationship between women and men. It is worth noting that, unlike what I thought before I started recruiting, I had no difficulty in recruiting men who wanted to talk about this issue. Given traditional gender stereotypes, I assumed that men would be more reluctant to participate in a study on emotions, but this was not the case. Both men and women showed equal interest in participating in the study.

Once I had established initial contact with the participants, I sent them a leaflet explaining the study to their email addresses. Then, on the day of the interview, I initiated the conversation by explaining in general terms what the research was about, what their participation would consist of, answering any questions they had. All were asked to sign the informed consent form to ensure that the interview was conducted freely, under ethical codes and without coercion. During the interviews I made sure to create a relaxed atmosphere using colloquial language, so that participants could spontaneously explain their experiences at work and in their relationships. The interviews lasted approximately 1 hour and 30 minutes.

In terms of the different reactions that were generated in the interview, it should be noted that it was often difficult to get participants to answer certain questions related to their emotions, such as *'in terms of an emotional dimension, do you feel that you can freely express your emotions at work?'* In the case of this particular question, I sometimes had to clarify what I had in mind by giving examples of what this question was pointing to, as for some interviewees the question was not understood on its own, and therefore required more context. This confusion on the part of participants was observed, for example, when they responded with things like *'free about what?, free in what sense?'* In other cases, respondents understood perfectly well what the question was about. In these different reactions, I observed that by giving an example, participants better understood the purpose of the question and were better able to develop their answers.

In terms of gender, I observed that both men and women were more likely to elaborate on areas related to work, but not on the private sphere of relationships. In particular, the questions *'what things do you expect emotionally from your partner, what things do you think your partner expects emotionally from you, how do you realise that he/she expects that from you'* showed gender differences in their approach. Women seemed more comfortable with this question and their answers gave the impression that it was something they had thought about beforehand. In contrast, some men were uncomfortable and some excused themselves by stating that they were *'not good at emotions'* or giving short answers. It seemed that this was the first time they had been confronted with such questions and that it was difficult for them to reflect on them.

A difficult situation to deal with in the interviews was when, on one occasion, I felt tense with one of the interviewees when, when asked about her life as a couple, she said that she *'lived with her partner but was not in a relationship'*. Having never been confronted with such an answer before, I was not sure how to approach this situation, so I continued to ask the relationship-related questions. However, this generated some discomfort, which was transmitted to the interviewee who, apparently, was also uncomfortable from what her non-verbal language showed (chair movements, loss of eye contact). To get around this situation, I quickly read the rest of the questions about the couple's relationship, and quickly moved on to the questions about the interviewee's perception of the historical changes that have taken place between men and women in the last 10 years. This interview experience made me reflect on the difficulties of studying the personal aspects of people and how to act when problems of this kind arise. I did not face such a situation again, but as a result of this situation

I thought that in these cases perhaps the best way to get around the situation is to ask the interviewee directly if they are bothered by the questions.

Another situation that struck me was the expectation of some participants, especially teachers, who came to the interview with the idea that we would approach emotions from a psychological perspective and often wanted to centre the conversation around this approach. This was the case, for example, when a teacher wanted to explain to me how he developed emotional skills in his students and take the conversation in that direction. Or when a teacher wanted to use the interview to explain a novel psychological theory about emotions. It seems that the field of emotions sometimes challenged some participants in a personal way to the extent that they felt the need to explain their conception of emotions even if it was not a direct question in the interviews. This forced me to learn to negotiate between the interests of the interviewees and those of the research. What I did was to give the interviewees a space to bring their interests into play, but from these reflections, I brought them into the realm of the study. However, it was often not an easy job and it even happened on one occasion that when one of the participants read the title of my research, which was initially based on Illouz's (2007) theory of emotional capitalism, and saw the association between emotions and capitalism, he became defensive and criticised the fact that the study was based on this view. According to him, it implied conceiving emotions in a negative light. He was not the only participant who was upset to see the association between capitalism and emotions. From a research point of view, these reactions are interesting, as they could speak to people's level of engagement with this issue. But it was not only the questions that influenced participants' reactions. During the interviews I noticed that also my presence had an effect on the way the interview was conducted.

One of the aspects that caught my attention was that in one particular question, when I asked *'Do you think the way men and women relate to each other in relationships has changed in the last 10 years?'* I noticed that men, unlike women, felt challenged to show their support for the changes that women have experienced in the last decade. Responses such as *'I am a feminist'* or *'as a man you realise that the things you are fighting for [in terms of gender equality] are very fair'* were frequent from men. These responses made me think that perhaps men felt pressured to show their support for the transformations women are going through because I am a woman. If this is the case, it seems important to think about how gender is at play in interviews and how this might sometimes affect interviewees' responses insofar as they feel they have to portray a certain image to the interviewer, which in this case would be to show that they are in favour of the 'women's cause'. What this exposes in turn, is how the social

discourses of the moment are embodied in the conversation with the interviewees and how the relationship with the participants brings information relevant to the research.

I also think that my background in clinical psychology impacted on the interviews in a positive way. One of the things that I learned during my professional career was to listen to people in a non-judgmental way. I think this skill played to my advantage in the interviews and allowed participants to freely elaborate on topics even sometimes making comments that could be judged as incorrect (such as when one interviewee referred to how he made his partner believe he was listening to her when he was not). In this way, I believe that the non-judgmental listening that I learned as a professional helped me in the field of research.

Considering the above, table number 1 present the final sample consisted of men and women:

Table 1. Sample characteristics

Profesion	Gender	Age
Engineer	Male	31
Engineer	Male	46
Engineer	Male	35
Engineer	Male	29
Engineer	Female	30
Engineer	Female	28
Engineer	Female	57
Engineer	Male	60
Engineer	Male	34
Engineer	Female	35
Engineer	Female	36
Teacher	Female	35
Teacher	Male	37
Teacher	Female	46
Teacher	Male	59
Teacher	Male	45
Teacher	Female	55
Teacher	Male	40
Teacher	Female	43
Teacher	Male	44

Teacher	Female	45
Teacher	Male	33

As can be seen in the table, the age of the interviewees ranges from 28 to 65 years, and the average age is 41 years. During the interview, 2 people under 30 years of age were allowed to participate, as they were in a stage of job consolidation, with a work contract, financial stability and in a stable relationship.

Finally, table 2 shows the number of participants by profession and gender:

Table 2. Number of participants according to profession and gender

Number of engineers interviews	
Male	6
Female	5
Number of school teacher interviews	
Male	6
Female	5

Data analysis

A few days after returning to England from fieldwork in Chile, the COVID-19 health emergency began in the UK. In this context, I started the data analysis process with the transcription of the interviews. I transcribed twelve interviews and subcontracted one person to transcribe ten interviews. It should be noted that this outsourcing followed the ethical guidelines stipulated in the UK General Data Protection Regulation (n.d.), which mentions that the transcriber must sign a confidentiality agreement and that the files containing the interviews must be encrypted. In this case, the selected files were shared for a limited time with the transcriptionist via the university's email platform. A password was also created to access these files. Thanks to the outsourcing of a transcriptionist, it was possible to have all interviews transcribed in September 2020.

Due to the uncertainty of the situation in England, as in late summer, in August, the contagion levels started to worsen again, I decided to return to Chile on 24 September 2020. It should be noted that because the pandemic significantly affected my concentration and ability to work, I had to absent myself from the thesis when I returned to Chile. The process and obstacles experienced during the preparation of the thesis had an impact on the planning and timeline that had been established to develop this research.

As this chapter has shown, the research process for this thesis had to overcome several obstacles. Therefore, the demands of the context required flexibility and strategies to sustain the study. These characteristics of the thesis writing process influenced the decision on the approach needed to analyse the data. As Braun and Clarke (2006) point out, thematic analysis is a method of identifying patterns in the data and its main characteristic is its flexibility. This flexibility is given by its independence from theories and epistemologies, which allows it to be applied to different types of data, regardless of the theoretical basis justifying the research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Moreover, unlike grounded theory, thematic analysis does not seek to produce general theories of society (Noble & Mitchell, 2016), but to relate concepts that emerge from the data and that allow for the construction of explanatory patterns about concrete situations (Alhijailan, 2012). If we take into consideration the main objective of the study and the specific objectives, the thematic analysis is the most appropriate for the treatment of the data, since what we seek to explain is a concrete situation, which is to explore the work of gender emotions carried out by male and female professionals in the city of Santiago in their public and private spaces, and not to establish grand theories about Chilean society.

The choice of the method of analysis is also related to the objectives of the study as it is noted that thematic analysis is an inductive method used in research that has an exploratory orientation (Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012). Research that has an exploratory orientation is characterised by: 1) a focus on research questions rather than research hypotheses, 2) analytical codes and categories are defined from the data, not predefined, 3) data are generated during the research, i.e. existing data are not used, 4) purposive rather than random sampling is used most of the time (MacQueen & Namey, 2012). The present thesis is guided by these characteristics, so thematic analysis fits with the research logic.

Thematic analysis works with themes and codes when analysing data. A code is a specific unit of the data, it tries to condense an idea contained in a fragment of the data. A theme, on the other hand, is a broad unit and attempts to describe a pattern or meaning found throughout

the data that can take different forms, but always has the same pattern. The relationship between code and theme is that the sum of codes forms a theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019). Thus, thematic analysis requires the researcher's interpretation to recognise patterns within the data and to choose words that can condense the meaning circulating in a given piece of data.

Although several authors (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017; Guest, MacQueen & Namey, 2012) propose different steps for conducting thematic analysis of data, the process of analysis was less linear than is often stated in research manuals. One of the challenges I faced during transcription was how to translate the participants' accounts from Spanish to English. Since my knowledge of the English language is mainly of the formal language, I had to rehearse several times how to translate the Chilean accounts from informal Spanish into informal English. To do this, I had to make several versions of the same account for my supervisors, who helped me to adapt the participants' narratives so that they would be intelligible to English speakers. However, there is one part of the accounts that is lost in translation and impossible to translate, and that is the emotional charge of the words in each culture. Although this poses a problem in conveying what the interviewees say, I tried to keep the sense of the accounts and put more effort into showing the emotional work that was at stake in the participants' sayings.

Once I had transcribed the interviews, I proceeded to read the data and note down the ideas that could be gleaned from the participants' accounts. I constantly reread these ideas and the participants' accounts, which allowed for a kind of intimacy with the data. From this, codes were generated in the various interviews. Gradually, the analysis took shape and codes emerged that repeated or resembled each other in the interviewees' accounts. Finally, at the beginning of the writing of the analysis, I assigned a theme to those codes that were similar. The themes underwent several modifications during the course of the thesis, as it was not easy to select the words that succeeded in condensing the grouping of the different codes. This stage was revised and modified until the end of the thesis. The analysis process was the longest stage of the research, as it required appropriation of the data and creativity in making interpretations and associations between the different narratives.

Ethical considerations

With regard to the ethical dimension of research, there are 2 aspects to consider. One is procedural, where I will give an account of what ethical guidelines I followed and how I applied

them during the research. Then, I will mention the ethical questions that arose during the fieldwork and the reflections left by this stage of the study.

Respecting the procedural considerations, the research was conducted in line with the guidelines proposed by the research ethics committee of the University of York¹² and the British Sociological Association¹³. Prior to conducting the research, approval was obtained from the University's ELMPS (Economics, Law, Management, Politics and Sociology) Research Ethics committee. Subsequently, during the fieldwork, each participant was sent informed consent, the research objectives, ethical considerations and the use of the information provided during the interviews via email two days before the interview. In addition, at the face-to-face interview meetings, participants were again given all the documents that had been sent by email but now in hard copy. In the case of respondents recruited via Whatsapp, they were again verbally reminded of the ethical conditions of the interview. All respondents were also reminded that they could leave the interview at any time if required.

In terms of data storage, the recordings were securely stored in the google drive of my email account associated with the university. Once the recordings were stored on this platform, all interviews were deleted from the digital recorder. Similarly, the laptop where the recordings were transferred from the recorder to the google drive was password protected. During the transcription and subsequent analysis of the data, the anonymity of all participants was protected by taking care not to record any personal information or specific data that could make them recognisable.

In regard to the questions and reflections that emerged during the fieldwork, it should be noted that questions arose regarding the tensions that are generated when investigating people's intimacy. One moment where this tension came into play was, as I said earlier, when I interviewed one of the participants and she pointed out that she lived with her husband in the same house but that they were not a couple. This answer made me not quite sure how to react and whether it was right to continue asking questions about the couple's relationship. At the same time, this case made me think about the clash that occurs between the ideas that the researcher brings to the field, such as what a couple is, and the variations that one encounters in reality (in this case, what kind of relationship would the participant have with her husband?,

¹² For more information, read 'Code of practice on Research Integrity' from:
<https://www.york.ac.uk/staff/research/governance/research-policies/research-code/>

¹³ For more information, read 'Statement of Ethical practice' from:
https://www.britisoc.co.uk/media/24310/bsa_statement_of_ethical_practice.pdf

is it possible to argue that they are still a couple or not?, and if they are not a couple, what are they then?). Since I did not expect this answer, I did not know how to deal with this situation and continued with the interview questions about the couple relationship. Reflecting on this event, I think one tension at play in this case, as in other cases, was how to respect the boundary of the interviewees' intimate lives. By this I mean that I tried to be careful not to be intrusive with the questions I asked in the interview. In this regard, Forbat and Henderson (2003) refer to the challenge for the researcher when studying couples not to reveal to the other what the other partner said in confidence. In that sense intrusion is thought of as interfering in the couple's relationship by revealing information about one of the participants that could have an effect on the couple's relationship. In the case of my research, the fear was rather of being intrusive into the private lives of the participants, that is, that the questions I asked would seem to them to be entering a realm that they did not want to share with a stranger. While I did not get a reaction from the participants that made me think that they felt invaded by my questions, it was an element that I took care of during the interviews and something that was part of my concerns in the fieldwork. I think this experience left me with some questions about the study of intimacy that require work and time to answer. Some of these questions were, to what extent can you ask about people's private lives without being invasive?, what is the other person's limit to what they are willing to answer about their private life? It also seems to me that the emotional atmosphere that existed in Chile when I conducted the interviews may have played a role in the participants' response. While it is difficult to know how this emotional climate influenced the data collection, it did have an impact on the decisions I made about what to ask in the interview. I thought it was important to add a question relating to the social outburst as I felt it would be confusing and even violent for participants to talk about their daily lives pre-burst without mentioning or acknowledging that at the time of the interview we were living through an exceptional moment as a society. That is why I included a question in which participants could talk about the emotions of the social outbreak and think about the intense emotional moment that the country was experiencing. I believe that although in the context in which the interviews took place life was not normal, the participants brought their daily lives into the conversation and reflected on the emotionality at play in their daily interactions.

Taking into account the process of elaboration of the thesis and the obstacles that had to be faced during its elaboration, the research findings and the corresponding data analysis are presented in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter is an overview of the methodology used in the study. A review was made of a methodology and techniques that have been used to study emotions in social relationships. The use of narrative methodologies to address emotions was noted, as well as the use of techniques such as self-reports, open-ended interviews and observation. In this regard, it was mentioned that the choice of the semi-structured interview in this research is due to the fact that it prevents the conversation from straying into intimate issues of the interviewees and allows access to participants' interpretations of their emotions and the emotions of others with certain flexibility. The aim of the study and the associated specific objectives that seek to generate intersections between couple relationships, work relationships, gender and emotions were then mentioned. Reference was then made to the research design and method, noting that qualitative methodology was chosen because it was aimed at the study of emotional experiences.

Emotions were understood as an ever-changing phenomenon that requires the methodology to be flexible and open to be reworked, something allowed for in the qualitative approach to which this thesis ascribed. Subsequently, this chapter describes the context in which the study was carried out, mentioning the complex situation that Chile was going through, as there was a social upheaval which meant that people's daily lives were being disrupted. This made it difficult to meet with the participants, so some interviews had to be conducted in person and others online.

The characteristics of the sample were then specified and the recruitment process was described. In this regard, it is pointed out that the sample was made up of engineers from civil engineering and commercial engineering, which is a degree equivalent to Business & Administration, but is considered an engineering degree in Chile. School teachers were also recruited from different school institutions. The ages of the interviewees ranged from 30 to 60 years old initially, which according to the National Institute of Statistics, is the most productive age group in Chile. However, an exception was made for two of the interviewees who were 28 and 29 years old, as they met all the other criteria for the sample. It is noted that the sample was recruited in Santiago de Chile, given that the capital is the area most connected to the rest of the regions and where the changes that will later be implemented in the rest of the country take place.

Subsequently, the context in which the data analysis was carried out was described, where it was mentioned that the thematic analysis was used due to its flexibility. Unlike other types of analysis, thematic analysis seeks to determine patterns in the data rather than construct concepts, so this feature allows for greater openness to reworking interpretations as the interviews are read. Finally, the ethical considerations of the study are mentioned, indicating that the guidelines proposed by the ethics committee of the University of York and the British Sociological Association were followed.

Chapter 4: Emotional culture in the workspace relations

Having clarified the methodology of this study, the research findings are presented below. These are the product of the analysis of the data collected in the interviews with the participants; an inductive approach was used to analyse the narratives, that is, an interpretation was made of the raw data from which concepts and themes were derived to provide the structure for this research (Thomas, 2006). This section is divided into 4 chapters: Chapter 4 develops the characteristics of the emotional culture of relationships in the workspace of each profession. Chapter 5 deals with the conceptions that the participants of the different professions have about the relationships between men and women at work, which is another element of the emotional culture. In Chapter 6 the emotional strategies of men and women in the workplace are discussed. Finally, Chapter 7 analyses the participants' private space based on their accounts of their relationships with their partners.

This chapter, Emotional culture in the workspace relations, aims to analyse the emotional cultures that mark the contours of teachers' and engineers' experience at work. Emotional culture is proposed as a concept to understand and frame the experience of the interviewees in their working lives. The concept of emotional culture has been used in various research fields and seeks to emphasise that in societies there are different types of cultures such as cognitive cultures, national cultures, which have their rituals traditions, customs and overlap with each other. In this chapter we will analyse emotional cultures which, like other types of cultures, are composed of beliefs, values, forms of transmission, , about emotions (Barsade & O' Neill, 2016). Lois (2001, p.382) points out that groups construct emotional norms and vocabularies "to reinforce beliefs about particular emotions". Emotional culture provides a framework for interactions by generating a "shared emotional belief system" (Lois, 2001, p.382) that guides what can or cannot be felt in different contexts, which are social norms that implicitly or explicitly indicate what emotions are and how they should be displayed in a given interaction.

Emotional culture has a normative character and therefore seeks to order people's experience in social relations. These norms are supported by material boundaries (from the spatial layout of the workplace, for example, whether it has spaces that are visible to everyone and others that are not) and immaterial ones (for example, the jokes that are and are not accepted in a

given workplace). Emotional culture, in turn, contains beliefs about how emotions should be interpreted and acted upon in the different scenarios that people face. However, this does not necessarily provide consistency in interactions, since emotions circulating in an emotional culture are not always consistent with each other (Lois, 2001). Sometimes people are exposed to two or more emotional norms that are incompatible. They may also be exposed to emotional norms that run counter to other aspects of the institution where they work. In this case, people are forced to find a solution, however temporary, to reconcile these contradictions in their daily practice. In addition to beliefs, emotional culture contains a set of meanings that are staged when people try to interpret the emotions of others. Thus, people try to make sense of others' attitudes in order to be able to react to their emotions or to expect a specific response from others to their own emotions (Simonova, 2019). This set of meanings and beliefs contained in emotional culture is the product of a transmission (Robinson & Men, 2018) between generations. Older generations transmit to younger generations emotional norms that guide the group's ways of feeling, but which are open to negotiation with social actors within certain limits. In this way, and from what has been said above, emotional culture will be understood in subsequent chapters as the beliefs about emotions held by a specific social group and whose beliefs have a normative character that guide the subjects with respect to how to understand and exercise emotions in the workspace. These emotional norms, which structure the emotional culture, define how people should feel, express and interpret the emotions of others in social interactions. These sets of norms are not necessarily consistent with each other and are open to negotiation according to each interactional situation that occurs within certain boundaries. Thus, the analyses will start from the assumption that professionals generate emotional cultures in their workspaces and that these emotional cultures have a normative character, in that they indicate which emotions may or may not circulate in relationships, as well as an explanatory character, since they allow us to understand the emotions of others and act accordingly.

This way of understanding emotional culture will provide a context for the emotional strategies of individuals, insofar as these strategies are oriented on the basis of certain norms that circulate in the relationships that are established in people's working space. Hence, the concept of emotional culture will make it possible to understand under what rules people establish their relationship with others and what strategies they deploy on the basis of the emotional norms of their field, on the understanding that these 'movements' of the actors within their workspace are not necessarily consistent, given that the emotional culture they inhabit is not necessarily consistent either. Also, sometimes people resist or strain these

emotional rules, which implies that people seem to take a position on these rules whether they follow them or not.

Based on the concept of emotional culture, the aim of this chapter is to analyse the accounts of male and female teachers and engineers in order to evidence the normative framework from which they deploy their emotional strategies in everyday working life. Thus, first, an analysis of the engineering and school teaching professions was carried out, focusing on the individuals' common conceptions of their workplaces. In this analysis, reference was made to the similarities and differences between the two occupations according to the following themes:

- Ways of conceiving emotions in the workspace: Emotions as technique and emotions as spontaneity.
- Emotional involvement at work: The value of emotional distance and the value of emotional closeness
- Frontiers of private and public emotions at work: the clear separation between the distant and the close and the ambiguous separation between the distant and the close

The organisation of these themes is based on the need to explore beliefs about emotions but also how these beliefs are deployed in practice in interactions. We will say that the concatenation of the themes was organised along a continuum from beliefs about emotions, the ways in which people put them into practice in immediate social relations in their working lives, and then connect them to two macro structures such as the public and private spheres.

The focus of this chapter is on the emotion work carried out by the interviewees and how, through this work, they construct a way of understanding emotions in their interactions. To this end, the order of the topics ranges from the understanding of emotions to their relationship with social macro-structures. It is worth mentioning that what is presented here is not the direct observation of the interviewees' practices, but the narration of their practices, which implies an access to the actors' world mediated by language. Of course, this implies limitations insofar as part of the experience could not be addressed in the analysis, such as, for example, the deployment of corporeality in concrete practices with others. However, this also implies potential, insofar as it assumes that access to the reflective dimension of emotions allows us to enter into the meanings that people give them and the way in which they interpret the relationships that are established in their working life. Thus, the following pages will show how teachers and engineers construct meaning in their experience on the basis of

the emotional culture in which they operate and how, through the negotiation of these interpretations, they make the workspace their own. Finally, it should be noted that teachers and engineers have contact with different people, in different positions and from different places. Even so, the interview questions tended to focus on people's relationships with their work colleagues. This decision was made in the belief that by probing relationships with colleagues in both professions, it would be easier to make comparisons. As will be seen, several of the assumptions with which this thesis began were strained as a result of the accounts encountered. With this in mind, the findings on the emotional culture of the work contexts in which the participants of this research work are presented below.

Ways of conceiving emotions in the workspace: emotions as techniques and emotions as spontaneity

The interviewees' accounts reveal that engineers and teachers conceive of emotions differently. Consequently, particular conceptions of emotions circulate in the emotional culture of both professions and are articulated taking into account various elements. Through the reconstruction of the immediate past in the present by means of the narratives, the participants became aware of emotions that were perhaps not consciously exercised in social relations. Also, the analytical work sometimes consisted of inferring the definitions of emotions in the interviewees' accounts because the interviewees did not make this definition explicit because they acted it out in their working life. This shows that emotions have a temporal dimension, and that they are constantly being re-signified by the actors. As Mattley (2002, p.367) points out "The symbolic reconstruction of the past thus involves redefining the meaning of past events in such a way that they have meaning in and for the present". In this way, the narratives here show the temporal characteristic of emotions that provides them with a certain fluidity insofar as they are the object of a reconstruction that takes place in relationships with others.

a) Conception of emotions in engineers' accounts

Analysis of the data showed that engineers conceived of emotions in a way that was akin to the technical language they used on a daily basis. Emotions seemed to translate into 'skills'. Interviewees tended to associate emotions in their workspace with the concept of 'soft skills' as opposed to 'hard skills'. One of the accounts where this association is shown is when an interviewee who worked as an engineer in a company was asked whether he thought there

had been a change in the last ten years in the profile of engineers that employers are looking for. In this regard, the interviewee responded as follows:

Interviewee: What are employers looking for? Yes, they are looking for more soft skills

Interviewer: What kind of soft skills

Interviewee: That they have a good relationship, that this relationship helps them to understand what they have to do. In general, engineers always work together. They can't work alone. As a team. (Male engineer n°8)

In this extract soft skills are understood by the engineer as the skills to work with others, in a team. Another interviewee who referred to this dimension in his work gave the following definition of soft skills:

Soft skills, people management, how to get out of frustration and how to turn a crisis around, how to deal with millenials, more psychologist than engineer. (Male engineer n° 2)

Engineers seem to have a technical language provided by their profession to refer to the emotional dimension of work. This shows that in this professional field there is an awareness in the workers there is an emotional sphere in work interactions, and this is translated in the codes of the profession as 'soft skills'. Through this notion engineers can operate on the emotional dimension of relationships and find solutions. This is seen when the interviewee points out '*how to get out of frustration and how to turn a crisis around*', indicating that he understands soft skills as a way to solve problems.

However, it is necessary to make a preliminary clarification about the concepts of 'skills' used by the engineers during the interviews to provide context for the accounts. The concepts of 'soft skills' and 'hard skills' are terms that are currently used in the world of management (Levasseur, 2013). When reviewing the definitions of soft skills, Ibrahim, Boerhannoeddin and Kayode (2017), point out that soft skills can be classified into 3 categories: "personal attributes, interpersonal skills, and problem solving and decision making skills" (p.2). Thus, for the authors, these skills are a mix of personal and interpersonal attributes. They also point out that the relevance these skills have acquired is related to their impact on the work success of employees and organisations (Ibrahim, Boerhannoeddin & Kayode ,2017). These assumptions

seem to be in line with what was mentioned by the interviewees. On the other hand, Burns (1997) and Hendarman and Cantner(2018) argue that soft skills are part of people's nature and therefore constitute inherited rather than acquired knowledge. Others (Sopa et. al., 2020) consider them as formal knowledge that can be learned. These different conceptions used in management seem to show the difficulties in defining these type of skills, probably due to their intangible characteristic. What these definitions seem to indicate is that it is a term that carries certain ambiguities as there does not seem to be a consensus in the field as to whether it is a personality characteristic or knowledge that can be learned. As will shall see, this ambiguity of the concept is also found in the interviewees' accounts. One account where the concept of soft skill is applied to understand relationships in the company is the one below. It shows how a female engineer understands leadership in the company where she works:

Sure, we have a kind of category, I don't know if it's positive psychology but blue, green and red leaders, so for me in the end it's the red leaders, those are the ones I don't engage with and then there are the green ones, which are the more horizontal ones, that if you've made a mistake it's the fault of the whole team and if someone has stood out it's that person in your team who has stood out, it's not your achievement, that kind of thing. Then there are the blue ones who go with the wave, so in the end I know exactly where I stand because the ones I clash and have conflicts with are the red ones.
(Female engineer n°5)

Here we can see how the female engineer constructs a relational map from the language of the soft skills of management. It is possible to think that the notion of soft skills enables a language to talk about relationships at work but from technical codes. Hence, the concept of 'soft skills' in engineering seems to be part of the technical culture of this profession. By technical culture we mean those that are organised to "implementing systematic technical knowledge" (Isman, 2012, p.209) and that have in turn a technical language that is used as a working tool (Lib, 2010). This technical character of the language of engineering allows the notion of 'soft skills' to become an operationalisable term as an instrument of practice. However, as we see in this account, the notion of 'soft skills' not only serves to operationalise emotions and thus intervene in them, but also provides a network of meanings from which to understand the emotions of others (colleagues, bosses) and to situate oneself in this relationship.

From the extract of the female engineer n°5 it can be seen that in the engineering profession there are formats in circulation that allow professionals to give order to the emotions that unfold in the workplace and to explain the behaviour of others. In other words, there is a vocabulary that makes it possible to translate the interactions and emotions that circulate in the workplace into a management format. On this Illouz (2008) points out that language provides a framework from which to make sense of emotions and what is an emotional problem, as well as how emotions should be inhibited and expressed. This is what the interviewee shows when she describes what kind of leadership she has emotional problems with, defining in turn, what an emotional problem is based on the categories given to her by the emotional culture of her profession (clashing with red leaders). It seems that in her account the interviewee is referring to psychological tests based on colours that offer to identify the personality of employees and bosses, understanding personality as a set of emotions from which the behaviour of people at work could be predicted. In this way, in the engineering profession, personality types are imported from psychology that allow one to read, order and situate oneself with respect to the emotions that arise at work. This exercise, from the interviewees' account, could be understood as the exercise of rationalising emotions, i.e. as "By 'rationality' we refer to the Weberian definition as a pervasive, calculating, reflexive consciousness associated with the principles of personal utility maximisation" (Illouz & Finkelstein, 2009, p.402). Another example along these lines is when an interviewee refers to the importance given to relationships in business today, and how this is linked to the emergence of new theories that have been appropriated by the field of engineering. In this sense, he mentions:

Because of the boom in the subject of emotional intelligence, fifteen years ago, and a lot of books and authors came out. So, that made people start thinking more and worrying about it. Before, people didn't talk about it and, like fifteen years ago, a lot of authors came out with books, relational intelligence, emotional intelligence and all those things. (Male engineer n° 8)

The account of the participant seems to refer to a vocabulary that has been created in the field that allows emotions to be translated into the codes of the profession and to work with them. This translation of emotions from experience into technical language seems to be carried out with the help of psychology, which makes it possible to build bridges between emotions and the language of management. In this regard, it is noted that a number of 'hybrid' sub-

disciplines have emerged in psychology that seek to apply psychological knowledge to the managerial context, one of these sub-disciplines being managerial psychology. This can be understood as an applied psychology that draws on different theories and areas of psychology and combines them with other knowledge such as anthropology, engineering, and sociology, among others, to produce applied knowledge that explains how an organisation is being managed and how it can be improved (Furnham, 2007).

According to Spillane and Martin (2005), management psychology is based on the assumption that people have a personality and that organisations are a set of individuals with different personalities that are coordinated to achieve certain objectives. Thus, in order to understand and intervene in the company, it is necessary to know in depth the personality of those who work in it in order to verify whether or not they have the characteristics to fulfil a certain function (Spillane & Martin, 2005). As mentioned on the website of one of the psychological tests developed for management (DISC profile, n.d.), the aim is to create greater confidence in the members of the company through emotions. These psychological models encourage employees and managers to think of themselves as a set of emotions that can be instrumentalised to improve management in the company. For example, the DISC profiling programme classifies employees into different emotional personalities and shows how these personalities can be combined to get the job done efficiently. This shows how these psychological discourses create what Illouz (2008) calls "interpersonal imagination"(p.14), which is the way of imagining relationships with others through a certain way of understanding and exercising emotions. This entry of psychological discourses into the management of organisations has been understood by some authors as the process of "psychologisation of work" (Crespo & Serrano, 2012, p.36). The "psychologisation of work" is a way of embodying the process of individuation of late modernity and consists of social tensions being conceived as individual tensions (Crespo & Serrano, 2012). Consequently, the explanatory form that the behaviour of others and oneself takes is understood as psychic processes, as a process of the mind (Crespo & Serrano, 2012).

This process of psychologisation of work would be in line with the new forms of work, where greater adaptability to contingencies is required (Maya & Orellana, 2016). This is a historical transformation that work has undergone, which took place between the 1960s and 1970s, which began in the United States but then spread to other countries and which goes hand in hand with the deregulation and globalisation of the economic system, which requires more autonomous workers to face the contingencies and instability to which the business sector is exposed (Doogan, 2009). Adaptation to changing situations becomes key, so that a certain

degree of employee autonomy becomes a crucial aspect of business competitiveness. This implies thinking about one's own skills, understood as "a dynamic interplay between personal characteristic and context" (Sisto, 2009, p.196), in order to put them at the service of management. Soft skills would be necessary to the extent that they provide some flexibility for the worker to adapt to the changing nature of the job.

In Chile, this process of change began in the 1970s during the military dictatorship, when a group of Chilean economists who had studied at the University of Chicago decided to apply some aspects of Milton Friedman's theory to the Chilean economy, under the idea that market deregulation was the best context for the development of capital in the country (Sisto, 2009). This development strategy implemented during the dictatorship has been maintained until today, although with minimal changes in the period of democracy in Chile (Sisto, 2009). These changes have been reflected in the interviews in the tension that could be identified between generations. In reviewing the accounts of both younger and older engineers, it is noted that the term 'soft skill' refers to a change that both generations identify in the industry and in the profile of the engineer being sought after today. It is noted that today, unlike in the past, engineers look after who are 'nice' in the interview and not those with an outstanding academic record. In other words, industry now looks for a specific personality in engineers. One interviewee explains this change in the industry by hinting at one of the 'philosophies' that exists in companies today:

Those who do well are those who have good working teams, not those who do a good job, you know, that's why I think that in terms of profiles, they are not the best marks, I look for the one I like in the interview, the one who has the best ways to solve the problem, I give him a problem and I see what he does (Male engineer n° 2)

The above excerpts point to a perceived change in the emotional culture of the sector today, insofar as, according to the interviewees, unlike in the past, emotional skills are valued more highly than technical skills. However, for some of the older generation interviewees, this overvaluation of soft skills over technical skills is one of the problems of the younger generation. In this respect, one engineer from an older generation points out:

They think that employers value the relational part more, it is valued, but not to the level that kids think. It's like all you have to do is talk. You have to do your job as well. (Male engineer n°8)

Therefore, it can be observed that some members of the older generations have a critical view of the younger generations' assessment of the importance of soft skills in the industry. Perhaps this disagreement about the value of soft skills in the industry is related to the different experiences the two generations have at work. As stated in the literature review, it is argued that in the twentieth and twenty-first century there has been a change in the way work is done (Sennet, 1998). We have gone from a Fordist model where there was a long-term projection in the workplace, to a model that Sennet (1998) calls 'new capitalism', characterised by short-term contracts, job uncertainty, interdependence with globalisation and greater risk-taking, which has generated a different experience between generations. This difference, according to the author, translates into less commitment to work on the part of the new generations and in work relations where there is less trust in relationships and fragile ties. Some of the accounts show that these new working conditions seem to be generating a new emotional culture. This is in line with research that looks at the values of different generations to understand whether there are different attitudes to work among different age groups. According to these studies (Twenge, 2010; Lester, Standifer & Schultz, 2012; Smola & Sutton, 2002), younger generations would value leisure spaces more and would be more concerned about work-life balance, use technology more and value their social life more. In this respect, it could be thought that due to the challenges presented by the new way of working, young engineers put more emphasis on social life (work and personal life), which would be one of the skills sought after by companies today under the concept of 'soft skills'. However, other research and reviews of the state of the art (Parry & Urwin, 2011; Lyons & Kuron, 2013; Constanza et. al., 2012) point out that it is difficult to make generalisations between generations and that what is observed is rather that the experience people have in their work depends on a set of elements that are not only governed by age, but by the intersection of age with factors such as gender, the position held, among others. Thus, rather than different values or ways of thinking, what is observed is that older and younger generations are exposed to different emotional demands, and therefore their emphasis at work is different, which could be forging differences within the same emotional culture within the profession. However, the lack of consensus in the research suggests that it cannot be inferred that because younger engineers emphasise different aspects of work that older engineers think or value work completely differently from their predecessors.

b)Conception of emotions in school teachers' accounts

Teachers, on the other hand, approach emotions from a different perspective. One of the aspects that stood out in the interviews was the tendency to consider that emotions should be expressed spontaneously and that positive emotions should be expressed without filters. To this, it should be added that in some accounts, the importance of empathy in the relationship with students and the emotional bond in the pedagogical relationship appears. In other words, the management of emotions is considered to be part of the work that teachers must carry out in their daily work with students. In this respect, one teacher mentions the following when asked about the emotional demands he perceives in his daily work with students:

In your work you not only have to deal with, in this case, teaching them mathematics, teaching them history, but you also have to understand that this child may have had some problem at home, may have a family problem or have some burden that in one way or another you have to take care of. That's why it has to be a welcoming space not only as a space for the 'transmission of knowledge', but also a space where the child can develop and be happy with others. That's why your role is also to accompany them emotionally, to welcome the emotionality with which they come so that they can develop better. (Male teacher n°16)

In this excerpt, the teacher reports on work with students that goes beyond the formal work of transmitting knowledge. When the teacher mentions that "*you have to understand that this child may have had some problem at home, may have a family problem or have some burden that in some way or another you have to take care of*", he is referring to the work that the teacher has to do with the student's emotions, since he has to '*take care of*' this dimension. Likewise, the teacher alludes to the emotional responsibility that the teacher has to create a '*welcoming space*' for the students where different types of emotions circulate that allow the student to '*be happy*'. This emotional responsibility mentioned by the teacher has been confirmed by other research (Noor & Zainuddin, 2011; Yilmaz et. al., 2015; Keller et. al., 2014) that emphasises the emotion work that teachers must do in their professional life and the emotional wear and tear to which they are exposed because their profession inherently

involves the use of emotions. This has also been confirmed by different research in Chile (Darrigrande & Duran, 2012; Jorquera et. al., 2014; Quiñones et. al., 2012) where different factors are pointed out as having an impact on a high rate of burnout among teachers, ranging from an excess of work to problems that arise in the relationship with students.

Another aspect that appears in the conception of emotions, and which is in line with the characteristics mentioned above, is the idea that there should be certain spontaneity in the relationship with students. Perhaps this is related to the fact that there is a perceived association between the spontaneity of emotions and the well-being of children, as if the healthy development of students is at stake in this spontaneous gesture. The following is an extract from two accounts by the same teacher that would evoke something of this. In the first account, the teacher tells what he likes best about his job:

Laughing with the children. When they make me laugh or when I teach them something and they correct each other or teach each other, what we talk about in class.
(Male teacher n°22).

The second extract, which also shows the conception of emotions as something spontaneous, refers to the way in which the teacher justifies the change he observes in the profile of teachers who are recruited in schools. In this regard, he points out:

Because it is no longer useful for us to dictate a story and for children to write it down and memorise it. That is becoming a thing of the past. So now we know that the child, perhaps by singing the poem, can relate to it much better than by writing it down or memorising it. (Male teacher n° 22).

The extract evokes this contrast between the constriction of the student's emotional dimension and the free expression of their emotions, which reveals something about the conception of emotions that circulates among education professionals. By referring to learning through poems, the male teacher evokes some beliefs that exist in the school space about how children's emotions should be dealt with. An investigation refers to this tension that circulates in the school between the development of creativity in children, which in turn is associated with spontaneity, and traditional forms of teaching such as memorisation, which would be conceived as teaching methodologies that inhibit this dimension in children (García, 2009). From this account and those mentioned above, it is possible to affirm that emotions are conceived as the genuine and spontaneous expression of the self. In this regard, it can be pointed out that different conceptions of childhood circulate in schools. If we trace some of

the discourses that gravitate around the school, one of the conceptions that have had a particular impact on current teaching discourses is Rousseau's (1979) discourse on children. In this discourse children are conceived as part of the order of nature, of emotions, while adults are closer to civilisation and reason (Alzate, 2003). Nature is understood in this perspective as what is good, what has not yet been corrupted by civilisation. The school appropriates this idea of childhood and through its normative discourse on the need to regulate the child's transition to adulthood, turning the child into a student. This appropriation by the school of the rousseauno discourse of the 'natural' childhood that requires protection to that of the student who must be 'controlled', 'corrected', 'regulated' in order to guide him or her towards adult life generates at least two conceptions in tension in the school, between the emotional child who requires care, and the student who needs to be corrected and controlled (Alzate, 2003). These different conceptions of children at school show that the emotional culture that circulates in this workspace contains contradictions that are evident in the teachers' experience of how they conceive of students. In this way, the paradoxes that inhabit the school institution are transferred to the teachers in their teaching practices and demand that they reconcile these different visions of children through emotion work. In this regard, an account that shows the importance that teachers attach to emotions in their professional practice is the following from a teacher of the subject of art. She refers to how emotions are worked on in class and the relationship she establishes between emotions and the development of the children she works with. In this respect, she says:

And that manifests itself, in the units that I do, in the self-portrait unit where we see the whole theme of emotions, in first grade, and the children don't even have the vocabulary to express the different emotions in words: they only know happy, sad, angry. (Female teacher n° 17)

In this fragment the teacher refers to how she conceives the development of her students in relation to emotions. For her, emotions are something to be said and it is necessary to teach a lexicon or vocabulary to identify them. On the other hand, it is also possible to observe a way of conceiving emotions in children that seems to show some influences of developmental psychological theories, which constitute professional knowledge in teaching. This shows that teachers draw on different discourses to situate and understand the emotionality they observe in their students, but also to understand their role in relation to this emotionality.

In spite of the above, it seems that the teachers interviewed were more likely to use lay language to account for their experience of their students' emotions. According to Williams

(2013), "Lay knowledge refers to the ideas and perspectives employed by social actors to interpret their experiences (...) in everyday life."(p.96). In contrast, professional language can be understood as a language that uses "specific methods of communicating and to provide future professionals with a generalized frame of reference in which to view themselves in their communicated interactions" (Brice, 1979, p.103). This language seeks to differentiate itself from the common language of everyday life and is used within a group that has a prior preparation to understand the concepts contained in this language. Professional language is characterised by being precise (it seeks to move away from ambiguity), impersonal (it shows an emotional distance), and universal (it seeks to be a language common to the group that uses it) (Mena & Sarracino, 2008).

Considering this distinction, it would seem that if we analyse the teachers' accounts, a lay language about emotions predominates, i.e. knowledge that is based solely on experience. This is also pointed out in a study carried out in Chile by Contreras and Romero (2020) who investigated the conception of affectivity of a group of teachers working with children suffering from cancer. The authors concluded that the teachers did not have a theoretical-disciplinary discourse on affectivity, nor were they able to give an account of how they exercised affectivity in their relationship with students (Contreras & Romero, 2020). This characteristic of teachers is also explained by the historical way in which teacher training has been constructed in Chile. According to different authors (Egaña, Nuñez & Salinas, 2003; Cox & Gysling, 1990), the school teaching career in Chile, which was established around 1889, was marked in its beginnings by a training that placed greater emphasis on the moral education of students rather than on disciplinary knowledge. This was due to the fact that at the beginning, those who worked as teachers in Chile were people of diverse origins who did not respond to a specific profile for teaching. At the same time, there was no clarity about what had to be taught to students, so that a diffuse knowledge was promoted without any disciplinary guidelines about what and how to teach. It seems that this characteristic of teacher training in Chile is still present today, since various studies (Contreras-Sanzana & Villalobos-Clavería, 2010; Nuñez, Arévalo & Ávalos, 2012; Ruffinelli, 2016) emphasise the predominance of moral knowledge over disciplinary knowledge in the teaching practice of school teachers.

It could be thought that the predominance of this less professionalised knowledge in school teachers compared to other careers (such as medicine, for example) means that this 'lay' knowledge predominates over professional knowledge in the teachers' discourse. Thus, unlike engineers, teachers do not use a technical vocabulary to describe this aspect of the teaching relationship, but use a language based on experience to describe this aspect of their

professional practice. This could also be explained by the fact that by inscribing emotions in a technical language, as in the case of engineers (for example, when emotions are understood as soft skills), emotions can become instrumental, something that would go against the idea of spontaneity that prevails in the field of teachers. If we follow Alzate (2003), that is, that the school teaching career is influenced by the Rousseauian discourse of a 'natural child' who has not been corrupted by culture, technical language could corrupt the nature of the child, so the way to protect that nature is to resort to an emotional language that seeks to connect with the nature of the child. That is, technical language creates a distance from that which is named, and allows for manipulation and instrumentalisation, something that would run counter to the emotional norms that teachers perceive in their profession.

In summary, engineers and teachers have different conceptions of emotions that make sense of the practices and codes of their profession. In the case of engineers, they tend to understand emotions as 'skills', i.e. as elements that can be learned and improved. In this way, emotions are translated into a technical format, which allows their instrumental and strategic use at work. Thus, engineers are guided by the emotional culture of their workspace to deploy emotions in social relations. Unlike engineers, teachers conceive emotions as the genuine and spontaneous expression of the self, especially when it comes to their relationship with students. There is a positive perception of emotions as something that teachers should cultivate in children, as the expression of emotions would be associated with giving more freedom to the students. This is in line with different research (Lewis et. al., 2009; Pekrun, 2009; Ruini et. al., 2017) that supports the idea that there are positive emotions that should be promoted at school. Likewise, the accounts show the existence of an opposition between teaching that limits emotional expression and other, desirable, teaching that stimulates the spontaneous manifestation of emotions in students. Thus, moral ideas about emotions circulate among teachers.

Finally, it is noted that engineers perceive a tension between the emotional codes of younger and older generations. However, research shows that the differences between the generations are not so clear-cut. Perhaps by recognising differences between generations what the interviewees are realising is that there is a different emotional demand for the different age ranges working in the workplace. While accounts indicate that the younger generations are giving more importance to emotions at work than the older generations, this does not necessarily mean that the younger generations think in a completely different way than their older colleagues or that their values are completely different. These differences show that in

both professions there are different emotional cultures that are directly related to the conceptions of emotions that circulate in these two professional fields.

Emotional involvement at work: The value of emotional distance and the value of emotional closeness

One of the themes that emerged during the interviews relates to the emotional involvement of teachers and engineers at work. Closeness and distance with emotions is something that resonates with the relationship that professionals have with themselves and with the people they relate to (Hargreaves, 2001). On this, various research (Harris, 2002; Henderson, 2001; Fischer et. al., 2014) has addressed the management of emotions in professionals by showing that this social group is governed by emotional expectations and that they manage emotional closeness and distance by orienting their behaviour through these expectations. This section is concerned with how professionals manage emotional distance and closeness with their colleagues and bosses, and how in this gesture they define the relationship they have with others.

One of the aspects that could be identified in the accounts of interaction between engineers is the tendency to show a certain emotional distance from work and in work interactions. This is achieved through the presence of technical language in the workspace, which, as mentioned above, is part of technical cultures, creating the impression that 'the personal' is not involved in work interactions. Thus, it seems that part of the emotional codes among engineers is to show others that one has control over one's private emotions and that one establishes a distance from one's own emotions, i.e. the self. If we think about this with respect to the concept of 'soft skills', we could say that although this concept refers to the ability to forge bonds that satisfy the company's objectives, these bonds are made with a certain distance insofar as they are thought of in an instrumental way. The person who exercises emotions ceases to be involved with the other to the extent that he or she takes him or her as an object to achieve some ends. Of course, this does not mean that all the interactions that engineers establish are instrumental, but it can be pointed out that instrumental relationships are something that is allowed in the emotional culture of engineers.

Also, the technical language used in engineering not only allows engineers to put an emotional distance on the work, but to appear to others as if they have control over how they feel. An example of this is when an engineer recounts a scene in which he was in a meeting with a work team. Among the team members was his former boss, who, according to the interviewee, tried

to humiliate him. Instead of responding out of private emotions, the interviewee notes that he responded in a 'professional' manner, bringing the conversation back to work-related issues rather than personally attacking his former boss. He goes on to explain how he dealt with his former boss's humiliation:

No, I'm try to give it back a more professional perspective, like 'okay, I know I made a mistake, but this is not just my mistake, your team is involved in this and so are you', like 'you can't blame me for everything that's going on here', like 'this is both of our problems and we both have to solve it. (Male engineer n° 3)

Thus, emotions cannot just be expressed in any way in the workspace. As can be seen in the excerpt presented, it seems that 'private' emotions, such as jealousy, resentment, among others, require special treatment, that they cannot be expressed directly, but have to enter one work format to be addressed to another. By suggesting that he approached the conflict from a '*professional perspective*', the male engineer n°3 shows that by reframing the problem as one of the team, and not his own, he is subtly rebuking his former boss's perspective, as this would be unprofessional. Hence, by the interviewee framing the problem as one of the team, he constructs an idea where approaching the problem in a personalised way, i.e. blaming one person for what happened reveals a type of emotionality that would not be appropriate for the work context. When the interviewee mentions '*I try to give it back a more professional perspective*' he is implicitly saying that his former boss's perspective was unprofessional, while showing how he dealt with the problem reveals what would be appropriate professional emotions. In this way, the interviewee constructs an idea of the professional that implies the division between public and private emotionality, by pointing out '*but this is not just my mistake*' he shows how his ex-boss is personalising the discussion, how emotionality is directed only at one person. To this way of dealing with emotionality he opposes a 'we' when he says '*but this is not just my mistake, your team is involved in this and so are you*' showing that emotionality must be framed in a team context, which seems to be the emotionality of the work context.

This is in line with Durnova & Mohammadi (2020) who point out that a first approximation of public and private is that public is the space of distance from others, while private is the space of closeness and intimacy. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that one of the criticisms of Hochschild's (1979) theory of emotional labour is that her analysis focuses only on how people manage emotions about themselves in order to control a certain impression on others (deep and surface acting) but forgets the scenario in which people do this work (Harris, 2002). Based

on a study of the emotion work of barristers, Harris (2002) proposes incorporating into the analysis the context in which emotional labour takes place, pointing out that there is a public emotional labour. This is produced when the person is exposed to an audience, something like the 'front stage' (Goffman, 1959). In turn, there is private emotional labour when the person is not exposed to an audience and can be considered the 'back stage' of Goffman's (1959) theory. In this respect, and based on the excerpt presented, we will say that emotions are linked to a certain setting, and that one way of classifying this setting is that of private and public space. When emotions appear that belong to another setting, individuals must do emotion work to reconcile the emotions that are configured in that situation. For example, as noted in the analysis of male engineer n°3, he perceived that his former boss raised the problem by showing emotions in a setting where there are supposed to be professional emotions. This implies dealing with emotions in an impersonal way, as if the person is not involved in what he is saying, nor showing in the emotions that are expressed a personal attachment to someone in particular. It can also be noted from the account of male engineer n°3 that it seems that one of the norms of the emotional culture in engineers is that the emotionality expressed at work must be differentiated from the emotionality expressed in the private space. The interviewees seem to be aware that the workspace requires an expression of emotions under certain implicit and explicit rules. This management of emotions in the workplace has been explored in various studies (Bono & Vey, 2005; Tolich, 1993; Martin, Knopoff & Beckman, 1998; Kelly & Barsade, 2001), which show how people recognise the emotional norms of their workplace through negotiation with these norms.

If emotional distance predominates in the work interactions of engineers, in the case of teachers the emotional culture responds to another interactional logic. In the interviews, teachers explained that part of their professional practice consists of expressing 'positive' emotions to students, while 'negative' emotions must be repressed. An excerpt that illustrates this understanding of emotions is the following, where a teacher responds to the question about what she thinks is the role of emotions in her work:

If I don't show them that I care about them, and that they are loved, that if they do their part it is also important for them to learn. It is also an important point, but I think that the emotion that is generated in the classroom, both by me and by them, comes from their homes, and how am I able to extrapolate that emotion that comes from their

home so that they put all their energy into learning in the classroom, otherwise nothing is achieved. (Female teacher n°21)

In this account she shows the use of a 'private' emotion in her relationship with the students and, in some cases, it is justified by the improvement of learning. An association is made between the bond with the children (which must be affective) and their learning. It is interesting that the teacher refers to affection at home and points out that she should imitate this emotionality in the classroom, as if in school there should be continuity between home and school through emotions, and as if emotions at home were only positive emotions. This teacher's account seems to show that teachers perceive an implicit demand that the emotions they address to their students should be heartfelt and loving emotions. It seems that teachers feel that they must show that they have a genuine concern for their students and even that they love them. On this, Winograd (2003) states that one of the emotional norms in teachers' expression of emotions is to have affection or even love for students. According to the author, teachers perceive this demand from the institution in which they work. Although it was not possible to clearly distinguish in the accounts of the present study whether or not the idea of loving students was an institutional mandate, it is possible to say, as will be seen in the following excerpts, that teachers appropriated this belief and related to it as their own desire.

Although teacher n°21 was the only teacher who explicitly referred to the relationship between emotions at home and at school, it seems an important account insofar as it could reveal an unspoken belief circulating in the school about the place of emotions in the educational institution and how they should be exercised. In this sense, Abramovski (2010) points out, based on a historical review of the profession of school teacher in Argentina, that the idea circulates in the school that there are natural affections of love between teachers and children. According to the author, this idea of love for children is the result of a change in the values of Argentinean society that took place at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the values that sustained families and schools shifted towards what she calls "loving teaching" (Abramovski, 2010, p.37). This way of understanding teaching as a loving act was part of a change in the way of conceiving the relationship between teacher and student, strongly influenced by the incorporation of the idea of the 'civilised' in social relations. Thus, physical punishment was replaced by affection as a legitimate means of "domesticating, calming, regulating [students'] behaviour, seducing" (Abramovski, 2010, p.73).

This change was accompanied by a massive entry of women into the career of school teacher and the feminisation of this profession, which according to the author was in line with a certain belief that was being installed in the school that children should be treated with affection and the person who could best provide affection to children was the woman. This idea was based on the fact that women were thought of in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as having a natural inclination to care for and give love to children (Abramovski, 2010). This historical review of Argentina by the author coincides with the Chilean historian Toro-Blanco (2018), who points out that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as a result of Chile's exchange with Europe and the United States, a psychological discourse on childhood came from the 'northern' countries that proposed softening teaching and changing the relationship between teacher and student based on affection. This led to a transformation in the way teaching was understood in Chile, since the emphasis began to be placed on creating the conditions for children to feel protected so that they could develop their sensitivity. In this context, the teacher's affection was considered the ingredient to generate favourable conditions for the child's development (Toro-Blanco, 2018). This coincides with research carried out in recent years in Chile. For example, research by Saavedra, Quilaqueo & Uribe (2010) shows that some teachers favour working on emotions with children over disciplinary knowledge. There is an idea among some school teachers that their main task is to "win over children with affection" (Saavedra, Quilaqueo & Uribe, 2010, p.58), which could be thought of as the teacher's quest to be accepted by the child through affection. It can also be thought of as the teachers' quest to exert power over the children using emotions. In contrast to teachers, engineers seem to be more concerned with the idea of controlling emotions than with their spontaneous expression. In this respect, one engineer interviewee explains the following in relation to the free expression of their emotions at work:

Yes, but I think that always, in all jobs, I don't know if there is maximum freedom of expression because it is very difficult, I don't know, for 15 people to have the same opinion in certain circumstances or in certain situations, so if you express yourself freely you are going to overwhelm a lot of people who most probably don't want to be overwhelmed and you would never do it with that intention. But if they feel overwhelmed, if you have a counter-response you can generate a... so sure, can you express yourself freely, yes, but always under certain rules and protocols within the work environment, I think. (Male engineer n° 1)

Here we observe that the interviewees explain this adaptation of their emotions to the emotional codes of work, based on the negative consequences for themselves and for others if

they were to give free rein to their emotions without respecting the implicit rules governing work interactions. In other words, the justification in this case for emotional restraint would be based on a certain caution in relating to others, a way of avoiding conflict. In this regard, another engineer notes the following about how he deals with negative emotions when he finds it difficult to reach agreements with a co-worker:

If it gets to a point where it becomes too difficult, I call a boss, as if to seek more 'senior' support. In terms of emotions, you often have to contain your anger and not say too many words. It's much more difficult to say the wrong thing and then rectify it than to hold it in and then try to understand the situation a bit better, talk it over with colleagues or bosses (Male engineer n°3)

In the account it is possible to interpret the work of emotions that the engineer talks about in the control of the expression of anger so as not to generate misunderstandings. It seems that care in the way they express their emotions in the workspace is not only linked to taking care of their relationship with their colleagues, but also to taking care of their place at work. Incorrect expression of emotions could leave them in a vulnerable position in the workplace. In the engineering profession, there is an idea that certain emotions need to be controlled in working relationships in order to protect oneself, i.e. that expressing certain emotions can expose you negatively to others. At this point, the notion also emerged in the interviews that teachers need to constantly control their emotions with students in situations that encourage intense emotions. In this respect, one teacher points out:

I don't think it's always appropriate to blow up in front of a student over something more emotional, especially as a teacher. There are times when it can happen, but I don't think it can be the norm because you're the adult or you're more aware of things. (Male teacher n° 13)

And then he adds:

There are times when I would like to tell them to fuck off, I think it's a normal emotion at certain times and you just don't do it. (Male teacher n°13)

Here it can be seen that the teacher suggests that there is a certain demand to have control over emotions. Noor and Zainuddin (2011) also describe this work of teachers on themselves, especially with regard to feelings of anger. The authors argue that this self-imposed repression by teachers is associated with not becoming a negative role model for students. Some of this can be seen in the quote from teacher n°13 when he mentions that it is not appropriate to

explode in front of the students, especially being the teacher, as if he realises that there is an asymmetrical relationship with the students and that in this relationship something is expected of him. However, the quote also suggests that the interviewee is referring to another type of relationship that circulates in the school, which is that of the adult with the child. In this, the adult is expected to be in control of the relationship with the child and to do so must show control over his own emotions, especially those that denote aggression. An example of this is when a teacher highlights the following:

Not everything can be shared in the same way, for example, if you are angry because something has happened to you and you have had a fight with someone, it is different from telling the children, but they notice that you are angry or that you are more annoyed or sullen than on other days, that is always noticeable. (Male teacher n°16)

The relationship between teachers and students is therefore characterised by several layers of meaning that refer to different forms of sensitivity and links that intertwine in this relationship. On one hand, there is the relationship of authority of the teacher with the student, where it is the teacher who must control the relationship; on the other hand, there is the relationship of the adult with the child, understood as a vulnerable being who limits the emotions he or she can exert on the child, such as aggressiveness. As mentioned above, this latter conception is related to the version of the child in Rousseau's theory, which has an impact on the conception of childhood. Thus, teachers are forced to constantly work on themselves to regulate their emotions within the moral boundaries of the adult-child relationship. This is consistent with the findings of other authors regarding the emotional work that teachers must do on the negative emotions that arise in the classroom, which involve feigning or repressing certain emotions in order to comply with an ideal of how the teacher should behave affectively in class (Noor & Zainuddin, 2011; Keller et. al., 2014).

From these accounts, it is possible to say that in the emotional culture of teachers, emotions are tinged with a moral judgement that divides emotions into positive and negative. The moral dimension circulating in teachers' emotional display was also identified by Hargreaves (2001), who explains that "teachers' emotions are inseparable from moral purposes and their ability to achieve those purposes" (p.838). Other studies also report the circulation of this dichotomous idea of emotions in the school teaching profession: positive and negative ones (Mazer et. al., 2014; Rodrigo-Ruiz, 2016), which confirms the idea that the conception of emotions circulating in school is loaded with moral dispositions. Following on from this, one might think about the kind of image that teachers try to construct about themselves when they assume that in their

interactions with students there should only be room for positive emotions. The emotional norm for teachers to be affective towards students implies that they should display an image towards others that is in line with 'being' an affective teacher, so the normative framework that is imposed also demands that teachers act a certain role towards their students that matches this ideal.

As for the comparison between the emotional culture of teachers and engineers, the latter tend to show a detachment from their own emotions in work interactions with colleagues, while teachers seem to involve their positive personal emotions in their relationship with students, in order to establish an emotional bond with them. Moreover, a moral idea of emotions circulate among the teachers, conceiving them as positive and negative. This moral classification of emotions into positive and negative is not so clear in the case of the engineers since in the accounts they did not make a judgement about how others should be affected as in the case of the teachers (who had a clearer idea of the emotions they should convey to the children). However, it could be said that engineers made an implicit moral judgement about emotional involvement in the workspace. This contrasts with the promotion of 'soft skills' in companies that involve the promotion of certain emotionality in engineers' relationships in pursuit of the company's objectives. Against this it could be pointed out that what is morally punished in the engineering field is not the existence of emotions in relationships, but the level of involvement that a person shows with his or her emotions. It seems that what is expected is that people exercise their emotions with a certain distance, and when this does not happen, a moral judgement appears on the way in which the person shows their emotionality.

Regardless of these differences, it is observed that both engineers and teachers control their emotions in work interactions. In the case of teachers, this can be seen in the relationship with students, as they have to work at not expressing the negative emotions that arise in this relationship, in order to protect the students. Nevertheless, there is an expectation that teachers have to bring some of their private emotionality into play in order to connect with students, but this is a personal emotionality where only positive emotions are shown to students but not negative ones. In the case of engineers, it seems that the control of emotions is more about protecting themselves at work, as the expression of certain emotions could leave them in a vulnerable position in their relationship with colleagues and bosses. Thus in both professions they construct the idea of risk in the encounter with the other differently. For teachers, control of emotions is necessary as the risk is to harm students. For engineers, on the other hand, the control of emotions is necessary insofar as their spontaneous expression entails a risk to themselves.

Frontiers of private and public emotions at work: the clear separation between distant and close and the ambiguous separation of the distant and close

As we saw in the previous section, teachers and engineers construct different relationships with emotions in the workspace. These are framed by different emotional cultures but which in turn recreate these cultures. In this section we will build on these findings to show that there is a notion among both engineers and teachers that there are emotions that can and cannot be displayed in work interaction with their co-workers and, in the case of teachers, also with their students. This differentiation in the articulation of the emotions that can and cannot be shown is related to the division of what is usually understood as public and private space. At the beginning of the thesis we argued that the difference between public and private was related to what is visible to all, in the case of public, and what is invisible or visible only to some, in the case of private. Later, in the section 'Emotional involvement at work', an idea of public and private appeared that had to do with showing attachment or detachment with one's emotions. The private was about showing greater involvement with one's own emotions and public was about disengagement and distance from one's own emotions. This shows that different conceptions of what is public and what is private circulate in the interactions. To enrich the analysis in this section we will add that public space will be understood as space which demands an emotional distance between people "that may inhibit or even prohibit expressions of private commitments" (Durnova & Mohammadi, 2020, p.1). Private space, on the other hand, will be understood as the place where closeness and intimacy with others occurs and where the person can receive acknowledgement of their feelings (Durnova & Mohammadi, 2020).

Although the interview did not directly address the question of how interviewees conceived of public and private, it was possible to infer this from participants' accounts of the emotions they felt they could and could not display in work interactions with colleagues. Participants from both professions report more intimate spaces with colleagues with whom there is a bond of friendship within the workplace. With these colleagues they share those emotions that cannot be revealed in work interactions; however, these 'intimate spaces' at work take different forms and have a different meaning in each of the professions. To understand this practice of interviewees not showing certain emotions in one space and showing them in another space at work, the metaphor of the 'front stage' and 'back stage' may be useful (Goffman, 1959). In order to understand people's behaviour in social relations, the author uses

the metaphor of theatre to explain the work people do to convey a certain impression to others. In this regard, he mentions that people act out a character on a stage that is usually a given place, such as the workspace, and that as in the theatre, this stage has a 'front stage' and a 'back stage'. The 'front stage' is defined as "that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance" (Goffman, 1959, p.32). Thus the front stage is that stage where the person is observed by others and plays a role in order to interact with that 'audience'. According to the author, in order to play his or her role, the person emphasises certain aspects of him or herself and hides others (Goffman, 1959). With regard to the back stage, this refers to the private space that is not visible to everyone, and where the person could stop playing their role (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2013). In this way, and based on these concepts, we can say that in the engineers' workspace it was possible to observe from the accounts that there is a 'front stage' that corresponds to the performance that professionals make in front of their work colleagues (their public) and a 'back stage' where emotions are shared with trusted people, usually peers, which are not revealed on the 'front stage'.

In this regard, one of the interviewees related the experience he had in one of his jobs where he established a friendship with one of his colleagues. The interviewee mentions that his job was in a building and that he used to go down to the lobby of the building with his friend-colleague to smoke a cigarette where a different emotionality appeared than the one he showed in public where it was possible to criticise the boss. As he explained

When I started working I had a [friend], we'd go in together, two people who became friends, very close friends, so it was easier to let off steam because you'd go smoke a cigarette [in the lobby of the building] and say 'this guy is this and this guy is that' about anyone and then you'd go upstairs and everything was quiet. I had a kind of friend there... and it was mutual, it was totally mutual. Luckily we didn't have to go down [to the lobby] to smoke so many times because that would have meant we were totally pissed off [with the management]. (Male engineer n°1)

Hence, It seems that the workspace in engineering requires a clear division between private and public emotions, to the extent that the interviewee had to physically divide the space of intimacy from the workspace, turning the lobby of the building into a space where it was possible to play out private emotions that were not allowed at work. From the interviewee's account, it can be deduced that there is a front stage where one kind of emotionality has to be shown, and a back stage, where private emotions appear and have to be hidden in the

relations in the working space. Likewise, it is possible to infer from the account that there are emotions that are produced at work that need to be discharged in intimate spaces, as if the concealment of certain emotions that arise at work needed to be dealt with somewhere. Likewise, this scene recounted by the interviewee could be understood from the categories of formal and informal relationships. In the lobby of the building where he works, it seems that the venting of emotions with the friend-colleague gives an informal tone to the conversation and the relationship. This idea of formal and informal at work has been addressed by different research (Sias & Cahill, 1998; Riordan & Griffith, 1995; Mao, 2007) which recognises the existence of formal and informal spaces at work, the latter being where friendships develop. It is also suggested that friendships at work are established with different levels of closeness and that this type of relationship within organisations shows that the boundary between private space and workspace is more blurred than one might first think, and the narrative shows how the interviewee manages the public emotions that can be shown in work interactions, and the private ones, which must be hidden from the work scene.

In the case of teachers, it is also possible to recognise the existence of a 'back stage' but in this case, 'front stage' and 'back stage' does not serve to explain the type of emotionality at play. This is because in this professional field emotions do not have such a clear division as in engineering between the 'public' emotions shown on the 'front stage' and the 'private' emotions shown on the 'back stage'. In this regard, one component of teachers' emotional culture is that, at times, working relationships become friendships that serve as spaces for emotional support. Thus, teachers seem to seek friendship at work insofar as it serves as an emotional support in dealing with emotions that arise in the workspace, but at the same time this relationship may involve tensions insofar as the relationships have a dual character: friendship and work. It seems that the emotions of the private and public space are put in tension in the teachers' field by the type of relationship they establish with their colleagues. In this respect, one teacher mentions:

Because it's more of a friendly relationship than a colleague relationship with the people in the department, it's a very close relationship. In fact, we go out together, we do other things as well. We work together in other places with some of them, so when there is tension, that it has to do with a particular issue, we solve it directly, trying to separate the friendship and the professional aspects, but yes, we argue. (Male teacher n° 16)

This account reveals certain permeability between private relations and work that influences daily work, to the extent that their separation has to be made explicit. There is a constant challenge in these relationships for personal emotions not to influence work and vice versa. One interviewee gives an account of the challenges in the double dimension of this relationship as follows:

So we make it explicit in a direct way like 'look, we love each other very much, you're very important to me but I think you're doing it wrong'. Interestingly, I think we've also left the space to clarify those things, to say 'look, you know that, regardless of how much we love each other, you're making a mistake' or 'what you're doing makes me feel bad, not because of a personal issue but because of a professional issue', then you separate the waters immediately. (Male teacher n° 16)

Thus, there would be a certain ambiguity in these friendship relationships at work, as personal emotions are at play in work interactions. Part of the emotional culture circulating among teachers is the simultaneous presence of private and public emotions in the workplace, i.e. emotions of closeness and distance in the same relationship. Pillemer and Rothbard (2018) also highlight the tensions that can arise in friendships at work, as the characteristics of friendship, which they define as voluntary, with community norms, informal and with emotional goals, clash with the characteristics of a working relationship. The latter would be characterised by the establishment of "formal roles, involuntary relationships, exchange norms, and instrumental goals" (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018, p.637). According to these authors, there are sometimes circumstances at work in which friendship expectations are disrupted by the fulfilment of work relationship expectations. The excerpt presented suggests that a contradiction between the two types of bond (work and friendship) arises when there is criticism or discomfort with respect to the other's work. In that instance it seems that it is difficult to talk to the co-worker without hurting the feelings of the friend, so the participants have to do an emotion work to separate these two bonds that are mixed in everyday life.

As for the private space in the case of engineers, the division of emotions between private and public space is not only at stake in the intimate relationship that is generated with friends-colleagues, but also when something of the worker's domestic's life appears in the workplace. This can be seen when one of the interviewees says that he only talks about his personal problems with his boss when there is an emergency, for example, when he has to go home because his house is being repaired. This shows that problems in the private space appear in the workplace as something exceptional. Because the spaces of private and public in the case

of teachers are more hybrid than those of engineers, the private life of the house appears in working relationships of friendship spontaneously and not as something exceptional. This can be seen, for example, when a teacher interviewee points out about the friendly relationship he has with his colleagues at work:

I mean, if someone gets sick I say 'hey, how's your son', 'how's your wife' if she had an operation or whatever, so there are more emotional issues than just work issues. (Male teacher n°20)

However, the teachers' accounts do not make it possible to determine whether the teachers' private home life appears spontaneously in other instances, for example with their bosses or with students. The accounts analysed only show that the teachers' private home life appears spontaneously and not as something exceptional in the relationships they have with their friends-colleagues.

In contrast to this culture of teachers, the emotional culture of engineers seems to be characterised by a strong division between public emotions that manifest themselves in work interactions, and private emotions that manifest themselves when there are trusting relationships between those involved. These trusted persons serve as emotional support, and the relationship with them seems to develop through a certain complicity that occurs between workers when they share the negative emotions they experience at work. Likewise, the discharge of these emotions must be hidden from the work interactions that take place in the workspace. In this sense, it seems that the emotional culture forces engineers to differentiate the emotionality that is established in work interactions in general from that which is established with people with whom there is greater trust and complicity. As mentioned above, Goffman's (1959) metaphor works in this area, which points out that actors are divided between a 'front stage' where they perform a role in front of an audience, which in the case of engineers would be their colleagues at work, and a 'back stage' where engineers can put aside the role they play in the workplace and another emotionality appears. In this sense, there seems to be an unspoken belief that the life of the family and the emotions involved in it should also be hidden from work interactions. This part of the employee's life should not appear in work interactions and appears when something happens that produces an imbalance between the sphere of work and that of the domestic space, forcing the employee to negotiate the spaces of work life in order to solve the problems of private life. This dimension of the private life will be further developed in Chapter 7. In the case of teachers, there seems to be a greater permeability of the boundaries between private and public emotions in the

workspace. This could be explained by the fact that in order to access supportive spaces, teachers have to transform their working relationships with their colleagues into bonds of friendship in order to unload with them those emotions that are not contained by the institution where they work. Possibly the bond of friendship allows teachers not to be judged for what they feel, even if this goes against the emotions expected from the adult towards the child. However, more evidence is needed to confirm this suspicion.

From this analysis, it is possible to affirm that both engineers and teachers have to show certain emotions and hide others in their working relationships. This repression exercised by both professionals leads them to construct spaces of intimacy with their friends-colleagues in order to unload these repressed emotions in their work interactions. However, the delimitation of what can and cannot be shown is in line with the way in which public and private space is configured in both professions. Hence, it seems that in engineers, public and private space is clearly delimited in the relationships that are established in the workplace. In teachers, on the other hand, this division is more diffuse and this causes a certain ambiguity in the relationships established with colleagues at work, since they are both colleagues and friends at the same time.

Conclusion

The interviewees' accounts of their experience at work show how the emotions that unfold in work interactions make sense within the framework of a specific emotional culture in each of the professions. Throughout the study, differences are observed in the way in which teachers and engineers make sense of and explain their daily experiences at work, but also convergences in some aspects of their experience, such as the need to unburden to someone the emotions repressed during the working day. At the same time, it is observed that professionals perceive that in the relationship with the institution where they work and with their colleagues there are expectations about how they are expected to manage their emotions in the work space. These expectations vary from job to job. If in engineering people are expected to show distance with their emotions, in school teaching teachers are expected to be affective, but only show positive emotions to students. This understanding of the expectations that circulate in work relationships has an effect on the experience of these professionals as they seek ways to deal with it. It was also possible to identify that just as participants perceive expectations of the place where they work, they also have expectations about how others should express their emotions. This is shown, for example, in the teacher

who claims that students do not have a wide vocabulary to express their emotions, or in the engineer who criticises the emotionality of his former boss by pointing out that she is unprofessional. Thus, the emotional culture of the professions provides a framework from which emotions are created and recreated in interactions with others.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that during the interview it was observed that participants talk about their emotional experiences with different levels of involvement, sometimes speaking from the institution and sometimes from their subjective experience. This perhaps shows how each of these actors adopts different perspectives in providing an understanding of the emotions that circulate in social interactions at work. Therefore, the way in which participants make sense of their emotions is a function of a certain emotional framework that provides them with certain guidelines on how they should feel and what emotions they can show.

Table 3 shows in general terms the most important characteristics of each of the cultures and their differences. The right-hand column is organised according to the themes that emerged during the interviews. The left-hand column presents the professions and their corresponding characteristics.

Table 3. Comparison of the emotional culture of engineers and teachers

Themes	Professions	
	Engineers	School teachers
Ways of conceiving emotions: emotions as techniques and emotions as spontaneity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emotions are skills that can be used as tools in the workplace. - Emotions are instruments for achieving companies goals. - Emotions are allowed to be used in an instrumental way. - Emotions are techniques - Ambiguity about how emotions are conceived: are they acquired or are 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emotions are divided into positive and negative, and only the former can be expressed publicly. - - Emotions towards children should be authentic and spontaneous emotions to the extent that they are positive. - Negative emotions should be repressed.

	they natural?	
Emotional involvement at work: The value of emotional distance and the value of emotional closeness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emotions must be exercised by showing emotional distance. Emotions need to be distanced in the workspace. - Show control over emotions and a professional attitude, where the impersonal rather than the personal predominates. - Private emotions should be kept out of the workplace 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emotions should generate closeness. Emotions should be used to show closeness to students and colleagues. - Children must be loved. - Emotions should be unfiltered, without mediations that could distort the relationship with the student, so that they are spontaneous and must not look like they are instrumental. - Private emotions can be expressed, but in a regulated way. Negative emotions should be repressed.
Frontiers of the private: the clear separation between distant and close , and the ambiguous separation between the distant and the close.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The boundary between public and private is clear and well defined. - There is a relationship between emotions and setting. A different emotionality is expected in the workspace than at home. - There is a front stage where a certain emotionality is expressed and a back stage where the private emotions of the engineer with his 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The demarcation between public and private is blurred. - The difference in the expression of emotions is more related to the type of relationship one has (whether it is a colleague friend, whether it is the boss, whether it is the students or parents, etc.) rather than the setting where the interaction takes place. - Closeness is created with colleagues in order to release emotions that need to be hidden where the negative

	<p>trusted colleagues appears.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are colleague-friends who are trustworthy people with whom you can release those emotions that are repressed in the workplace. - You must show that you control your emotions. 	<p>emotions can be released</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tension is created with regard to the double bond that is formed in the workspace: friendship and work.
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This table of characterisation of the emotional culture of teachers and engineers attempts to give an account of the context and beliefs in which these professionals operate. In the next chapter we will add gender conceptions in order to have a better understanding of how interactions between men and women develop in each of the emotional cultures.

Chapter 5: Conceptions of the relationship between men and women in the workspace: The management of the heterogeneous and the management of the homogenous

In the previous chapter we reviewed the characteristics of emotional culture in terms of the conception of emotions, the levels of personal involvement in social relations and the boundaries between the public and private spaces at work. In this chapter, we will focus on another aspect of emotional culture, which corresponds to the conceptions of the relationship between men and women that circulate in the workspace of both professions. We will devote a whole chapter to this issue due to the length of the analysis and because gender, as well as emotions, is one of the structuring elements of this thesis and therefore deserves more attention. In addition, the findings related to gender require a contextualisation that lead us to review the historical trajectory of the engineering profession and school teaching in Chilean culture. Having clarified the above, one of the first statements that can be made with respect to the findings is that , implicitly and explicitly, professionals in both careers tend to put into practice a particular way of 'being' a woman and a man. This exercise of gender is enabled and constrained by the emotional culture of the place where they work and the profession they practice.

This chapter shows how emotional culture is the product of an assemblage of different discourses, some past, some present, containing normative ideals and notions (like how to be a professional) that order the interactions that occur in the workplace. These ideals and notions allow interviewees to give order to emotions in the workspace and provide guidance on how to exercise them. As will be seen in the excerpts below, these ideals and notions are not necessarily consistent with each other, but because of the historical trajectory of the profession, they are available for people to use when needed to make sense of the situations they face daily in their working lives and to know how to act. This chapter mainly identifies two discourses that guide the engineering profession: the historical discourse that allows the profession to be conceived as part of a masculine culture, and a new discourse on gender, the post-feminism of late modernity. The latter discourse, which is defined as a new sensibility (Gill, 2016), strains the masculine culture of the profession by introducing new gender expectations and by generating a new valuation of attributes considered feminine. In the case

of the school teaching profession, it is observed that traditional normative ideals of femininity and masculinity predominate, which do not seem to be in dialogue with the new gender discourses that post-feminist sensibility implies. At the end of the current chapter an attempt is made to provide an explanation for this difference in the treatment of gender and emotions in both professions. Thus, what is addressed is that the professions of engineering and school teaching have different conceptions of gender, which implies different emotional norms for each of these professions, and that these differences are explained by the different roles of the school and the company in society. In this regard, it is pointed out that gender plays an important role in understanding the emotional cultures of both professions, since it generates relational patterns from which people explain the behaviour of others and modify their emotionality. To introduce the analysis, we first need to address the historical trajectory of the engineering profession and school teaching in Chile. This brief historical review will provide a framework from which to understand the analysis in this chapter.

Historical characteristics of the engineering profession and school teaching in Chile

In terms of the conception of gender in the engineering field, researchers (Faulkner, 2007; Ballakrishnen, Fielding-Singh & Magliozzi, 2019; Seron et. al., 2018; Watt, 2009; Kvande, 1999) tend to agree that the engineering field is dominated by a higher proportion of men, while the teaching profession appears to be dominated by a higher proportion of women (Garcia et. al., 2015; Gonzalez, 2010). The higher proportion of men in the engineering profession has implied a series of consequences in work relations such as men's presence in engineering being taken for granted, while women are faced with explaining their presence in this field; women and men face different obstacles in their professional performance as engineers (however, we will see throughout this thesis that there are also many similarities in the obstacles they face); women and men negotiate how to embody the feminine and the masculine in the workspace, but women have fewer referents from which to represent their role in the context of that profession (Faulkner, 2007; Ballakrishnen, Fielding-Singh & Magliozzi, 2019; Seron et. al., 2018; Watt, 2009; Kvande, 1999).

Meanwhile, studies that address the gender aspects of male and female teachers (Sansone, 2017; Topchyan & Woehler, 2021; Rubi-Davies, Flint & McDonald, 2012; Klasen & Chiu, 2010; Drudy, 2008; Martino, 2008), tend to focus mainly on the experience of female teachers rather than male teachers due to the fact that the career tends to have a lower proportion of men.

Based on this, studies tend to mention that: there is a higher predominance of women in the profession; the relationship between teachers is relevant to understanding the profession as well as the relationship that teachers establish with themselves; the teacher's gender has an impact on students, the teacher's beliefs about gender have an impact on the way they exercise their profession; male and female teachers show differences and similarities in their behaviour in the school institution. For example, it is observed that female teachers tend to establish a closer bond with students than male teachers (Sansone, 2017; Topchyan & Woehler, 2021; Rubi-Davies, Flint & McDonald, 2012; Klasen & Chiu, 2010; Drudy, 2008; Martino, 2008).

These characteristics of the professions generate different ways of constructing 'being' a man and 'being' a woman. Here we recall what was mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, when reference was made to the theory of 'doing gender' by West and Zimmerman (1987) who point out that gender is a construction that is 'done' in social interactions with others. Thus, due to the characteristics of each of these professions, gender is 'made' differently. For this reason, in order to understand the gender cultures of engineering and school teaching, we must go back briefly to the historical origin of both professions in Chile.

a) Brief history of the engineering profession in Chile

If we review the scarce information that exists on the beginnings of engineering in Chile, it is pointed out that its first glimpses can be found in the 18th century where the Royal Corps of Military Engineers of the Spanish crown was in charge of building part of the country's infrastructure. Then, in 1953, the first engineering degree was inaugurated at the University of Chile, which was mostly composed of men (Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, n.d.). This predominance of men in the discipline has currently been the subject of criticism since a gender gap has been detected in the career which would go against state policies to achieve greater gender equity which is understood, among other things, as a greater participation of women in those areas where they are underrepresented (Rodriguez & Caminotti, 2010; Canales et. al.,2021). For example, between 2015 and 2016 in Chile, the participation of women in civil engineering was around 20% compared to 80% of men (Jimenez, Jones & Vidal, 2019). Added to this are the findings of different research studies (Martinez et. al.,2019; Radovic et. al., 2021)that have been carried out on the experience of women in engineering careers, who report feeling discriminated against in their careers due, for example, to the fact that male colleagues and professors sometimes make comments that assign women a

domestic role, rather than a professional role, which shows that there are representations of women in the profession that exclude women from that space. These characteristics identified by the research reviewed suggest that a male culture predominates in engineering that provides an order to gender relations, emphasises certain values over others, and provides conceptions of how engineers should be and act. Thus, we could think that one of the organising axes of the engineering workplace and one of the axes that organise emotions in this profession is the circulation of masculine culture, which in turn implies a certain understanding of the masculine and feminine. This is in line with the findings of different research (McLean et. al., 1997; Bejerano & Bartosh, 2015), which point out that engineering is dominated by a particular type of masculine culture that entails a series of assumptions about what women and men are like, which impacts on women's insertion into this profession and their work practice. Different authors have characterised the types of masculinity which circulates in engineering. Notions of masculinity such as emotional regulation or self-control (Akpanudo et. al., 2017), the "individuality, emotional detachment, heteronormative sexualization of interactions, and competition and competitive interaction"(Secules, 2019, p.208) appear in different studies. In addition, characteristics such as the existence of dual logics in the profession that oppose mind/body, hard/soft, science/sensuality and things/people are considered (Arango, 2005). Particular types of relationships are raised such as a certain relationship between men where prestige and fraternity predominate (Arango, 2005). If we take these assumptions, i.e. that the engineering profession is one where masculine culture predominates, then we could hypothesise that the normative orientations of the profession, the way in which the workspace is organised, and the emotions that circulate in it, are strongly influenced by a certain conception of masculinity.

b) Brief history of the school teaching profession in Chile

The school teaching career in Chile is characterised by the fact that in its origins the profession did not have a clear profile. Egaña, Nuñez and Salinas (1989) mentioned that in 1889, the Instituto Pedagógico (Teaching Institute) was founded, which, together with the Escuelas Normales¹⁴, provided a short training for people who wanted to work in schools. This training was not university education, but rather a series of diffuse guidelines aimed at people from

¹⁴ The Escuelas Normales were schools created by the State to train teachers. The training was oriented towards nation building, where teachers were in charge of fostering a national identity in children. Although teacher training considered disciplinary knowledge, it was mainly focused on the transmission of citizen values such as the value of work, democracy, dignity, among others (Figueroa, 2000; Sanchez, González & Monroy, 2019).

different backgrounds and educational levels, which shows that at the beginning the school teaching career did not have a clear profile. The opening of the Instituto Pedagógico (Teaching Institute) was accompanied by a massive influx of women who had not previously been authorised to train as teachers, a practice that was mainly practised by men (Biblioteca Nacional, n.d.). The entry of women into the teaching profession was in turn accompanied by a discourse that justifies their insertion in the educational field under the idea that "women, by nature, are more willing than men to transmit the knowledge they possess" (Egaña, Nuñez & Salina, 2003, p.26), since it is they who have historically fulfilled the role of educating children at home. Egaña, Nuñez and Salinas (2003) mention that from the beginning, women's entry into school in their role as school teachers was associated with their condition as mothers and therefore, their role as teachers was linked to their role in the domestic space. Thus, what women were naturally capable of doing in the domestic space was now transferred to a new setting, but the same attributes were sought in them as they had in the home. Subsequently, between 1919 and 1969, universities were responsible for the training of primary and secondary teachers (Biblioteca Nacional, n.d.). Women entered the primary teacher training course, and were taught how to educate young children. There were also men in this career but the predominance was mainly female. Male teachers, on the other hand, tended to predominate in the secondary training course, with older students (Serrano et. al., 2012). Another study (Izaguirre, Leyva & Galaviz, 2009) mentions the change in the role of women from the mother who educates to the teacher who educates in Latin America, especially at the beginning of the twentieth century, pointing out that in this transition women began to take on a role in public discourse and in the formation of the nation. When education became a state affair, women, as participants in this political project, took on a moral role in the educational process, symbolising the mother who produces the homeland through the formation of citizens. In this way, a discourse was created that sought to harmonise the nature of women (being mothers) with their political place in society (educating) (Izaguirre, Leyva & Galaviz, 2009). The moral values assigned to women in the domestic space are translated into the public sphere of the school, where women become the symbol of state protection, the 'soft' hand that welcomes and shelters the nation's children, in turn imprinting a function on the teaching profession (caring for children). In this way, continuity is generated between the domestic role of women and their public role (Izaguirre, Leyva & Galaviz, 2009). This tendency for the attributes associated with women to have played a preponderant role in the twentieth century in providing an orientation to the profession of school teaching in Chile, and for them to have a preponderant presence in the area, has generated what González-Castro (2010) has called a 'feminisation of the teaching career'. Feminisation can be understood as "the spread

of traits or qualities that are traditionally associated with females to things or people not usually described that way" (Fondas, 1997, p.258). As a consequence, the history of the school teaching profession has been marked by a certain logic, which can be explained, among other things, by a certain idea of the feminine in the profession that is put into play in the relationships that are established in professional practices. This historical reconstruction allows us to affirm that the trajectory of the school teaching profession has been marked by a feminine culture.¹⁵

This historical trajectory of both professions allows us to understand the notions and practices that have been sedimented over time in engineering and school teaching. These sedimentations are constantly being updated in the interactions between people and the changes that frame these social relations. It is as if this history of the professions exists as a backdrop and people have an implicit dialogue with the normative ideals and historical notions that circulate in the profession through everyday interactions. However, the point is that gender plays an important role in understanding the emotional cultures of both professions and generates relational patterns from which people explain the behaviour of others and modify their emotionality to fit the workplace. Taking up the point made by West and Zimmerman (1987) - that is, in interactions we try to account to others for our femininity or masculinity - we will say that this is done in relation to the normative gender frameworks found in the emotional cultures of the profession.

With regard to the above mentioned, it can be observed in the analysis of the interviewees that these gender logics of emotional cultures have been re-signified and, in some cases, new ways of understanding gender relations within the workspace have been configured. The interviewees present different levels of reflection and appropriation of the gender conceptions

¹⁵ In order to explain these differences between professions, we will take the perspective assumed by some authors (Fischer & Manstead, 2004; Stolke, 2004) that different genders bring with them different cultures. In taking this view there is always the risk of generating stereotypical explanations of the differences between men and women. To avoid such readings, we will say that gender cultures provide a perspective from which to understand the profession, how to behave, what attitudes and practices can or cannot be carried out, but being a framework that guides the individuals, people can also distance themselves and negotiate with this framework. Based on this understanding, we will say that gender cultures provide certain characteristics and direction to the ways of exercising the profession, but that the subjects have a certain margin of manoeuvre to enter or leave this framework. We will also say that these gender cultures found in the workplace and rooted in the historical trajectory of the profession sometimes intersect with the emotional culture, which constitutes a broader framework and incorporates logics that do not only come from gender cultures.

that circulate in their workspaces. Sometimes interviewees speak from personal experience, sometimes from the perspective of institutional discourse. Sometimes they make their conception of gender explicit, sometimes it has to be inferred from the accounts of their interactions with their colleagues. Hence, participants construct an understanding of gender relations from a complex web of experiences and ongoing dialogues with the emotional culture of their work. In the following we will see how these historical notions of the profession are set in motion by the participants' interpretations of the relationships in the workspace.

Men's and women engineers' perception of how gender is conceived in the workspace

Against this historical backdrop, which makes it possible to point out that the engineering profession is dominated by a male culture, the participants have different perceptions on this issue. In the following account, a male engineer gives his perception of the way in which gender is addressed in his profession:

Today I think women are fighting a big battle to stop this and to say that 'we are not the emotional ones, we are not that', and I think men are doing a great job on the other side, in the sense of yes, being more open, yes, saying more, yes, asking for more, you know, I think, it's not for us to equalise, but to take away that stigma. I think people are trying to, women to behave more like men and men more like women. (Male engineer n°2)

This account shows that from the point of view of some male engineers there has been a reversal of the emotional codes that characterise the male and female genders. For this interviewee, female engineers have been acquiring an emotional behaviour similar to that of men, which is interpreted by men as a lesser expression of emotions than would be expected of a woman. Other participants point out that there has been a change in the attitude of women, who behave defensively at work. In this respect, the engineer mentions:

I don't know if it's the stigma, but there are some women who come with the threat that they're not going to be trampled, and because they have this kind of armour, they suddenly react badly and you get a bit of a shock, you know? (Male engineer n°1)

In this excerpt, the interviewee refers not only to the change in attitude he observes in some women, but also to how he positions himself in relation to this change. When the interviewee

states that their perception of their female colleagues is that *'they have that kind of armour, they suddenly react badly and you are a bit shocked, you know?'* he seems to be conveying the idea that women behave in a defensive way, which could be thought of from the idea of the 'masculinisation' of women. This participant's perception could be contextualised through the post-feminism theory's interpretation of the changes observed in women's lives. For this we will go back to the discussion on postfeminism, which was mentioned in Chapter 2.

Generally speaking, postfeminism posits that women would have abandoned traditional gender scripts where they were assigned a subservient role, responsible for meeting the needs of husbands and children. Today, women would be guided by other normative ideals associated with an idea of a woman who puts her own needs at the centre and fulfils herself professionally while at the same time being able to raise a family with children (Lewis, Benschop & Simpson, 2017). To this would be added the idea that women should exercise power and to do so they must emulate the aggressive qualities of power (Ringrose, 2013). In this respect, we could say that post-feminism has a certain aesthetic about the image that women should project to others, which includes looking confident, effective, resilient, powerful, among others.

If we take this discussion of new ways of being and feeling female in late modern postfeminism into consideration, we could point out that the perception that male engineers n°1 and n°2 express in their narratives seems to make sense under the discourse of postfeminism. That is, the idea that women are aggressive, that they are less 'emotional', seems to go in the direction of post-feminist emotionality. However, this analysis must take into account the context in which women operate, which, as mentioned above, corresponds to a profession that has historically been shaped by a male culture. In this regard, various studies (Powell, Bagilhole & Dainty, 2009) mention the tendency of women to use strategies¹⁶ to 'masculinise' themselves in the engineering profession as a way of being accepted in a culture that excludes them. Therefore, we will say that the male engineers' accounts suggest that women seem to be emulating emotions that coincide with the thesis of postmodernism in late modernity, but that this must intersect with the women's workplace where, it seems, certain 'masculine' characteristics must be displayed in order to gain acceptance by others at work.

Now, if we go back to the account of male engineer n°1, it is possible to observe that he makes reference to what provokes this more aggressive attitude in women, when he points out that *'they suddenly react badly and you are a bit shocked, you know'*. What the interviewee conveys

¹⁶ These strategies will be discussed in more detail in the Chapter 6.

with this sentence is as if he did not know how to react to the woman's behaviour, and that this took him by surprise. Although this is only one account, it could be reflecting a change in men that also finds support in the theory of post-feminism. According to postfeminist theory, feminism's undermining of patriarchy has meant that men can no longer fall back on the traditional masculine values that gave them a sense of security about how they should 'be' men (Rumens, 2017). However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, these new existential crises in men are not only explained by feminist discourse. It is difficult to elicit from the above-mentioned account that what exists is an existential crisis for men; rather, what can be said is that it seems that men do not have clear guidelines on how to position themselves in the face of some of the reactions of women at work. Nevertheless, in the interviews it was noted that some men have created narratives about how to understand the changes between men and women that they observe in their workspace. One male engineer explains that rather than an acquisition of the emotional codes of another gender, men and women have tended to converge at a centre by acquiring the same emotional behaviours and skills. On this, one engineer points out:

I also think that in the past men had more 'hard' skills and women had more 'soft' skills and now both have moved to a centre where everyone has to have both skills. (Male engineer n° 3)

In this fragment of the account, the engineer refers to a certain way of characterising men and women that he considers to be part of the past. In these notions of the past, according to the interviewee, men were associated with 'hard' and women with 'soft'. The interviewee seems to perceive that these differences between men and women no longer apply, and the current trend is towards a certain similarity between men and women. It seems that in this quote the interviewee is pointing out that the differences in the way men and women 'are' have faded away in terms of the abilities that are recognised in each gender. In this respect, it could be said that this explanation provided by the interviewee is in line with the thesis put forward by post-feminism, which states that women have achieved gender equity and therefore gender differences are no longer relevant (Hall & Salupo, 2003)¹⁷. It seems that through the concepts of 'hard' and 'soft' what the interviewee is suggesting is that attributes that were previously

¹⁷ Although on this point it should be noted that a distinction must be made between the equity in the skills that men and women are recognised as having and the working conditions that both face in their workplaces. It is difficult to say that men and women face the same working conditions when they are hired (in terms of pay, promotion, etc.).

considered to be male and female have been de-anchored from gender and are now considered skills that can be learned by both men and women. One might think that by degendering attributes, gender seems to become a neutral element in the workspace, since it is the skills that matter, not the 'nature' of gender. Thus, some male interviewees perceive that there has been an emotional shift that has altered the behaviour of male and female engineers. This change would be interpreted as a shift in the profession towards a greater emphasis on emotional skills, represented in soft skills, but interviewees do not connect this change with the transformations that have taken place in Chilean society and globally in recent decades (such as, for example, the massive entry of women into the workplace). As for women, there are also different perceptions of how gender is conceived in their workspaces. Several pointed out that this depends on the type of company they work in. Some refer to these differences by assuming certain emotional characteristics of men and women, and make a judgement about these characteristics. In this regard, one female engineer noted:

Men move on more easily. Men 'okay, that's it. I've had a fight with you, I've had an argument in a meeting', and the man doesn't stick. Women, on the other hand, stick (to the problem). And, for example, in the case of [company name], where there are all these viper women and you fight with them and you're screwed, because you're screwed. If you came to a meeting where there was a discussion, they acted behind your back to hurt you until they kicked you out. And I think that's wrong too. Men are not like that. (Female engineer n°11)

In this way, the interviewee builds on certain assumptions about men's and women's behaviour at work, and makes a critical analysis of these behaviours. Other interviewees situated the narrative in terms of what they believed the company was looking for in the behaviour of men and women. For some, the company is looking for a masculine attitude in women, understood as a woman who does not feel intimidated at work and who gives her opinion even if it makes others uncomfortable, with one female interviewee mentioning '*women are asked to be more masculine*' (female engineer n°5) and then describing being masculine as '*the woman with more personality, who will come forward and say things, who will not be intimidated*' (female engineer n°5). The account shows how the interviewee identifies the normative ideals of the place where she works. At the same time, she shows that the company is seeking to make women equal to men, i.e. that they should have the same attitude as men in the workplace. For others, companies want women to be more sensitive and men to be tougher. In this respect, one female engineer points out

[Employers expect] men to be like tougher, less sensitive and women see that more sensitive side, which is expected. For example, when I was hired they said, 'we're looking for a woman because women are more sensitive and listen better' and I was like 'not necessarily'. It's labelled as women are more emotional and I don't think that's the case (Female engineer n°10).

What emerges from this account is that, from the perspective of the interviewees, different conceptions of men and women seem to coexist in companies. Some engineers perceive that companies try to equate men and women to the extent that their gender differences are understood as transferable skills from one gender to the other. Thus, women's 'soft' skills can be transferred to men, and men's 'hard' skills to women. Other interviewees perceive that their employers tend to confirm what they see as the traditional differences between men and women, looking for certain characteristics that would be considered desirable in each gender, such as empathy in women. In the case of the female engineer n°10, it can be seen that she identifies the conception of gender that exists in the company and that she takes a critical stance on this conception, when she points out *'It is labelled as women being more emotional and I don't think that's the case'*. Regardless of the approach taken by companies, these extracts suggest that there is a positive valuing by companies of aspects that were previously considered to be part of the feminine and private space. This is the case of empathy, listening and sensitivity, among others. This is analysed by Fondas (1997) who puts forward the idea that management discourse has tended to feminise. Feminisation is understood as the incorporation of qualities traditionally associated with women into managerial logic, such as emotions considered feminine (Fondas, 1997). This trend in management arises due to a change in the business world where there is a need to manage employees differently than in the past, making them more autonomous in their work and able to handle situations and working relationships beyond what is prescribed by their position.

This seems to coincide with the late modern explanation of the changes that have been taking place in the workplace. According to Fondas (1997), the discourse of management found in feminine attributes answers to the new challenges of managing people. The feminine is usually associated with "interpersonal sensitivity, attentiveness to and acceptance of others, responsiveness to their needs and motivations (...) a preference for open, egalitarian and cooperative relations, rather than hierarchical ones" (Fondas, 1997, p.260) among others. According to the author, by incorporating these attributes as part of management values and new strategies for managing staff, management incorporated a feminine ethos into work

practices. In other words, in a space traditionally considered masculine, such as corporate companies, a feminine logic was introduced. However, what the interviewees' accounts show is that the introduction of such a logic was done while taking care of the masculine culture of the workspace. To this end, feminine attributes were introduced as skills, allowing workers to assume and exercise these feminine attributes without feminising themselves. In this respect, we could say that by turning emotions into a skill, engineers can use them without feminising themselves because they can put a distance between themselves and the emotional tool they use.

Related to the above, these distinctions made by interviewees in their different workspaces show that not all workspaces seek to neutralise the gender of their employees by de-gendering skills from gender attributes. Also, the different ways in which gender characteristics are addressed shows that there seem to be different understandings of gender in different companies. In some workplaces gender is understood as a social construct, so that its attributes can be disassociated from the person. In others gender is more of a natural attribute of each gender, so that men and women are strategically managed by the company according to these characteristics. In the perception of both male and female engineers, there is a notion that certain gender conceptions circulate in companies that define how they should express their emotions. It is also noted that several interviewees have elaborated their own position by criticising some of the stereotypes that appear in their workspace. In reviewing the engineers' accounts, it is striking that they tend to locate the changes in women when talking about changes in gender conceptions in the company, but do not go into the changes that men may have undergone at work. This may reflect the difficulty that men may be having in appropriating and situating themselves in the changes that are being generated in the conception of gender in contemporary societies, which is one of the assumptions made by the theory of post-feminism.

Men's and women teachers' perception of how gender is conceived in the workspace

As far as teachers are concerned, it seems that the discourse of post-feminism has not had the same impact as in the case of engineers. Nevertheless, the gender conception of men and women plays an important role in the emotional culture of this profession. Hence, several interviewees state that they perceive that a different norm of emotional behaviour is implicitly generated in the workspace for men and women, especially at certain educational levels in

school. In this regard, a male teacher explains that in the institution where he works there is a 'gender bias' and that this is mainly observed in the way teachers are expected to approach children. In this regard, he points out:

Younger children require a certain degree of affectivity that could not be associated with, for example, a male teacher or a male early childhood educator, so they expect that degree of affectivity from a woman, for example, in the case of female early childhood educators. Again, there is a gender bias because it is understood that affectivity is for women and not for men, whereas men would be given classes [with older students] where they would require other kinds of handling, so of course, the hard hand is given by men and the affective hand is given by women (Male teacher n°16).

Here we can see how the male teacher perceives that the institution in which he works differentiates between men and women in terms of the emotionality assigned to each gender. He also perceives that the institution organises the work of men and women on the basis of this assumption. This fragment shows that some interviewees perceive that certain conceptions about the affectivity of men and women circulate in the institution. For this participant, the variations are most visible in the differences made in the education of children and older students, where gender stereotypes about men and women seem to be more visible. Others locate the problem in teachers' conceptions, pointing out that in their interactions there are prejudices about the other gender. In this regard, one male teacher mentions:

Yes, there are certain prejudices that I think, for example, men are more direct, they are able to tell you 'this is wrong, change it'. Women I would say no, because they will tell you the same thing, but in a different way, or if you tell them directly it generates a conflict, because... that's what they see. If I tell someone 'this is lousy', they're going to take it more personally and maybe [women] aren't going to take it much more. They're going to say 'I agree with your point of view', but they're not going to feel like you're saying 'you're a fool' and there are others who are going to say 'if I say it to a woman like that, she's going to think I'm attacking her personally'. There are these prejudices. Sometimes it happens and sometimes it doesn't. It depends on the person (Male teacher n°13).

For other interviewees, the institution generates inequality between men and women but in terms of their working conditions, not in terms of their emotionality. In this respect, one teacher mentions the following:

I think there is still a bit of restriction for women, for female teachers. This year I heard about a case of..... the woman was pregnant and they didn't hire her because she was pregnant. It's complicated because, of course, maternity leave starts, so it was complicated. I think they throw women out more than men (Male teacher n°20).

The female teachers largely agree with the male teachers in their assessments. Both interviewees (school teacher n° 13 and 20) mention the existence of differences the institution makes with teachers on the basis of their gender. This would be evident in the school's association between the emotions and characteristics of male and female teachers. In this respect, a female teacher points out:

It may be that women are more likely to work with children, there is a little bit of that affection thing, which men can have as well, but I don't see many male teachers working more with children. I see male teachers working with older students (Female teacher n° 19).

In the account the teacher suggests that the institution makes a gender difference with regard to the kind of emotionality that men and women can give to students at different stages of development. It seems that what the interviewee observes is that the institution assumes that women's affectivity would allow them to work with young children, but men's would not. Another interviewee is even more explicit about the stereotypes that, according to her, circulate in her workplace:

Yes, anyway. Women are expected to be more patient, softer, and men are expected to be tougher or stronger. It's very surprising, for example, if a male teacher has discipline problems in his class, it's almost unacceptable. On the other hand, if a woman has a problem [in the discipline], it's like 'yes, but she's softer', 'it doesn't matter', or 'she's more lax (Female teacher n°12).

The participant mentions that the institution expects different emotional behaviours from women and men, to the extent that if this expectation is not met, there may be problems at work. The behaviours to which the interviewee refers conform to traditional stereotypes of

men and women. The teacher shows in this account that her perception is that the institution has different emotional expectations for men and women and that this has an impact on the way they judge each other's behaviour. Thus, if a woman does not adequately exercise discipline, she would not be punished by the institution as a man would be, because women are expected to be more gentle in their dealings with students, unlike what is expected of men. If we compare the statements of teachers with those of engineers, it seems that a greater diversity of gender stereotypes circulate in the engineering profession than in the school teaching profession. For example, in the case of engineering, a woman may be conceived as someone who has certain natural attributes for interacting with people in a certain way, as well as someone who is equal to a man and who strategically uses different skills to interact with people at work. In contrast, teachers convey through their accounts that they have fewer choices about how to represent the role of men and women in their workspace. These differences show that the field of engineers seems to be more heterogeneous in terms of the way gender is done, i.e. there is a greater diversity in the way people can exercise their gender, but within certain limits given by the profession. For their part, the school teacher profession, seems to be more homogeneous, i.e. there are variations in the way teachers 'do' gender in different institutions, but these variations do not manage to generate major differences, so we can say that the field of school teaching tends to be characterised by similarities in the ways of 'doing' gender.

Also, based on the analysis of the engineers' accounts, we might think that in the engineering industry there seems to be a greater penetration of the post-feminist discourse and there are also more options for workers in terms of how they can exercise their masculine and feminine identities in the workspace than in the case of teachers. In the case of the latter, it would seem that the historical discourses that were constructing the profession are more prevalent than the new gender discourses in thinking about how gender can be done within the school. Teachers seem to perceive that the institution constrains them to exercise their gender identity in traditional ways. As far as the engineers' work environment is concerned, there seems to be, according to the interviewees' accounts, a tendency to equate the emotional expression of men and women in the workplace, which would imply a neutralisation of gender to make way for the individual. The school teachers, on the other hand, observe that the institutions in which they work prefer their workers to behave and express themselves in accordance with traditional gender roles in the workplace, which implies that the discourse of post-feminism has less penetration in this area. In terms of the way emotions are valued, the engineers show in their accounts that a positive valuation of 'soft skills' has emerged at their

work, which were traditionally associated with women and the private space. Teachers, meanwhile, observe that at school, the emotional expression of men and women is valued according to the students' stage of development.

The social function of corporations and the school and its relationship with gender

These differences in the two professional fields could be explained by the orientation of the institutions where these professionals work. The school has a reproductive role in society, i.e. it tends to reproduce what already exists in society. So its function is to safeguard the maintenance of a certain social tradition. This could partly explain the pressure that interviewees perceive from the school institution to conform to traditional models of gender and expression of emotions. There is an extensive literature that refers to the reproductive role of the school in society (Reichelt, 2019; Batruch et. al., 2018; Hill, Samson & Dasgupta, 2011). Research by these authors tends to point out that school reinforces structural inequality in societies. Hence, several studies have focused on the mechanisms that reproduce inequalities in schools, questioning their role as a vehicle for social mobility. Among these studies are those that refer to the way in which schools generate practices that reproduce traditional gender roles. In this sense, the literature emphasises how schools create the conditions for students to reproduce the values associated with traditional gender roles. An example of this is the study by Bowden et. al., (2018) who conclude that while women improve their performance in mathematics by having a mother or father working in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) there is still a significant gender gap in performance in this subject. In another study (Legewie & Diprete, 2012), it is observed that promoting an environment of learning and achievement makes more sense for male student groups' understanding of masculinity than for girls, who do not associate femininity with academic engagement in learning at school. However, these studies should be nuanced because this is not the case for all girls.

Parallel to these studies, but in smaller numbers, are those that explore how teachers exercise gender in school. According to Sansone (2017) teachers' beliefs about gender, rather than their behaviour, have an impact on how students engage with science and mathematics subjects. Another study (Topchyan & Woehler, 2020) concludes that there are some differences in male and female teachers' behaviour towards students, noting that female teachers tend to engage more with students than male teachers. With regard to Chile, there is research that explores

gender conceptions in teacher identity (González, 2011), where it is pointed out that feminised notions circulate, referring to motherhood, among others. Likewise, some authors (Vidal et. al., 2020) mention the tendency of Chilean teachers to associate certain subjects with gender. For example, the subject of science with masculinity and men, which affects their expectations of the performance of men and women in certain subjects. These studies account for the reproductive role of gender that the school plays in society. However, this reproductive dimension coexists with the school's tendency to change (Levinson, Holland & Foley, 1996), so it cannot be said that the school only reproduces society. Nonetheless, the aforementioned studies show that reproductive mechanisms coexist in the school, including gender, and it seems that if this aspect is taken into account, the accounts of the teachers interviewed make sense.

Companies, on the other hand, have an innovative function in society and are constantly changing their organisation in order to allow the entry of the 'new'. According to Neely & Hii (1998, p.8) innovation "involves the exploitation of new ideas(...). Innovation can be given different meanings in different contexts. Essentially the main characteristic of innovation is change". Along these lines, Foss & Saebi (2015) argue that a company's business innovation model also involves the transformation of its organisation. According to Ballart (2001, p.19), "innovation facilitates the adaptation of individuals and organisations to the rapid and profound changes experienced by contemporary societies". But just as innovation plays a 'mediating' role in the face of social change, it is also a generator of change in society. Ballart points out that "innovation is, in part, a social activity, since it involves an attempt to influence the behaviour of others (whether as producers, consumers or citizens) and has an impact on the social system" (Ballart, 2001, p. 15). Thus, innovation would be closely related to the social changes that occur in society.

An examination of the relationship between gender and innovation reveals a tendency for companies to incorporate the gender equality discourse. The explanation for this, according to some authors (Roberts, 2015; Prügl & True, 2014), can be found in the efforts of governments and international organisations such as the European Union, to persuade and involve companies in social change. Chile is not exempt from these changes due to its insertion in the global order. In this regard, it is noted that globalisation has generated a change in the distribution of power, producing a shift from state policies to globalised private economic interests (Prügl & True, 2014). This has led to companies playing an important role in the values that are emphasised in society. Faced with this new international scenario, public bodies have understood that for public policies to have an effect, they must incorporate

companies as important actors in social transformations (Prügl & True, 2014). Chile also participates in this global scenario. Proof of this is that companies are incorporating the World Bank's GEM (Global Economic Monitor) model, which seeks to promote gender equity in public and private companies. This model includes a series of actions to promote equity that range from intervening in the selection and hiring, to preventing sexual harassment (Pungiluppi, Castro & Muñoz-Boudet, 2010). Johansson and Ringblom (2017) raise that Western industries understood the discourse of gender equality as a value that gives them a competitive advantage in the economic market. The appropriation of this idea of gender relations was implemented, according to the authors, as 'market feminism'. Market feminism is understood as the mechanism through which companies promote and institutionalise gender equality using market practices (Johansson & Ringblom, 2017, p.631). This term refers to the different changes that companies make in their business model to appropriate some social values and translate them into their economic language. There seems to be a constant dialogue between the organisation of companies and the discourses circulating in society, especially with regard to the values that these discourses claim to embody. This is in line with the postulation of some authors, who point out that the exchange that takes place between the economic and social spheres is not limited to the material impact of the creation of new products, but also to symbolic values, i.e. the immaterial dimension of the exchange that affects "the well-being of individuals, but without altering their consumption of material goods" (Corneo & Jeanne, 2007, p.1).

In this way, it is possible to understand the permeability that industries are having today with respect to the incorporation of gender equality discourses in labour practices and the valuation that women are acquiring in society. This is possibly influencing the way employees in these industries perceive the expectations they have regarding the tendency to standardise the emotional behaviour of men and women and to make personality the new object of evaluation rather than the gender of the employees. At the same time, and from what was mentioned by interviewees, it seems that characteristics traditionally associated with men and women have become skills in companies, so that emotions considered feminine, such as empathy, are now skills that can be learned by anyone. It seems that we are in the presence of a de-anchoring of emotions with respect to gender. In the next chapter we will look at how these beliefs that exist in workspaces are put into 'motion' in the emotional strategies that participants use to cope with the challenges they perceive in their workplace.

Conclusion

This chapter showed how the exercise of gender is enabled and constrained by the emotional culture of the place where the participants work and by the history of the profession in which they work. To this end, a journey was made that showed how the engineering profession has historically been marked by a masculine culture, while the school teaching profession has been characterised by a feminine culture. The data show that participants perceive that in their workplaces there are expectations about how they should exercise their emotionality based on their gender. That is, they perceive that they are implicitly expected to express themselves emotionally in a certain way according to whether they are men or women. In the case of engineering, it seems that these gender expectations vary depending on the work space. Sometimes women are expected to express emotionality based on traditional models of femininity, such as being more empathetic, and sometimes women are expected to show emotions that have historically been associated with men, such as aggressiveness. This diversity of gender models in the engineering profession shows that gender expectations for men and women seem to be in transition due to the penetration of global discourses such as post-feminism.

In the case of school teaching, gender expectations seem to respond to the traditional way of conceiving gender and to be a space less permeable to global gender discourses. These differences were explained by the different roles of business and school in society. It was mentioned that the school seems to have a reproductive function of a certain tradition in society, while corporations are required to innovate in society in order to remain relevant. Regarding the latter, it was mentioned that one of the strategies used by corporations to innovate is to take global gender discourses and transform them into an economic language, and that this could explain the greater diversity of gendered forms of practice observed in the engineering profession. In the next chapter we will delve deeper into the emotional strategies participants use within the constraints of the emotional culture of their workplace.

Below is a table with the main gender characteristics of the emotional cultures of engineering and school education:

Table 4. Comparison of participants' perceived conceptions of women's and male's relationships in the workspace.

Theme	Engineer	School teaching
<p>Conceptions of the relationship between men and women in the workspace: Managing the heterogeneous and managing the homogeneous</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Male culture - Perception that women have been acquiring the emotional codes traditionally associated with men. This is in line with post-feminist sensibilities and masculine culture. - Little account of the transformations that men have undergone emotionally in the workspace. - Indications that men do not seem to know where to place themselves with respect to the changes that have taken place with respect to women. - Different options on how to represent the role of each gender. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Feminine culture - Perception that traditional emotional behaviour is expected between men and women. - Predominant representation of women as mothers. - Perception that the institution expects men and women to express emotions differently. - Predominance of a local historical discourse rather than a global postfeminist discourse. - Limited choices about how to represent the role in each of the genders.

Chapter 6: Accounts of emotional strategies in the workspace: The challenges men and women face at work

In the previous chapter, the emotional culture of the different professions were discussed. Through the analysis of the interviewees' accounts, it was concluded that the professions of engineer and school teaching have different emotional cultures. These differences are due to the different conceptions of emotions, the degree of emotional involvement in work relationships, the way in which the public and private are structured in the workplace, and the conceptions of men and women that circulate in these professions. Considering the characteristics of the emotional cultures of each of the professions, the present chapter explored the emotional strategies that engineers and school teachers use to cope with the challenges they encounter in the workspace. This was done by identifying the challenges that were explicitly or implicitly reiterated in the participants' narratives in each of the professions and analysing the different strategies that the interviewees used to cope with these challenges that appeared in their workspace. In addition, the challenges that were repeated according to the gender of the interviewees were identified to see if there were differences in the challenges perceived by men and women in each of the professions. The analysis of the data showed that in both professions the challenges are different, and furthermore that these challenges are sometimes different for men and women. Thus, gender and the professions were taken as the axis of analysis from which to articulate the findings. The thesis was based on the assumption that different genders are exposed to different experiences (Hodson, 2016; Burke & Collins, 2001). Hochschild (1983) mentions that "emotion work is important in different ways for men and women. This is because each gender tends to be called on to do different kinds of this work" (p.163). Based on these assumptions, we sought to explore these experiences through the challenges that men and women face in their daily working lives.

With respect to gender, it is necessary to recapitulate on what was pointed out in chapter 2, where it was noted that gender will be understood as something that is 'done'. That is, gender will be understood not as something that people 'had' and always remains the same, but as an element that is 'done', that emerges in different situations, in the relationship we establish with others (West & Zimmerman, 1987). It is in those moments when we interact with others that we try to account for our masculinity or femininity, since our actions are evaluated by others on the basis of certain expectations about what it is like to 'be' a man or a woman

(West & Zimmerman, 1987). At the same time, these gender expectations imply certain ways of exercising emotions. This shows that in order to understand gender we must intersect it with other elements such as emotions, the type of relationship that is established, among others, since it is a social aspect that is understood within a context. It is this characteristic of gender that helped us to understand the emotional dimension of relationships and its link with emotional culture. In the previous chapter we explored the normative character of emotions based on emotional culture, so in this chapter we shall explore how emotions are exercised from the challenges of working life that arise in each of the professions and that challenge men and women.

While gender is one of the axis that was taken to account for the exercise of emotions in interactions, this was done considering what Hirschauer (2013) points out. The author mentioned that although gender is omnipresent, that is, it is a basic expectation in every interaction (there is an implicit duty to classify ourselves or others in a certain gender) this does not mean that it is omnirelevant (gender is not always what gives meaning to the interaction). According to Hirschauer(2013) it is important to make this distinction because if we assume that gender is not always relevant for the actors in the interaction, this would allow us to question when gender becomes relevant, when it does not, and also why (Hirschauer, 2013). As will be seen in what follows, the analysis of the interactions between the professionals showed that gender was not always the element that allowed the interviewees to understand what was happening in the relationships they established in the workspace. This is not to say that gender disappeared from the interactions, i.e. the interviewees did not cease to recognise themselves as men or women. As Ridgeway (2009, p.148) notes, "This initial framing by sex never quite disappears from our understanding of them or ourselves in relation to them". Rather, what was observed was that gender was muted in relation to other elements (such as the need to establish trust with a colleague) that seemed to be more important in understanding what was going on. In this way, the results force us to qualify what West and Zimmerman (1987) state to say that although gender is always in the background (Hirschauer, 2013), it is not always in the foreground. Thus, through the narratives, it could be observed that in the relationships established by the interviewees, gender seemed to be a discontinuous element, that is, it sounded and was silenced within the interactive chain. Another concept that was used in the analysis is that of emotional strategies. If we recall at the beginning of this thesis it was pointed out that the emotion work carried out by the interviewees in their relationships would be analysed, and that one of the forms that this emotion work takes is that of emotional strategies. Emotional strategies will be understood in this chapter as one of the

forms that emotion work can take, and consists of the intentional management of emotions to produce a certain effect on others or on oneself.

Having clarified the analytical framework, the following chapter is structured into emotional challenges and strategies. For this purpose, the professions were taken as references from which to organise the challenges faced by men and women. That is, although the axis of analysis here is gender, emphasising the similarities and differences in the challenges faced by men and women, these similarities and differences were organised on the basis of the professions, so that the reader will begin the reading with the challenges that could be identified in the engineering profession and then in the school teaching profession. This section emphasises the common challenges for men and women. Subsequently, emphasis is placed on those challenges in each profession that were different for men and women. At the end of the chapter hypotheses are set out to explain why gender 'mutes' and 'sounds' in the challenges outlined.

I.Accounts of emotional strategies used by engineers in their workspace

As stated in Chapter one of this thesis, one of the assumptions guiding this research is that emotions can be managed, that is, they can be given a certain intentionality. Based on this, the questions that were asked in the interviews pointed to this way of managing emotions. Although the present chapter dealt with emotional strategies, and thus the way in which people intentionally use their emotions, it was noticeable from the accounts that not everything that occurred on an emotional level at work took the form of an emotional strategy. Occasionally, interviewees referred to situations where another emotional logic was at work, for example, when referring to the aspects they enjoyed about their work or the way they constructed meaning in what they did at work, where emotions were not intentionally controlled. This chapter focuses on those emotional manifestations that imply some intentionality on the part of the actors. This is because it was in these accounts that we could clearly see the emotion work that the actors performed in their workspace.

When participants were asked about their emotional strategies, male and female engineers were able to account for the intentional work they did with their emotions in their relationship with others. Participants reflected on the emotional aspect of their work, with the understanding that emotions are subject to temporality. Thus, participants were able to give

an account in the present about the emotional practices they carried out on a daily basis in their relationships with colleagues and managers in the immediate past, and how they solved the problems that arose in these relationships in order to advance the company's and their personal goals. This means that the account of their emotionality at work is always retroactive, reflecting in the present on something that happened in the past. People make attempts to articulate a narrative by reflecting on their work practices. It is in this context that a female engineer notes the following when asked about the emotional strategies she uses in work relationships:

Yes, you have to know how to treat each person, I couldn't say how I discovered it, but somehow I discovered it. (Female engineer n°6)

Although not all interviewees referred in this way to the work they do with their emotions, this quote illuminates something that circulates in engineers' working practices, which seems to be an implicit knowledge that involves some learning about how to deal with people at work. This learning is not something naturally given but is something that engineers must construct during their work. At the same time, one might think that because it is implicit knowledge it cannot be intentional, but we will say that implicit knowledge is not necessarily no conscious but is a 'knowing' that we operate with in everyday practices and that we verbalise when we reflect on them. As Kadowaki (2015) mentions, this implicit knowledge of emotions can be transmitted between generations. The author mentions that in professional careers there is certain implicit knowledge that is not made explicit in the manuals or codes of ethics of the professions, but is acquired through socialisation with professionals in the same discipline (Kadowaki, 2015). Some of this may explain what appears in the interviewee's account. Thus, the assumptions underlying the account - that there is an implicit emotional knowledge that we intend by making a certain calculation, served as coordinates for understanding how professionals in this field construct the meaning of their practices. Access to this intentionality of emotions was possible thanks to the reflective accounts of the interviewees.

Challenges and emotional strategies of engineers

In order to analytically organise the participants' accounts of this construction of meaning, the challenges that were reiterated in the engineers' accounts were identified, from which the various strategies mentioned by the professionals interviewed and the reflections elaborated around them could be articulated. Rather than a list of strategies, what is offered here is how participants deal with the difficulties that arise in their professional practice and the different

strategies they use to cope with the obstacles they encounter. From the above, it was observed that a large part of the emotional strategies used by engineers were aimed at coping with two main challenges a) aligning colleagues and managers on common goals; and b) coping in a competitive work environment.

These challenges, and the strategies that emerge in response to them, are closely related to the emotional culture they inhabit. When comparing these results with the literature on emotional strategies used by engineers, it was observed that there is little research that addresses this dimension of the work practice of these professionals. Some of the research that addresses this aspect, for example, is that of Turnbull (1999) who addresses the emotional impact that corporate change programmes have on managers based on the emotional labour they perform at work, concluding that emotional labour is an increasingly important but ignored phenomenon in the company. Another researcher (Shan, 2012) studied the emotional labour performed by Chinese immigrants in Canada in Canadian engineering workplaces. The findings indicate that Chinese immigrants changed their socialisation patterns through emotional labour to adapt to the masculine and individualistic culture of Canadian engineering. A study by Pillay, Flotman, Mitonga-Monga, (2019) addressed the emotional labour performed by a group of senior female managers in a consulting firm in South Africa. It concluded that women have problems with work-life balance and their well-being is negatively affected by the demands of their position. Another study looking at computer engineers (Serebrenick, 2017) concluded that these professionals perform emotional labour as their work involves teamwork. Hence, research shows that engineers perform emotional labour in their workspace. As we will see in the following pages, the emotion work performed by these professionals is framed within a specific emotional culture. This implies a specific way of understanding emotions, of expressing and repressing what they feel.

a) Emotional strategies for aligning colleagues and managers on common goals

One of the challenges engineers face is to direct the will of others towards common goals. Part of the job of engineers is to work as a team to carry out the tasks assigned to them by the company. One of the accounts that shows this demand at work is that of an engineer who tells how he resolved tension with a colleague to get him to align himself to fulfil the tasks assigned to him by the company. The context in which the scene takes place is in a retail company where the interviewee is in charge, among other things, of drawing up the budget for one of

the company's areas. In this context, the interviewee refers to the dialogue he had with a colleague who wanted to shorten the deadlines for the budget and how he negotiated this disagreement with his colleague. The interviewee mentions that he tried to *'disarm'* his colleague by showing him *'all the information'*, as he has a *'conciliatory and transparent approach'*. Referring to the strategies he used to manage the tension with this colleague, he mentions the following:

Like aligning ourselves, it's not like 'your process goes this far and then mine starts', but that our processes complement each other to generate a final objective, so I tell him 'look, this is the date we have to meet, if we are not able to meet it, let's raise our hand and say we are not going to be able to and if we can do it, let's make it work', but that none of us are like too burdened, that is the objective, like none of us feel that we have been harmed and that is why I feel that the focus on transparency is much better than hiding information. (Male Engineer n°3)

In this excerpt we can see that the interviewee tries to get his colleague to join into his perspective and way of doing things. What the interviewee does is a work of emotional persuasion in order to create a common frame of understanding with the interlocutor and to make him understand his work as a shared task and not as an individual task. In relation to the above, persuasion implies an emotional dimension in which one seeks to bring about a change in the actions of others in order to achieve certain ends. In this case, it seems that the interviewee reframes the problem as a problem of both of them and not as an individual problem that each of them has to face alone. This happens when he talks about the problem in the plural, when he mentions for example *'if we can do it'*, referring to the date when they have to meet. Furthermore, after reframing the problem as a shared one, he shows that he empathises with his colleague and the workload he has to manage, mentioning *'but that none of us are like too burdened'*, *'like none of us feel that we have been harmed'*. In this way, he seems to show his colleague that he cares about his situation and empathises with him, because in the end his colleague's situation is also his, the interviewee's situation. Notwithstanding the above, when the interviewee previously points out that he is trying to *'disarm'* his colleague, he seems to refer to a certain calculation he is making in order to get something from his counterpart, and this suggests that the reported scene contains a certain instrumentalisation in the emotional display. That is, engineers are sometimes observed to exercise their emotions with a certain distance, as if they are evoking emotions they do not

feel in order to achieve a certain result in the other. This is in line with Hochschild (1983) when she refers to the strategy of surface acting, which consists of feigning an emotion that is not really felt in order to adapt to the expectations of the context. An example of this dimension is seen in the following extract, in which a female engineer gives an account of the strategy she used to achieve a trusting relationship with a colleague whom she perceived as very distrustful:

For example, in a technical office there was a woman who was also very stubborn, but I realised that with her to say 'you see, I told you so', was not the ... so I started to talk to her about other things, to become her friend, and then everything was fine. (Female engineer n°6)

This extract shows that in engineering, emotions are a tool used to evoke certain emotions in others in order to achieve certain work goals. The quote shows the emotion work done by the participant in the relationship with a colleague who resisted doing what the interviewee needed her to do in order to get her job done. It seems that what the interviewee relates is that she realised that the strategy she was using was not working, as she says '*but I realised that with her saying 'you see I told you so', was not the...*'. By saying '*I realised*' the interviewee seems to be giving an account of a reflective process where she made an evaluation of what she was doing in the relationship with her colleague. It is also striking that the interviewee leaves the sentence open when she mentions '*was not the...*' as if she is giving an account of something that is difficult to put into words. Faced with the reluctant attitude of her colleague, the participant applied another strategy which consisted of '*talk to her about other things, to become her friend*', which could be interpreted as a strategy of affective rapprochement with the colleague, insofar as the working relationship was not enough and it was necessary to enter the space of friendship to persuade her co-worker. Thus, the interviewee decided to add another layer to the working relationship and generate a bond of friendship to get her colleague to cooperate with her. This extract suggests some reflection on the part of the participant about the relationship with the colleague and a calculation about the most appropriate method to get the colleague to do what the interviewee needed. Perhaps the most striking thing about this quote is that the interviewee seems to be on two levels at the same time. On the one hand, she seems to distance herself from the relationship by analysing it ('*I realised that with her saying 'you see, I told you so', was not the...*') and on the other hand she talks about friendship which would be the opposite of putting distance in a relationship. In this way the scene shows a use of emotions (the affective bond with the colleague) in the service of an objective that is above the relationship itself. This is in line with Illouz (2008), who

mentions that one of the normative emotional ideals that govern companies is that workers should be rational and strategic when managing their emotions in the workplace. However, as we will see in the development of this research, this does not apply to all workspaces. Another example of the emotional strategies used at work is when an engineer refers to how she dealt with a subordinate who tried to challenge her and who resisted the need to perform tasks collaboratively. In this regard, the engineer notes the following:

On the other hand, the girl who depends on me is a girl who is older than me and is allied with another girl who does not depend on me. So every time I say something, they team up to refute what I say. So one day I grabbed the girl who depends on me and stopped her. And I had to make it clear to her that I was the boss, that even if she didn't like me, I was the boss.

She then mentions the following about her approach to this subordinate:

So there are minutes where it's not in your best interest to pay attention, and pretend like somebody's calling you on the phone and you get up and go talk on the phone, but there are minutes where you have to stop it in a good way, like, 'I mean, it's okay to suddenly disagree with what I'm saying, but not in front of everybody when you know I'm right. Because you don't agree'. Things like that. (Female engineer n°11)

This quote shows the problems this engineer had in getting her subordinate to recognise her authority. If we take Hochschild's (1983) point about feeling rules - the social norms that guide us on how to feel - we could say that what this account shows is that the interviewee tries to frame her subordinate by reminding her of the normative framework of their relationship. It seems that rather than asking her subordinate to feel a certain way, the interviewee is asking her subordinate to make her emotional expression consistent with what the interviewee believes are the emotional expectations of the subordinate role she is exercising. That is, there is an attempt on the part of the interviewee to get the subordinate to share her interpretation of the relationship and what would be right in that relationship. It seems as if the interviewee is trying to define the subordinate relationship she has with her colleague by explicitly pointing out that the colleague cannot disagree with her (the interviewee) in public. Hence, it can be seen that hierarchies are also defined by expectations about how emotions are to be expressed in the encounter with others. At the same time, this scene shows the tensions this interviewee had to go through to exercise her authority and how she tried to manage the tension with the subordinate in the face of the subordinate's resistance to incorporate the emotional expectations of subordination into the relationship. On this, it is noted that the

interviewee tried to manage this tension by avoiding conflict situations with the subordinate, for example by pretending that someone was calling her on the phone to get out of the physical space shared with the subordinate, or when she notes that she tried to '*stop it in a good way*'. The interviewee's description of the tensions in the relationship with this colleague shows the difficulties that exist in this profession in building a team vision in the face of the defence of workers' personal interests. It seems that part of the emotion work that is done in this sector consists of overcoming the obstacles that hinder the possibility of collaboration between workers towards a shared goal. Engineers face the challenge of achieving cooperation between different workers and building commonality. Thus, several of the emotional strategies presented go in the direction of affecting the other in order to achieve a certain result and that these strategies are in tune with the difficulties engineers encounter in creating a climate of cooperation and building common goals.

b) Emotional strategies for coping in a competitive work environment

In the analysis, an aspect of colleague relations emerged that shows one of the obstacles engineers face in achieving cooperation in the workspace. While the interviewees mention that it is necessary to coordinate with others in order to realise the company's goals, this coexists in parallel with a threatening conception of others that manifests itself in different ways. An example that illustrates this aspect of work relations is the following account from an engineer who refers to the tendency she observes in her company that colleagues and bosses can hinder the career of those who want to initiate some kind of activity and require someone with authority to carry it out. She points out:

It's unlikely that in a big company, if you're eight rungs down, you're going to get something done because somebody's going to stop it, because they didn't think of it, because I don't know, because it's not their team, because they have a conception that their area is better than others, you know, and that culture permeates a lot. (Female engineer n°5)

This extract shows that the interviewee perceives an intention on the part of some of her colleagues to want to prevent activities that are outside the expectations of the position from being carried out. The interviewee understands this behaviour of her colleagues as a culture. This is in line with Fineman (2003) who points out that when people start a job "we mix with others who have their own cares and concerns, their own emotional agendas" (p.1). Dealing with one's own and others' emotions is part of the emotional culture of workspaces and

impacts on people's trajectory at work, which seems to be what the interviewee expresses. When the participant mentions that it is unlikely that one will be able to do something in the company '*because someone will stop you*', she seems to be pointing out that part of the logic of work is that others stop individual initiatives. In line with the above, another participant during the interview noted that she was once confronted with a situation where her boss told the company manager that she, the participant, was not doing her job well. The participant said that she perceived that her boss was distorting the work she was doing in front of others in order to harm her, and that her way of dealing with this situation was to show evidence. In this regard, she explains:

And I had all the backup emails, and when she tried to harm me I went and told her 'here are all the backups', you know she came urgently to apologise to me even she had an important position. That's when it bothers me because there are people who have bad intentions. (Female engineer n°11)

This quote shows that the interviewee developed a strategy to cope with the emotional experience of being publicly criticised by her superiors. The fact that the participant had everything backed up before the conflict with her boss occurred suggests that perhaps engineers anticipate that they may face situations where they will be questioned by someone at work and the evidence, in this case, functions as a defence against this work context. Hence, these accounts reveal a paradox that engineers face in the workplace: they must build trust in order to work with others in an industry where trust can be undermined. Herselman (2003) notes, in a study of trust and distrust in a for-profit organisation in South Africa, that the inclination to distrust others may be due to the fear of losing one's job in a context where jobs are scarce and competition for high-paying jobs is high. To this we must add the study conducted by Céspedes (2017) in work contexts related to education, which indicates that in Chile there are social imaginaries at work related to an expectation of harm in interpersonal interactions in the workplace. This could be explained by the logic of modernisation itself, which generates a distancing in social relations due to processes of individuation and by the Chilean neoliberal economic model that promotes competition among workers (Céspedes, 2017). Another example that illustrates this paradox of generating collaboration with others in a competitive climate is that of an engineer who recounts a tense situation he had with his former boss. The interviewee notes:

When I arrived at [name of the company] I was in another area, and as soon as I arrived they put a new boss in charge of me. With this boss, I don't know why, we never came

to an agreement, to the point that I decided to change area because I knew it wasn't going to work. We have had subsequent meetings and it seems that she did not take this change in a good way, and in those meetings I feel that she has tended to ridicule me and they are meetings with many people and I have tried in a respectful way to put forward my point of view and that has been very uncomfortable. (Male engineer n°3)

In this extract the engineer refers to his former boss's attempt to expose him publicly in front of others, which bothers him, noting that this situation has been uncomfortable for him. He also mentions that he tried to respond to this perceived attempt to be ridiculed by his former boss by stating his point of view, as if he had to be defensive. The frequency of these accounts suggests that the engineers' workspace allows for a certain aggressiveness to emerge in interactions between employees. It seems that the feeling rules that govern the workspace of this profession assume this aggressiveness as an expected behaviour within the workplace. Possibly these interactions are explained by highly competitive climates where the promotion of one is perceived as a detriment to another. In this way, employees face a tension in their workspace: on the one hand, building trust to work as a team, but on the other hand, seeing the other as a rival who can become a threat at work. Hence, the interaction with the other becomes a bond of suspicion that has to be overcome, through different emotional strategies, in order to generate collaborative work. The accounts show how interactions in this work environment can turn into aggressive ties in which threats and suspicions circulate with colleagues and bosses. In response to this, interviewees defend themselves in different ways. Some back up their work with evidence and others mention defending their position in the face of public exposure. These are some of the strategies that were identified in participants' accounts of coping with the multiple challenges they encounter in the emotional culture of their workspace.

If we cross these findings with the normative ideals of the late modern worker, that is, as an autonomous worker, who has a certain degree of freedom in his work, who can even define his working hours and who must solve problems of different nature using his or her skills, among others, the accounts of the interviewees show shades of this ideal. There are accounts that show the autonomy of the participants when looking for solutions to the emotional problems that arise at work, however, it is also observed that they have a high degree of dependence on the institution where they work. Likewise, this instrumental relationship with others, which is pointed out in late modernity, is observed in some accounts, but this idea assumes perhaps a total control of the worker in the relationship with his or her colleagues. As can be seen in the accounts, it seems that the interviewees are confronted with situations

where they are unable to define the situation, but have to compromise with the emotionality of the other. In this sense, this dimension of dependence and lack of control in relationships questions the normative ideals that the theory of late modernity assumes in workers.

II. Accounts of emotional strategies used by teachers in their workspace

In contrast to the engineers, it was possible to identify different work challenges in the teachers' accounts. In this section we will focus mainly on the two that appeared most frequently in the experience narrated by the participants.

a) Emotional strategies for students collaboration

The teachers' accounts seemed to show that their challenges were centred on achieving students' collaboration in the classroom and avoiding feeling emotionally overwhelmed. In this sense, it should be noted that although teachers interact with various groups in the educational community (parents, students, among others), those challenges that were most repeated in their narratives were taken into account. This is why the analysis mainly addresses the challenges that were established in the relationship with the students and not those that were established with other groups. What guided the formulation of the challenges was the identification of patterns in the different teachers' accounts that provided sufficient evidence to construct the challenges that will be addressed below.

In terms of achieving student collaboration, it was observed that teachers, like engineers, used strategies to emotionally affect others, in this case students. However, the way they reported this dimension of their work practice was different from that of the engineers. Teachers tended to relate emotional strategies as a genuine need to connect emotionally with students. These strategies were presented by the interviewees as strategies in which teachers were affectively involved. This could be related to Hochschild's (1979) concept of deep acting, since, as will be seen in the quote, the teacher does not feign an emotion but shows his or her genuine affect to the students. In this regard, the interviewee notes the following about how he tried to get the students to empathise with his feelings about the death of a student:

Many times, for example, it's good to tell when something has happened to you. For example, it happened to us that at one point we were sad because a student had died, so the most sensible thing to do was to say to the children 'look, I feel bad, I'm sad

because I taught him and it affects me', you see?, so you make it explicit instead of doing it... and children in general tend to empathise when you show them what is happening to you. (Male teacher n° 16)

In this account the teacher tries to affect the students by revealing his own emotions, in order to generate empathy from the students in the class. Through this disclosure the teacher not only seeks to reveal his emotional state, but also to get the students to align with his emotional situation and facilitate the development of the class. It is striking in this case that, if we take Hochschild's (1983) theory, it seems that by exposing his emotions to the students, the teacher creates feeling rules in the situation for the students to adjust to his emotional state. As mentioned above, by feeling rules, we mean emotional orientations that indicate what and how to feel in different situations. By disclosing his emotions, the teacher sets an expectation of how students should react to the disclosure, which shows that feeling rules and emotional norms are contingent and flexible according to the context. At the same time, it empowers students to feel the same way. By showing his emotions, the teacher seeks to provoke something in the students that encourages cooperation in the class. In this excerpt from the participant male teacher n°16, we can see that the emotional strategy has a dual character: on the one hand, it seems that the teacher tries to establish an emotional connection with the students by revealing what he feels; on the other hand, and this is what does not appear explicitly in the account, the teacher also seeks to affect the students to cooperate with him. This 'instrumental' dimension of emotions is largely silenced in most of the teachers' accounts. Instrumental' refers to the calculated use of emotions as an end to achieve certain specific goals (Rodwell, 2018; Ageing, 2020). The instrumental use of emotions is inferred in the account of male school teaching n° 16 in the distance he puts when he talks about the emotions he made explicit to the students during the lesson (*'it is often good to tell when something has happened to you'*) and also in how he proposes emotions as a method to provoke something in the students, as if there is a certain intentionality behind the emotions that are revealed to the students.

This teacher's account can be used to reflect on Hochschild's (1983) theory. The author focuses mainly on how hostesses try to make the customer feel good by using strategies to empathise with the customer, but at the same time, using strategies to induce pleasant emotions in the customer. In the case of the male teacher's extract n°16 it seems that he tries to induce emotions in the students but to make them empathise with him. Here, instead of trying to please the students, the teacher is trying to get the students to align with him by revealing their emotionality. This means that it is not just a matter of people negotiating their

emotionality with the emotional expectations of the context, but that people are also able to define what the social norms will be and expect others to conform to them. By making his emotions explicit, the teacher aims to define the classroom situation and implicitly create certain expectations about how the students should react to this revelation, which is to cooperate with the teacher. Thus, here we could see a different use of emotions than the one mentioned by Hochschild (1983) since the aim is for the students to empathise with the teacher, and not the other way around, in order to generate a collaborative atmosphere in the classroom. Another account of emotions which shows a dual nature of the emotional strategies used by teachers is that of a teacher who has problems in imposing her authority on a group of students. At the end of the lesson, she addresses them personally to convey her disappointment towards one of them and to the other, she points out that she has a positive image of him and believes in his abilities. The teacher mentions the following:

I remember one time some students were playing a game of tennis with the keys [inside the room] and I said 'you know, do whatever you want'. I said 'I'm doing something I shouldn't be doing in school or anything like that', but I didn't know what else to do. I stood in a corner and did the class for the rest of the students, no problem. Then I talked to them [the students who were playing], I don't know, one of them who was doing really well [in the assignments], I said 'what frustrates me the most is that you're doing well', and the one who was doing badly I said 'if you try hard this is not unapproachable', I tried to grab him that way. (Female teacher n°12)

This account highlights the multiple challenges this teacher is exposed to. This account seems to show that the teacher was overwhelmed by the situation when she says '*I didn't know what else to do*' and also internally strained because she knew that the decision she had taken to solve the problem with the students went against the institution's expectations of how she should handle situations of misbehaviour with students. However, the account shows how the teacher negotiates with these expectations. Although she does not comply with the behaviour expected of her in the face of indiscipline (stopping the students' behaviour), the teacher manages to exert some kind of control and authority over the students, affecting them from the emotional dimension of the bond, not from the coercive dimension. The dual nature of this strategy is that, on the one hand, we can see how she tries to connect emotionally with the students by showing them that she is emotionally involved in their situation and even revealing the image she has of them. On the other hand, through this emotional connection, she tries to get the students to affectively commit to cooperate with her and thus to exercise her authority over them. This instrumental dimension of the strategy can be glimpsed when

she says '*I tried to grab him that way*', showing that she is using another way to get the students to respect and cooperate with her. If we compare this strategy with the one mentioned by the engineers, we can see that, unlike the engineers, here the strategy is to make emotions explicit in order to affect the students. Engineers, on the other hand, seem to construct their strategies by hiding their emotions. In other words, the effectiveness of their strategies lies precisely in not explicitly revealing what they feel. It was also possible to observe other cases in which teachers tried to affect students in a personal way. An example of this is the account of a male teacher where he points out how he personalises the relationship he has with his students:

Nowadays it's not so much about passing on content for the sake of passing on content because they go to Google and find everything. Nowadays you have to educate other things, so that means getting involved with the person, with the people, with the children, with the parents, there is an involvement, knowing what they are like, the family, because passing [content] for the sake of passing content doesn't make any sense. From my point of view, passing on content makes no sense because, as I said, you can find ten thousand videos with eighty thousand exercises but if you don't involve them in terms of what they are good for, 'try to guide yourself with this because you are good at it', to make up for the shortcomings they have in maths, in science, whatever, getting involved in this with families is important, much more than before. (Male teacher n°20)

This extract shows how the teacher tries to have a close relationship with his students to the point of becoming personally involved in their personal lives. Here the interviewee seems to be referring to a tension he faces as a teacher, which is the question of how to justify his role in a world where content is easily accessible. In this case, it seems that by getting personally involved with the students, the teacher tries to legitimise his role vis-à-vis them. Thus, he uses affection to validate his role. Although it was possible to observe different strategies used by teachers to affect their students, this use of emotions was never consciously made explicit. Unlike the engineers, the teachers never referred to a conscious instrumental use of emotions in the relationship with their students. When asked about emotional strategies, the conversation turned more towards the strategies they used to modify their students' behaviour, not their emotions. Furthermore, given that several interviewees referred to a genuine bond with their students, it was difficult in the interview to raise the existence of emotional strategies in the relationship, as this could mean that there was an instrumental

dimension to the relationship that ran counter to the type of relationship teachers described with their students.

It could be seen in the analysis that the teachers started from the assumption that the emotions that are transmitted to the students should be genuine emotions. This means that emotions should not pass through filters that could distort the good intentions that the teacher should have with the student, and that the adult should have with the child. This was something that was also mentioned in the previous chapter (see Chapter 4) when analysing the emotional culture of the school teacher profession. If we take the premises of Hochschild (1983) we could affirm that perhaps, due to the assumptions that circulate in the emotional culture about emotions in this profession, teachers are confronted with constantly deep acting in their workspace, in order to fulfil the emotional expectations of 'loving students'. However, some research (e.g. Buric, Sliskovic & Penezic, 2018) points out that the teachers must also perform surface acting when they feel emotions that contradict this ideal, such as anger, in order to hide those emotions that would be inappropriate in the relationship. This leads us to think that perhaps in this field teachers are much more obliged to perform deep acting than engineers and that this requirement is based on the expectation that bonds with students are genuine, so that what is felt by students must be truly felt. This characteristic of teachers' work could be linked to some of Hochschild's (1983) findings on the emotion work performed by flight attendants in their interaction with customers. Hochschild (1983) notes that in those workspaces where there is a requirement from the institution to show certain emotions spontaneously, i.e. where showing spontaneous emotions is part of the job, there is a risk that the 'private self' of the worker merges with the demands of the institution. It could be argued that Hochschild (1983) assumes that there is a 'private self' and a 'public self', and that when the institution makes demands to show spontaneous emotions at work, those are used to connect with others, this creates tensions. This is because the 'public self' is asked to make use of the emotions of the 'private self', making it more difficult for the worker to separate the two 'selves' in their work practice. This could perhaps explain the emotional overwhelm experienced by teachers in their work practice, which will be discussed in the section below.

b) Emotional strategies for not getting emotionally overwhelmed

It was noted in the narratives that the teachers seemed to place more emphasis than the engineers on how they were affected by the students and the tensions this caused them. Engineers, on the other hand, seemed to place greater emphasis on how they affected others

and the result of their interventions on the emotionality of the people they interacted with. Perhaps this greater emphasis by teachers on how they were affected by students is due, as is apparent from the accounts, to the fact that they are exposed to emotionally intense situations in the course of their work. But this intensity cannot be managed in any way since they work with minors, which means that the relationship is not horizontal. The responsibility to love and care for the students means that the 'emotional damage' that could be caused to the students is very different from how this 'damage' is perceived in the relationship between adults. Hence, engineers sometimes have to deal with emotionally intense situations such as when they face humiliation in their work, but they have fewer restrictions than teachers on the emotions they can direct back because it is assumed that the relationship is between two adults.

The emotional constraints that teachers have to impose on themselves in their work with students make them constantly use strategies to avoid emotional overflow. This tendency in education professionals has been addressed mainly through the study of burn out in teachers by various authors (e.g. Noor & Zainuddin, 2011; Yilmaz, Altinkurt & Güner, 2015) who highlight that these professionals are exposed to high emotional exhaustion due to the characteristics of their work. One of the strategies that was mentioned several times by the teachers in the interviews was the creation of emotionally supportive spaces through the relationship with their co-workers. The relationship with colleagues functioned as a space where they could unload the intense emotions that were unleashed in the daily practices of their work. One account where this supportive relationship between colleagues can be observed is the following:

Interviewer: Tell me, this group of friends you have, what function does it fulfil for you?

Interviewee: Oh, sometimes it's a support for bad times, like 'hey, I had a bad time with the boss or with some kids, some parents', so in order not to get home with that burden, I prefer to be talking like 'that old biddy' at school. I try to do that, there are others who do not. I think that among the group we support the rest, the others, they are for me, and I for them too, like that level of closeness that we have, to support each other in difficult moments, to cheer each other up or 'hey, you know, I see you look a bit sad, how are you?' (Male teacher n°20)

Another account that confirms this is that of a teacher who also refers to the supportive relationship with his work colleagues:

Interviewer: Yes, and tell me about that thing that you do... "catharsis" that you told me about at

Interviewee: during the week

Interviewer: And tell me, could you give me an example?

Interviewee: I mean, when you come home from class and you come to vent about your students, it's like 'these lazy assholes, I don't know what, they didn't study' or 'they behaved badly', or you also have a lot of disagreements with the coordination, the discipline is not very good, so you fight to get the students to class earlier and then the inspector arrives and forgives them because they are all sunbathing at recess, so then you arrive and you get angry and the rest say 'yes, yes it's true' but you can let off steam and go to your next class. (Female teacher n°12)

Here it is possible to observe that teachers build spaces of support with their colleagues that allow them to manage the intense emotions generated in their working life. This group containment would allow teachers to carry out emotional work among themselves in order to avoid being overwhelmed by the emotional demands generated by the interaction with the different actors in the educational community. At the same time, this strategy seems to reflect the lack of emotional support from those who run the institution. The accounts show the absence of an institutional space to elaborate the emotions that teachers have to manage during their working day. This can be seen, for example, when a teacher recounts his experience in another school and from it makes a diagnosis of the institution, pointing out that:

We had a group of young teachers with whom we met on Friday afternoons to talk about all the things that had happened during the week because the institution didn't have the space to do it, because we don't have any free space in the middle. What does that tell me? It tells me that schools need spaces to be able to have this unloading. (Male teacher n°16)

Faced with this lack of emotional containment by the institution, this teacher's narrative gives an account of the emotional strategies that teachers use to contain themselves during their professional practice in their relationship with students. In summary, and taking into account the emotional strategies observed in engineers and teachers, we could say that faced with the challenges of their field, engineers implement emotional strategies to affect others and obtain a certain result from them. In this way, it could be observed that engineers are aware of how

they affect their colleagues emotionally and even how they have to manage their emotions towards them in order to achieve their work goals. In the case of this profession, emotions are used as tools to facilitate work. However, it seems that teachers also use emotions as tools to induce some emotion in students. Nevertheless, this dimension of emotions seems to remain implicit in their accounts, as if it is something that cannot be said openly. Another difference that could be noticed between teachers and engineers is that the latter seem to focus more on how they affect others, but not on how they are affected. However, the accounts show that engineers are affected in the interactions they establish with others in the workspace. In contrast, teachers seem to place more emphasis on how they are affected by students, and the strategies they use to avoid becoming emotionally overwhelmed. As mentioned above, the account of how they affect students is mentioned but it is not explicitly stated that the aim is to influence students' emotionality.

As for the engineers, it was observed that they face a paradox in their workspace, which is the obligation to establish collaboration with others in order to achieve common goals in working environments that do not facilitate collaboration between people. In this way a certain ambivalence of working relationships is at play. On the one hand, emotional strategies are generated to gain the trust of others, but on the other hand, this trust is very fragile and can be easily betrayed. With regard to teachers, it was observed that part of their work challenges consisted of achieving student collaboration and avoiding emotional overflow. It was found that in order to achieve student collaboration, teachers sought to establish an emotional connection with students. In this sense, the teachers mentioned how they affected the students, but unlike the engineers, their way of interpreting this intervention was understood as a genuine attempt to relate to the students. This involved making greater use of deep acting than surface acting. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify that while their emotional strategies were aimed at producing an affective connection with their students, a working objective was also sought, which was to get the cooperation of the students so that the class could be carried out. This instrumental dimension of the relationship with the students seems not to be registered by the teachers. Perhaps this is because certain assumptions about the teacher-student relationship seem to circulate among the teachers which are in tension with the recognition of instrumental practices in this relationship. This was addressed earlier in Chapter 4 on the idea of the innocent child postulated in Rousseau's philosophy (Rousseau, 1979).

It could be observed that teachers are aware that they are affected by the relationship with students. An important part of the teachers' accounts focused on how the relationship with

students affected them emotionally, especially with regard to the repression of negative emotions. The accounts conveyed the teachers' concern that they should not be emotionally overwhelmed by the intense emotions they experienced in their work. To this end, the interviewees reported the construction of spaces of emotional containment with their colleagues where they could unload these repressed emotions and this allowed them to carry out emotional work in order to be able to continue teaching during the day. In this sense, it can be stated that teachers seem to be more aware than engineers, or at least feel they can relate to how they are affected by others at work and try to do emotional work on themselves by leaning emotionally on their colleagues. This shows that there are workspaces that do not coincide with the autonomous and independent worker postulated by late modernity and that there are other normative ideals guiding workers.

The analysis shows that in both professions the question of how to affect the other appears. However, each constructs different meanings for this question. For teachers, the answer lies in achieving an affective connection with students that cannot be disturbed by intentions that seek to instrumentalise the relationship. For engineers, the answer is along the lines of using emotions as a tool that is exercised on the other to seek a certain result, so that the authenticity of the relationship is not a relevant issue in the encounter with the other, but rather whether the type of relationship that is maintained is efficient in order to fulfil the assigned objectives. Thus, faced with the same question, professional cultures and the actors who give them existence try to give an answer that is in tune with the emotional cultures of the workspace they inhabit. In this regard, we will observe in the following section that not only are there different responses to the challenges between the two professions analysed here, but also that within the two professions, there are different challenges for men and women, but more similarities than differences between the two genders were identified, which will be discussed later in the conclusions of this chapter.

III. Accounts of emotional strategies in women

Before starting this section, it is necessary to recap what was pointed out in Chapter 5. In this chapter, it was noted that both the engineering and school teaching professions were shaped by gender cultures and that this tendency was given by the historical trajectory of these professions. Thus, the school teaching profession is characterised by a predominantly feminine culture, understood as a culture in which values traditionally associated with women such as care, affective relationships, nurturance, personal disclosure (Hornikx, Hendriks & Thijzen,

2009; Dow & Tonn, 2009), among others. In the engineering profession, on the other hand, a masculine culture predominates, understood as a culture where values such as assertiveness, aggressiveness, competition, distance from emotions, devaluation of the 'feminine', exercise of power (Koeszegi, Zedlacher & Hudribusch, 2012; Hardy & Jimenez, 2001), among others. However, as mentioned in Chapter 5, engineering culture seems to be undergoing a process of change as gender equity discourse is gradually being incorporated and traditional feminine attributes are beginning to be valued within management. Within this complex weave that articulates both professions, it was observed that while men and women share a number of challenges within their workplace, there are also times when the challenges are differentiated for each gender. In other words, there appear to be challenges at work that are particular to women and men and therefore they need to put in place strategies to deal with the issues that affect them in particular.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, in the work experience of actors, there are moments when gender differences ring out (are the object of the interaction) and others when they are muted (are not the object of the interaction) (Hirschauer, 2013). This section will address those situations where in emotional strategies gender seems to become the object of interaction. Through the actors' accounts it will be observed how in certain situations they face differentiated expectations for men and women and the image that these differences provide not only about the culture of the professions and organisations investigated but also the cultural changes that men and women are experiencing globally (Laurie et. al., 1999) and which have been addressed in the theory of late modernity. These changes can also be seen in Chile, where local forms of organisation have become intertwined with global discourses (Olavarría, 2010). The challenges that women face in the workspace are explored below.

a) Emotional strategies to validate at work in women engineers

One of the challenges that was reiterated most often in the women engineers' accounts relates to the perception that they have to do daily work to validate themselves in the institution. In their accounts it could be observed that one of the assumptions they acted on in their workplace was that their validity as professional workers was not guaranteed, so they had to be constantly performing actions to validate themselves in front of their bosses and co-workers. But perhaps most telling in these accounts is that, while trying to validate themselves in the eyes of others, it seemed that in this gesture the interviewees were also trying to convince themselves that they had a right to be in that position.

One of the ways in which this insecurity about their workspace was at play for the women engineers was their stated concern about managing the impression they gave to others in the workspace. It seems that women are constantly attentive to how they are perceived by others at work and try to manage their image in order to be perceived in a certain way. This is in line with Goffman's theory (1959) that people tend to try to present a certain impression to others in order to be perceived in a certain way. However, we could say that when comparing the accounts of impression management between men and women, it seems that women are hyper attentive to the kind of impression they convey to others because sometimes the audience, and especially some of the men they work with, seem to question the impression the women are trying to communicate in the interaction. One case in which this is reflected is the following, in which a female engineer working in construction relates her daily experience with male colleagues:

Interviewer: And have you had any situations in these meetings where there was someone who was more difficult to get along with?

Interviewee: Yes, there are many types of people working in construction, and it is not always welcome that someone from the head office, a woman, a young person, is going to tell them how to do things. That means that at the beginning you get a 'no', 'hey, I thought we could do this', 'no, we can't', but it also depends on how you handle yourself, how you 'win' people over.

She then mentions a concrete case of what she does to 'win people over'.

'Look, for example, when I worked in cost control, where I also had to go to the site and interact with the manager, there was a manager who was very stubborn and known in the company for being stubborn. So at first he was always treating me like 'no, no, no, no', 'no, shut up', 'no, you're talking shit', so I started to show him that I wasn't going to talk [shit], and that I knew what I was talking about and that I was telling him for a reason, and somehow being right, and him realising that I was telling him something that then happened, made him validate me, and also, with him I was careful never to shrink, if he told me something I answered him in the same way, and then we got along very well. (Female engineer n°6)

Here we can see the challenges to which this engineer is exposed insofar as she perceives that being a woman and young is an obstacle to being validated by her colleagues, so she implements emotional strategies to cope with this devaluation. When she refers to being a

woman and young, she seems to allude to the existence of stereotypes in the company that predispose her to a certain reception by her co-workers. Johanson (1998, p.43) points out that gender stereotypes can be considered "as an invisible interpretative screen enabling theoretical sense-making; such screen is both real and not real, functioning as resistance to change and allowing change to occur at the same time" . As will be seen throughout the analysis, the perception of gender stereotypes by the interviewees is something that is reiterated in their accounts, as well as the work they do on these stereotypes in order not to be identified with them. In this sense, it is striking how the interviewee shows in this fragment how emotions are exchanged and how she tries to convey a way which she wants to be perceived by her peers through emotions. This could also be understood from the concept of 'gender strategy' coined by Hochschild (2003), which is understood as those feelings and actions through which we try to fit into normative gender ideals. Arguably, the above account shows not only how the interviewee seeks to move away from a stereotype, but how she believes her co-workers expect her to behave in order to be respected. According to Hochschild (2003), this gap between how people feel and how they are expected to feel according to a certain normative gender ideal is resolved by people through gender strategies. These are actions that are taken but with the normative gender ideal in mind. Also, the interviewee seems to refer to an aggressive treatment by her male colleague to which she apparently responds with an aggressive response (as she says that she responds to him in the same way). In this extract it seems that what is perceived by the participant is a power relationship, in which the interviewee chooses to position herself as an equal through the intentional management of her emotions, apparently using surface acting. It seems that this intentional management of emotions, among others, was a strategy used by the interviewee to validate herself in the eyes of her colleague. Powell, Bagilhole and Dainty (2009, p.1), based on research they conducted with a group of female engineering students, concluded that one of the strategies used by women to be accepted by male students is "acting like one of the boys". This strategy consists of emulating what women believe to be the behaviour of men in order not to be associated with the negative stereotypes of women that exist in the profession. This tension that women engineers have to face is addressed by Hatmaker (2013), who mentions that in professions where a masculine culture predominates, as is the case in engineering, women are faced with the tension between their gender identity and their professional identity. According to the author, in masculinised professions such as engineering, professional identity is not gender-neutral, but rather the expectation is that a professional should behave in a way that displays certain characteristics associated with men. These include being aggressive, displaying technical skills, being self-confident, among others. Faced with

this, women try to negotiate with these expectations by trying to emulate these characteristics that are attributed to men.

However, sometimes in the interaction with men what emerges is that they are perceived as women, being associated with a gender that, for historical reasons, is not considered appropriate for the profession. Here we could consider what Illouz (2008) points out regarding the hierarchy of emotions, that is, that gender relations hide a valuation of the emotions that are considered more desirable in a given context (which in this case would be the emotions traditionally attributed to men) and those that are considered less desirable (the emotions traditionally attributed to women). Due to this situation, women try to make their professional identity prevail in their interaction with men, through the use of different tactics, in order to be accepted and to have a sense of belonging in their workplace (Hatmaker, 2013). It seems that this explanation provided by the author (Hatmaker, 2013) could be used to understand the above quote. The interviewee refers to the tension that is generated with a male colleague who does not validate her as another engineer, as an equal. In view of this, the interviewee seems to act in a way that she is not associated with the stereotype of the fragile and sensitive woman, to be considered a professional. Perhaps this can be understood as an attempt to erase those characteristics that could be associated with the negative stereotypes of being a woman that circulate in the profession. This issue of image control and how it affects others appeared several times in the women's accounts, but not at all in the men's interviews. This is in line with Hatmaker (2013) who points out that male engineers seem to be more comfortable than female engineers in the profession as being male is considered more appropriate for the profession based on stereotypes. Women seem to be more conscious of the impression they project to others and how they are perceived by their colleagues. This suggests that people construct an identity at work that seeks acceptance from others. On this, Winkler (2018) notes that identity construction at work involves "forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening, or revising the constructions that are productive of a precarious sense of coherence and distinctiveness" (p.120). This means that people do work on their identity in the workspace. In the women's accounts, the theme of validation at work is a constant. This can be seen in the accounts that have been identified, where different situations are reported in which women engineers perceive that their validation at work is at risk and that they have to work constantly to earn the respect and consideration of their colleagues. One example that reflects this situation is the following, where a female engineer refers to the meetings she coordinates with her colleagues:

Interviewer: And in these meetings, are there always different people or is there a regularity?

Interviewee: Yes, there is a regularity because in order for what I am doing to have a certain strenght and for them to take me into account, I always try to have at least the manager present at the meetings. Now, for example, I made a warehouse management plan, so I demand that the warehouse manager is present, but I also demand that the manager is present because if not, the warehouse manager may not take me into account, but it is relative depending on the issue I am going to deal with, that is who I have to meet with. For example, for the tool manual, I meet with the health and safety manager and the manager. (Female engineer n° 6)

Here we can see that the interviewee is thinking of a strategy to be taken into account, on the basis that she is likely to be confronted with a context in which her validation is not guaranteed, so she has to force others to take her into account. If we cross-reference this extract with the comments made earlier by this participant (female engineer n° 6), we already know that she perceives that being a woman and young generates some tension with male colleagues. With this information in mind, the strategy she relates in this extract makes sense, which consists of demanding that there be a senior person at meetings so that subordinates take her into account. What this interviewee seems to sense is that if she is accompanied by someone of high rank, subordinates will behave differently than when she is not accompanied by someone of high rank in the company. As she is apparently not conceived by her colleagues as an authority, she tries to force this respect by bringing in someone who is already respected by these colleagues.

Another case where one of the interviewees refers to the need for validation at work is that of an engineer who relates an experience she had in a previous job where, once she started working in the company, the firm gave her confusing information about her role and salary. In response, the participant had to clarify her situation with the general manager, who initially treated her badly. The interviewee mentions that this manager *'was a bit ironic, telling me 'look I am going to explain to you, one plus one is two, and two plus two is four'* (Female engineer n°11). Later, when the problem was solved and they clarified her role and salary, she was assigned an office to work in, but soon after, the cubicle was given to a male colleague and she was reassigned to a new office with a worse computer than her colleague. The interviewee also notes that she perceived that her bosses tended to give more attention to this colleague than to her. On this experience the interviewee mentions:

So then I said to myself, this company is sexist, because I have to go there to a worse office and this one [the new colleague] who is coming and is my peer, they give him a better position and a better computer, I don't understand. I don't understand. Is it because I'm a woman? I kind of question all those things. I could be wrong (...) So that's when you have to learn to be emotionally resilient. Because if you show weakness in that aspect, they will take advantage of that and they will catch you in your weakness and they will hit you, again and again. (Female engineer n°11)

The fragment shows the interviewee's perception that she was treated differently from her male colleague in the company and she wonders whether her gender might have had some explanation for this difference in treatment. Thus, she shows the problems she had in the beginning to legitimise herself in the company. At the same time she seems to point out that she perceived that she could not show in the company that she was affected by this difference in treatment because that would be showing a weakness that someone else could exploit. In this way she shows that in the company she cannot show that she is affected by this difference in treatment, she must show others that this difference does not affect her. Here we can see how she manages emotionality in order to be perceived in a certain way in the company and probably to validate herself through a way of managing her emotions in a way that does not show weakness. Other cases where the validation of female engineers is at stake seems to be when they have to deal with negative stereotypes of women at work and even in the recruitment process. Here is one female engineer's perception of prejudice against married women and the strategy she used to avoid it:

When I went the first time to [name of the company], it was a group interview, and there were eight men and me, and there the first thing I thought and did not say was that I was going to get married.(...)What I do think is that when you are among colleagues or the competitions are similar, 'ah, no, but she is going to get married', there I think the discard comes, that even for their heads it must be terrible like 'no, she is going to get married', there must be companies like that, but I don't know, I think positive in that sense (...)So in the selection process I thought 'I'm not going to say it', so I hid it, and then I felt very bad, I told Rodrigo [my partner] 'I hid it, I feel bad', but I was so desperate to go somewhere else that I said 'it's going to be an impediment, for sure'. It's like now it would be illogical to think, and hopefully in the future it won't

happen, that a woman comes to an interview and says 'I'm three months pregnant', they're not going to hire her, there's zero chance. (Female engineer n° 5)

Here we look at the emotional strategies that women put into play to cope with negative stereotypes circulating in their workplace. In this case, the interviewee chose to withhold information so as not to be associated with a negative stereotype of the woman-mother. This tension faced by the interviewee in a selection process is not restricted to this case alone. Research has shown that companies tend to have a negative attitude towards candidates who are pregnant or might become pregnant. This attitude is based on companies' assumptions that women who become pregnant are less committed to the job than women who are not pregnant (Cunningham & Macan, 2007; Chester & Kleiner, 2001; Paustian-Underdahl et. al., 2019). This explains the tension that the interviewee is exposed to, who chooses to withhold information during the selection process. This decision comes at a cost to her, as it puts her under ethical tension. It seems that what this interviewee makes clear is that she would like to be honest in the recruitment process, but this would leave her at a disadvantage compared to male candidates, so she decides to pay a personal cost by turning the conflict with the company (the prejudices circulating in the company) into a conflict with herself. It seems that through this gesture, the conflict shifts from the outside to the inside.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, engineers have to deal with an emotional culture that poses different and similar challenges for men and women. This section has addressed the challenges faced specifically by female engineers in their daily experience in the workplace. It is observed that the interviewees face a tension between their professional identity and their gender identity, as their gender identity seems to be devalued in the workplace. As mentioned in chapter one on emotional culture, the engineering culture is dominated by masculine values, which marginalise women from the profession. Thus women have to negotiate with that culture in order to perform their gender in a way that is accepted by their male colleagues, which puts a strain on women's professional validation in the workspace. It seems that the professional impression women try to convey is sometimes not legitimised by their male colleagues, so they resort to different strategies to be accepted by them. Some of these strategies consist of emulating characteristics traditionally assigned to men, such as aggressiveness, in order not to be identified with the negative stereotypes that circulate about women at work. Others turn to high-ranking people to gain respect as an authority, others withhold information. In this way, women manage to cope with an emotional culture in which there seem to be various stereotypes about women and they have to deal with them. It is in the face of these challenges that women do emotion work in the relationship with their

colleagues to produce a way of 'being' a woman, which is accepted in a male culture dominated by a higher proportion of men. In this way women 'do' gender in a way that is accepted in their workspace.

b) Emotional strategies to validate at work in women teachers

Unlike women engineers, it could be said that women teachers work in work contexts where the female culture predominates. In Chapter 5, reference was made to the origin of the school teaching profession, where it was possible to observe how women began to inhabit this career under the idea that they were the most qualified to educate the country's children, insofar as they were associated with the imaginary of the mother. This idea of the mother that circulates in the profession of school teaching seems to be in tension with the expectations of the professional that also circulates in the profession and that supposes another way of exercising emotionality. In the face of this tension between the teacher-professional and the mother-teacher, it was observed that one of the challenges that teachers have to face in their work practice is validation in the institution in which they work. In this case, it was observed that the women presented certain insecurity about the place they have in their work. One of the accounts in which this tension was visible is that of a female teacher who refers to the experience of facing parental complaints in her previous job and how this affected her to the point of questioning her vocation. In this regard, she mentioned:

In fact, I have colleagues who have more years of experience than me in that school, and they happen to be principals of the parents I had and they say that they were complicated, it was not just my perception, no. So that relieved me a little bit, because it made me doubt my real vocation, whether I could do it or not, whether I was smart enough, I questioned everything, everything, I was about to quit. I was in a bad state of mind. (Female teacher n°21)

Here we can see the tensions to which the teacher is exposed and how she interpreted these tensions. It seems that the parents' complaints made her doubt herself, suggesting that there is a certain fragility in her self-image as a professional. It is as if what comes from 'outside' generates existential crises 'inside'. In the account, the teacher mentions that parents were not the only challenge she had to face, as she perceived that her boss did not value her either. The experience mentioned by the interviewee finds some support in the research that has been carried out on the low social valuation of the school teaching career in Chile. According to some authors (Hernandez-Silva et. al., 2016), the career of school teachers in Chile suffered a

gradual deterioration since the 70's due to the implementation of State policies, such as the decrease of selectivity to enter the career, which resulted in a decrease in the quality of professionals entering the professional market. The low salary received by teachers in Chile has also led to it becoming a career with low social recognition (Mizala, Hernandez & Makovec, 2011). The context of the school teacher career in Chile can perhaps help to understand the criticism that this school teacher receives from parents. However, although it is a context shared by both male and female teachers, it was the women who tended to turn this external devaluation into a devaluation of themselves in the interviews. Men seemed to put a distance between their private identity and their professional identity. The interviewee (female teacher n°21) mentions that in order to cope with this criticism she perceived from parents and her boss, she had to undergo psychological therapy, which helped her to confront those situations that made her feel insecure about her place in the institution and about her valuation as a professional. In this sense, she points out:

I was like that until about three years ago when I was in bad health, and well, now I keep going to therapy, I go to a private psychologist and the conclusion we came to is that I put up with so much and it was so hard for me to say no, that frustration led me to eat, and that's why I weighed more than 100 kilos, so now I don't do it. Now I say my opinion and I tell my boss 'you know what, I don't like this', and when he answers me I say 'well, if you don't like it, fire me and we'll finish' or 'I'm leaving at the end of the year, don't worry', and he said 'no, don't go', and then I realised that my opinion was important to him, but I had to go through a stage, a visit to the psychologist. (Female teacher n°21)

This account reveals something about the permeability that exists between the inside and the outside, to the extent that the outside seems to have a strong influence on the teacher's self-image. In order to limit the level of influence that the 'outside' exerted on her, she had to carry out emotional work through psychological therapy that allowed her to construct a self-image that would put a limit to the questioning coming from the parents and her boss. This case reveals something about the challenges female teachers face in terms of being able to resist the onslaught from the outside. Another account refers to the relationship a female teacher has with the image she projects. The female teacher mentioned the lack of coordination that can occur with other colleagues teaching the same subject and how this can affect the image students have of her. In this sense, the teacher refers to the consequences that are generated when teachers do different classes instead of doing what was planned:

It becomes complex because they comment on everything, so it's not as simple as just doing your classes behind closed doors and that's it, no, the student then comes out and comments on what they did with you.

Interviewer: Yes, and this is then reflected in the evaluation?

Interviewee: No, it's reflected in that all of a sudden, I don't know why the other class did the activity like that instead of doing it like that, then you say 'it doesn't matter', no, it does matter(...) Then for the same reason, the children say 'oh, Miss [the other one]'s class is more fun than yours', for example, or mine is more fun than the one next to it because I made a change in the planning and instead of working inside the classroom I decided to have them work outside, in the playground, then the others [students] say 'why don't we go to the playground' (Female teacher n°14)

In this teacher's account, she appears several times to be concerned about how she is perceived by students and about the comparisons they may make between teachers. The quote reveals that her concern does not seem to be associated with her continuity in the institution, as might be the case if students were to assess her, but with the importance she attaches to the validation that comes from students. This is evident in the importance the teacher attaches to the impression she conveys not only to those in positions of authority, but also to the students, who are supposed to be subordinate to the teacher. This tendency of teachers to manage their impression in front of students is something that has been addressed in other studies, which point out that teachers do a job of conveying a certain impression to their students (Preves & Stephenson, 2009; Raidonis, 1998; Mazer, 2003). Moreover, it was also found that the tensions that arise in the relationships that are established with the different members of the educational community resonate in some women as existential tensions. This is the case, for example, with the same teacher who refers to the internal conflicts generated by the relationship with the students and how this changed over time:

Interviewee: Sure, when there is a conflict situation, 'is it because I'm the adult in charge that I'm not doing so well', 'did I fail to motivate the child'? Everyone has their own personal story (laughs), if they [the student] don't like my class, it's their problem, you know? (Female teacher n°14)

This extract reveals the process the teacher went through during her professional practice, in which she recounts a change in the way she dealt with students' discomfort. At first she seemed to give more validity to students' comments on her professional performance, but

then she gave less power to students' opinions. The quote also reveals a change of perspective with respect to the 'outside' and the 'inside'. Initially, the account shows that in the interviewee there was a greater permeability between the 'outside' and the 'inside', where negative opinions from the outside alter the teacher's self-image. It seems that the 'outside' enters directly into the teacher's subjectivity, as if there were no 'filters' to moderate the judgements coming from the outside. It is thanks to time, according to the teacher, that she establishes a clear boundary separating the outside from the inside, so that the 'outside' does not enter directly into the relationship she has with herself.

If we think that gender sometimes sounds and sometimes falls silent in interactions, it is worth asking why in these cases gender sounds in the validation of women in their workspaces. As a hypothesis, we could say that one explanation for this challenge identified by women engineer is that they have to deal with a masculine culture where some characteristics associated with the feminine gender are devalued. Women have recently experienced a massive entry into engineering careers, which perhaps makes them more attentive to their validation and they perceive a greater assessment from the environment due to the fact that they are women. In the case of school teaching, it could be conjectured that because from its origins it is a career that has been associated with the traditional role of women in the domestic space, it has been more difficult for women who pursue the career to distance themselves from these notions and validate themselves as professionals. In this way, it is their status as women that enables them to pursue this career (because they supposedly know how to educate children), but at the same time it is their professional capacity that calls into question (because it is something that women have naturally and not something that requires the acquisition of knowledge).

IV. Accounts of emotional strategies in men

For the men interviewed, it was more difficult to identify the challenges they are exposed to and therefore the emotional coping strategies they use. During the interviews, male engineers and school teachers explicitly mention some difficulties they encountered at work, but these were not presented as specific to their gender, but were shared with women. This was particularly striking in the case of the male engineers, who did not seem to perceive challenges specific to their gender. One way to explain this absence of gender-specific emotional challenges for male engineers is that the workspace is a place that men perceive more familiarly than women and in which they feel more comfortable. This would explain the absence of male-specific barriers in their accounts of the workplace. According to different

authors (Akpanudo et. al., 2017) in the engineering profession there is a predominantly masculine culture that defines expectations of how men and women should behave emotionally in the workspace. It could be thought that as a consequence, this results in men adapting better to the expectations of the profession than women. Similarly, a study conducted by Arango (2006) in Colombia, which interviewed systems engineering students, revealed that some male students tended to reinforce the masculine character of the career by not reflecting on women's experience in the profession. That is, they were indifferent to the barriers women had to overcome to stay in the career. However, in contrast to the study carried out by Arango (2006), in the analysis of the accounts of the current research it was possible to observe that some male engineers wonder about the experience of women, but this reflection is done in an abstract way, taking social discourses on gender equity but not comparing their experience with the experience of women.

If it is true that men tend to feel more comfortable in engineering careers, this could also be due to the fact that women have only recently entered the engineering labour space. According to available data, in Europe women started to massively enter the labour market around the 1920s and 1930s (Government Equalities Office, 2019). In the Chilean case, this process began at the end of the nineteenth century, but mass entry occurred in the 1970s (Araya & Orellana, 2004). In the case of engineering, the problem of women's entry into careers has been even more complex than in other disciplines. An example of this is that in 2016, for example, only twenty percent of the students in the national engineering programme were women, which in recent years has been considered problematic in Chile due to the penetration of discourses promoting gender equality and women's rights (Jiménez, Jones & Vidal, 2019). A fact that evidences this difficulty in the insertion of women in the career is that since 2014 the University of Chile implemented a programme called 'Priority entry for gender equity' in which several careers were modified, including engineering, in which special vacancies were created for women in order to reduce the gender gap between men and women (Universidad de Chile, n.d.). This relatively recent delay in the insertion of women into the world of work compared to men at all levels and professional careers, and especially in engineering careers, could perhaps partly explain their tendency to be more attentive to the difficulties that arise only for them at work. It could be conjectured that, because women have historically striven to make an effort to try to integrate themselves into the work market, they are more aware of their experience at work than men, who have inhabited the workplace for longer than women. This greater awareness is also due to the exclusion women have suffered from the work market, especially in Latin America (Organization of American States, 2011).

Different studies (Gutierrez, Martin & Ñopo, 2020; Piras, 2006; United Nations Development Programme, 2018) show the discrimination to which women are exposed in Latin America, to the point that women require "on average four more years (of education than men) to obtain the same remuneration and two more years (of education) to have the same opportunities to access informal employment" (Abramo, 2004, p.226). Thus, women need higher academic qualifications to access the same opportunities as men who have less education. The historical fact that women have entered the formal work market later and have been discriminated against in the process might explain why women are more attentive than men to the challenges that concern them alone.

Another hypothesis that could explain this difference found in the male and female engineers' narratives is that it is not that men are less challenged at work than women, but that they do not register these challenges as related to their gender. This would confirm the point made at the beginning of this chapter that, contrary to West and Zimmerman (1987), the narratives indicate that we do not always account for our femininity or masculinity in social interactions. In this way, and as Hirschauer (2013) argues, gender is not always the object of the interaction, and we would add that it is not always the element that explains what happens in an interaction. In women it was also possible to observe that not all the problems they faced were explained by gender, however, tended to relate situations where gender, as Hirschauer (2013) says, became the object of the interaction. It was also observed that women tend to transform the problems that arise in their working life as issues about themselves, something that is not observed in the case of men. Thus, it seems that women tend to have a greater permeability with their environment. It could be hypothesised that men are less permeable to their working environment, but this does not mean that they do not problematise their working relationships. It seems that the interactions that men establish at work do not produce internal tensions (or at least it was not apparent from their accounts) that lead to self-questioning, as is observed in the case of women. However, this limit that men set in the work environment could also be thought of as a way of safeguarding their intimate emotional space.

Giddens (1992) in his book *'The Transformation of Intimacy'* tries to give clues about the differences in the reflective work that men and women do. He points out that instead of starting from the assumption that men cannot express their emotions or that they are less sensitive, the difference should be located in the narrative of the self. In this respect, the author mentions that men have more difficulty in constructing a narrative of the self than women because they have historically been relegated to the space of intimacy. Intimacy is understood "intimacy refers to the quality of close connection between people and the

process of building this quality” (Jamieson, 2011, p.1) which was initially the domain of women. According to Giddens (1992), it is thanks to the space of intimacy, which involves reflexive work on oneself and on the relationship with others, that women forged a narrative of the self, which is understood as an emotional narrative that connects and gives coherence to the past, present and future by constructing an identity of the self. This would be observed for example when a person talks about the different partners she has had in her life and refers to how she was affected by those relationships, and what she learned in each of them. According to the author (Giddens, 1992), men were deprived of this resource because they were involved in public life and understood love affairs only as conquests and not as relationships where something of themselves is revealed. The lack of this 'resource' in men makes them less prepared for the demands for the democratisation of private life, which women are supposed to have promoted and which are emerging in late modernity. Thus, if we follow Giddens' thesis, what would explain men's difficulty in referring to challenges that are connected to their gender is that this would require men to reflect on themselves through a narrative of the self, which they are apparently only just learning to do for historical reasons. This may partly explain women's tendency to incorporate the tensions they encounter in their workspace into their dialogue with themselves, which does not seem to be the case for men.

However, in contrast to the male engineers, a clearer challenge could be detected in the case of male teachers. Several of them mentioned having difficulties with expressing their emotions in the work environment. This perception of male teachers was apparently based on the fact that they felt that the environment in which they worked expected more expression of their emotions and this put them under stress. However, this was not understood by them through the lens of gender, but was reported as one of the tensions they experienced in their working lives. One account where this tension is reflected is the following, where a teacher refers to the expression of emotions in his work:

That's my situation, it's not because I can't, I mean they tell me 'I don't know if you are happy or sad because your face is always the same', so because I get stressed, that's the complaint I have since I was 15, so it's hard for me to express my feelings, like getting excited about something, like watching a movie or laughing a lot. (Male teacher n°20)

In this quote, the teacher reports the tension he perceives with regard to the demands and criticisms he receives from others about his difficulties in expressing his emotions. It seems that in this teacher's workspace, emotions are an important aspect of the job, to the extent

that the people working there are attentive to how this participant shows his emotions. The expression of emotions thus becomes a challenge that male teachers find themselves under stress. This could perhaps be explained by the context in which the teachers work. We noted earlier that a feminine culture seems to predominate in the school teaching profession and defined feminisation as "the spread of traits or qualities that are traditionally associated with females to things or people not usually described that way" (Fondas, 1997, p.258). This characteristic of the profession could be putting male teachers under stress as the normative framework of the profession generates expectations about emotions more akin to the traditional idea of femininity. This expectation could be recognised in the way in which the interviewees observe that they are perceived by their colleagues and the way in which they report being questioned by them about their emotions. For example, when the interviewee says '*I mean they tell me 'I don't know if you are happy or sad because your face is always the same'*', we can see that the interviewee feels challenged by these appraisals made by others about their emotional behaviour. We also noted that the school teaching profession was mostly made up of women, which makes men more 'visible' in the workplace because they are in the minority. In this way, in the case of male teachers, the opposite is true to the case of female engineers: they arrive in a gender culture in which the feminine culture predominates and in which there are emotional expectations that stress them to the extent that they do not 'fit' with their gender identity. Another account in which this tension is observed is that of a male teacher who perceives that his environment requires him to manage his emotions in a way that apparently does not come naturally to him. This participant understands this demand as the contrast between the personal and the impersonal. The following is an extract from the interview:

Now I work in a school that is co-educational, in a men's class [the school welcomes men and women but implements classes that separate women and men], the men are treated by their surname, it doesn't matter. If in a women's class you treat them by their surname, they don't like it, they feel it's impersonal. Because you know them, [they feel] you don't care about them, and so on. Men, on the other hand, don't care.
(Male teacher n°13)

This extract shows how the teacher relates the personal and the impersonal to gender. When he makes comments such as '*it doesn't matter*' or '*it's not a problem*' when referring to men's attitude towards impersonal treatment, it seems that the teacher is making a judgement about the male students' attitude towards his impersonal treatment of them. The '*it doesn't matter*' and '*it's not a problem*' could be interpreted as the absence of conflict in the men's attitude

towards impersonal treatment. In contrast to this attitude of the male students would be the attitude of the female students who would demand something from this teacher which seems to be conceived by him as a different attitude from that shown by the male students. The change from an impersonal approach, which seeks to put distance from the students, to a personal one, which seeks the opposite, seems, in a veiled way, to be perceived by this participant as a condition that he assigns to the female students. Another fragment in which this school teacher shows some tension regarding the 'personal' dimension at work is when he refers to a conflict that existed between colleagues in his department when he was head teacher. The women in the department asked him to intervene in a conflict between two colleagues. On this he mentions the following:

Interviewee: It's like these things are kind of in the realm of saying, 'okay, it's a personal thing for both people and I don't care'. I don't care' not in the sense that I don't care about the person, but it's something of theirs, like boundaries, it's something very... boundaries between men are more visible and maybe not between women.

Interviewer: As limits, in what sense?

*Interviewee: [personal] boundaries, this is their [problem], 'I don't interfere'. Maybe the others are more empathetic, I don't know. And maybe it's also a lack of empathy (...)
And maybe there is another vision of saying 'we have to be attentive, because we have to help that person', that's why I say the limits, I don't know. The personal sphere and in the sphere... but maybe it's something... it's my impression or something cultural in Chile, in the United States the private sphere is much more... how you greet people. So it's a cultural thing. (Male teacher n°13)*

In this extract it seems that the male teacher refers to a certain discomfort with regard to the demands made on him in his work, especially those perceived by women. From this extract one could think that the male teacher understands this tension as the boundaries between the private and the public at work. For him, it is women who push for the private life to enter the workspace, something that, according to his interpretation, would not be part of the male understanding of the workspace. To explain his perspective, he says that he did not want to get involved in the conflict because he thought that as it was private issue, it was not his domain, an understanding that was not shared by the women. In this account, it seems that the interviewee assigns the input of emotions in the workplace to women. Also, the interviewee seems to have an ambiguous position on the incorporation of personal affects into the workspace. On the one hand, he seems to see it as something positive and associates the

entry of private affects into the workspace with the ability to have empathy, something he says he lacks. As will be seen later in this thesis, the association between affect and empathy is something that appears in several of the men's accounts, especially when they refer to their private space.

On the other hand, it seems that the interviewee also adopts a critical stance towards 'the private' at work, which is perceived when he speaks in the first person when referring to why the private issues was not considered by him in the first place and when he distances himself from the women's perspective by describing it as '*another vision*'. Also, when he compares Chilean culture with that of the United States, where the latter would not incorporate the 'private' in work relations. This phrase could have a particular interpretation, since in Chile the culture of the United States tends to be considered a more advanced culture than that of Chile, so the comparison that the interviewee makes between what happens in his workspace and what he says happens in the United States could be indicating something more than a simple cultural comparison. This idealisation of Latin America with respect to the American model and way of life is confirmed by several authors (Ordorika, 2006; Cueva, 2008; Sol, 2015) who state that this idealisation of the United States was a mixture of American interference and the fascination of Latin American elites with the American way of life, among others. In this way, it can be observed that the interviewee feels tensioned by the incorporation of private affectivity in the workplace and associates this tendency with a feminine demand.

Analysis of men's accounts of emotional strategies in the workspace raises more questions than it answers. The emotional challenges faced by men in their workspace appear to be more enigmatic than in the case of women, who were more aware of the challenges they face as a result of belonging to a certain gender. The analysis may indicate that women feel more uncomfortable in the workspace than men, who have been inhabiting the workspace for longer. This is not to say that women reject the exercise of their profession or the entry into the world of work, but rather what is shown here are the tensions that women are exposed to when entering a space that was historically inhabited by men. The same could be said in the case of the profession of school teaching. Because it is a profession that was historically constituted as a women's space, this would seem to make more visible the gender tensions that affect male teachers in their workspace than male engineers. It is also striking that male teachers' tensions are associated with the display of their emotions and the perceived demands of the environment in which they work, where there seems to be a certain expectation of how they should express themselves emotionally. As mentioned above, it is

possible to think that the gender culture found between the two professions could be explaining some of the tensions reflected in the accounts of both men and women.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the emotional strategies used by professionals of both genders. These strategies have been organised according to the emotional challenges that emerged from the interviewees' accounts. The analysis began with the emotional challenges common to both men and women in the fields of engineering and school teaching. Engineers seemed to deploy their emotions to align their colleagues with common goals and the goal of emotional management was rather to perform their work effectively. Teachers, on the other hand, emphasised the genuine deployment of emotions towards students in order to achieve student collaboration. As for the relationship with their colleagues, teachers tended to use emotional strategies to restrain themselves and others. In contrast, engineers were found to use emotional strategies to achieve collaboration in a competitive work environment. Despite the differences between these two professional fields, it was found that both professions used emotions at work to achieve collaboration with others and that working with emotions was necessary in their professional practice. After comparing the emotional challenges of the two occupational fields, a comparison was made between the genders (male and female) within each profession. In relation to this, the results show that one of the recurring challenges for female engineers and female school teachers is to be validated in their workspace. In the case of female engineers, the use of their emotions was aimed at being respected by their colleagues, especially men, and being seen as equals in the working relationship. In the case of female teachers, their emotional strategies are also linked to validating themselves at work in the eyes of their students, colleagues and parents. Female teachers were very attentive to the impression they projected to others in the educational community and made a great effort to control the image they projected on them. To do so, they used their emotions in different ways, sometimes to be liked by students, sometimes to avoid being negatively evaluated by them, sometimes to be seen as professional by parents, among others.

As for men's emotional strategies, it was difficult to establish common challenges for this gender, especially for male engineers. While it was observed that this group experiences challenges at work, they did not associate these challenges with their gender. Some hypotheses that could explain this finding are that engineering is dominated by a masculine culture that makes male engineers somewhat comfortable with the logic operating in their

workspace, as they inhabit the profession earlier than women, so they do not perceive tensions associated with being male. Another hypothesis is that male respondents, unlike women, do not generate a narrative about themselves that allows them to register the challenges associated with being a man in the workplace. Finally, although male teachers did not explicitly associate the challenges of their work with their gender, they indicated that they perceive a demand from their work environment to express their emotions. Male teachers seem to be asked to do something that causes them some degree of discomfort, and perhaps this is why it comes up in some interviews.

If we go back to the findings from the previous chapters, we can say that both men and women perceive the existence of expectations related to the way they should express their emotionality based on their gender. Likewise, and in view of the findings in this chapter, what is observed is that people do emotional work on these expectations. Thus, what this section shows is the active way in which engineers and school teaching try to influence the gender expectations that circulate in relationships by negotiating the way they are perceived by others, but at the same time, how they try to put their own expectations of others into play. If we go back to the initial hypothesis with which this research started, i.e. that men and women have different experiences and therefore their emotional strategies and challenges at work are likely to be different, the results presented here seem to question this hypothesis and show a more complex scenario than initially thought. It appears that men and women share many of the challenges at work. This means that expectations are not only placed on how people express their emotions according to their gender, but also emotional expectations are placed on other identities, such as professional identity. Hence, for example, both men and women in school teaching are expected to establish emotional strategies in order not to be emotionally overwhelmed. This is due, among other things, to the fact that part of the teacher's job is to protect students from negative emotions. These results point to the importance of paying attention to the similarities between men and women in discussions of gender, as perhaps this may indicate that gender is less significant than other factors (organisational cultures, nature of work) in some aspects of experience. This could tie in with what was noted in the previous chapters, where reference was made to post-feminist theory pointing to a certain equalisation in the emotional attitudes of men and women, which perhaps also speaks to the tendency for men and women to increasingly share the same experiences as well as being subject to the same expectations.

With respect to sociologist Hirschauer's (2013) theory, i.e. that gender is the object of interaction and sometimes not, we could say that the visibility and invisibility of gender in relationships was related to the emotional and gendered culture of the professions studied.

In engineering, gender became the object of interaction when male engineers tried to delegitimise female engineers because of their gender. This shows us that negative stereotypes of women circulate in the gendered culture of engineering that assume a certain idea of women's emotionality (such as that they are delicate or weak) and that this stereotype sometimes appears in interactions causing women's gender to be the object of interaction. In the case of the female teachers it seems that gender became the object of the relationship when the women sought to be perceived as professionals. This was observed when women sought to be perceived as professionals by the educational institution and the community where they worked. Perhaps the explanation for the emergence of these challenges is that, since from the beginning the profession of school teacher was associated with the imaginary of the 'mother', women sometimes have trouble distancing themselves from this imaginary when exercising their profession. On the other hand, male teachers also seem to face gender challenges. These challenges were associated with others' perceived expectations about the expression of their emotionality. In this case, it seems that men sometimes had problems adjusting to the expectations of the feminine culture that prevails in the school teaching profession and which demands a certain expression of affectivity that seems to challenge men's emotional skills. Thus, we can see that gender sometimes 'rings' and sometimes 'mutes' in interactions and that when it 'rings' it is necessary to cross-reference gender with other factors to explain the participants' experience. In the next chapter we will address the private space of the interviewees, specifically their relationships with their partners. This will allow us to establish relationships between the emotion work that takes place in public and private spaces and to compare how emotionality is involved in the construction of these two spaces.

Chapter 7: Couples relationships: the private space

The aim of this chapter is to explore how heterosexual couples relationships are shaped by the exchange of emotions between partners and the impact of work on the relationship. In this respect, the interviewees' accounts will be based on the assumption that there are two distinct spaces, that of work and that of the couple. How participants move between these two spaces will be explored, with an emphasis in this chapter on how they negotiate their partner space in relation to their workspace. This involves considering both the actions taken to differentiate between the two spaces, and the ambiguities that circulate on the border between the two spaces. Similarly, the way in which emotions circulate in couple relationships and how couples build their relationship through the exchange of emotions will be investigated during this chapter. The analysis showed that couples perform emotion work in order to 'be' a couple. For this, traditional gender stereotypes were sometimes used to make sense of what was happening in the couple's relationship and to give certainty to the relationship. It was also observed that couples actively engaged in emotion work to keep their work life outside the couple's space, trying to maintain a separation between the two spaces.

Regarding the concepts that will be used in this chapter, that the concept of emotion work will be understood in a broad sense, as "the act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling" (Hochschild, 1979, p.561). Thus, the emphasis of the analysis in this chapter will be on how people manage their emotions and how this affects their interaction with their partner. We will start from the assumption that emotions of different kinds can emerge in couple relationships, including negative emotions. In this way, the aim is to have a certain openness about the different emotions that can be found in the interviewees' accounts. By considering that in couple relationships there can be emotions that bring people closer but also distance them, the aim is to leave room for complex emotions that are difficult to delimit, such as ambivalence.

Unlike the previous chapter, the structure of this chapter is divided into tensions and ways of navigating tensions rather than challenges and strategies. The reason for this decision lies in the fact that while it was possible to find in the accounts that several participants managed their emotions strategically when talking about their life as a couple, this emotional management was done to sustain the relationship itself rather than to aim for goals that were

above the relationship. That is, if in the workspace people manage their emotions in their relationships with their colleagues in order to meet the company's objectives, in the couple's space the function of managing emotions is to sustain the relationship itself. Thus, by structuring this chapter on tensions and ways of navigating these tensions, we seek to make a counterpoint with the way emotions are mobilised in workspace relationships. In this regard, if what is at stake in the emotion work that unfolds in the workspace is keeping the job, in the case of couple relationships, what is at stake is the bond with the other. This means that the expectations about what can be asked of the other and what the other can ask are different from the expectations that exist in work relationships. Some authors (Cunha, Narciso & Novo, 2013; Neff & Harter, 2002) mention that the expectation of authenticity is typical of couple relationships, understanding authenticity as the true expression of the self, showing the other the personal desires and needs. These authors identify that in couple relationships the recognition and acceptance of the other regarding what 'I am' is expected, something that, according to the findings made in the previous chapters, would not be the case in work relationships.

In terms of the structure of the chapter, the focus will be on how people sustain the relationship and how they negotiate the expectations that arise in the relationship. The analysis of the data showed that these themes are articulated from the gender identity of the participants and not from their professional identities. Thus, professions will not be considered when investigating the couple space. However, the way in which participants deal with the boundary between work and the couple relationship through emotion work will be considered. This decision to foreground the participants' gender identity is that gender identity played a more significant role in shaping the couple's space than professional identity (being an engineer or a school teacher). That is, participants tended to make sense of this space more by their gender and their partner's gender than by the profession they came from. Now, it is not that professional identity plays no role in the relationship. We will simply say that gender identity appeared as a more important element in the participants' accounts when explaining and giving an account of their couple relationships. Here we could take up Hirschauer's argument (2013) and point out that in couple relationships it seems that gender tends to be more present than in work relationships as an object of interaction and also as an element that interviewees use to explain each other's behaviour. Moreover, as will be seen in the following pages, the interviewees intentionally try to leave their professional identity and its associated responsibilities out of the relationship with the partner. Also, in this chapter we will show that traditional stereotypes of men and women play an important role in 'doing' gender in intimate

relationships. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the stereotypes encountered were sometimes distant and sometimes close to the normative ideals mentioned in late modernity theory.

As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, late modernity theory (Giddens, 1992; Blake & Janssens, 2021; Gill, Kean & Scharff, 2017) points out that there have been changes in couple relationships. Some of these changes consist in understanding the couple relationship as something that is not guaranteed and that is the product of work between the partners that relies on the verbal expression of emotions, revealing something of oneself to the other. This theory also mentions that there is a longing for equity in the couple relationship that assumes that men should undertake care work, but also that they should be able to be empathetic in the relationship and reflect on what they think and feel. Women, on the other hand, must show greater emotional autonomy and be agents of their own lives through reflection on how they want to exercise and live their lives. In the subsequent sections, we will see through analysis the levels of appropriation of these normative ideals, as well as the emergence of other normative ideals that have not been considered by this theory. This chapter is structured around the following themes that emerged in the analysis of the interviewees' accounts:

I. The couple's relationship as something to sustain

- Ways of coping with lack of time for couple space
- Protecting couple space from work
- Tensions of connection and disconnection in the couple's relationship

II. Negotiating expectations that the participants have of the partner and the perceived demands on the partner

- Assumptions circulating in the couple relationship about how to 'be' a partner
- Negotiating expectations of each other within the couple

Thus, the thesis addresses the way in which different elements in the couple relationship are signified and the way in which these meanings are negotiated in the relationship. From these coordinates, the aim is to create a framework from which to establish the tensions and the ways in which these tensions are navigated by the interviewees in their daily lives. The following are the findings related to the couple relationship.

I. The couple's relationship as something to be sustained

An important aspect that emerged in the interviews is the tendency to conceive of the couple relationship as a fragile space that needs to be constantly sustained. This is particularly evident when participants reflected on the impact of work on their relationship. This conflict has been addressed by different authors (Munn & Chaudhuri, 2016; Chang, McDonald & Burton, 2010; Boiarintseva, Ezzedeen & Wilkin, 2021) under the concept of work-life balance, who refer to certain characteristics of current jobs such as the massification of women's entry into the workplace and the excess of work demand and job insecurity, among others that have impacted people's private lives. These changes in the workplace have introduced new challenges to private life, since they force a reorganisation of life in general and especially of life as a couple.

In this respect, what emerged was the perception in the participants' accounts that due to the high work demands, time for the couple was something that was not guaranteed and therefore had to be actively sustained. The high work demands seemed to introduce tensions into the couple's relationship which, from the perspective of the interviewees, put the bond at risk. An example of this situation is given in the following account by one man:

So I think that the issue of the hours, the long working hours, plus what you suddenly have to do at home, has an impact on the couple's relationship, yes, clearly. (Man n° 20)

The participant suggests that work and domestic demands leave little time for the couple's relationship. In this way, the couple's relationship is seen as a space independent of the domestic and workspace. Tiredness is also mentioned as a factor that makes it difficult to do activities with the couple, so that time for the couple is restricted to the weekend. About this he mentions:

During the week it is almost impossible because of the tiredness itself, very little, it is very rare that suddenly during the week we go out some day somewhere. (Man n° 20)

The reference to tiredness makes us think about the emotional work that the participants have to do to be able to sustain the relationship and how the physical and emotional wear and tear that work generates produces limitations with respect to the activities that can be done as a couple. The tendency to refer to overwork on the part of the interviewees coincides with the research carried out by Araujo and Martuccelli (2012), who point out that one of the tensions

faced by Chilean workers in their daily lives is “excessive work”(Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012). With this concept, the authors refer to the perception by workers of an "excessive demand and pressure" (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012, p.12) in their jobs that is experienced as non-negotiable. This means that it is felt as an imposition that must be accepted and cannot be changed, and as a consequence, according to the authors, people organise their lives and understand their discomfort based on this excessive demand that they perceive in their work (Araujo & Martuccelli, 2012). The two extracts from man n°20 show the participant's perception of this excess of hours spent at work and how the interviewee is aware that this excessive work has a negative impact on his private life. The extract also shows that the participant associates life as a couple with doing activities together. The participant mentions:

Sometimes we go out for a hot dog, a sandwich somewhere, or order food for the house. Finally that takes you out of the traditional rhythm, that kind of thing. (Man n°20)

What is striking in this account is the allusion made by the participant to the change of rhythm when he is with his partner. It would seem that in order to be with the other it is necessary to interrupt a certain continuity that occurs in working life through the change of rhythm. In this sense, the account shows that the couple's space is constructed on the basis of these differentiations that are made with other spaces, including work and domestic space. It would seem that the couple's space is configured as a third space, which is why the participant refers to carrying out different activities with the couple to the activities that are normally carried out in the domestic and work spheres. The latter can be seen when the participant says '*Finally that takes you out of the traditional rhythm*' where it could be understood that with the concept of 'traditional rhythm' the interviewee is alluding to other spaces of everyday life, where apparently, the couple's space is not constructed. In this respect, Drevon, Gerber and Kauffmann (2020) argue, based on a study of families in France and Luxembourg, that the rhythm of everyday life requires constant coordination on the part of couples. They also point out that the negative consequences of this rhythm of routine life are manifested in a chronic lack of time and a constant feeling of tiredness. Faced with the demands of the rhythm of everyday life, families use a number of resources in order to make time for the couple. What the extract from man participant n°20 seems to show is that the change in rhythm is a strategy to cope with the pressures imposed by the routine of everyday life. Another account that refers to the difficulties that work introduces into the couple's relationship is the following:

I think that this workload has also been a strain on the relationship, it is not free to spend so many hours at work, beside when you get home you arrive home more tired and worn out, so you can also be more annoyed in the face of different frictions, I can have a worse reaction than if I had been fresher. (Man n°3)

Here again, reference is made to the effects of overwork and how this affects the predisposition one has when one is with one's partner. The account seems to be alluding to the tension that the interviewee perceives between work and family life. By saying '*I think that even this workload has been a strain on the relationship*', the interviewee is constructing the border between work and the couple's relationship as a conflictive space. Also, when the interviewee mentions that as a result of the fatigue and wear and tear produced by work '*you can be more annoyed in the face of different frictions*' in the couple, he seems to be referring to workload at work predisposes to a certain emotionality, in this case to a negative predisposition, which then has an effect on the couple's relationship. This was also addressed in the study by Widerberg (2006) who investigated a group of Norwegians with different professions and occupations in order to investigate the meanings and consequences of tiredness in their daily lives. He concluded that the acceleration of time in everyday life led to increased tiredness, which predisposed people to be more irritable in their relationships with others. This seems to be consistent with the findings of this thesis. Other participants, rather than talking about a lack of energy, referred to difficulties in matching times. In this regard, one woman mentions the following:

But at the beginning it happened that his schedules were very different from mine, so Rodrigo would start working at 7-8pm, because during the day there were other things, other plans and meetings. And at that time he would sit down to work and at that time I would arrive, and that meant a lot of conflicts, that was a negative impact, they were conflicts at a level that at one point ended our relationship, that was it and more things obviously, but that was a factor, because we were just living together and we were not able to coordinate our times. (Woman n°5)

In this excerpt, the participant refers to the fact that there must be a certain synchronicity in the timing with the partner in order for the bond to be sustained. This account gives the impression that the couple's relationship is sustained on a precarious platform. This is inferred when the interviewee points out that they were unable to coordinate their time with their partner, indicating that this dimension was not easy for the couple. Time and its organisation seem to be an important dimension in the support of the relationship. At the same time, its

mismatch seems to have an effect on the emotions that are exchanged in the couple, to the point of putting the relationship at risk. This can be seen when the interviewee states that this lack of time coordination had '*a negative impact, there were conflicts*'. In this regard, Sullivan (1996) studied the use of time in 380 heterosexual couples through self-report diaries in order to identify the activities that the couple carried out at home and the level of enjoyment of these activities. From this research, she concluded among other things, that couples actively manipulate time to coordinate activities together. We might think from the extract of woman n°5 that what she shows in her account is not only that couples coordinate their time but also that leaving time for each other is an expectation that exists in the relationship. In the case of woman n°5, it can be seen that the conflict was not only about the lack of time together, but that her partner did not seem to meet a certain expectation of actively manipulating his time to create space for being together as a couple. Another excerpt that refers to routine and how it leaves little time for couple life is the following:

Interviewer: tell me first about a day between Monday and Thursday.

Interviewee: Yeah, they are boring days. It's a day like being in the military service, getting up earlier and working like a donkey, arriving tired in the afternoon, not talking much and going to sleep as early as possible" (Man n°2).

The extract shows that routine makes life as a couple take a back seat. Other areas of everyday life, such as work, require more attention to the detriment of time spent with a partner. Also, it seems that the boredom and tiredness of everyday life are a threat to the maintenance of the bond, since they limit the emotion work required to maintain a couple's relationship. This is inferred when the interviewee mentions that when he comes home after work he meets his partner and they do not talk much and go to sleep as early as possible, indicating less dedication to the couple's space during the week. Tensions with regard to sustaining the couple's relationship were reflected in other difficulties that were named by the participants. In the following, we will address the difficulties identified by interviewees in their accounts and the ways they find to navigate these tensions. To do so, the following themes will be addressed in this section:

- Ways of coping with the lack of time for couple space.
- Protecting the couple's space from work
- The tensions of connection and disconnection in the couple's relationship.

These difficulties and the ways in which participants cope with these tensions are discussed below.

Ways of coping with the lack of time for couple space

One aspect that endangered the sustainability of the couple's relationship was the lack of time for the relationship. This difficulty requires the interviewees to bring into play emotional resources and time organisation to overcome this difficulty in sustaining the relationship. In this regard, Tammelin(2020) mentions that time should not be understood as a private matter, but as a dimension of experience that is structured in relation to others. It is because of this relational characteristic of time that "it is subject to negotiations, power relations and inequality" (Tammelin, 2020, p.137). Interviewees referred to different ways of circumventing the tension of time in the relationship, among other things, by generating a different rhythm for the private space in relation to the workspace. On this, one interviewee mentioned the work he does with his partner to give meaningful space to the relationship. The extract shows that the interviewee assumes that when he is with his partner they should do something special, something out of the daily routine. In this respect the interviewee mentions:

How do we make up for that, as I tell you, trying one weekend to go to Viña [a seaside resort near the capital], one day 'you know what, let's go out to eat something', the three of us go [with my daughter]. Sometimes, 'hey Macarena [my daughter], stay at a friend's house so I can go out with your mum'. (Man n°20)

In this extract, the interviewee states that in order to cope with the lack of time with his partner, he does something out of the routine with her. According to this account, it would seem that the mere presence of both partners is not enough to ensure the bond between them, but that in order to sustain it, it is necessary to do something completely out of routine, as a way of breaking the continuity with the demands of the other spaces of everyday life. Besides, the idea that in these spaces (work and domestic space) there is no life as a couple is repeated here. In this regard, another interviewee mentioned the tendency to turn the couple's meeting into something special. The interviewee refers to the contrast he intentionally creates between the routine life of the week, where he has little time to be with his partner, and the weekend, where activities are created with the partner to share a certain emotional intensity. In this regard the interviewee mentions:

Interviewer: Yeah, and from Friday to Sunday?

Interviewee: The opposite, it's like going on a Rolling Stones tour, totally opposite, black and white. No, but we always go out on Fridays, we go out, we try from 6pm, we go out and go to bars, party, we go dancing in a discotheque, even if there are younger people, or we stay dancing alone in the house. If there is nothing, we go to bed at 5am drunk and we enjoy ourselves as if we were 20 years old, every Friday. (Man n°2)

Through the account the participant shows that in this case, what makes it possible to differentiate the spaces of everyday life are the different emotional intensities in each of them. During the week, life revolves around work and children, and this is charged with a certain routine and intensity. Life as a couple, on the other hand, which takes place at the weekend, is in stark contrast to the weekday experience. This is observed when the interviewee mentions that the weekend is a complete change from the rest of the week like 'black and white'. The account shows that what is constructed between the interviewee and his partner is the possibility of sharing a certain emotional intensity from the activities that are carried out. It seems that this emotional intensity is related to diminishing the control of emotions at the weekend but at the same time predisposing oneself to feel intensely with one's partner through the staging of certain activities. It is as if a way for this couple to meet is to share the same emotion. This is in line with Baumeister and Bratslavsky (1999) who point out that couples tend to consolidate in the long run through the exchange of positive and intense emotions. Also, during the interview the participant used the concept of '*military service*' to describe how he and his partner live the week and then used the concept of a '*Rolling Stones tour*' to refer to the way they live the weekend. This could be interpreted as the contrast between control and lack of control of emotions, the way in which the interviewee releases and unburdens pent-up emotions during the week. This release of emotions seems to be associated here with enjoyment.

In contrast to this strategy, another interviewee mentioned incorporating the couple relationship into work time as a way of sustaining the bond. Instead of turning the couple relationship into something special to differentiate it from the other spaces of everyday life, this interviewee introduces the couple relationship into the work routine in order to sustain the relationship. In this respect, the interviewee mentions the following way in which he deals with the lack of time for the couple's space:

What we do is that in the end we have to schedule appointments [to meet during the week]. Even if it's at home eating normal but it's marked, like 'hey, on Wednesday we

have to eat together, if you were planning another activity you have to cancel it'. (Man n°3)

This extract shows how the couple's relationship becomes just another job within the work schedule. It seems that by incorporating the couple's relationship into the work format, it takes on the logic of work, becoming one more obligation within the multiple activities that the interviewee has to carry out at work. This can be identified when the interviewee mentions '*on Wednesday we have to have eat together*', indicating something that has to be done out of obligation. At the same time, the work schedule is also modified by the intrusion of the partner, since work demands cannot overlap with the demands of the partner when a meeting time is defined. It seems that this is a way to give time to the partner using the work schedule. In this way, while the partner's time must be subjected to the list of work obligations, on the other hand, it subverts the imbalance of work demands by using a part of the work time. In this account time is conceived as a dimension of the couple and that there are expectations regarding how time is managed in order to create a temporality for the relationship. Thus, through different ways couples manage to sustain the bond despite the demands of their workspace.

Protecting couple's space from work demands

Another aspect that is also part of the tensions related to sustaining the couple's relationship is related to the tendency of couples to protect their space from the demands of work. That is, the demands of work and, as will be seen, certain work experiences, are considered a threat to the couple's space. It is observed that individuals have to do emotion work to displace work experiences from the life of the couple. An example of this emotion work is as follows:

Yes, when I like a job, I talk about work a lot more [to my partner] and also that is boring because you tell what you did and you don't...I don't know, finally you have to live more the day to day, if we are going to be two or three hours a week together, comment on a film rather than talking all the time about what happened and then go to sleep and come back the next day and then go back to talk about what you experienced alone

Then she adds the following about sharing experiences about working with the partner:

It's okay to talk about certain things but we're not going to talk about it all the time because it's kind of boring. (Woman n°5)

This account shows that the interviewee makes a conscious effort to avoid talking about work when she is with her partner. The way she justifies this action is that she considers discussing work in the couple's space to be *'boring'*. The question that arises here is boring for whom. As she points out that she would sometimes like to talk about her work because *'when I like a job, I talk about work a lot more'* it seems that she assumes that for her partner this topic would be boring. This idea of boredom is also evoked when she mentions that she prefers not to talk about work with her partner because that would be *'talking all the time about what happened and then go to sleep and come back the next day and then go back to talk about what you experienced alone'*. Through these words and phrases the interviewee seems to be evoking something of the idea of routine. It is as if incorporating the experiences of work into the space of the couple implies inserting the couple's relationship into the routine of work, and this is something to be avoided. It is also possible to observe another distinction made by the interviewee when she points out that the experiences that are lived at work are experiences that are lived alone, without a partner, and it is for this reason that it is not appropriate to share them in the couple's space. The interviewee conveys the existence of a solitary space, without a partner, which seems to coincide with work, and another with a partner, which is characterised by joint certain experiences. This interview reveals that the participant leaves out a part of herself (the experiences she had at work) in order to configure the space of the couple, and at the same time, that she tries to keep a part of herself outside the relationship. She does this, according to the account, by repressing the desire to share her experiences from work with her partner, which is inferred when she mentions *'yes, when I like a job, I talk about work a lot more [to my partner] and also that is boring because you tell what you did and you don't...'*. The quote also shows another dimension of the relationship which is that she leaves out some aspects of her work life so as not to provoke feelings of boredom in her partner. Hence, emotion work would be aimed at repressing a part of oneself in order to highlight the dimension that it is possible to share with the partner and thus provoke a certain emotion in the other. Another account that shows how people construct the space of the couple as opposed to the space of work is one in which a male teacher explains why he allows his partner, who is also a teacher, to talk about work when they are together, and why he avoids doing so. In this respect the interviewee mentions the following:

She is the head of department [of a school] so she has more conflict with the teachers and has more complicated situations. I try not to talk so much about school because it's boring to be at school all day and even more to talk about school at home, but you still talk about it. (Man n°20)

Here we can see how the interviewee provides the space for his partner to vent about her experiences at work. It seems that this gesture by the interviewee is an act of empathy towards his partner, insofar as he tries to understand why his partner needs to comment on what happened to her at work. At the same time, in this description it seems that commenting about work when you are in a relationship is undesirable and that is maybe why the interviewee has to explain why he allows his partner to talk about work when they are together. A recurring theme in this and the previous account is that incorporating work experiences into the relationship is 'boring'. The interviewee seems to mention that talking about work as a couple implies creating a continuity between work and the couple's space, which would not be desirable. It seems that the word 'boring' accounts for the relationship between work and couple's space and serves as an element to justify the distinction between the two spaces. It is also a concept that seems to be talking about how the interviewee experiences their stay at work when they say that it is '*boring to be at school all day*' as if that part of the experience is unsatisfying and therefore avoided to be discussed in the relationship, which it seems, by contrast, should be a satisfying experience. Another way in which an attempt was made to protect the partner from the workspace was mentioned in one account, where it can be seen that the interviewee incorporates a part of his work experiences into the partner's space, but does so selectively. In this respect, the interviewee points out:

We don't necessarily tell each other about the problems at work, but rather the anecdotes that happen to us at work. I try not to comment, for example, when I have a problem at work, I tell more about the funny things that may have happened to me or I may comment on something that left me thinking, I comment on why it left me thinking and no more than that. (Male n°16)

This extract seems to evoke the different ways in which work experiences are signified in the couple's space. It seems that what this account shows is that there are certain experiences of work that are seen as a threat to the relationship and therefore it would be necessary to avoid referring to conflicting experiences of work. This is observed when the interviewee states '*we don't necessarily tell each other about problems at work*'. Perhaps the intention is to protect the couple's space from the negative emotions that arise in the workspace and at the same time to incorporate the positive or neutral emotions of work. This is inferred when the participant mentions that instead of talking about problems at work '*I tell more about funny things that may have happened to me or I may comment on something that left me thinking*'. The interviewee selects which experiences he can share with his partner that, from his perspective, do not imply damage to the relationship and also defines what kind of

emotionality he believes should circulate in the relationship by sharing only those experiences that imply positive or neutral emotions. We might also think that the participant's tendency not to share negative experiences of work with his partner might also be a way of avoiding being 'boring' to her. Perhaps the idea of boredom speaks not only of an experience that is not shared with one's partner, but also of the perceived imperative for the participants to be good company for each other by provoking only satisfying emotions. This way of understanding the relationship on the part of the interviewees would question what some authors (Cunha, Narciso & Novo, 2013; Neff & Harter, 2002) have mentioned about there being an expectation of authenticity in couple relationships, of showing the 'true self'. It seems that the expectation is rather to provoke satisfying emotions in such a space even if a part of oneself has to be hidden.

From these accounts it is possible to see the tensions that the interviewees are exposed to in their partnership and the difficulty they face in protecting the couple's space from certain experiences at work. The accounts show the different ways in which the interviewees navigate these obstacles in order to cope with this tension, where it is observed that the decision not to talk about work or certain work experiences is emotion work that is repeated in several of the participants and is a way of putting a limit on those work experiences that are perceived as threatening to the couple. This is in line with findings from other research (Yu & Moen, 2000; Neault & Pickerell, 2007; Schneider & Waite, 2005) that indicate that couples establish strategies to manage the boundary between their work and private lives.

So far the findings are in line with the findings of Cunha, et al.(2013) who point out, in a study that involved determining conceptions of intimacy in couples in Portugal, that work is mentioned by couples as a negative factor for their relationship. According to the authors, this negative impact of work was limited to "working schedules, pressure, lack of time and tiredness" (Cunha, Narciso & Novo, 2013, p.346). However, the authors also observed that couples also acknowledged that work had positive effects on the couple, since job satisfaction is reflected in the couple's relationship. Thus, it is possible to point out that while in the study by Cunha et al.(2013) participants tended to refer to the negative impact of work on their relationship, there may also be positive impacts of work on the relationship.

Tensions of connection and disconnection in the couple's relationship

A very recurrent aspect in the participants' accounts was that of connection and disconnection in the relationship. The metaphor of connection and disconnection appeared to speak of the

conflicts that arose when attention to the couple's relationship was sapped by distraction from other areas of daily life. This was particularly striking when talking about men's connection to technology creating a disconnection with their partner. Technology was not always seen as a threat as sometimes it was thanks to technology that couples were able to interact during the day and sustain the bond. However, at other times, technology seemed to be an obstacle to the bond and it was women who tended to complain to men about the use of technological devices while they were together, with one interviewee noting that he had to come to an agreement with his partner about the use of technology in the home. On this he mentions:

We have come to an agreement, I don't use the (mobile) phone everywhere anymore, I leave it somewhere at some point. When I come to home I leave it at the entrance.

(Man n°20)

This extract shows that the attachment to technological devices is so strong in the case of this interviewee that he has to do some emotion work in order not to be tempted to use the phone while he is at home. Thus, the interviewee seems to have to repress and control his desire to stay connected to the phone in order to connect with the partner's space. Also, it seems that the couple's space is not something that is taken for granted by being at home, but that one has to create the conditions for that space to appear. Another excerpt where this conflict with technology in the couple can be seen is from a woman who refers to the aspects that cause disagreement in the couple. In this regard, she mentions:

I mean, we always talk about the same thing, I don't think we have dealt with it that much. I leave my mobile phone unattended at the weekend, for example, and Pedro doesn't, he is connected all day long and sometimes it's not just work, it's like in general, playing, it's everything. (Woman n°5)

Here we can see how technology is perceived as a problem for the relationship from the woman's point of view. In this tension between men and women over technological devices, we can also glimpse the conception of the couple that both men and women have. It seems that for men, physical presence alone is enough to be a couple, that is to say, if they are physically with their partner, that is enough to confirm the bond. For women, on the other hand, what defines a couple is the attention that each one gives to the other, so being together physically would not be enough to 'be a couple'. It seems that in order to confirm the bond, it would be necessary for men to pay attention to women. In research conducted by Daniel & Coyne (2016) where a questionnaire was administered to 143 heterosexual women who had a partner, it was observed that the interference of technology in the couple's

conversations was interpreted by these women as a message from their partner about what they valued most in face-to-face interaction, resulting in greater conflict and dissatisfaction in the relationship on the part of the women. Also, Hertlein & Twist (2019) note that in cases where one partner has addictive internet use it can sometimes be interpreted by the other partner as infidelity, as if the internet becomes another presence in the couple that threatens to absorb attention to the detriment of the actual partner. While the extract from woman n°5 does not refer to her partner's addiction to technological devices, it does show that sometimes technological devices can become a problem for the maintenance of the couple's bond and that their continued use by one partner can be read as a message about the relationship by the other partner. Furthermore, and implicitly, it seems that in this tension with technology the competition between the virtual world and the face-to-face world is at stake, and that it is women rather than men who claim the connection to the face-to-face world. This metaphor of connection and disconnection was not only used to talk about the tension between the couple, but also to refer to the tension between the workspace and the couple's space. One participant recounted a scene with her partner where they both generated a complicity due to their disconnection from technology and their connection to what was happening at the time. The participant refers to what happens when she goes out to walk the dog with her partner after work:

Well, from the start at that moment we are neither with the mobile phone nor with the television or anything, then we are chatting, we are laughing at what the dog is doing, as well as 'look, he found something', then in the background, it is like disconnecting, just as much, that walk that we take, especially the one in the afternoon, just as it is disconnecting. (Woman n°6)

In this extract, technology seems to be a third element in the relationship, so that being without technology would be equivalent to being alone as a couple. Here it could be thought that the emotion work reported by the participant is more related to a certain spontaneity and lack of control of emotions that is experienced in a pleasant way by the couple. Thus, the scene described evokes the pleasure of enjoying the banality of everyday life as a couple. In this account, the couple's space is treated as a space to vent.

This section showed that people perceive their work as a threat to the couple's relationship, insofar as the negative experiences and excessive demands of work can undermine the space for the couple. In this regard, it was noted that people do emotional work to cope with these threats. It was also mentioned that participants tended to consider the partner space as a third

space where only positive emotions should circulate. Hence, rather than authenticity, as some authors point out, it seems that what is sought is to safeguard that the couple's space is satisfactory for the other. Finally, the data show that people understand that the relationship is not something to be taken for granted, but that the conditions must be created for this space to appear.

II. Negotiating expectations that the participants have of the partner and the perceived demands on the partner

Another aspect that stood out in the interviewees' accounts was the tensions that were generated in the couple with regard to the expectations they had of each other and also the demands they perceived from each other. These expectations and demands were tied to the conception of the couple that circulated in the relationships. The findings showed that couples have certain ideals about how couples should 'be' and that these ideals shape expectations that are negotiated with each other in everyday life. Below are some of the assumptions that emerged from the interviewees' accounts and how these assumptions have effects on the interactions between partners.

Assumptions circulating in the couple's relationship about how to 'be' a couple

Through the participants' accounts, it was observed that there is an underlying ideal of what a couple should be like, but this tends to operate implicitly in the demands made on the other. In this regard, it is mentioned by some authors (Cionea et. al.,2019) that all relationships, including couple relationships, have expectations about how the other should act. Through these demands men and women play a role in the couple and ascribe to a script about how they believe the couple relationship should be. On this, it could be observed that women tended to have a clearer idea of how a couple should 'be' and referred to the couple as two people, talking about 'we'. Men on the other hand gave a more vague description of what they expected from their partner and tended to talk about the couple as an individual (1 person in the couple). An example of this is found in the contrast between these two descriptions from two different respondents to the question 'what things do you expect from your partner emotionally?'. In this respect, the female interviewee indicate:

That he [my partner] wants to go out with me more, the two of us, I feel that we lack in that. Suddenly we don't have anyone to leave the children with, to be able to go out alone. I have to pay a nanny because my mum doesn't help me. The support of my mother-in-law is more or less, so suddenly I don't know, I have friends who go out with their husbands one night to a nice hotel and pretend they are dating, and I say to Pablo (my partner), 'we really need to do that', but we have no one to leave the children with.
(Woman n° 11)

The extract shows that the interviewee understands the couple as a 'we'. This can be seen, for example, when she says *'I feel that we lack in that'*. Also what is shown in the account is that the interviewee has certain expectations of the relationship and this is stated as an aspiration that is not realised. The interviewee shows that the children are sometimes an obstacle to producing the couple's space and that it seems that the responsibility for who to leave the children with in order to generate that space is the woman's responsibility. This is seen when she refers to the problem of children in the singular and not in the plural, as when she says *'I have to pay a nanny'*, as if the children were her responsibility and not a responsibility shared with the couple. Also, she seems to evaluate what is missing in her relationship based on the couple models she perceives in her friends. When she says *'I have friends who go out with their husbands one night to a nice hotel and pretend they are dating, and I say to Pablo, 'we really need to do that'*, it seems that her friends' ways of dating were appropriated as a model by the interviewee to think about her relationship with her partner and to define what is missing in the relationship. Faced with the same question, i.e. 'What do you expect from your partner emotionally?', a man mentions:

I ask for loyalty, I like to be happy, I don't like to argue, I don't like to fight, so I ask for peace of mind, and yes, something that is important to me is dedication, priorities, I am very square about that. I mean, and I know that it is difficult to do the exercise that when you get married, you make the decision to make a family, you have to make the decision to have a family, and that's what I ask for, you make the decision to make a family, a new family, to generate your nucleus, so it's hard to suddenly detach yourself [from your parents], I think more so for the woman, because that is no longer your nucleus, so when we are going to organise something, I hope she asks me first [and not her parents]. (Man n° 1)

In this account, it can be seen that the interviewee tends to talk about himself and his partner separately, not as a 'we' as in the case of the women n°11. Although this is a contrast of only

two accounts, it could be illuminating in terms of how men and women understand the couple relationship. It can also be observed that when he says *'I ask for loyalty, I like to be happy, I don't like to argue, I don't like to fight, so I ask for peace of mind'*, it seems that he thinks that expecting something from the relationship is something negative, and that having expectations from the other implies adding tension to the relationship. This is inferred since, when asked about expectations, he makes associations with aspects such as 'argument', 'fight', 'not having peace of mind'. After making this first clarification, the interviewee then shows that he does have expectations of the relationship and situates these expectations in a concrete problem, such as the difficulty his partner has in detaching herself from her parents and sticking to the relationship she has with him. Also, the interviewee seems to conceive that it is a problem not to detach from the family of origin, which could be interpreted as the tendency to have a certain dependence on the family of origin, and associates this problem as something typical of women.

When comparing the two accounts, i.e. the account of woman n°11 with that of man n°5, it seems that the account of woman n°11 points to a lack of a model of 'being' a couple, whereas in man n°5 it seems that rather than an idea of how to be a couple, it points to the problems generated by the woman's behaviour. However, it is possible to mention that in the complaint of the man n°5 it is possible to find an ideal, but this ideal is situated more as a demand on the woman's behaviour than as an idea of how to 'be' a couple. It is not about how the two relate to each other, but about how the woman relates to him. It seems that the woman n°11 has a general ideal of how couples should 'be' and that this ideal is conceived as a longing. The man also seems to have an ideal, although more implicitly, when he mentions that *'I don't like to argue, I don't like to fight'* he refers to the idea that couples should not fight, which is a model of how to relate to each other. Another excerpt where women tend to have a clear idea of how they should 'be' as a couple is the following:

What happens is that he plays a lot of football, he would play football every day, in fact we have an agreement that he can only play 3 leagues a week, because there too 'hey, we have to be together, because if not, we don't live together', that's the problem".

(Woman n°6)

This extract shows the participant's assumptions about what a couple's relationship should be like, which seem to differ from her perception of how her partner understands the relationship. The participant sees the idea of spending time together as a defining aspect of the couple's relationship. Also, in the narrative this aspect of the relationship is expressed as

an imposition when she says *'we have to be together'* as if she is applying a normative framework to the relationship. The extract also shows a certain discomfort of the interviewee in the relationship as it seems that her partner does not share this normative framework. What the extract shows is how she negotiates this ideal of a partner and the discomfort she feels when her partner does not have the same conception of the bond. In this regard, it is worth noting that the way she refers to the agreement suggests that the agreement is instigated by her. This is seen when she mentions *'we have an agreement that he can play only 3 leagues a week'*, as if she does not show her partner's perspective on the decision, as might be the case if she said *'he decided to play only 3 leagues a week'*. The analysis of this extract is consistent with other research (Askari et. al., 2010) in which it is observed that in some couples women do not expect the relationship with their partner to be equal. In this way, the roles in the relationship are not always thought of from a horizontal perspective, but rather as one in which there must be a certain hierarchy with respect to who makes decisions in the relationship and who obeys them. Another way of approaching women's partner ideals is through men's perceptions. The following account is from a man who recounts the tension of not meeting his partner's expectations. In this regard, the participant notes:

Emotionally, oh, how complex. I think she expects more from me than I do from her, and the truth is that as I am more quiet, more reserved, more introverted, she demands a lot of those things, that I am not very affectionate. So I expect, I don't expect so much, I think she expects more from me than I do from her, the truth is that she expresses much more what she feels, when she is angry and when she is happy. For me it's strange, if I'm happy or joyful, nothing happens to me, I have the same face as always, so, yes, the truth is that I don't know if I expect something, I like the way she is in terms of her emotionality and her expression of emotions, it's fine. (Man n°20)

Here the participant reports a complaint that he perceives from his partner regarding the way he puts his emotionality at stake in the relationship. It seems that the participant perceives that his introverted behaviour is interpreted by his partner as a lack of affection towards her. This participant shows that emotions that are exchanged in the relationship are interpreted as gestures towards the other. Apparently in this case, silence and introversion are perceived as a lack on the part of the partner as well as a gesture of disaffection in the relationship. Besides, it seems that the interviewee defines himself as someone who, unlike the woman, does not deal with the expression of emotions. This would reveal the way in which the interviewee 'does' his gender in the relationship, which would seem to be as someone who does not have a handle on the emotional world, something that is usually associated with the

traditional stereotype of a man; however, the fact that this is a problem in the relationship is perhaps showing the collision between the traditional way of 'being' a man and the new expectations that exist regarding men's emotionality. This lack that is exposed by this participant would be in tension with the expectations that are expected of men in the post-feminist sensibility, where new emotional norms are proposed for women and men, where the latter are represented as sensitive men who show their emotions publicly, since restricting emotions would be associated with a traditional idea of a patriarchal man (Goedeke, 2021). This is also in line with Illouz (2008) when she mentions that new normative ideals require men to be reflective and to talk about their emotions. Although the interviewee does not relate this perceived failure of emotional expression to post-feminist discourses, it seems that the demands he perceives from his partner could be associated with this broader framework that assumes a shift in the emotional demands of men towards the construction of a new masculinity.

Another aspect that can be observed from the extract of man n°20 is that the interviewee seems to perceive that his partner has a clear idea of what a partner is and that he does not seem to live up to that ideal. Also, the participant assumes that it is only the woman who expects something from the relationship, not the man. However, when the interviewee defines himself in a certain way (*'if I'm happy or joyful, nothing happens to me, I have the same face as always'*), he leaves little room for thinking that he could change the way he 'is', leaving the impression that he implicitly demands his partner to accept him as he is. This implicit demand would challenge the idea that he makes no demands on his partner. This extract shows a way of constructing gender on the basis of the tensions that circulate in the couple. This suggests that traditional gender stereotypes continue to operate in couples to make sense of their relationship and what they should expect from each other. If we take this interpretative route, we could say that the participant makes a contrast between the dissatisfaction he perceives in his partner and the conformity with his emotional expression in the couple's relationship. Another account that shows an implicit ordering of the couple based on the expectations that are put into play in the relationship is that of a woman who points out what she was looking for when she paired up with her current partner. The extract is a conversation about what she understands as a 'couple project'. The interviewee discusses what, for her, is the couple project:

[a project for] a couple, a life, a family, whatever comes, but wanting to share it with that person, because suddenly you see that he doesn't want to share the same project with you and that's as far as the relationship goes because it doesn't go with you. Do

you go alone, no, do you understand? I remember when I met him [my current partner], I said to him 'I want to be a mother and I want to have a family, I don't care if you like rock or pop, if you like rice with meat or salad, no, I want to know if you want to have a family with me. If you don't want to, I like you, but I'm not going out with you tomorrow', and that's how it was, at the first date.(Woman n°14)

This fragment shows that the interviewee had a pre-defined idea of what she expected from a partner even before she met her current partner. In this case, it seems that the interviewee was looking for someone who matched her expectations. The paradoxical issue about the account is that it seems that although she speaks of a couple's project, it gives the impression that the project was rather individual and that her expectation was to find someone who would join her project. In this interviewee, it seems that the partner is understood as someone who joins a predefined project rather than someone with whom a common project is negotiated. This is in line with Sharim (2016), on the way in which individualism has been interpreted in Chile in couple's relationships, pointing out that one of its expressions is that rather than a relationship of two, where people show their vulnerability, what is observed is that the couple relationship is beginning to be understood as a confluence of personal objectives whose axis is personal wellbeing through the other. This understanding of couples is also put forward by late modernity theory as an expectation of today's couples (Giddens, 1992). Although there are certain elements in this extract that suggest that there are characteristics of this way of couple-making (as the interviewee seems to have a predefined goal and expects her partner to meet these goals), it is not possible to conclude from this that the interviewee does not show her vulnerability in the couple's relationship. However, it seems that in the quote the tension between her goals and the construction of goals with another appears. Independently of this, it is possible to observe that here again a certain ordering in the couple between who imposes an ideal and who must adapt to it can be glimpsed, which could also be read as the way this participant understands how to make gender, where the woman seems to be the one who imposes a normative framework and expects the man to submit to it. This ordering of the couple also shows that there are certain aspects in which the partners are not willing to negotiate, i.e. not everything is negotiable in the couple's space. By having a predefined idea of how the couple should be, it could be thought that the interviewee expects her partner to do the emotion work to adapt to her ideal. The excerpt shows how the interviewee understands the couple's choices, specifically the choice to have children. The participant seems to see this decision as all or nothing, when she mentions '*I want to know if you want to have a family with me. If you don't want to, I like*

you, but I'm not going out with you tomorrow'. The excerpt shows that the interviewee constructs the choice to have children as the contrast between black and white, two totally opposite things, as if there is no middle ground. She also makes a distinction between preferences such as the food one wants to eat and life choices such as having or not having children, implying that she understands the latter as a way of life. While the accounts tell of women's desires for relationships, it is also clear that men are looking for something in relationships. This quest of men is linked to their conception of women. Some accounts from both men and women suggest that men are interested in being interpreted by women. This is observed especially at the level of emotions. It is as if men seek to be deciphered by women in order to access a part of themselves that they believe they cannot access on their own. This in turn implies granting women a certain power with regard to their abilities on the emotional level, something in which men seem not to feel competent. Some fragments that express this conception circulating in relationships are as follows:

Daniela is a journalist but she has a very strong psychologist complex because her mother is a psychologist, so she is always very deep in conversations (laughs), like she assigns the concept of 'subconscious' to everything (laughs).

The interviewee then adds the following when asked what things he talks about with his partner:

Sure, like why I did something. (Man n°3)

This extract shows the associations that the interviewee makes with his partner. Here we can see how he assigns certain skills to his partner that he associates with the skills of a psychologist. There is a recognition that she has the ability to interpret something in him that he cannot see in himself. This ability to understand the 'deep' dimension of certain events, and in particular of things the interviewee does (when he says they talk about why he did something), is valued by him. This way of understanding the relationship shows how the interviewee and his partner interpret the couple's script in a way where the woman is on the side of emotions and the man as lacking knowledge about emotions, which seems to define roles in the relationship. However, the excerpt also hints at a certain ambiguity about his assessment of his partner's emotional knowledge. When he says *'so she is always very deep in conversations (laughs)'* he seems to mock his partner's deep tone in conversations. Likewise, when the participant mentions that his partner *'assigns the concept of subconsciousness to*

everything (laughs)' he seems to be making a veiled criticism of the imposition of a concept that in his opinion might not be justified. Thus, it is possible to note in this quote the circulation of ambiguous feelings about this ability that he recognises in her partner. Independently of this, the extract shows the existence of the idea that his partner can see a part of him that is opaque to him. One account along the same lines is that of an interviewee who also perceives that his partner, has certain natural abilities to know what course events will take because she is a woman. It seems that women are attributed with natural-magical characteristics of being able to see something that is opaque to men. Also, women are valued for these characteristics in the relationship:

She has a lot of intuition, the woman, I also believe, has a lot of intuition, with little data more or less she says 'mmm', then I ask her everything I am going to do. If I am going to sign something, or if I am going to buy or sell something, then I make the decision with her, and I listen because she has ideas that sometimes you do not. It's easier, she's like a counsellor. (Man n°2)

In this extract the interviewee gives an account of how he involves his partner in important decisions to the extent that he assumes that she has a natural ability to see a dimension of events that he does not have. This difference in the knowledge of the partner's emotions would generate a complementarity between the man and the woman insofar as the man can make up for his lack of the emotional world through the woman's wisdom. In line with the above, one of the women interviewed also confirms this relationship of interpreter and interpreted in the couple relationship. In this respect, the interviewee mentions:

I feel that he expects me to give him my analysis of what is going on. On the other hand, when I tell him about the conflict I have with my colleagues at work, [I expect him] to laugh, to make a joke, and to tell me 'don't be silly', like that. (Woman n°10)

Thus, once again, it can be observed that women tend to acquire an interpretative role in the couple's relationship. The accounts show certain questions that underlie the relationship. It seems that women try to decipher their partner through interpretation, as if there is an interest in knowing who this other is. Men seem to be more concerned with knowing what women expect from them. However, in the interviewee's account, she says that what she expects from her partner is that he will *'make a joke, and to tell me 'don't be silly'*, which could be interpreted as her partner helping her to change the emotional tone of what is happening to her. It is as if she expects her partner to help her to do an emotion work about the experience by changing the emotionality she puts on the situation. At the same time, she

makes a difference between what she offers him, an analysis of the situation, and what he offers her, to 'make a joke'. The interviewee does not seem to look to her partner for an analysis of the situation, which could indicate that she conceives that this is her ability and not his, which would allow her to affirm her place in the relationship. These conceptions of the other that circulate in the couple do not remain static, but are part of a permanent field of negotiation in which couples try to construct a place for themselves in the relationship. The complexity of this process will be addressed in the next section.

Negotiating expectations of each other within the couple

This section deals with the tensions related to the negotiation that partners make about the expectations that the other partner has of them, but also the expectations that they have of the other partner. One example where this negotiation comes into play is in the following account of a female engineer who points out that she spends many hours at work and that this has caused problems in her relationship as her husband complains that she does not devote much time to the relationship. In this regard, the interviewee mentions the following when asked what she thinks her partner expects from her in emotional terms:

Ah, more companionship, more affection, more presence, more consideration, I don't know how to put it, more time. I know that my husband would be happy if I had the time he has on Sunday during the week to grab us all and sit next to him. Twenty percent I do, but eighty percent.... But I also feel that there is more of a demand for affection, to be warmer, closer, more loving, and I feel that I am, but I say it from the demand that I hear. (Woman n°7)

The extract seems to show a tension that the interviewee experiences with regard to her partner's expectations. This is observed when she refers to her partner's demand that she spends more time in the relationship and then refers to what she does to meet those expectations, but does so as if she is explaining herself. This can be seen when she says 'twenty percent I do, but eighty percent...' as if she is justifying her absence for not being present in person with her husband. It also gives the impression, from the associations made by the interviewee, that she perceives that her presence in the relationship conveys a message to her partner that has to do with considering him and showing affection through physical presence. Regarding the latter, she explicitly mentions that her partner also asks her to be more affectionate and she believes that she fulfils this expectation, but she seems to perceive that her partner does not feel the same way. The account seems to show that when asked

about what she thinks her partner expects from her in emotional terms, the interviewee's answers show a certain guilt for not fulfilling some of the expectations. This could be inferred from the way in which she tries to justify the lack of presence in the relationship when she says *'twenty percent I do'* but then contrasts this percentage with the percentage in which she is absent *'but eighty percent...'* without finishing the sentence, suggesting that there seems to be something problematic in her behaviour in relation to her partner's expectations. When this participant is asked about this tension that she experiences with regard to her partner's demands, she points out that she tries to spend more time at home but working, and that this does not seem to reduce the tension with her partner since he criticises her for not stopping working. In another excerpt from the interview, when this participant is talking about the tensions with her partner she mentions that what she expects from him is *'I want recognition for that commitment, which also comes at a cost to me'*. In this way it seems that the interviewee perceives that she makes an effort to spend more time with her husband in order to meet his expectations as a partner, but that he does not recognise the effort she makes to be more present and criticises her relationship with work. It seems that in this case the interviewee receives her partner's expectations from guilt, feeling guilty for not being as present in person with him, and that she tries to negotiate with these expectations by spending more time at home to be with him. It would seem that this strategy she uses to partly meet her partner's expectations is not working and that the effort she makes to be with him is not recognised by him, which also generates tensions regarding her expectations of how he recognises her effort to be present in the relationship despite her work responsibilities.

Another account where expectations on the partner come into play is that of an interviewee who refers to how he learned to respond to his partner's demands on how he should handle his emotions with her. The interviewee mentions the conflicts he had with his partner for not being sympathetic to what she was feeling and how he learned how to react when she needed support. The participant mention that at first he judged what she was feeling but then he learned not to do so. On this he notes:

Before, my reasoning was 'obviously that's wrong, don't do it, I don't care or it's wrong that you're feeling that'. I learned that it's not wrong if you're feeling it or not feeling it and so on. It's what you're feeling and I should be more understanding with that and then see what can be done with that. (Male n°13)

The account of this conflict implicitly shows an order in the couple. When the interviewee states *'before my reasoning was'* and how he subsequently changed his position, he seems to

hint at conceptions in the couple where he is rational and his partner is not. Furthermore, the extract reveals the mismatch that existed between the emotional response she expected and what he was capable of delivering. The quote shows how the interviewee through an emotion work tried to match what his partner expected of him, which was not to judge what she felt, even if he did not agree with it. This coincides with what Illouz (2008) points out about intimate relationships, noting that normative ideals in couples have tended to seek recognition through not questioning the other's feelings, on the understanding that this would validate not only what the other feels, but what the other 'is'. To conform to his partner's expectations the interviewee identifies with his partner's perspective. This is seen when he says '*I should be more understanding of that and then see what can be done with that*', but there does not seem to be a perspective of his own that responds to the personal reflections he made to change. It seems that the change is something imposed rather than a change that makes sense to the interviewee in a personal way, which could be thought of in terms of the idea of surface acting proposed by Hochschild (1983). In turn, the interviewee referred to the strategies he uses to make his partner perceive that he is sympathetic to her. The strategies mentioned by the interviewee were aimed at calming his partner down. On this the participant mentions:

Sometimes I tell her verbatim, 'yes, okay'. And also with actions, I mean, for example, stopping what I was doing before is a way of doing it. If she is anxious about something, I try to calm her down, I try to distract her about something. If she is overwhelmed and she is going to explode with anger, rage and that issue, to physically contain her, to express that I am there, without necessarily talking to her and at the same time physically and talk to her calmly, 'okay, I am understanding this', and she says, 'no, it's not this'. But trying to tell her that I'm at least trying and that I'm open to that. That I'm available and that can be totally in gestures or doing something. (Man n°13)

The quote suggests that the strategies used by the interviewee to respond to his partner's expectations do not consist so much in conveying explicit content about emotions but rather in communicating a message through gestures. In other words, the strategy has no value in itself but as evidence of an effort to try to understand and calm her down. Perhaps this is why the interviewee seems to speak from the fulfilment of a certain demand, as a set of actions that he applies to resolve tensions and not as a reflexive process that challenged him personally. It is as if the interviewee could not spontaneously empathise with what is happening to his partner, as if he could not enter into her perspective, but felt demanded to change his attitude. The change seems to be at a superficial level, as if it has not been internalised, since

there seem to be no personal reflections, however, the interviewee understands that having the intention to change is important for his partner. In this regard, Cunha et al. (2013) indicate that, from a sociological point of view, intimacy in couples are practices that seek, among other things, to generate the subjective feeling of being special for the other. Some of this could be interpreted in the above quote, where it is observed that the interviewee mentions an attempt to change his emotionality for his partner, as a gesture to the other that shows that she is important to him. Now, perhaps this distance that the interviewee shows by referring to a change of attitude rather than an emotional involvement with regard to his partner's demand is related to the way in which the interviewee tries to protect his masculinity. In the interview, he refers on more than one occasion to the fact that he was '*rational*' in his approach to the relationship. For example, when asked about what he expected from his partner, he listed a number of characteristics and then mentioned '*I don't know if it's that emotional all that much (what I am saying)*' and then apologised about his answer by mentioning '*it gets to be a bit rational (what I'm saying)*'. Thus, with his answers he seemed to want to give the impression that he did not deal with emotions because he was very rational. What is shown is perhaps a certain resistance to being associated with certain emotions since this would entail the danger of being 'feminised' insofar as emotions are considered to be the domain of women and not of men.

In line with the above, when another interviewee explains the strategies he uses to meet his partner's expectations of him, it is noted that sometimes it is more important to pretend to feel a certain way than to really feel it. In other words, pretending to feel something that one does not feel, and putting it into play as a gesture towards one's partner, has a value even if it is not felt authentically. It seems that we are once again in the presence of surface acting (Hochschild, 1983) on the part of the men, which allows them to transmit a message of love through gestures, but putting a distance from the emotions by not involving themselves personally with the emotions, as would be the case with deep acting. This can be observed when the interviewee mentions the following

Women, you know that they tell more, they tell what happened to them and what they were told and what they said, rather than talking about ideas that are in the air or planning something, they are very 'this person said this'. I listen a lot of the time and ask questions, because I've learned that you have to ask her how, practically like you're very interested in what she's telling you and what her friend thinks about what the other one did, which I'm not interested in at all, but I've learned over time that you have

to ask her, and you, 'what do you think about that?' pull the thread. Women understand it as a sign of interest, of affection. (Man n°2)

This extract reveals the importance of gestures in the couple space as actions that communicate something, rather than the actual content of what is being communicated. The interviewee hints that he has an idea of what he thinks his partner is like and what she expects from him. What the account shows is that he seems to negotiate with this expectation by pretending to feel something he does not feel, but he believes that it is in the simulation of this emotion, of this interest, that something of the bond with his partner is at stake. In this regard, it is worth making an observation with respect to Hochschild's (2003) interpretation of intimate bonds. According to the author, we would be in the presence of a greater emotional detachment in affective relationships and an indicator of this detachment would be the tendency to use emotions instrumentally in our intimate relationships. However, although this account shows a certain instrumental use of emotions, insofar as the interviewee pretends to have an interest that he does not have in order to achieve a certain reaction from his partner, it seems that this use of emotions seeks to generate greater closeness with the other. That is to say, it seems that not all instrumental use of emotions produces a detachment from the other. In this account, what the interviewees suggest is that sometimes the instrumental use of emotions in couple relationships is understood by the couple as a gesture of love towards the other. Another example where the expectation of the couple is at play is in the following account where although the expectation is not expressed at the level of a couple's ideal, i.e. how the other should 'be', it shows the expectations that are put into play in specific situations and how the actors negotiate these expectations. The interviewee refers to an occasion when he came home tired from work and had a disagreement with his partner because he wanted to go out for a casual dinner and she wanted to go somewhere special:

I think if she would have understood that I was tired and wanted to go quickly and that she understood that it wasn't that I didn't want to go, but that I wanted to relax after a very tense day, but I also failed to understand that she wanted it to be a slightly more elegant date, she didn't want it to be natural, to go for a beer like we do most of the time, she wanted something with a bit more glamour. That's what I mean by 'empathy'. When we were in the car I told her 'now, calm down, let's calm down and have a good time' like 'don't let this little friction ruin our night. (Man n°3)

This account shows that the interviewee has a theory about what caused the disagreement with his partner. He notes that there was a collision between the expectations they both had about what they expected from the night out. The interviewee theorises what happened in the relationship by pointing out that there was a problem with empathy, implying that each was not able to understand and be moved by the other's situation. The narrative reiterates the idea of empathy on the part of the men as a word that explains the disagreements and tensions with the partner. In order to reduce the tension resulting from this clash of expectations, the interviewee carries out emotion work, which consists of making explicit the tension that exists between the two and framing the purpose of the outing, which is to have a good time. In this way, the interviewee gives a reading of what is happening and aligns his partner around a common goal. The repetition of this script suggests that couples establish an order based on their expectations of each other and that emotions play an important role in this order. As could be observed in the different accounts, couples explain what happens in the relationship using traditional categories about men and women, and these categories define differences between the two genders, by defining who has emotional knowledge and who does not. These differences imply different expectations in each of the genders, which is negotiated by the actors through different emotion works in order to respond to the tensions experienced in the couple.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have explored some of the tensions that couples face and how they use their emotions as a way of navigating these tensions. . The analysis of the data shows us that there are tensions that shape the couple's space and that couples try to navigate these tensions. What the data analysis shows is that it appears that in this type of relationship, participants use emotional strategies to cope with relationship tensions just as in the case of work relationships. However, unlike at work, it seems that in this case the emotional strategies are at the service of maintaining the bond. The emotional strategies deployed at work seem to be aimed at staying at work and fulfilling the tasks assigned by the institution. In the case of teachers, it is observed that emotional strategies also have a loving component with the students, but this bond is still oriented towards the fulfilment of work obligations.

As for the private space of the couple, gender identity seemed to predominate more than professional identity when participants explained to each other what was happening in the relationship. Furthermore, it was observed that participants intentionally left their professional

identity out of the relationship. This tendency seemed to be explained by the way the couple relationship was conceived. Several accounts showed that interviewees tended to conceive of the couple relationship as a fragile space that had to be protected from the demands and negative experiences of work. It was observed that people constructed strategies to demarcate private space from work space as a way of safeguarding their intimacy. However, it was also observed that participants constructed emotional strategies by controlling their emotions and actions in order to maintain the appropriate couple space.

Likewise, and as in the workspace, it was identified that in couple relationships there were also gendered emotional expectations guiding life as a couple. As in work relationships, there is an interplay between what is expected of the other in terms of their gendered emotionality and how people interpret and respond to these expectations. As in the case of work, participants' experiences seem to be oriented towards doing emotion work on these expectations by putting a distance with them, adhering to them or reinterpreting them. This logic, in the case of the couple relationship, shows that couple bonds are actively constructed and that the couple space is something that is 'made'. The results show that 1) couples see both work and home life as a threat to the couple relationship and delimit it as a third space; 2) couples do emotion work to keep their work life out of the conversation with their partners by constructing the conversation about work as 'boring'. The reiteration of this way of describing their work experience supports the idea that a clear distinction is being constructed between work and home; 3) The different, apparently gendered, ways of talking about the couple ideal, i.e. what the couple should be like, and what they expect from each other. In this sense, the tendency of women to conceive of the couple relationship as a 'we' and to try to get the other partner to accept their understanding of how a couple should 'be' was identified. In this way, women seem to have a certain expectation that men will understand and join in their understanding of what being in a couple entails. Men, on the other hand, tended to conceive of the relationship as an individual who is in a couple and who performs different actions in the relationship rather than as a 'we'. They also tended to conform to women's perspective on how a couple should 'be'. Finally, the circulation of traditional and new gender stereotypes is observed, which in turn implies different ways of exercising emotions in the couple and different expectations of how the other should feel and express those feelings. The fact that traditional gender stereotypes of the couple have been identified shows that traditional gender models are still in place when it comes to 'making' a couple.

In terms of the distinctions between the couple space and the work space in relation to emotion work and gender, we could mention that differences are observed in terms of: 1)

ways in which relationships are conceived in both spaces; 2) ways in which emotion work is exercised; and 3) differences in expectations in the relationship in terms of gendered emotionality. Regarding the ways in which relationships are conceived, it can be mentioned that the accounts showed that the participants perceived this relationship as something that is built with the other and that it is a fragile bond that must be protected. In contrast, relationships in the workspace were conceived as predefined by the institution (through the allocation of work roles) and instead of conceiving work relationships as fragile, participants seemed to conceive of their place in the institution as fragile. That is, sometimes participants had the experience of feeling fragile in the workspace because their permanence in the workspace was not assured. As for the characteristics of emotion work in couple relationships, the analysis of the accounts showed that the interviewees tended to control their emotions in order to maintain the bond, but there were also times when emotions were not controlled in order to allow some spontaneity to appear. As for the characteristics of emotion work in work relationships, the results also show that there is a control of emotions. The aim of this control is to remain in the job and to fulfil the tasks assigned by the institution. In other words, working relationships are established to fulfil an objective that is above the relationship itself (to fulfil the objectives of the company). Even in the case of teachers, who try to establish a bond with students, it is observed that the aim of this emotional exercise is to fulfil what they believe the institution expects of them. There are also times at work when people exercise less emotional control in order to let off steam emotionally with others.

In terms of expectations about how the other should feel and show what they feel present in both types of relationships, the results show that in couple relationships there is more uncertainty than in work relationships about what each partner expects. This is perhaps because such expectations operate mainly implicitly. In turn, they are the product of a construction with the other. It is observed that there are traditional and non-traditional gender stereotypes in the expectations people have about each other's emotionality in the relationship. On the other hand, working relationships are characterised by the fact that there is greater certainty about the emotional expectations that govern relationships because they are predefined in the emotional culture of the profession. Moreover, these expectations about how emotions should be exercised come through various channels such as the institution's manuals of conduct, the transmission made by veteran professionals to young people, conversations held with colleagues, among others. However, the fact that expectations come from the emotional culture does not mean that they are not re-signified in the relationships established with co-workers through the management of emotions in relationships. In this

case, the existence of traditional and non-traditional gender stereotypes can also be observed in the way expectations about the other's emotionality are constructed; however, these stereotypes are thought from the perspective of the profession; in the case of couple relationships, the deciphering of these expectations depends on what happens in the couple relationship, so there are fewer channels that inform about what the other person expects from the other in terms of their emotionality. Thus, the analysis of the private space in turn reveals the logic that runs through the public space of work and how individuals manage, through the management of their emotions, to navigate the difficulties they encounter in each of the relational spaces. Couple relationships require a particular form of navigation, as the paths that guide the relationship with the other become more enigmatic. Misinterpretations of the other's emotionality carry a great danger, which is the loss of the relationship.

In summary, this overview of relationships in the workplace and in couple relationships shows us that in both spaces expectations are built up about the other's emotionality associated with their gender, and that people actively work on these expectations through emotion work. In this way, through the management of their emotions in the face of these expectations, people construct emotions and gender in relationships.

Below is a comparative table between private and public space which, although it does not contain the nuances presented in this thesis, provides a general orientation on the differences found between the two types of relationships.

Table 5. Comparison of work and private space relations

Dimensions	Couple's relationship (Private space)	Workspace(Public space)
Conception of the couple relationship and working relationship	-Space to be built with the partner - Space that is perceived as fragile and to be protected	-Predefined space - Space that sometimes produces an emotional experience of fragility in the participants.
Characteristics of emotion work in the type of	- Control of emotions in order to maintain the bond.	- Control of emotions with the aim of staying in the

<p>relationship</p>	<p>- Moments of non-control of emotions to allow the emergence of spontaneity in the couple.</p>	<p>workplace and fulfilling the tasks assigned by the institution.</p> <p>- Moments of non-control of emotions to let off steam emotionally with others.</p>
<p>Expectations in the relationship</p>	<p>- Greater uncertainty about the expectations as these are constructed in the relationship with the other. These expectations also tend to be more implicit.</p> <p>- Use of traditional and non-traditional gender stereotypes to construct expectations about gender emotionality in the relationship.</p>	<p>- Greater certainty on expectations in the relationship on how you should feel and show what you feel as they are predefined by the profession through the emotional culture and there are greater channels that inform the expectations of the institution. However, participants also recreate these ideals when managing their emotions in work relationships.</p> <p>- Use of traditional and non-traditional gender stereotypes in expectations about gendered emotionality, but these stereotypes are thought out from the profession.</p>

Chapter 8: Discussion and conclusion

This thesis began with the question what gendered emotion work do Chilean professionals do in the workspace and within their heterosexual couple relationships?. This question was accompanied by the aim to explore accounts of gendered emotion work performed by Chilean professional women and men in the city of Santiago, and to examine how this work is linked to workplace relationships and heterosexual couple relationships. This objective arises from the need to generate research on the sociology of emotions in Latin America that contributes to the process of consolidation of this field in the region. Specifically, the aim was to interrogate the context of the cultural changes that Chile is experiencing and to respond to the need to contribute with empirical research that provides new perspectives and ways of understanding the social relationships of everyday life that are established in this country. The specific objectives were the following:

- 1) To identify the emotional normative frameworks that circulate in the school teaching and engineering profession through the characterisation of the emotional culture of both professions.
- 2) To identify the emotional challenges faced by professional men and women to explore the emotional strategies they exercise to cope with these challenges in the context of their emotional culture.
- 3) To explore the emotional tensions faced by women and men in their couple's relationships and to explore how they navigate these tensions through the exercise of their emotion work.
- 4) To explore the emotion work that people do to deal with the boundaries between their work life and their couple life.

The thesis started from the assumption that emotions can be exercised in social relationships (Hochschild, 1979, 1983, 2003) and that gender is not something that one has, but is constructed in interactions with others (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Under this assumption, the relationships in the workspace and the relationships in the couple space of a group of male and female professionals in the city of Santiago were explored. Relationships at work were

understood as one of the elements of public space. The latter was conceived as that which is visible and accessible to all, while relationships in the couple's space were thought of as that which is inaccessible or accessible only to a close group of people (Gavison, 1992). In this way, we analysed the interviewees' accounts of each of the spaces where relationships are produced (work and couple) and explored the way in which they constructed the emotion work and gender. To do this, a qualitative methodology was used to access how participants constructed meaning about the emotions and gender they exercised in social interactions at work and with partners. Twenty-two participants were recruited and interviewed, 11 of whom were engineers and the other 11 were school teachers. In total there were 12 men and 10 women. Analysis of the results was then carried out using thematic analysis, which seeks to identify patterns in the data rather than to create grounded theories about particular phenomena in society (Chapman, Hadfield & Chapman, 2015).

The aim and specific objectives that were formulated at the beginning of this thesis were answered throughout the research. From the exploration of the accounts of the gendered emotion work that people perform in their couple relationships and in relationships in the work space, it was found that their emotion work is linked to gendered emotional expectations that circulate in both types of relationships (public and private). That is, people perceive expectations in relationships with others about how they should exercise their emotionality according to their gender. These expectations are characterised by overlapping traditional and contemporary ideas about how to be a man and a woman. The results show that participants negotiate with gendered emotional expectations by moving towards, away from or reinterpreting them. Through this gendered emotion work on expectations, people create emotions and gender in social relations. It was also observed that people do not take a consistent stance on these expectations. Thus, it is possible to find some cases in the narratives where, for example, participants have a critical stance towards traditional gender expectations at work, but in their private space they adopt traditional gender ideals and represent them in the relationship with their partner. This demonstrates the complexity of the emotional work that people do with regard to how they 'be' and 'feel' in interactions with others and how context influences the way people present themselves to others in social relationships. In this manner, the emotion work that men and women do in the work space is different from the emotion work they do in their private space. In the public space, gendered emotion work on gendered emotional expectations is at the service of fulfilling work objectives, while in the private space it is at the service of sustaining the bond with the partner.

In this regard, it is worth remembering that the results of the research do not seek to create great generalisations about about emotion work and gender being 'done' in social relationships in Chilean society, but to show patterns in interactions that would indicate the direction these two dimensions (emotion work and gender) were taking in Chilean professionals and their partner relationships today. To this end, the study was based on the participants' experiences and interpretations of their relationships in the workspace and in their relationships with their partners. The fact that the sample was limited to 22 people from engineering and school teachers does not allow generalisations to be made about the findings, but it is hoped that the results may shed some light on how professionals in these two fields manage their emotions in everyday life.

On this basis, this chapter is composed of three sections. The first section develops the main conclusions of the thesis. The presentation of these conclusions are organised into 3 subsections which are divided into the workspace, the couple space and then the comparison of the experiences of both spaces. This section addresses the main findings of the thesis on the emotion work that people do in the relationship with others and how this emotion work is connected to gendered ways of doing. The second section highlights the contributions of the research to the understanding of the emotional dimension of relationships at work and in couple relationships in a group of Chilean professionals. Reference is made here to the contributions that this research makes to the incipient Sociology of emotions in Latin America and to the sociological discussion on emotions in general. Finally, the third section reflects on the limitations of the thesis and the direction that future research might take, followed by a discussion of the key findings of this thesis.

I. Main conclusions of the thesis

This section presents the conclusions of the thesis divided into three subsections that highlight the objectives of the thesis and how these were answered throughout the research.

a) Emotional experiences in the workspace

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 of the thesis addressed the relationships that people established in their workspace. Through the development of these chapters, the objective 'To identify the emotional normative frameworks that circulate in the school teaching and engineering profession through the characterisation of the emotional culture of both professions' was met.

It also covered the objective 'To identify the emotional challenges faced by professional men and women and explore the emotional strategies they exercise to cope with these challenges in the context of their emotional culture' of the thesis.

Chapter 4 and 5 conducted a characterisation of the emotional culture of engineers and school teachers. From the participants' accounts, the initial chapters of the findings (4 and 5) defined themes from which to draw comparisons between the emotional culture of engineers and teachers. The themes identified were: ways of conceiving emotions, emotional involvement at work, and boundaries of public and private at work. In a separate chapter, conceptions of the relationship between men and women in the workspace were addressed, as the extent of the findings on gender made it necessary to devote a whole section to this subject. Broadly speaking, the results showed that in engineering, emotions are conceived as an instrument to achieve the company's objectives. This implies that the emotional dimension is considered one of the 'techniques' that engineers use to do their work. There is an explicit recognition of an instrumental use of emotions in relationships and these are understood by the participants as 'skills'. School teachers, on the other hand, understand emotions as a way to have genuine and spontaneous connection with students. This notion of the relationship with students seemed to be supported by moral notions circulating in the school teaching profession where students are conceived as people to be 'corrected' but also as 'children' to be protected and loved. These different layers of meaning that define teachers' relationship with students led to emotions being understood as 'positive' and 'negative'.

In terms of conceptions of the relationship between men and women, the assumption was made, based on a historical review of the school teaching and engineering professions, that a female culture predominated in school teaching and a male culture predominated in engineering. The results showed that these predominant gender cultures in each of the professions offered different gender expectations for men and women about how to exercise their gender and emotions within the context of their profession. Analysis of the narratives showed that in school teaching the ways of 'being' female and male were more restrictive than in the case of engineering. Because of its link to the contemporary corporate field, the conception and experience of gender was more open to global gender discourses, which provided more room for manoeuvre in 'doing' gender and the emotionality associated with it.

Finally, Chapter 6 traced the emotional strategies used by men and women in their workspaces. For this purpose, gender and the profession of the participants were used as organisational axes for the results. Based on the assumption that gender is sometimes and

sometimes not the object of interaction (Hirschauer, 2013), the challenges of each of the professions (engineering and school teaching) were delineated from those that were shared by both genders and those that were not. The results showed that engineers faced the challenge of aligning colleagues and managers on common goals and dealing with a competitive work climate. Teachers, on the other hand, faced the challenge of achieving student collaboration in the classroom and the challenge of not becoming emotionally overwhelmed at work. In terms of gender, the findings showed that for women, the challenge of being validated as professionals in the workplace was reiterated. For men, on the other hand, it was more difficult to find common challenges according to gender.

Considering this brief summary of the chapters, we could say that the main findings :

- Workspaces have emotional cultures that allow people to make sense of interactions, but also guide them on how to express their emotions and what to feel in the relationships they establish with their colleagues and bosses. These emotional cultures are the product of a history of the professions that is re-signified by the actors in the interactions they establish in each interactional situation. In turn, emotional cultures, give people clues as to what a professional should be like, or what the institution's expectations are about how people should behave emotionally according to their profession and gender.
- Cultures of the professions construct dynamic notions of gender, sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit, thatenable but also constrain the ways in which people can exercise gender in their working relationships. In the case of the cultures investigated, it was observed that in the engineering and school teaching professions certain gender cultures predominate, which define the appropriate ways in which emotions can be exercised and expressed in each of these professions. In the case of the engineering profession, these expectations about how to exercise gender appear to be in transition due to the penetration of global discourses such as post-feminism. In the case of school teaching, it seems that expectations about how to practice gender respond to more traditional ways of conceiving gender and that the school workspace is less permeable to global gender discourses. These differences were explained by the different social roles of business and school in society. It was mentioned that the school seems to have a reproductive function of a certain tradition in society, something corroborated by several authors (Reichelt, 2019; Batruch et. al., 2018; Hill,

Samson & Dasgupta, 2011). For their part, corporations are required to innovate in society in order to remain relevant. Regarding the latter, it is mentioned that one of the strategies used by corporations to innovate is to take global gender discourses and transform them into an economic language, something that may be happening on the basis of postfeminist approaches.

- Engineering and school teaching professionals face different challenges in their workspaces. Some of these challenges are shared by men and women and some are not. The data show that while there are differences, it seems that the trend is that both genders tend to share the challenges of the job. This finding challenged one of the assumptions with which this research was approached, which assumed the existence of several differences in work challenges between men and women. In relation to this, the results show that one of the challenges that recurs in female engineers and female school teachers is to be validated in their workspace. In terms of men's emotional strategies, it was difficult to establish common challenges for this gender, especially with regard to male engineers. While it was noted that this group experiences challenges at work, they did not associate these challenges with their gender. The results point to the importance of attending to the similarities between men and women in discussions of gender, as perhaps this may indicate that gender is less significant than other factors (organisational cultures, nature of work) in some aspects of the experience. This could be linked to the points made in the previous chapters (especially Chapter 5) where reference was made to post-feminist theory that there is a tendency in society for men and women's emotional attitudes to be equalised as they recognise themselves as individuals. Perhaps this interpretation of society is evidenced by the emerging tendency for men and women to increasingly share the same experiences.

From these findings we can note that emotional culture is a concept that allows us to study the work of emotions and the ways of 'doing' gender in the workplace. In this sense, the findings of this thesis show the validity of this concept (doing gender) to explore the explicit and implicit aspects of the emotional dimension of the interactions that take place in workplace relations.

b) Emotional experiences in the couple's space

Chapter 7 analysed the couple relationships of the interviewees. From the enquiry into this type of relationship it addressed the objective 'To explore the emotional tensions faced by women and men in their couple relationships and to explore how they navigate these tensions through the exercise of their emotion work'. At the beginning and end of chapter 7, relationships were established between the workspace and the couple space, which allowed an approach to the objective 'To explore the emotion work that people do to deal with the boundaries between their work and couple life'.

Chapter 7 explored the tensions that arise in couple interactions and how, through their emotions, people navigate these tensions. From participants' accounts, two main tensions were demarcated: sustaining the couple's relationship and negotiating expectations of the partner and perceived demands of the partner. Regarding the first tension, the analysis showed that people perceive the demands of work as a threat to the partner's space. This is because the demands made by the workspace are perceived as excessive, so that people have to do emotional work to limit these demands. The results also indicate that people try to limit their work by avoiding talking about negative work experiences with their partners. This emotion work produced by the participants also showed that the interviewees assumed that only positive emotions should circulate in the couple's space and that it should be satisfying. People used emotional strategies to induce emotions that produced well-being in the partner and had the impression that the other partner required them to be an entertaining companion in order to have a more fulfilling relationship. Regarding the second tension, that is, the negotiation of one's expectations of the relationship and the perceived demands of the other partner, the findings show that people use traditional and new normative gender models to orient themselves as to what expectations the other partner has of them and to carve out a place for themselves in that space (i.e. to define what role and importance they will have in the relationship). In turn, these gender models serve to give order to the relationship by indicating who has more developed emotional knowledge (women) and who has less developed emotional knowledge (men). The participants actively negotiate the expectations they believe the other partner has through a strategic use of emotion work.

Considering this brief summary of the chapters, the main findings of this section are the following:

- Traditional normative gender models seem to be still in force as axes from which couples orientate the way they 'be' woman and man in the relationship, and to interpret each other's expectations of them.
- In couple relationships, participants also use emotional strategies to deal with tensions in the relationship. However, in contrast to what happens at work, it seems that in this case the emotional strategies are at the service of maintaining the bond. The emotional strategies deployed at work seem to be aimed at staying at work and fulfilling the tasks assigned by the institution.
- Couples conceive and construct the couple relationship as a third space, different from the domestic and workspace.
- The assumption circulates among couples that in couple relationships there should be predominantly positive emotions that generate satisfaction. In order to achieve this emotional atmosphere in the relationship, people are willing to hide a part of themselves (negative experiences at work, for example) in order to induce positive emotions in their partner. This contrasts with theories that point out that one of the aspects characterising relationships in late modernity is the revelation of the true self to the other, i.e. being authentic in the relationship.

These findings show that couples attempt to make sense of and explain the relationship on the basis of traditional and new normative gender models. In this way it seems that the findings contrast with some of the explanations of late modernity (see Chapter 2) which assume that we are in the presence of a detraditionalisation of ways of 'being' a couple. Rather, what the results show is that the traditional models of the past would still have some relevance as orientations that people take to explain what happens in the relationship.

c) Comparison of the emotional experiences of the workspace and the couple's space

This theme was developed in chapter 7 of the thesis where the objective 'To explore the emotion work that people do to deal with the boundaries between their work and couple life'

was answered. As stated earlier, Chapter 7 explored the tensions that arise in the interactions between partners and how, through their emotions, people navigate these tensions. The chapter also addressed the relationship of the workspace to the couple's space when participants referred to how they conceived of the boundaries between work and life as a couple and talked about the emotion work they did to set limits to the demands of work when with a partner. At the end of chapter 7, a brief comparison was also made between the emotional logics that govern relationships in the workspace and those that govern relationships with a partner.

In this respect, it could be said that the main findings obtained with regard to this subject were:

- People actively try to separate private and public space. This result could contribute to the discussion mentioned in chapter 1 where it was mentioned that there seems to be a current debate about whether it is still relevant to consider public and private space as two separate spaces. New technology and changes in private life have, according to some authors (Sibilia, 2008; West, Lewis & Currie, 2009), blurred the boundaries between private and public space. While this may be the case in some areas of life, it seems that people actively seek a separation of their private life from their working life. That is, if the findings are anything to go by, it seems that the separation between these spaces is still important in organising experience.
- Expectations about how to 'be' a woman and a man and how to feel in each situation operate both in the private space of the couple and in the workspace. The results showed that gender normative models help people to orient themselves in social interactions. The findings also show that people do not adopt these models passively, but work on them through emotion work to negotiate in interactions with others.
- Both in the workplace and in the private space, people use emotional strategies to induce emotions in others. In the case of the partner's space, this strategic use of emotions is sometimes read by the other partner as a gesture of love.

The main findings show the validity and relevance of the study of private and public space to understand how people organise their experience. The results also showed that although it is

possible to find common elements in public and private space, such as, for example, the strategic use of emotions, these elements are understood differently according to the type of relationship at stake (work relationships and relationships with a partner). In this way, the type of relationship indicates to people how they should manage their emotions and how they should interpret the emotions of the other.

II. Main contributions of the thesis

This research has contributed knowledge to the incipient Sociology of emotions in Latin America. Through the exploration of the emotional work of a group of professional men and women in the city of Santiago de Chile, the thesis has provided clues about the ways in which Chileans manage their emotions in public and private spaces. This is in addition to the scarce information that exists in Chile about the emotion work that people carry out in their daily lives. In this way, the thesis has investigated an area of scholarship that has received little attention from analysts, despite its importance for understanding the experience of Chileans. In addition, a study was carried out on intersections that are novel in the Chilean research context, such as the relationship between gender and emotion, in the public and private space. By exploring people's emotion work in these two spaces, it was possible to notice the continuities and discontinuities between them and the ways in which people signify these spaces through the management of their emotions. Also, by exploring gender in the research, specifically how men and women display their emotions in different relationships (work and couple), this research was able to contribute to the understanding of how people are understanding gender in Chile in the light of the social changes that have been generated in recent years and which were described in Chapter 1. In this regard, one of the contributions of this thesis is that it seems that normative gender models are undergoing a transformation in Chile, so it is possible to identify the coexistence of traditional normative gender models alongside new normative gender models. In this way it was observed that people use old and new referents to guide them in the ways of 'doing' gender in social relations.

In line with this, another contribution of this thesis is the finding that in contrast to what postfeminist theory postulates, traditional gender models are still in force as orienting guides for emotional expression and in the ways in which people try to explain the behaviour of others. Another contribution of the thesis is the questioning, on the basis of empirical work, of some premises of late modernity theory. As noted in Chapter 2, one of these assumptions is

that we are in the presence of a detraditionalisation of society, where people are abandoning the referents of the past and constructing their own referents for how to conduct themselves in life. However, perhaps one of the questions that this theory fails to answer is why in some cases it seems that in some spaces the traditional roles remain. This could be the case in educational institutions. Although the accounts of the people interviewed cannot be taken as representative of the experience of all teachers or of what happens in school education, what is certain is that they seem to show that traditional gender roles continue to be maintained in this type of institutions. This is despite the global discourses circulating today that seek to destabilise traditional gender relations in pursuit of greater equality between men and women. Thus, this research shows that there seem to be certain spaces that are less permeable to these new expectations about gender relations.

The late modernity thesis seems to suggest that people actively participate in the process of the detraditionalisation of society, which could imply that they wish to distance themselves from tradition. However, the findings, especially those related to the traditional gender relations that seem to occur at school, seem to indicate that there are spaces where the detraditionalisation of social relations does not occur consistently. If this is the case, it is worth asking how this could be explained and whether there is not also a desire on the part of individuals (for example, parents who choose their children's school) to maintain and seek traditional forms of relating to each other in some spaces. These questions remain open for future research. Another of the contributions of this thesis is to think of gender emotional expectations as one of the axes from which to investigate the emotion work that people carry out in their daily lives. Although this concept appeared in this thesis from the interpretation of the participants' accounts, the research shows that it is a concept that serves to think about how people manage their emotions and what position they take with respect to these expectations in their interaction with others. In turn, this concept can be used in different contexts and can even be used to compare the experience generated in different situations.

One aspect that may be of interest for reflection is the dialogue that can be established with the theoretical references of this thesis in the light of the findings. One of the possible dialogues is with the emotion work theory of Arlie Hochschild (1979, 1983, 2003). In her book 'The managed heart' the author refers, among other things, to the way in which the emotions of private life start to be used in the work context and the spontaneity of our private emotions is used in an instrumental way to produce profits for the company. On this the author mentions "What is new in our time is an increasingly prevalent instrumental stance toward our

native capacity to play, wittingly and actively, upon a range of feelings for a private purpose" (Hochschild, 1983, p.20). However, the findings found in this study make it necessary to nuance this assumption proposed by the author. What the results indicate is that the participants also use their emotions as an instrument in their relationships. In other words, it is also possible to identify an instrumental use of emotions in private life. However, this management of emotions has a different objective than the one at work, since it is installed to maintain the bonds. Thus, the opposition that the author seems to be making between the spontaneity of private life versus the instrumentalisation of working life needs to be examined.

Another referent of the thesis that talks about the instrumentalisation of emotions is Eva Illouz (2007, 2008). Broadly speaking, the author argues that the rationality of the economic sphere has been incorporated into the treatment we give to our private emotions. This has implied the rationalisation of private life, which has generated as a consequence a distance from one's own emotions and a certain calculation in their use that generates, as an effect, a lesser involvement with the sentimental life of the couple. However, the results show that although there is a calculated instrumental use of emotions in the couples investigated, this is sometimes meant as a gesture of love. These results could show that while it is important to account for the logics that could be operating in private life, it is also important to highlight how people mean these logics in order to access the nuances of the elements that are operating in social interactions.

Finally, and returning to what was mentioned above about the theory of late modernity (Giddens, 1992; Blake & Janssens, 2021; Gill, Kean & Scharff, 2017), it is possible to mention that it is a theoretical framework that allows us to think about the normative ideals that govern contemporary societies. The idea of the detraditionalisation and reflexivity of individuals shows great potential for interpreting the empirical findings in this thesis. However, perhaps one of the questions that this theory fails to answer is why in some cases traditional roles seem to remain in some spaces. This could be the case in educational institutions. Although the accounts of the people interviewed cannot be taken as representative of the experience of all teachers or of what happens in school education, what is certain is that they seem to show that traditional gender roles are still maintained in this type of institutions. This is despite the global discourses circulating today that seek to destabilise traditional gender relations in pursuit of greater equality between men and women. This research shows that there seem to be certain spaces that are less permeable to these new expectations about gender relations. The late modernity thesis seems to suggest that people actively participate in

the process of the detraditionalisation of society, which may imply that people wish to distance themselves from tradition. However, the findings, especially those related to traditional gender relations in the school, seem to indicate that there are spaces where the detraditionalisation of social relations is not clearly observed.

III. Limitations of the thesis and directions for future research

Although this thesis makes a number of contributions to the discussions on gender and emotions, it is necessary to refer to the limitations that existed in carrying out this study. As noted in this research, the fieldwork was carried out at an exceptional time in Chile. This implied difficulties at the logistical level, such as finding a place to meet with the participants, recruiting participants, among others. It also implied difficulties for the research insofar as it was difficult to study the daily life of the participants at a time of disruption. This disruption of daily life probably had effects on participants' emotionality and perception that would not have occurred under normal circumstances. In addition, it was not possible to follow up with interviewees to contrast the data collected during and after the outbreak, as the COVID-19 quarantine began days after the interviews were conducted. Also, considering the cultural changes that are taking place at the level of gender in Chile, it is worth asking how the researcher's gender influenced the reaction of men and women to questions about the changes that have taken place in the relationship between men and women in the couple relationship. As noted earlier in the thesis, it seemed at times that men felt that they were being evaluated by the female researcher with this question and that their answers sought to show that they shared the 'women's cause'. This also raises the question of how the interviewees sometimes tried to manage their image in front of the researcher and raises the question of whether they would have answered differently if the researcher was a man. In turn, the gender of the researcher (female) might also have influenced women to feel more comfortable in the interviews. While both men and women were expansive in their responses, women seemed to be more extensive than men. This may be due to cultural reasons for how men and women express themselves, but it could also be because the researcher's gender influenced women to feel more comfortable and men sometimes seemed to feel evaluated in certain questions. These variations in turn raise questions about the generalisability of the conclusions drawn from this research. Despite these limitations, it is hoped that this study will shed light on some of the experiences of everyday life and challenge some of the assumptions we take for granted in our social relationships. Regardless, it is hoped that this study will serve

to illuminate some experiences that occur in everyday life and to question some assumptions that we take for granted in our social relationships. In terms of the direction of future research, this thesis opens up a number of questions about gender, emotion work, private and public life and the detraditionalisation of life. On gender, it would be important to continue to investigate the aspects of experience that men and women share. Currently gender has become an important issue in society and the object of yearnings, criticisms, demands, and so on. There has been and is still ongoing an intense and necessary reflection in society on how through the categories of gender, power has been exercised creating asymmetries between men, women and other genders (Butler, 2004; Gilligan & Snider, 2018; Criado, 2019). Perhaps one of the discussions that could contribute to such reflection is to think about what experiences women and men share and to ask why this difference between experiences that we share and those that we do not share occurs. Another aspect that could be developed further is the inconsistencies in the accounts of how people adopt normative gender models that are sometimes contradictory to each other. It could be important to understand how people carry out this operation and the degree of internal tensions it produces in them and in their relationships with others. Finally, and thinking about the current situation, it could be a contribution to investigate the emotion work that people perform in a post-pandemic world and to identify what emotional strategies they use to give a sense of continuity in their lives after this period of disruption of the continuity of everyday experience.

The analysis of emotion work and gender in a group of male and female professionals in the city of Santiago de Chile showed how people manage in their daily lives to respond to different situations that challenge them as social actors. Through the analysis of the interviewees' accounts, it shows people's ability to deal with difficult situations using their emotions. Emotions have been thought of by the most classical psychology as a natural-biological aspect of human beings (Watson & Kimble, 2007; Cosmides & Tooby, 2000). However, what this research shows us is the social and cultural condition of emotions. At a time like the present where there is an intensification of social frictions at a global level, it seems tempting to explain these frictions using psychological discourses to give an explanation and causality to these conflicts. Chile has not been exempt from these explanations. It seems that psychological discourses are being used as the only parameters from which to understand social problems. Phrases such as 'people act violently because they are frustrated' abound in the media. This thesis aims to be both a contribution and a reminder that the emotions we see in our daily lives are the product of emotion work and that this emotion work is the product of a culture and the ways in which people inhabit and interpret that culture. When we go beyond

the impression that emotions make on us, we have the opportunity to understand our social life in a different way and perhaps to think of other ways of dealing with the tensions that are part of our common life. Finally, it seems important to note that while emotions can explain our life together, it is important to keep in mind that they can only explain a part of our social interactions. With the rise of emotions and the emotionalisation of life (Furedi, 2003), there is always a risk that emotions will explain too much.

Appendix 1: Interview guideline

This interview is part of my PhD research on the emotion work of Chilean professionals. The aim of the study is to explore the emotional aspects of the work and family life of paired professionals. This will allow me to understand the day-to-day life of middle-class Chileans.

Regarding the conditions of the interview, please note that your identity will be kept strictly confidential. Real names will not be used in any presentation, publication or doctoral thesis.

First part of the interview: place of work

- Can you tell me a bit about your job (what you work in, how long you have been working, tell me a bit about your background in your job, what you have done)?
- How did you come to work in your current job?
- Tell me about a working day, from the time you get up to the time you go to bed.
- What people do you meet in your job, who do you work with, what is your relationship with them, do you have meetings, do you have coordination meetings with other people, what is your relationship with them, do you have meetings, do you have coordination meetings with other people, do you have meetings with other people?
- Now on a more emotional dimension, can you freely express your emotions in your work?
- Tell me about a time when you have expressed your emotions freely?
- are there things about your job that you don't like, what would those be, what do you do to deal with that, what things do you enjoy about your job?
- What things do you enjoy about your job, what, why?
- Tell me about a time when you had a conflict in your work, what did you do, what did you think, what feeling did you get from it?

Second part of the interview: relationships

Now moving on to a more private level,

- How long have you been with your partner?
- How did you meet?

- Do you live together?
- Do you both work?
- Do you work full time or part time?
- Could you tell me about a normal or usual day with your partner, e.g. what did you do yesterday?
- At what times of the day are you together?
- what things do you enjoy together?
- What do you usually talk about when you are together?
- Do you think your work and your partner's work have an impact on your relationship, why or why not?
- Do you talk about your jobs when you are together, what are the recurring themes?
- What things cause the most disagreements between you, how do you deal with that?
- what things do you expect from your partner emotionally, what things do you think your partner expects from you emotionally, how do you realise that he or she expects that from you?
- Do you think the way men and women relate to each other in relationships has changed in the last 10 years?

Third part of the interview: reflection on historical processes

- Do you think there has been a change in the last 10 years in the profile of engineers/school teachers that employers are looking for, why do you think that is?
- Do you think that nowadays employers are looking for certain emotional aspects of their employees?
- Regarding employers, do you think that when you are hired you have emotional expectations of your employer?
- Do you think that employers have different expectations in emotional terms for men and women?
- And with regard to the expression of emotions, do you think there are different expectations for men and women?
- Regarding the emotional sphere at work, do you think it is different today than it was before, do you think it is necessary to behave differently emotionally in the workplace today than in the past?

- Do you think that work today is more emotionally demanding than it used to be, in what way?

-Moving on to another topic and considering the social situation that Chile is going through today, do you think that emotions have played a role in the social crisis we are experiencing?

-Given my research on the emotional aspects of work and relationships, is there any other topic that you consider important that we haven't covered in this interview?

Appendix 2: Inform consent

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Heslington, York, YO10 5NG

Informed Consent

‘Emotional labour in Chile: the effects of emotional capitalism on professional men and women’

Researcher: Camila Toledo Orbeta

The purpose of this form is to record your decision to participate in the research. Please read and answer all the questions. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you would like more information, please ask the researcher.

Have you read and understood the information leaflet about the study? Yes No

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study and been given a satisfactory answer? Yes No

Do you understand that the information you provide will be kept confidential by the researcher and that your name or identifying information will not be mentioned in any publication? Yes No

Do you understand that you may withdraw from the study at any time prior to the end of the data collection session without giving any reason, and that in that case all your data will be destroyed? Yes No

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my data from the study up to 3 months after the interview without explanation.

Yes No

I wish to participate in the study "Emotional labour in Chile: the effects of emotional capitalism on male and female professionals".

Yes No

I agree that an audio recording of the interview should be made.

Yes No

Would you like a summary of the results of the study?

Yes No

If yes, please enter your e-mail address below:

I _____ give my consent to participate in the research entitled "El trabajo emocional en Chile: los efectos del capitalismo emocional en hombres y mujeres profesionales" (Emotional labour in Chile: the effects of emotional capitalism on professional men and women) conducted by Camila Toledo Orbeta. I understand the objectives of this study and wish to participate.

The signature below indicates my consent.

Date:

Participant's signature:

Date:

Signature researcher:

Appendix 3: Information sheet

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

Sociology Department

Heslington, York, YO10 5NG

INFORMATION SHEET

PLEASE KEEP THIS INFORMATION SHEET AND A SIGNED COPY OF THE INFORMED CONSENT FORM.

You have been invited to participate in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to participate, it is important that you understand why the research is being conducted and what it will consist of. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you would like more information, please ask the researcher.

Study Title: Emotional labour in Chile: the effects of emotional capitalism on professional men and women

Researcher: Camila Toledo Orbeta

What is the research about?

The aim of this research is to explore the narratives of emotional labour that professional women and men in the city of Santiago construct in heterosexual couple relationships and at work, in the context of emotional capitalism.

In other words, the aim is to determine what emotional labour professionals, men and women, perform in their daily practices at work and in their relationships with their partners. This means that the study considers how professionals, men and women, strive to change the degree or quality of an emotion in order to respond to the demands of such contexts.

Who is conducting the research?

The study will be conducted by Camila Toledo Orbeta.

Why have you been chosen to participate?

You have been invited to participate because you meet the selection criteria for participants. These are: professionals who work as engineers and teachers, who have a heterosexual partner and who work in a context where they have to interact with their colleagues.

What does the study involve?

The study will involve face-to-face interviews with men and women to ask them to talk about the emotional aspects of their work life and relationships.

The interview will last approximately 1 hour and 30 minutes.

Do I have to participate?

You may not participate in this study. If you decide to participate, you will be given this information sheet to keep and asked to sign two copies of the informed consent form (one copy is for you to keep).

If you decide not to participate, you may withdraw without explanation, even during the session itself. If you withdraw from the study, we will destroy your data and will not use them in any way.

Thus, your participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw the data collected at any time up to 3 months after the interview, without giving any reason. If you decide to withdraw, all your data will be securely discarded.

What are the possible risks of participating?

In general, there should be no risks associated with this study, however, it is possible that due to the nature of some topics, some participants may experience distress. If this is the case, the interviewee will be provided with resources to alleviate this discomfort, such as information about local health support in their community. In addition, take into account the Communication and Social Interaction Skills Manual, which mentions techniques such as: actively listening to what the person is saying, empathising with what they are saying, being calm and collected.

Special care should be taken to ensure that the person ends the interview in a calm state.

Are there any benefits to participating?

By participating in this study, you will help build new knowledge in the field of the sociology of emotions, and contribute to the understanding of the emotional work that Chilean professionals do at work and in relationships. This information could be used in the future to generate public policies that improve the quality of life of Chilean citizens.

What will happen to the data I provide?

Your data will be stored securely at the Department of Sociology, University of York for a minimum period of five years, after which I will review it and decide whether it should be destroyed or kept for longer.

Will you transfer my data internationally?

Yes, the University has cloud storage provided by Google, and while your data will be hosted in Google data centres, the University has data protection agreements with this provider. For more information, see <https://www.york.ac.uk/it-services/google/policy/privacy/>

What rights do I have in relation to my data?

Under the General Data Protection Regulation, which is one of the data regulation policies in Europe and the UK, you have a general right of access to your data, a right of rectification, erasure, restriction, objection or portability. You also have a right of revocation.

These rights can be exercised within 3 months from the day of the interview. If you do not express your wish to withdraw from the research or to rectify, erase, restrict or object to the data provided, it will be understood that you consent to the data provided being used in the research.

Please note that not all rights apply when data are processed solely for research purposes. For more information, see <https://www.york.ac.uk/recordsmanagement/generaldataprotectionregulation/individualsrights/>

What about confidentiality?

Your identity will be kept strictly confidential. No real names will be used in any presentation, publication or in my thesis.

Will I know the results?

No. Overall results will only be released if explicitly requested by the participants.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of York. If you have any questions, please contact the chair of the Ethics Committee.

If you have any further questions about this study, please do not hesitate to contact me:

Camila Toledo Orbeta

Department of Sociology
University of York
United Kingdom
Heslington, York, YO10 5NG
Email: csto500@york.ac.uk

If you remain dissatisfied, please contact the University's Data Protection Officer at dataprotection@york.ac.uk.

This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of York Ethics Committee. If you have any questions about it, you can contact the committee at elmps-ethics-group@york.ac.uk

This study has also been approved by Professors Ellen Annandale and Sarah Nettleton of the Department of Sociology at the University of York, whose e-mail addresses are ellen.annandale@york.ac.uk and sarah.nettleton@york.ac.uk respectively.

Right to complain

If you are dissatisfied with the way the University has handled your personal data, you have the right to complain to the Information Commissioner's Office. For information on how to report a concern to the Information Commissioner's Office visit www.ico.org.uk/concerns

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