EXPLORING THE TEACHING HEART:

A CRITICAL INCIDENT STUDY OF THE EMOTIONAL LABOR EXPERIENCES OF ADULT EDUCATORS

by

JOSEPH C. BRENES-DAWSEY

(Under the Direction of Karen E. Watkins)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore how adult educators describe and make meaning of emotional labor experiences, as well as the conditions that give rise to those experiences. The study was guided by the following questions: 1) What is the nature of emotional labor in adult education? and, 2) How do adult educators make meaning of emotional labor experiences? For this qualitative study, a semi-structured interview protocol was used to collect data in the form of critical incidents. In-depth interviews were conducted with eight participants who serve as faculty members in a teacher training program that prepares working professionals in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields to become public school teachers in areas with disadvantaged or underserved populations. Critical incident narratives were crafted for each incident using raw data from the interview transcripts. Of the 72 critical incidents initially identified, 31 were selected for sufficiently robust analysis. Three prominent themes emerged from analysis of the selected critical incidents highlighting the importance of nurturing and cultivating an emotionally trusting environment, as well the importance of managing

emotions across different areas and layers of the program. Findings from the study indicated that adult educators do not always perceive a requirement to perform emotional labor, making it difficult to distinguish between perceptions of emotional labor and emotion work. Findings further indicated that adult educators perform both emotion work and emotional labor across varying layers of the program and organization, thus calling into question the Marxist conceptualization of emotional labor as an oppressive requirement restricted to frontline workers. Finally, regardless of perceptions of emotional labor or emotion work, findings suggested that adult educators use emotion management experiences to provide contextual awareness of emotions in learning environments. Conclusions drawn from the findings were: 1) The concept of emotional labor fails to fully capture the complexity of emotion work performed across varying organizational layers; and, 2) Emotional labor and emotion work experiences trigger informal learning opportunities. Future research studies should consider the decision-making processes adult educators use when engaging in emotion management strategies.

INDEX WORDS: Emotional labor; Emotion work; Emotion management; Emotion; Critical incident technique; Narrative inquiry; Analytic induction; Affect theory

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DEDICATION

This doctoral dissertation is dedicated to:

the memory of my father, John, who encouraged me along the way;

the memory of my sister, Cissy, who never stopped looking after her little brother;

and my mother, Barbara, who has always been by my side.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In interpreting a smile,
we try to take out what social engineering put in,
pocketing only what seems meant for us.
(Hochschild, 1983)

Since the concept of emotional labor was first introduced by Hochschild (1983) in her seminal study of the emotion-based organizational expectations of flight attendants, there has been an ongoing interest with how emotions are managed in the workplace (e.g., Bellas, 1999; Bierema, 2008; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Chang, 2009; Çukur, 2009; Dirkx, 2008; Hargreaves, 1998, 2000; Harvey, Bimler, Evans, Kirkland & Pechtel, 2012; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Lackritz, 2004; Mittal & Chhabra, 2011; Nias, 1996; O'Connor, 2008; Zembylas, 2005a; 2005b), and how this management might lead to higher perceptions of stress (e.g., Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Frost, 2003; Frost & Robinson, 1999; Glomb & Tews, 2004; Grandey, 2003; Pugliesi, 1999), higher job dissatisfaction (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Glomb & Tews, 2004; Grandey, 2003), and an overall sense of alienation or emotional dissonance (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Glomb & Tews, 2004; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Existing studies have concentrated primarily on the behavioral aspects of emotional labor, such as surface acting and deep acting. Some have criticized the objective nature of this approach (Fineman, 2000; Lazarus, 1991) as lacking in sensitivity to the very emotional nature that blends internal feeling with emotional display. Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotional labor focuses

on the “feeling” rules that require one to modulate internal feelings to comply with outwardly directed display expectations. Fineman (2000) noted the difficulties of approaching the study of emotions from the narrow view of clinical preconceptions. I suspect that it is precisely this sort of discrepancy that Hochschild was attempting to address with the application of a Marxist framing of emotional labor. Overall, Hochschild describes a systems process theory of emotional labor that attempts to capture both individual and environmental characteristics of the emotional experience. She emphasizes the intrusive commoditization of private emotion work by organizational display requirements—an approach that dichotomizes the internal and external, the private and the public, arenas of emotional experience (Hochschild, 1979, 1983, 2003). This invites further scrutiny of whether individuals might perceive a sense of oppression related to the performance of emotional labor—a critique implicated in the Marxist positioning of emotional labor.

With Marx’s poignant image of a young boy working in a wallpaper factory, Hochschild (1983) constructed a case for the resulting loss of important aspects of the emotional self. Much as the boy’s final product of wallpaper, the commoditized emotions of flight attendants “smiles” left them with a sense of divided self where the very personal part of the self required to do the work is lost (or transmuted) into an emotional product often found lacking in spirit and authenticity. Drawing on the work of Glomb and Tews (2004), Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch, and Wax (2012), in their review of emotional labor, noted that emotional labor “requires workers to subordinate their genuine emotions in order to display emotions which are consistent with work role expectations” (p. 7). Hochschild (1983) argued that emotional labor performance has the potential to be good,

but the sentiment is something of an appended afterthought: “Emotional labor is potentially good. No customer wants to deal with a surly waitress, a crabby bank clerk, or a flight attendant who avoids eye contact in order to avoid getting a request” (p. 9). This assertion of goodness reinforces an inherent fault, an inherent negativity, implicated in the performance of emotional labor. On the surface, emotional labor is always potentially good—for the organization. A Marxist framing tethers emotional labor at the level of the worker, but it can only really be observed from above. In Hochschild’s example, the crabby bank clerk is the point of contact for the organization, but ultimately, the organization determines the extent of satisfactory emotional labor performance through complaints from customers or colleagues. Just as flight attendants are trained to wear their smiles, the bank trains the crabby clerk to appear to be happy—mandates the clerk to be happy. It is almost as if there is an assumption that workers need to be coerced into pretending that they are happy that they are pretending to be happy in fulfilling role and organizational requirements. Many of the workers that she spoke with “often spoke of their smiles as being *on* them but not *of them*” (Hochschild, 1983, p. 8). The extracted smile is the genuine product of the organization:

> The final commodity is not a certain number of smiles to be counted like rolls of wallpaper. For the flight attendant, the smiles are a *part of her work,* a part that requires her to coordinate self and feeling so that the work seems to be effortless. To show that the enjoyment takes effort is to do the job poorly. Similarly, part of the job is to disguise fatigue and irritation, for otherwise the labor would show in an unseemly way, and the product—passenger contentment—would be damaged.–Because it is easier to disguise fatigue and irritation if they can be

> banished altogether, at least for brief periods, this feat calls for emotional labor. (p. 8)

This passage seems to point to a constant need to adjust feeling to fit company norms and expectations regardless of attention to genuine or authentic feeling. In other words, if smiling becomes part of the work or part of the job, the company has little interest in what internal feelings or emotions a worker might be experiencing. While it is certainly possible that the performance of emotional labor might lead to a positive result that is in harmony with a worker's naturally felt emotions, Hochschild's own description of emotional labor seems to betray a tendency toward the exploitation of the worker. Hochschild attempts to shift the costs of performing emotional labor onto the systems supporting the display requirements and recompense of emotional labor:

> Any functioning society makes effective use of its members' emotional labor. We do not think twice about the use of feeling in the theater, or in psychotherapy, or in forms of group life that we admire. It is when we come to speak of the *exploitation* of the bottom by the top in any society that we become morally concerned. In any system, exploitation depends on the actual distribution of many kinds of profits—money, authority, status, honor, well-being. It is not emotional labor itself, therefore, but the underlying system of recompense that raises the question of what the cost of it is. (Hochschild, 1983, p. 12)

This begs the question of whether emotional labor functions as a part of a larger emotional system and whether the entire system might be thought of as an emotional labor system that governs and disciplines the emotional labor performance requirements throughout an organization. This also highlights one of the trajectories that the study of

emotional labor strategies has taken over time, namely the study of antecedent-focused or response-focused management efforts (Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch & Wax, 2012). Even here, it is possible to observe that attention is given to response-focused strategies and the effort needed to resolve discordant perceptions between felt and displayed emotions. Antecedent-focused strategies are seen as being adjusted early in the process and requiring less overall emotional effort. However, this also invites us to consider if the early adjustment actually alleviates the perception of emotional dissonance and the effort needed to calibrate to the desired display. At what point does the cognitive dissonance become an emotional dissonance and is the perceived "pinch" of either less difficult to negotiate for one than the other? At what point does one perceive that an emotional "product" is a little less than sincere, and that control over feeling and display no longer fully belongs to the individual? In other words, at what point does one begin to feel that the alignment typically experienced through the expression of naturally felt emotions begins to give way to organizational expectations that change and calibrate what is naturally felt? Even though Hochschild deflects the exploitation of workers onto the structural means of compensation, is the worker who perceives a loss of emotional self any less exploited or at least, any less fairly treated than others?

Also, there is little doubt that emotions play a vital role in shaping the teaching environment and the lives of teachers. Previous studies (e.g., Hargreaves, 1998, 2000) have noted the emotional connections teachers form with students. Other studies (e.g., Jackson, 2001; Zembylas, 2005a, 2005b) have addressed the relationship of emotions to teacher identity. Poststructural studies (e.g., Boler, 1999; Zembylas, 2005a, 2005b) have explored emotions and the teacher subjectivities that emerge within discursive and power

relationships. Post qualitative (e.g., Pedersen, 2015) scholars have begun to contemplate the affective potential of human and non-human emotional relationships. Hargreaves (2000) notes that emotion, cognition, and reflection are important and integral parts of the emotional experience of teaching. While emotion does not entirely drive the practice of teaching, teachers interact in and create an emotional world that is perhaps somewhat unique. The effort of teaching encompasses a varied and rich array of emotional experiences that shape the lives of not only students, but the lives of colleagues, associates, and many others as well. Hochschild (1983) referred to this emotional effort, this emotional labor, as the effort needed to create and sustain a state of mind in others. Considering the scope of the classroom as consisting of more than a box made up of four walls and the volume of emotional states that need to be sustained over time, then Hochschild's assertion that there is an exchange for a value takes on an emotional character that might be quite daunting. Typically, teachers provide this labor of emotion in a very natural, sincere, and consonant manner. However, Hargreaves (2000), while referencing the work of Meštrović (1997), has noted that the endless drive toward the standardization of the classroom has caused a surge in inauthentic emotional displays, what Meštrović describes as a type of postemotionalism where forced displays of hyper-emotionalism supersede authentic emotional displays and leave one with a discordant sense of emotion that falls somewhat flat. Considering Hochschild's original description of emotive dissonance where one becomes alienated from a sense of emotional self, Hargreaves' (2000) discussion of postemotional experiences invites the further consideration of the emotional constraints of emotional labor performance and the

possible separation of a sense of self that results from the dissonant performance of emotional labor in an adult learning environment.

Palmer (2007) highlights the difficulties that teachers face when negotiating the application and control of emotions in classroom and professional settings. He notes: "Unlike many professions, teaching is always done at the dangerous intersection of personal and public life" (Palmer, 2007, p. 18). Hochschild (1983) strikes a similar chord with her description of the transmutation of an emotional system, a transmutation of personal and private emotion where there is a "link between a private act, such as attempting to enjoy a party, and a public act, such as summoning up good feeling for a customer" (p. 26). This transmutation of an emotional system calls on one, whether flight attendant, teacher or undertaker, to actively make oneself vulnerable to organizationally engineered expectations of emotional display rules. This vulnerability is especially delicate and leaves one unguarded and exposed; yet, at the same time, it is this vulnerability that allows teachers (and others) to make the emotional connections of caring and empathy that are so much a part of what it means to identify oneself as a teacher. In other words, it is a transmutation, a commercialization in some cases, of the heart. In this sense, it is a reference to the ancient heart as "the place where intellect and emotion and spirit will converge in the human self" (Palmer, 2007, p. 18). However, while emotions have maintained a central position in elementary and secondary educational inquiry, the emotional labor experiences of adult educators have received little attention in the research literature.

There is also little doubt that emotions have played an important role in the development of adult learning theory. Mezirow (1991) noted the intensity and

transformative power of significant adult life experiences. Emotional labor studies in adult education have tended to focus on how adults learn to conform to expected emotional standards in workplace settings. Scott and Myers (2005), for example, explored the organizational socialization and emotional labor performance expectations of firefighters during initial periods of training. Tracy (2000) explored how one learns to conform to a variety of emotional labor rules within the total organizational context of a cruise ship. Even with these brief examples, we can see that the field of adult education has tended to place considerable emphasis on the emotional experiences of adult learners. However, adult education is a field rich in variety and diversity (Merriam & Brockett, 1997), and as noted in the preceding discussion, emotional labor still offers many opportunities for additional exploration.

Building on Hochschild's (1983) original conceptualization of emotional labor, this dissertation explores the dynamic richness and complexity of the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. This richness includes how we understand, learn, and make meaning from the performance of emotional labor in adult education settings. These experiences have been explored in a variety of educational settings, but little attention has been given to the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. Additionally, existing studies of emotional labor have tended to address the experiences of the emotional labor performance of individuals. Fineman (2000) encourages us to seek out theories that explore emotional exchanges interrelationally and holistically—rather than as splintered bits assembled from discordant perspectives—what he refers to as emotional arenas.

Problem Statement

While it has been more than thirty years since the concept of emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983) was first introduced, the succeeding research literature has produced little clarity in how the concept is defined and applied in organizational settings (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). Some researchers, such as Callahan and McCollum (2002), have suggested that part of the problem lies with the fact that research on emotions is often divided into streams that emphasize either a psychological or sociological approach. This divide creates a dichotomized approach to emotional research that is often difficult to overcome. Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotional labor mirrors this dichotomy in that the work of emotional labor is the effort needed to adjust feeling to produce a socially or organizationally acceptable emotional display, thus effectively melding aspects of the psychological and sociological into a single concept. This inherent divide poses a challenge to any researcher attempting to study emotional labor. The difficulties surrounding inquiry into emotions are not new, and often, a single theoretical or methodological approach does not capture the full complexity of emotional labor experiences (Fineman, 2000). We tend to think in terms of a limited range of emotions with little utility and application across organizational settings. Additionally, the theoretical barriers that surround many approaches to the study of emotions often result in the creation of "more epistemological heat than light" (Fineman, 2000, p. 3). Emotion work and emotional labor have suffered from the heat of clashing and constricting theories. Emotional labor, in particular, has remained tethered to a narrow interpretation of Marxist alienation that inhibits application at levels of organizational analysis beyond the individual. The research literature in education (e.g., Bellas, 1999; Bierema, 2008;

Chang, 2009; Çukur, 2009; Dirkx, 2008; Hargreaves, 1998, 2000; Harvey et al., 2012; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Lackritz, 2004; Mittal & Chhabra, 2011; Nias, 1996; O'Connor, 2008; Zembylas, 2005a, 2005b) suggests that there is a growing interest in the study of emotional labor in educational settings. However, little of this research has addressed how emotional labor is experienced in adult learning and workplace environments. And, as Callahan and McCollum (2002) have observed, "little work has been done to either describe the ways that emotion has been viewed in the organizational literature or the scholarly and practical implications of these various views" (pp. 7-8). In this study, I addressed both observed gaps in the literature by first exploring the emotional labor experiences of adult educators and then further extending theoretical implications by using theories of affect to critique the concept of emotional labor. Drawing from the works of Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987), Bennett (2010), Massumi (2002, 2015), St. Pierre (2011, 2013a, 2013b, 2014) and others, this extended exploration further considered how affect begins to challenge understanding of traditional definitions of concepts such as emotional labor (e.g., Pedersen, 2015).

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to explore how adult educators describe and make meaning of emotional labor experiences in an organizational setting, as well as the conditions that give rise to those experiences, and was guided by the following questions:

1. What is the nature of emotional labor in adult education?
2. How do adult educators make meaning of emotional labor experiences?

Hochschild's Conceptualization of Emotional Labor

The theoretical framework used to guide this study was Hochschild's (1983, 2003) conceptualization of emotional labor. Hochschild introduced the concept of emotional labor as a means of explaining the perceived use and management of feelings and emotions in the workplace. More specifically, Hochschild attempted to capture the observed phenomenon of the use and management of emotions in the daily work routines of flight attendants and debt collectors. Drawing upon Marx's descriptions of alienation and the performance of physical labor, Hochschild (1983) defined the emotional labor of flight attendants in the following terms:

> But in the course of doing this physical and mental labor, she is also doing something more, something I define as emotional labor. This labor requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others—in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place. This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality. (p. 7)

This definition has been well-documented, discussed and examined in the scholarly literature (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000; Mann, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Yet in nearly thirty years of discussion, there seems to be little consensus around what constitutes emotional labor beyond the need to conform to organizational norms and expectations. Hochschild (1983) provided some further clarification:

> I use the term *emotional labor* to mean the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has *exchange value*. I use the synonymous terms *emotion work* or *emotion management* to refer to these same acts done in a private context where they have use value. (p. 7)

This point of clarification is worth noting in that a distinction is made between the value of a personal exchange of emotions and the exchange that occurs in a workplace setting. Emotional labor is exchange for a wage and carries with it implications of costs (on many levels) for the worker (and to some extent for the organization when emotional labor is not performed according to expectations). Once again drawing inspiration from Marx, Hochschild (1983) characterizes the cost to the individual in terms of a sense of loss of self or an alienation from a sense of self:

> Display is what is sold, but over the long run display comes to assume a certain relation to feeling. As enlightened management realizes, a separation of display and feeling is hard to keep up over long periods. A principle of *emotive dissonance*, analogous to the principle of cognitive dissonance, is at work. Maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning over the long run leads to strain. We try to reduce this strain by pulling the two closer together either by changing what we feel or by changing what we feign. When display is required by the job, it is usually feeling that has to change; and when conditions estrange us from our face, they sometimes estrange us from feeling as well. (p. 90)

When conflict occurs, we adjust by changing what we feign, and perhaps more tellingly, we adapt or change what we feel. It is this state of constantly changing what we

feel that forms one of the important tenets of emotional labor, namely a state of emotive dissonance. While subtle, it is interesting that Hochschild compares emotive dissonance (emotional dissonance) with cognitive dissonance. The traditional Western conceptualization of emotions has always placed emotion and cognition in binary opposition (cognition/emotion) with cognition occupying a privileged (and powerful) position alongside knowledge and rationality. Emotions and feelings have often been portrayed as impinging upon one's ability to act rationally. By contextualizing emotions within the space of Capitalist labor and production, Hochschild has seemingly recast the cognition/emotion binary as forced repositioning that now privileges the need to display organizationally acceptable emotions over the need to reconcile display with what is felt (emotional labor/feeling). As such, this new dichotomization of emotions against feelings as a forcibly contrived state of emotional dissonance potentially opens new pathways of inquiry into the understanding of how emotions and emotional display expectations function and are perceived in adult learning and organizational settings.

Overview of the Research Design and Methodology

In this study, I employed Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique (CIT) as a means of collecting data with the critical incident serving as the unit of analysis. CIT is recognized as a useful approach during the preliminary stages of exploring a particular phenomenon (Kain, 2004). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 8 participants who serve as faculty members and administrators in a teacher training program that prepares working professionals in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields to become public school teachers in areas with disadvantaged or underserved populations. I incorporated Ellinger and Watkins' (1998) contextual

approach to CIT as a means of capturing adult educators' perceptions of managing feeling in the performance of emotional labor. I digitally recorded and transcribed all interviews. Narrative representations were crafted for each critical incident using the raw data from each of the interview transcripts. Adapting Katz's (1983, 2001) approach to analytic induction, I evaluated each critical incident using Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotional labor as the work we do on feeling as a guideline. Analytic assertions were developed for each critical incident. I analyzed each incident narrative, along with the associated analytical assertion, for the emergence and development of themes and subthemes. Following this analysis, I organized and presented findings to addresses each of the research questions.

Significance of the Study

As noted earlier, the role of emotional labor in adult learning environments has received little attention in the scholarly research literature. At the same time, recent reviews (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015) and other researchers (e.g., Callahan & McCollum, 2002; Fineman, 2000) have called for additional refinement and expansion of the study of emotions and emotional labor in organizational settings. Building on the works of these researchers and others, this study contributes to both the practical and theoretical understanding of the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. First, from a practical standpoint, the study expands existing knowledge of how adult educators experience and describe emotional labor throughout an organizational setting. Previous studies have focused attention on the emotional experiences of adult learners (e.g., Buckner, 2012) and adult education researchers (e.g., Malcolm, 2012), but in this study, I focus on the emotional labor experiences of the adult educator. An understanding of these

experiences should help adult educators to better reflect on how emotions are managed in both classroom and organizational settings. Second, the study contributes to the theoretical understanding of emotions in organizational settings (e.g., Fineman, 2000, 2008; Grandey & Gabriel, 2015) by exploring the relationship between emotional labor and emotion work (Hochschild, 1979, 1983) and how adult educators make meaning of the expectations of managing emotions in adult learning and organizational settings. Additional theoretical implications include the further interrogation of the concept of emotional labor using theories of affect (e.g., Manning, 2013; Massumi, 2002, 2015) as a means of exploring additional avenues of research, like multidisciplinary frameworks such as those developed Callahan and McCollum (2002) and Freeman (2017). In doing this, I put Jackson and Mazzei's (2012) approach of "thinking with theory" into action as a means of gaining a more holistic understanding of how emotions, not necessarily always tethered to an understanding of human being (Bennett, 2010; Massumi, 2002, 2015; St. Pierre, 2011, 2014), move throughout an organizational context.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 includes an introduction to the study, background information about the study, the problem statement, the purpose and research questions, a description of Hochschild's conceptualization of emotional labor, an overview of the research design and methodology, and the significance of the problem. In Chapter 2, I examine the research literature relevant to the study, including the theoretical development of emotional labor, emotional labor research in adult education and human resource development, a selected review of emotional labor and emotion studies from varying disciplinary perspectives, emotional dissonance, and work

roles and emotional labor. In Chapter 3, I describe the methodological elements of the study, including theoretical and conceptual framework, research design, case and participant selection, data collection, data configuration, data analysis, trustworthiness, and the subjectivity statement. In Chapter 4, I present biographical sketches of the participants and the 31 critical incident narratives selected for analysis. In Chapter 5, I report on the findings and conclusions of the analysis of the critical incident narratives, including themes and subthemes, as well as a discussion of identified analytical discrepancies. In Chapter 6, I present a "coda" to the study, an extended exercise in thought that further interrogates the concept of emotional labor with the intent of opening a discussion into additional approaches to research.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The study of the presence and application of emotions, feelings, and emotional labor in educational settings has garnered growing interest and attention since Hochschild's (1983) initial introduction of the concept of emotional labor (e.g., Bellas, 1999; Bierema, 2008; Callahan, 2000; Chang, 2009; Çukur, 2009; Dirkx, 2008; Hargreaves, 1998, 2000; Harvey et al, 2003; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Lackritz, 2004; Mittal & Chhabra, 2011; Nias, 1996; O'Connor, 2008; Zembylas, 2005a; 2005b). While emotional labor has been studied in a variety of workplace and educational settings, little attention has been given to the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. Recent reviews (e.g., Grandey & Gabriel 2015) have challenged us to look beyond the traditional conceptualization of emotional labor as variants of deep acting and surface acting: the study of emotions in organizational settings has proved to be much richer and more complexly dynamic. Fineman (2000) calls on us to imagine a theory that "collapses the individual/organizational/social distinctions from the outset and builds explanations interrelationally" (p. 3). Callahan and McCollum (2002) addressed these theoretical distinctions by proposing a multidisciplinary approach to the study of emotions in organizational settings that emphasizes four paradigmatic perspectives related to power, structure, function, and interpretation. Building on this multidisciplinary approach, this review interrogates the concept of emotional labor by exploring its theoretical underpinnings and selected studies highlighting the four perspectives. I

consider how emotional labor has informed research within the context of workplace and adult learning environments. Incorporating the works of Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987), Manning (2013), Massumi (2002, 2011, 2015), Manning and Massumi (2014), St. Pierre (2011, 2014), and others, this review also develops suggestions for how the individual, organizational, and social distinctions of Fineman (2000) might be considered and critiqued across paradigmatic divides. Thus, the result of this review is both practical and theoretical in the sense that it offers a starting point, a virtual emergence if you will, for a new discussion of emotions and the work/movement of emotions in workplace and adult learning environments.

Emotional Labor in Adult Education and Human Resource Development

To facilitate the current review, an initial search was conducted using core scholarly journals within the fields of adult education and human resource development. Core journals were identified as those published by the prominent professional organizations representing each field: American Association for Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE) and Academy of Human Resource Development (AHRD). A total of seven core journals were identified. The journals searched from AAACE were *Adult Education Quarterly*, *Adult Learning*, and the *Journal of Transformative Education*. The AHRD journals searched were *Advances in Developing Human Resources, Human Resource Development International*, *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, and *Human Resource Development Review*. An initial search, using only "emotional labor" within each journal, yielded one article (Malcolm, 2012) from *Adult Education Quarterly* addressing the emotional labor experiences of adult education researchers. Additional articles from this search referenced concepts related to emotional labor, including

emotion work, emotional intelligence, emotion management, and emotions in organizational settings; however, none of these articles specifically addressed the emotional labor experiences of adult educators in workplace and organizational learning environments.

Selected Review of the Relevant Literature

The literature on emotions and emotional labor covers a wide array of interests, fields, and disciplines, including psychology, sociology, education, management, organizational behavior, and nursing just to name a few. This targeted review discusses the key foundational, theoretical, and empirical works related to the development of the concept of emotional labor. A review of the literature was conducted using the following sources: Web of Knowledge, Academic Search Complete, ABI/Inform Complete (ProQuest), Business Source Complete (EBSCOHost), ERIC (EBSCOHost), JSTOR, Education Source (EBSCOHost), ProQuest Research Library Complete, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection (EBSCOHost), and Sociological Collection (EBSCOHost). The primary search terms utilized during the review included emotional labor, emotional labour, emotion work, emotion regulation, emotional intelligence, emotion display rules, emotional dissonance, emotional experience. These search terms were combined with broader and/or more specific terms depending on organizational context (e.g., emotional labor and adult education). The first section of the review explores the theoretical underpinnings of the construct of emotional labor. The second section examines selected empirical examples that illustrate both qualitative and quantitative approaches to understanding emotional labor. Drawing from observations made in the previous sections, the third section further explores issues related to

emotional dissonance, emotion display rule perceptions, and the association of emotion and emotion work with organizational roles. The fourth section considers the development of a multidisciplinary approach to understanding the emotional labor and display rule experiences and perceptions of adult educators in workplace and organizational learning environments.

Theoretical Foundations and Development of Emotional Labor

Two streams of literature seem to encapsulate much of the early work with emotional labor, namely sociology and organizational studies. These two streams of literature are by no means inclusive of all of the succeeding work that has been done with emotional labor since Hochschild (1979, 1983, 2003), but they do represent something of the early foundational works that have been frequently cited and as such, also represent a few of the initial theoretical frameworks guiding studies of emotions and emotional labor in organizations. The first theory (and probably the most often cited theory) is that of dramaturgy as seen in the works of Goffman (e.g., 1959, 1963). Drawing on the symbolic interactionism of Mead (1934), Goffman, extended the idea of the "theater of the mind" to include the "staging" of social interactions. Hochschild (1979, 1983, 2003) developed the concept of emotional labor to include both internal and external presentations of emotions based on differences noted between felt and displayed emotions. Hochschild does deviate slightly from Goffman with the inclusion of an internal "stage" where "feeling" rules interact with public expectations—Goffman's work was primarily concerned with public displays of preferred personas. Hochschild included American acting methods (borrowed from Stanislavski) in the development of techniques for surface and deep acting and the distinction between felt and displayed emotions.

Hochschild (1979, 1983, 2003) makes direct connections with emotional labor and the work of Marx, especially with the concept of alienation. Hochschild (1983, 2003) introduces her work on emotional labor by including Marx's description of a young boy working in a wallpaper factory with an emphasis on how the boy's physical work production/product (his physical labor) no longer belongs to him. She draws a parallel to this with the requirements of the emotional labor performed by airline attendants and the eventual potential for "emotional estrangement" or a separation of a sense of emotion from the self (Hochschild, 1983, 2003). This concern with the labor struggles of workers also draws from the work of C. Wright Mills (e.g., 1956, 1959) and further highlights potential social and contextual concerns with the performance of emotional labor. While Hochschild never directly addresses issues of social justice and/or injustice, it is interesting that she positioned her work within a framework that invites just such discussions. This interest in issues of justice (emotional labor/justice in this case)—coupled with a positioning within a Marxist framework alongside and as an extension of Goffman's (1959, 1961, 1967) dramaturgical presentations—invites something of a natural extension to the disciplinary, regulatory, and power/relational concerns of the development of the subject found in the works of Michel Foucault (e.g., 1969/1972, 1975/1978, 1976/1978, 1980, 1985).

Emotion Work

Emotion work refers to one of the earliest manifestations of the social and contextual management of emotions and feelings. Emphasis is placed on the effort needed to modify emotions or feelings, or "the act of trying to change in degree or quality of an emotion or feeling" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 561). This change in degree extends and

marks a departure from Goffman's use of dramaturgy (e.g., 1959) and the development of varying presentations of self as a type of impression management. Hochschild's critique of Goffman asserts that his illustrated accounts of social interactions suggested a calibration of more than how "people try to appear to feel" (Hochschild, p. 560). In a similar departure from Freud, attention is given to conscious feeling rather than "how people feel unconsciously" (p. 560). Emotion work reflects effort in the act of trying and in doing so, severs the link with the success or failure of the outcome—while related, management of impression is no longer the goal. "Failed acts of management still indicate that ideal formulations guide the effort, and on that account are no less interesting than emotion management that works" (p. 561). This leads to two broad categories of emotion work: evocation and suppression. Evocation concentrates cognitive focus on the effort of producing an absent feeling. Suppression concentrates cognitive focus on the effort of controlling an undesired feeling. Hochschild (1983) later developed this notion of the effort of trying to feel into a definition of emotional labor—defined as the effort utilized for compliance with organizational display norms and expectations. The terms emotion work and emotional labor are sometimes used interchangeably, but Hochschild (1983, 2003) makes a clear distinction between emotion work (emotions exchanged for personal use value) and emotional labor (emotions exchanged for wage value). Later studies, while citing Hochschild, sometimes avoid referring to either emotion work or emotional labor. Rafaeli and Sutton (1987), for example, developed one of the earliest models for the expression of emotions in the workplace but chose to refer to their description of emotion work as only the expression and display of emotions. They captured the same adherence to display rules observed by Hochschild but defined

emotional outcomes in terms of the pleasure of achieving or meeting the desired expectations of organizational roles. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) described emotional displays in terms of impression management, and Morris and Feldman (1996) emphasized impression management as a type of emotion management that leads to the performance of emotional labor. All of this adds some level of confusion to an already complex area of study. While Hochschild noted a distinct departure from an emphasis on behavioral outcomes, subsequent studies of emotional labor continue to concentrate on the management of outward appearances and impression management, excluding Hochschild's point that emotion work reflects the work done on feeling.

Emotion Management

Hochschild (1979) originally described emotion management in terms of the approach used to assess and manage the exchange of emotions within a given social context. Hochschild (1979, 1983, 2003) made a direct attempt to consider emotions from within a socially constructed framework that is either missed or ignored by many who attempt to build from her work. Rafaeli and Sutton (1987), for example, chose to examine the management of displayed behaviors as opposed to the management of internal feelings. This is especially noted in their positioning with role theory (e.g., Biddle 1979; Katz & Kahn 1978) as a means of gauging the management and display of emotions. However, Hochschild (1979) specifically noted that she was attempting to highlight the management of feelings when *felt* and *displayed* emotions are discrepant. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) add a slightly different layer of complexity by describing emotion management as the production of impressions in others. This falls somewhere in between Hochschild's (1983, 2003) eventual use of emotion management alongside her definition

of emotional labor as the management of feelings and emotional displays for wage value. Psychologists, and by extension organizational behaviorist, have retained a view of emotion that emphasizes bodily display over internal feeling.

Emotional Labor

Emotional labor was first introduced by Hochschild (1983, 2003) and defined as a type of labor that "requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others—in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place" (p. 7). Emotion work is the management of feeling within a personal system of emotions—work that is done freely in personal interactions with others. Emotional labor expands this conceptualization by placing emotion work within the context of the workplace as a mandate to manage feelings for the sustained production of organizationally desired displays. Seemingly, the management of feeling is now bookended by a requirement to perform and the outcome of sustaining desired impressions as a "proper state of mind" in others. At this juncture, the management of feeling can no longer remain completely isolated from the outcome of a desired impression. The personal exchange of emotion work shifts from an effort of trying to control to a requirement to control. The effort of trying to control retains a sense of expressive freedom for emotion work. The requirement to control compresses this expressive freedom. Emotion work and emotional labor become entangled in a mandate to perform—a mandate that continues to haunt many studies of emotional labor. The effort of controlling feeling is what makes emotion work a type of work, regardless of personal or private exchanges. Mandating control of feelings in the workplace sets the stage for conversion of emotion work into a type of labor— labor where the effort of

controlling feeling gains exchange value, where the intangible becomes tangibly commodified through displayed performance. The internal emotion work of the private self is now manifested as the external emotional labor of the organizational public self, a transmutation of the private self (Hochschild, 1979) that tugs at the boundaries of self and organization. Where the private self retains control over the effort of feeling, the organization retains control over expected display outcomes. Here, private self and organization are not easily separated. This coupling with private and organizational, with feeling and display, has created challenges for researchers following Hochschild's lead. Ashforth and Humphry (1993), for example, rewrote the definition of emotional labor to reflect only behavioral displays of appropriate emotion, essentially dismissing the internal control of feeling that lies at the heart of Hochschild's definition, resulting in something that might be more accurately referred to as impression labor (mandated impression management) rather than emotional labor. Uncoupling the behavioral aspects of emotional labor relieves the burden of accounting for an oppressed workforce but ultimately only lends further vagueness to the discussion of what potentially constitutes a definition of emotional labor.

The addition of a Marxist framing bolsters the positioning of oppressed workers forced to control feelings for the benefit of organizational goals regardless of what is felt. Sustained organizational imposition ultimately leads to feelings of alienation and estrangement. A definite positioning of feeling or felt emotions as both a central mechanism of labor and as a place (or space is likely more appropriate) where power relations might evolve can now be observed. Emotion work has now been positioned within the realm of production, and as such, must now be sustained and reproduced in a

manner, not unlike that described by Althusser (1971) as the reproduction of the means of production. Perhaps this is the reason that Goleman's (1995) concept of emotional intelligence was eventually embraced as a cognitive/evaluative component of emotional labor (e.g., Morris & Feldman 1996). This might also account for the shift toward a more behavioral conceptualization of emotional labor in later studies. Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) retained the use of expressed emotions and examine the management of emotion through the study of compliance with role expectations and organizational culture. Likewise, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) refined the definition of emotional labor to include a focus only on the display of socially desirable behaviors within a service context. Morris and Feldman (1996) extended the definition of emotional labor to include four dimensions related to frequency, attentiveness, variety, and emotional dissonance. What is interesting here is that Morris and Feldman (1996) further emphasized the behavioral qualities of emotional labor while also incorporating one dimension for assessment of the feeling of the disconnect of emotional dissonance (see, for example, Goleman's (1995) emotional intelligence). In studies following Hochschild's (1983, 2003) conceptualization of emotional labor, a theoretical shift occurs in the direction of role theory and the definition of role performance and job characteristics (e.g., Hackman & Oldham, 1980; Katz & Kahn, 1978) with an emphasis being placed on the study of observable behaviors, antecedents, and outcomes related to emotional labor. But does this theoretical departure continue to inform emotional labor or are we simply studying old concepts with new window dressings? Is it possible to consider emotional labor as expression in the absence of felt experience? Hochschild's definition implies experience as the effort of feeling in the midst of expression—without any regard to the

successfulness of the performance. Based on this definition, studying the ultimate result of a performance, the behavioral display of expressed emotion, misses the point entirely, reducing emotional labor to the study of something akin to an expression of performed compliance.

Emotional Dissonance

In her observations of airline attendants, Hochschild (1983) noted discrepancies with emotions that were sometimes felt and those that were displayed. She eventually referred to this as emotive dissonance—a type of dissonance similar to cognitive dissonance:

> Maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning over the long run leads to strain. We try to reduce this strain by pulling the two closer together either by changing what we feel or by changing what we feign. When display is required by the job, it is usually feeling that has to change; and when conditions estrange us from our face, they sometimes estrange us from feeling as well. (p. 90)

Here again, the strands of Marx and the sense of loss and separation that is the result of labor can be observed. At the same time, Goffman's (1959) influence is equally present in the resulting presentation of emotional display or face. Hochschild's description of emotional dissonance potentially represents a theoretical nexus where the traditions of Marxism, symbolic interactionism (Mead 1934), and dramaturgy (Goffman 1959, 1961, 1967) all thread together to illustrate the difficult and poignant consequences of performing emotional labor. The "self" of the performer of emotional labor is weighted down by a structural oppressiveness (capitalism and, to some extent, Marxism) that seeks to control not only the body but mind and feeling as well. Organizational and societal

expectations now devote all aspects of the self to the production and reproduction of a fully controlled—fully disciplined—body, mind, and soul. The managed heart is a fully managed body. However, Hochschild also left us with a bit of irony, for at the heart of the "managed heart" is a dissonant and broken heart. For Hochschild (1983, 2003), the result of emotional labor is the strain and stress of emotional dissonance. This facet of emotional labor becomes problematic for later studies of emotional labor. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) described emotional discrepancies and concentrated on the "emotional numbness" resulting from disagreements with display rule expectations (again maintaining a mostly behavioral perspective). Morris and Feldman (1996) observed that the skills required to sustain and control desired emotional displays increased as transactional demands increased. In this case, the sustained effort and intensity of emotional demands often lead to feelings of increased stress and burnout.

Emotional Estrangement

For Hochschild (1983, 2003), alienation and emotional estrangement are the results of the sustained performance of emotional labor. This does not imply that all manifestations of emotional labor should be viewed as negative. Hochschild (1983) argued that some emotional labor can be performed positively with little strain or effort; however, all emotional labor, when sustained over time, can eventually lead to a sense of separation from the self:

> Beneath the difference between physical and emotional labor there lies a similarity in the possible cost of doing the work: the worker can become estranged or alienated from an aspect of self—either the body or the margins of the soul—that is *used* to do the work. (p. 7)

Here, there is little doubt that Hochschild is drawing from Marx's description of alienation. While appealing, this description of alienation has, at best, been problematic and succeeding studies, while recognizing Hochschild's use of the term (e.g., Morris & Feldman, 1996), have not attempted to measure it.

Emotional Transmutation

The concept of emotional transmutation is only used by Hochschild (1983, 2003), but it further highlights the strength of the positioning of her work within a Marxist framework. An emotional transmutation occurs when privately held emotions are "transmuted" through commercialization and application in the workplace. While not addressing it directly, Hochschild seems to be highlighting the potentially exploitive qualities of performing emotional labor. While not related to the immediate scope of this theoretical review, later studies of emotional labor with sex workers (e.g., Hoang 2010) have highlighted the emotional "pain" and numbness sometimes associated with this sort of "transmutation" of private emotions into publicly displayed and produced emotions.

Surface Acting

Surface acting forms one of the key mechanisms for executing overt displays of emotion. Hochschild (1983, 2003) drew from the acting techniques of Stanislavski in developing a method/description for the presentation of emotions in an organizational setting. This method remains true to Goffman's (1959) conceptualization of the "acting" that takes place during social exchanges. Hochschild (1983, 2003) defined surface acting as a type of emotional display that fulfills the requirements of a display rule without any real adjustment to internal feelings related to the nature of the emotional display. Given the behavioral nature of surface acting, early studies of emotional labor concentrated on

visible displays of emotion and responses. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) considered verbal and nonverbal cues that included facial expression, gestures, and tone of voice. The primary consideration is that surface acting encompasses a type of display that may differ from felt emotion. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) observe that this conceptualization of emotional labor does not necessarily capture genuine displays of emotion. They borrow from social identity theory (e.g., Ashforth & Mael 1989; Hogg, Terry & White 1995; Turner 1975) in developing an approach to emotional labor that addresses social interactions from within a framework of individual and social affiliations as designated by classifications and group associations. How we interpret these classifications directly affects how we enter into an exchange involving emotional labor. In part, this approach also builds on the theory of roles and how we send and receive role signals as described by Katz and Kahn (1978). Morris and Feldman (1996) extend Hochschild's conceptualization of surface and deep acting to include degrees of intensity: surface acting requires less intensity (therefore less effort) than deep acting which requires greater effort and exertion.

Deep Acting

For Hochschild (1983, 2003), deep acting requires a change in how one feels: "Here, display is a natural result of working on feeling; the actor does not try to seem happy or sad but rather expresses spontaneously, as the Russian director Constantin Stanislavski urged, a real feeling that has been self-induced" (p. 35). Here, Hochschild attempts to capture a deeper level of emotion control/presentation that is missing from Goffman's (1959) work. This is a level of change that can require great effort and when sustained over time, can also potentially lead to the type of emotional estrangement that

has already been described. Morris and Feldman (1996), while viewing emotional labor from within a framework of role characteristics (e.g., Katz & Kahn 1978), reasoned that deep acting should require stronger contextual cues leading to greater levels of emotional intensity and effort. With deep acting, we change how we care, how we feel, to achieve compliance with display expectations.

Display Rules

Hochschild (1979, 1983, 2003) described "feeling rules" as the societal norms and cues that shape how we should feel within any given social context. She notes a definite distinction between feeling rules and display rules. In some situations, we are expected to "feel" a certain way regardless of the effort needed to create a display for such feelings. Here, she extended the work of Goffman (1959) to include a level of acting that reaches well below that of "surface" acting. This distinction is important because later studies of emotional labor (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey 1993; Morris & Feldman 1996) encountered difficulties in attempting to measure "feeling" rules and frequently selected instead to measure behaviors affected by display rules and job design characteristics (e.g., Hackman & Oldham 1980).

Selected Multidisciplinary Review of Emotional Labor

One of the first issues encountered when embarking on a study of emotional labor is the lack of agreement among scholars that has prompted a wide array of definitions of what constitutes emotion. Emotion has long maintained a secondary role to the cognitive and the objectively rational in organizational studies—an impediment to rational thought resulting in several dichotomous divides pitting mind against the body and the rational against the irrational. The mind-body divide has been further reinforced across

disciplinary lines limiting the study of emotions to tangible manifestations of intangible feelings. Drawing from the research traditions of sociology and psychology, Hochschild (1979) attempted to address the role of feeling in the production of emotional displays as a type of emotion work, noting that feeling rules, much like display rules, also govern the interactional exchange of emotions. While perhaps reinvigorating interest in the study of emotions, the inclusion of feeling has contributed further complexity to an already complex area of study. Recently, emotion scholars (e.g., Callahan 2000; Fineman, Law, 2004) have called for the development of approaches to the study of emotion that collapse dichotomous and disciplinary divides—thus reducing the "epistemological heat" (Law, 2004) that often characterizes these debates. Callahan and McCollum (2002) drew from Fabain (1998) in developing their initial definition of emotion as "the culturally based interpretation of a physiological state that enables an individual to act" (p. 6) and immediately recognized from this definition that emotion could still be interpreted differently by different researchers. To accommodate these varying perspectives, they proposed a multidisciplinary approach to the study of emotions in organizations, an approach further warranted by recent studies of emotional intelligence suggesting a relaxing of the traditional divides separating cognition and emotion. This multidisciplinary approach incorporates four broadly defined perspectives drawn from psychology, sociology, anthropology, and other disciplines. The four perspectives are power, structure, function, and interpretation. These four perspectives, described below, are also incorporated into the selected review of the literature in the following section.

Here, power is derived from a social constructionist perspective where individuals are compelled to locate themselves within the contexts of social and organizational

narratives. The prevailing structures of these narratives allow for the constitution of perceived individualities and subjectivities. The power perspective reorients the expression of emotions away from those of human experience to those expressions available within discourses of emotion. Likewise, the management of emotions is limited to the expressive potential found within available discourses. Points of resistance emerge as we are produced and disciplined within these discourses.

The structure perspective "looks at emotion from an outsider's more objective perspective while continuing to see emotion as a positive force for change" (Callahan & McCollum, 2002, p. 11). Emotion is viewed as a key component of the lived experiences of individuals and the narratives they engage in making meaning of experiences. Lived experiences occur within the fabric of social structures where interactions are informed and enriched by emotion. The structure perspective retains an objectivist view of social and organizational structures and considers how these structures influence understanding of emotion (such as feelings of structurally imposed inequalities).

Researchers utilizing the function perspective typically view emotion as disruptive and irrational, a potentially problematic force that needs to be managed. Emotion is detrimental unless harnessed for productive efficiency. Research positioned within this perspective assumes the objective view of the outsider—only the observer can effectively measure and manage behaviors associated with emotion. Callahan and McCollum (2002) note: "There is often an inherent cause and effect assumption found in the functional approach" (p. 14). These cause and effect assumptions, however, raise questions about how well this perspective fully captures emotional experiences.

Quantitative measures, frequently employed by studies utilizing a function approach, typically focus on the behavioral aspects of emotion.

Research in the interpretive perspective explores interpretations of emotional experiences, including associated reactions. With an emphasis on the interpretation and derived meaning of experience, this approach aligns with other social constructionist conceptualizations of emotional experiences. Understanding of emotional experiences is constructed and co-constructed within and across social and organizational structures (Burr, 2003). Personal constructions of emotional experience intermingle and intersect with social expectations and organizational structures.

In the following selected review, I provide a summary and critique of scholarly articles using Callahan and McCollum's (2012) four multidisciplinary perspectives.

Foucauldian Approach to Emotion Work (Power)

Tracy's (2000) study of the crew and passengers of a cruise ship captures something of a unique organizational setting (see table 2.1 for a summary of the studies reviewed in this section). Drawing from the work of Goffman (1961), Tracy approached the study of a cruise ship as a totalizing institution that controlled practically every aspect of time and space within a confined environment where mechanisms of control and surveillance extended well beyond the parameters of being "onstage" or "on duty." Where the work of Scott and Myers (2005) considered the socialization/learning environment of emotional labor, Tracy (2000) approached emotional labor with a distinctly Foucauldian eye for the social constructionist/discursive nature of emotional display rules and expectations; and how these expectations are related to issues of power, identity, resistance, self-control, burnout among cruise ship employees (Burr, 2003).

Tracy (2000) notes that a "social constructionist approach encourages an understanding of emotion as constructed by and managed within the constraints of interaction, communication, and local social norms" (p. 94). Tracy (2000) notes that display rules can be arbitrary and inconsistent, but also notes that the unique environment of the cruise ship offered a special opportunity to explore how emotions might permeate the lives of workers well beyond the 8-hour schedule of a typical workday—especially in terms of how factors such as emotional control and burnout affect the well-being of workers beyond the demands of typical role expectations. By adopting a Foucauldian approach, Tracy attempts to understand emotional labor from a perspective that reaches beyond the historical divides that privilege rationality and control over emotions and feelings. Tracy notes that Hochschild's (1983) conceptualization of emotional labor, through the division of internal and external feelings, internal feelings and external display rules, surface acting and deep acting, further encourages something of a binary oppositional view of the use of emotions in the workplace.

Table 2.1

Summaries of Empirical Studies

Study & Date	Perspective	Purpose of Study	Sample	Method	Time	Results	Assessment
Tracy (2000)	P	Postmodern exploration of emotional labor display expectations	16 crew observed – Other interviews	Participant observation – Formal, informal interviews	Interviews gathered over 8-month period	Strong display rule expectations contributed to burnout	Foucauldian analysis of sustained display rules
Grandey (2003)	F	Compared deep and surface acting as determinants of job burnout	131 university administrative assistants	Quantitative survey with measures for self and peer reports	Not specified – 28% response rate	Display rules – deep acting / surface acting - exhaustion	Deep acting – job demands / Surface acting – work events
Scott & Myers (2005)	I	Explored newcomers experience learning display rules and socialization	13 Participant Observations 18 Interviews	Informal, unstructured interviews	13 periods 18 hours	Socialization important for selection and peer perception	Insight into emotion management, socialization

Study & Date	Perspective	Purpose of Study	Sample	Method	Time	Results	Assessment
Zembylas (2005)	P	Explored emotion, power, resistance and identity in teaching	1 elementary school teacher	Ethnographic study (observations, interviews, documents)	Initial 3-year study with follow-up 4 years after	Historical contingency, individual development, and subjectivity	Foucauldian analysis of interview data
Malcolm (2012)	S	Exploration of emotional labor of temporary worker research interviewers	1 interviewer, 30 observed interviews	Interview transcripts, summaries, and field notes	1 to 2 hr. interviews over 16 months	Tension from ethical considerations to sustain display rules	Emotional labor experience of researchers

Tracy (2000) sought to answer questions related to a contingent/historical understanding of emotional labor in a closed setting, the nature in which emotions are controlled and regulated, the extent that workers play a part in controlling emotions, and the impact of this sort of emotional control on identity development and understanding on the part of crew members. Data were collected over an 8-month period during which Tracy recorded field notes, conducted formal and informal interviews, and evaluated organizational documents. During the course of the study, a total of 16 crew members (8 male and 8 female) were observed and/or interviewed. A total of 10 hours of formal interview data were collected, and Tracy (2000) notes that "hundreds" of informal ethnographic interviews were conducted with a wide range of crew and passengers over an 8-month period (p. 101). Questions were asked about how crew members experienced emotions, and particular emphasis was placed on how episodes of faking emotions and burnout affected the well-being of crew members. Referring to Glaser and Stauss (1967), Tracy developed a grounded theory approach to data analysis. Categories were noted for: "historical contingency of emotion labor norms; emotion labor mechanisms emanating from management, passengers, and peers; the normalization of these mechanisms through passenger focus; acts of resistance; acts of consent; and issues of 'faking it'" (p. 102).

The application of a Foucauldian "lens" to the documentation and history of the cruise line yielded a few interesting observations. Tracy was able to note a few subtle and not-so-subtle movements in how passenger expectations and understandings of the industry changed and how tourists began to view (i.e., "gaze at") service staff and crew. The idea of the "gaze" and techniques of surveillance are important themes in the works of Foucault (e.g., 1966/1970, 1975/1978), and using this vantage point helps to capture how closely crew members are monitored from all directions—the disciplining nature of the gaze cannot be escaped. The cruise ship business transformed from one of travel to one of providing entertainment. Beyond the historical analysis, one of the more interesting aspects of Tracy's research had to do with how the crew self-regulated emotions. Not unlike Hochschild's (1983) observations with flight attendants, and Scott and Myers (2005) observations of firefighters, cruise ship staff were expected to maintain an organizationally normalized environment at all times—a generally happy and convivial environment in the case of cruise ship workers—and there was an unstated expectation that the needs of passengers were to be met at all times. In the worst of cases, this left some workers exposed to unwanted advances by passengers, but also, due to a lack of adequate training documentation, workers were left with few options for dealing with difficult situations. Taken together, this sort of expectation that an overly ebullient emotional state should be retained at all costs led to mention of significant episodes of burnout. In addition to episodes of burnout, Tracy also noted particular changes in how staff constructed references to various aspects of self-identity. Emotional display rules and the performance of emotional labor did seem to play a significant role in how staff experienced a sense of both burnout and wellbeing. Workers appeared to feel especially

bound by both explicit and implicit display expectations but also found points of resistance through subtle episodes of disobedience in collusion with both passengers and other workers (partly through making fun of the rules and the rule management system or by making fun of the same expectations along with passengers).

Callahan and McCollum's (2002) perspective of power contrasts the management of emotions with socially emergent understandings of power and relations of power. Tracy (2000) examined "the ways in which emotion labor and burnout are interwoven with issues of societal and organizational norms, power, identity, resistance, and self-control" (p. 92). For Foucault (e.g., 1966/1970, 1975/1978), power is more than the power imposed through structure, rather power is shared and relational. Organizational structures reinforced the power structure of the cruise ship setting, but power also emerged from and through relationships with passengers and workers. Small points of resistance in collusion with passengers marked the formation of relations of power outside established organizational norms. These small points of resistance also marked a change in how power was shared, a shared power no longer tethered to the organization.

Self- and Peer-Evaluation of Emotional Labor (Function)

Grandey's (2003) quantitative study of emotional labor retained Hochschild's (1983) dramaturgical approach by focusing on deep acting and surface acting as the primary methods of managing feelings and emotional displays. The dramaturgical perspective concentrates on the atmospheric qualities of an interaction, an important part Hochschild's flight attendants need to create a pleasant and welcoming environment. Grandey extended the dramaturgical interaction to include measures of effort as well as performance. Effort was measured in terms of deep acting and surface acting, the acting

techniques originally developed by Hochschild. Deep acting is the effort needed to change feelings to match display expectations, while surface acting is the effort needed to adjust bodily presentations of emotions regardless of internal feeling. Grandey develops a dramaturgical model that includes the actor's role, the acting approach, the actor's stress level, and peer-rated role performance. Drawing from Rafaeli and Sutton (1987), Grandey describes deep acting (the modulation of feelings) as "acting in good faith," and surface acting as "acting in bad faith." These descriptions become important because the tensions created by employing a technique of acting either in good or bad faith can each lead to certain levels of emotional strain or exhaustion, and it is emotional exhaustion that is most often linked to burnout and decreasing levels of job satisfaction. But, as also noted in the earlier qualitative studies, levels of emotional stress and exhaustion are often the result of having to monitor and regulate both perception and performance during the performance of emotional labor. In all, Grandey (2003) attempted to measure aspects of the perception of display rules, job satisfaction, emotional exhaustion, affective delivery, and breaking character.

Grandey sent surveys to 600 administrative assistants within a single large university setting. Administrative assistants were chosen because of their constant exposure to a variety of service encounters and clients and the high demands for emotional labor in such positions. A sample of 131 participants was selected. Measures for each of the related components of emotional labor were created and/or drawn from existing literature, and all survey items were measured using a five-point Likert scale. At the time of this study, measures did not exist for deep acting and surface acting, so these measures were developed and tested for inclusion in the study. Additionally, both peer-

and self- rated items were used for measuring affective delivery and breaking character. Peer-ratings were adopted from a measure typically used for “secret shopper” ratings (as developed by McLellan and colleagues (1988)). In this case, respondents were asked to give a separate two-item measure to coworkers for peer observations. These measures were used to evaluate self- and peer- rated perceptions of affective delivery and breaking character. Job satisfaction was measured using items from the Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire, and emotional exhaustion was measured using the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter, 2001). Results noted that job satisfaction had a strong correlation with affective delivery and suggested that acting mediated this relationship. Emotional exhaustion had a significant relationship with peer-rated breaking character, and it was also suggested that emotional exhaustion might mediate the effect of acting on breaking character. Deep acting was found to have a positive effect on interactions with customers that seemed to capture more than just job satisfaction. As noted in earlier studies, and supported by this study, surface acting was observed to be closely tied to higher levels of emotional exhaustion. Interestingly, when surface acting was taken into account, deep acting was not correlated with emotional exhaustion. It seems that it has usually been assumed that deep acting should cause less stress or dissonance than surface acting, but it has typically been difficult to measure with any sense of consistency. In this case, though, the strain of deep acting was less than that of surface acting. Bias was a concern in this study, especially given the use of peer assessments as measures of performance. It was noted that proximity to and relationships with coworkers could inflate the number of positive responses from coworkers.

Grandey's (2003) description of emotional labor as management of emotions to benefit customer outcomes places this study within Callahan and McCollum's (2002) functional perspective. "Emotions are a part of organizational life, so we need to have a basic understanding of them and measure their effects to manage them better" (Callahan & McCollum, 2002, p. 13). Grandey's concentration on deep acting as a means of effectively managing feelings to produce more desirable and convincing emotional displays further articulates an emphasis on the organizational and structural influences on emotional displays. At the same time, research conducted from the functional perspective is often quantitative, and as Callahan and McCollum point out, it can be difficult to capture and quantify the essence of emotional experiences. The bias associated with Grandey's use of peer review instruments speaks to this difficulty.

Emotion Socialization and Emotional Labor Performance (Interpretation)

Scott and Myers (2005) explored how new emergency response firefighters learn the expectations of emotion management performance through the organizational socialization process. They noted that, while many previous studies attempted to examine and measure aspects of how various emotional management techniques are performed and how emotional displays are presented, no studies explored how emotion management techniques are learned. They chose to study firefighters because of the unusually difficult and intense nature of their work and the need to often remain calm and controlled under exceptionally stressful (and at times traumatic) conditions. The stress of such conditions creates a unique challenge where the need to control real or felt emotions can become almost overwhelming because of the need to try to calm patients and clients. Under these circumstances, the need to learn to control emotions according to very particular

expectations becomes a critical part of organizational and individual success. Given this, the informal socialization period for newcomers takes on a different and important role in the training and development of potential firefighters. The authors conducted "ride-alongs" with groups of firefighters and used participant-observation methods to capture an overall experience of the socialization process. Informal, unstructured interviews were conducted with firefighters responding to emergency medical service calls. Thirteen periods of participant observations for a total of 81 hours were noted. Additionally, 18 interviews (ranging from 31 to 125 minutes in length) were conducted with seven probationary firefighters and six station captains. Collected data were analyzed for themes related to the research questions.

Managing emotions in a manner that did not interfere with job responsibilities was important to many firefighters—especially the younger ones who sometimes felt pressured to manage a range of emotions in order to prove their ability to do their work. The authors noted "an explicit awareness among newcomers of dominant emotional labor techniques, knowledge acquired covertly and informally but actively through observational information seeking" (p. 84), and concluded that "emotion labor is central to the performance of this newcomer role because its mastery requires that the newcomer hide negative emotions associated with subservient behavior by appearing to enjoy rather than abhor the overwhelming responsibilities of being the booter" (p. 82).

With an emphasis on how firefighters experience and interpret emotions in an organizational setting, this study is potentially representative of Callahan and McCollum's (2002) interpretation perspective. This perspective "focuses on how and why organizational members interpret emotional behaviors and their subsequent

responses as a result of that interpretation" (p. 14). The socialization process encouraged new firefighters to seek out appropriate norms of managing feelings and emotions. Regardless of individual feelings, emphasis was placed on newcomers' abilities to suppress negative reactions to both the socialization process and traumatic experiences with clients. This often resulted in dual emotional labor performances simultaneously directed inside and outside the organization. Adaptation to emotional norms was achieved retrospectively through explicit and tacit communication. Emotional norm expectations were sometimes withheld as a means of gauging the fitness of newcomers. Those who incorporated organizational expectations were deemed acceptable and fully socialized into the organization. For those who did not incorporate expectations, the socialization process was utilized as a means of exclusion.

Foucauldian Critique of Teacher Identity (Power)

Zembylas (2005a) developed a distinctly Foucauldian view of teacher identity through the exploration of how a single teacher comes to be constituted through "teaching discourses, practices, and performances" and how this constitution leads to the construction of "*genealogies of emotions of teaching*, in other words, accounts of the strategies and tactics that have taken place in various emotional practices at different moments in relation to one's teaching" (p. 936). This focus on Foucault's use of genealogies and a poststructural framework naturally leads to a discussion of the constitutive nature of emotions, emotional experiences, and power relations that occur within emotional discourses (e.g., Foucault, 1975/1978). Zembylas takes the view that emotions are not private and are not merely the result of passive experiences. Instead, emotions are shaped through the power relations found within public exchanges of

emotion. This conceptualization sets aside Hochschild's (1983, 2003) concern for the transmutation of private emotions into a publicly exchanged commodity within the context of a wage-driven work environment. This is not to say that Zembylas discounts Hochschild's construct of emotional labor, but he does emphasize a conceptualization that moves beyond the structural nature of Hochschild's Marxist critique of the commercialization of emotions in the workplace. Instead, Zembylas highlights the rich (if not messy) qualities of emotional exchanges that can only reside within the complexities of linguistically-driven emotional exchanges and discourses. In keeping with Foucault's (1966/1970) emphasis on how concepts and categories function within historically contingent discourses, Zembylas concentrates on the "*performative*" nature of emotions within language (p. 937, original emphasis). This contrasts directly with Hochschild's (1983, 2003) view that feelings and emotions reside within the individual who must cognitively assess and decide between the emotional management tools of either surface acting or deep acting. With an emphasis on how emotions perform, Zembylas also questions how the subject is constituted from within discourses of emotion. This shifts the focus of analysis away from the emotional experience of the subject and onto the emotional experience within discourse, as well as those experiences allowed within discourse. This subtle pivot away from the internal state of the individual allows for something of a complete view of how discourse forms and shapes the subject within discourses of emotional display rules and organizational expectations.

Zembylas's (2005a) addressed three broad questions related to how a subject (in this case, a single subject) is emotionally formed within discourse, to what extent a subject has control over identity development, and the historically contingent significance

of the discourses shaping both the subject and emotional display rules. These research concerns are not dissimilar to those expressed by Tracy (2000), but in this case, only the experiences of a single subject are studied. In this case, Zembylas used ethnographic data collected over an initial three-year period along with data collected from a follow-up study that occurred four years after the original study. In all, Zembylas spent about 200 hours in classroom observations and about 45 hours conducting interviews with the selected teacher (an elementary school teacher with several years of experience). Overall, three themes were identified relating to each of the three research questions. Regarding historical contingency, it was noted that emotion display rules were mostly unstated and were learned through trial and error (not unlike Scott and Myers (2005) firefighters), and there was a definite contextual change in emotional display expectations over time for the observed teacher. Initially, it was noted that unstated expectations called for emotional neutrality and professionalism. These expectations were learned over time through interactions with other teachers, parents, administrators, etc. However, during the second follow-up study, the teacher noted a distinct shift in interpretation and freedom regarding emotional expression. This indicates a variety of available discourses that the teacher was able to either learn or eventually (and selectively) resist.

There is little doubt that power is important in a study of emotion informed by a Foucauldian approach. However, this use of power, as noted with Tracy's (2000) study, is slightly different than that described by Callahan and McCollum (2002). Power is no longer treated as an emergent property that first resides within the individual. Power in the Foucauldian sense is manifested in discourse through relations of power at the local level; power is not a "thing" to be wielded and controlled from the top down. However,

oppressive power structures weaken when moments of resistance emerge—the moment where deconstruction happens. Here, deconstruction is not something that is done—it takes neither subject nor object—it is what simply happens when structures are revealed. "It is not a destructive, negative, or nihilistic practice, but an affirmative one" St. Pierre, 2000, p. 483). At the moment of resistance, the structure is exposed making available opportunities for new discursive performance. The teacher in Zembylas' study resisted imposed emotional restraints by establishing new spaces for emotional connections with her students, thus exposing and rebuilding the structure at the same time.

Emotional Labor of Educational Research (Structure)

In her critique of emotional labor, Malcolm (2012) positions the study of emotions within the context of social interactions. "The view drawn on in this article is that the configuration of emotion as private and individual, rather than political and shared (Boler, 1999), makes it liable to exploitation" (p. 254). This exploitation is imposed at the level of the individual worker. Malcolm noted: "Marxist feminist analysis is central to Hochschild's theory of emotional labor, connecting it closely to the position of the person who undertakes it and making it particularly relevant to the work performance of low-status individuals" (p. 256). Malcolm takes the position that the politicized nature of social/emotional interactions fuels the exploitation of low-status workers. Traditional studies of emotion position it "within an individualized and confessional subjectivity" (p. 254). In educational environments, this confessional subjectivity potentially leaves learners feeling helpless or devalued, making it easier to ascribe individuals and groups alike with emotional characteristics that further produce and reinforce exploitation. Malcolm notes that Hochschild (1983) did not address other

forms of oppression outside of gender in developing her theory of emotional labor. Drawing from her own experience as an interviewer, Malcolm explored her emotional labor performance while conducting life history interviews. She notes: “I found that emotional labor was performed in the detailed activity of co-constructing a life, of asking, listening to, and reflecting back the emotions of the interviewee” (p. 259). Interviews were conducted over a period of 16 months with each interview lasting about an hour and a half (19 women and 11 men). The resulting data was collected from interview transcripts, interview summaries, and field notes. In describing the interview process, Malcolm noted very early on that she had to perform a sustained state of emotional labor through the creation of an appropriate mood and atmosphere. This sometimes entailed holding back certain emotions or feelings but also required constant monitoring of both visual and non-visual cues from participants. Malcolm also noted that she often had to perform deep acting (calibration of internal feelings) in order to appear sympathetic and understanding. At other times, however, deep acting was performed in order to avoid certain difficult feelings (what some might refer to as buffering)—especially in cases describing traumatic childhood experiences. Then again, Malcolm noted the need to perform something of a secondary layer of emotional labor by striking a balance between the desire to show a certain level of empathy and sympathy while also attempting to conform to display expectations of being a professional.

Malcolm’s emphasis on emotional labor performance within social and organizational interactions places this study within Callahan and McCollum’s (2002) structure perspective of power. For Malcolm, emotions are understood, politicized, and managed within the context of interaction. Meaning derived from emotional interactions

is socially constructed. Malcolm argues that a view of emotions as something unique to the individual reinforces potential exploitation. While drawing heavily from Hochschild (1983) to develop this shared view of emotions, Malcolm does not address Hochschild's connection of emotional labor as a type of feeling management—how feelings are managed to create shared displays. Clipping the cord of individual subjectivity does not guarantee emotional emancipation. The ghost of the tether continues to haunt the emancipated individual. Estrangement is estrangement from something meaningful, an emotional separation from the sense of self (Hochschild, 1983). Hochschild's (1979) critique of Goffman emphasized the need to understand more than displayed interaction. Display rules carry real consequences for the individual, and the mandate to perform only increases the insidiousness of the imposition. True, emotional displays are socially exchanged in social settings, but for emotional labor, feeling is what is actively and reflexively managed. This highlights one of the difficulties of using a Marxist lens to characterize the management of emotions. Marxism remains at the level of social and organizational structure as a critique of the structures that exploit the productive activities of the individual. In this case, divorcing emotional labor from the individual retains the mind/body/rational/irrational dichotomy that feminist approaches often seek to overturn.

Further Implications of Emotional Dissonance and Display Rule Expectations

As can be observed from the preceding theoretical and empirical discussions, existing research has rendered a variety of interpretations of Hochschild's conceptualization of emotional labor and emotional dissonance; at the same time, however, one can note a constant theme of emotional dissonance and display rule compliance running throughout each of the reviewed studies. Given this, it is perhaps

worth further exploring how emotional dissonance has evolved conceptually and the nature of its relationship to emotional labor and display rule expectations. Is emotional dissonance an antecedent or a result of emotional labor? Is emotional dissonance a subcomponent of emotional labor? Or, does emotional dissonance, along with emotional display regulations, affect the relationship of emotional labor with other positive and/or negative work-related outcomes?

Regardless of the range of interpretations, much of the scholarly literature has coalesced around a generally accepted definition of emotional labor that emphasizes the need for an individual to manage emotions in a manner that conforms to organizationally accepted or required display rules (Diefendorff, Croyle & Grosserand, 2005; Grandey, 2003). Much of the existing scholarly literature on emotional dissonance has retained a focus on the conflict between an individual's felt emotions and the presentation of conformity with expected norms of organizational display rules. However, there has been some disagreement as to whether or not emotional dissonance is a result or a facet of emotional labor. Morris and Feldman (1996), for example, consider emotional dissonance to be a facet of emotional labor that leads to greater emotional exhaustion and job dissatisfaction. This is further reflected in their definition of emotional labor: "We define emotional labor as the effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions" (p. 987). Emotional dissonance is reflected in both the effort and control aspects of this definition and is considered to be a fourth dimension of emotional labor that includes: frequency of emotional display; attentiveness to required display rules; variety of emotions required to be expressed; and emotional dissonance (Morris & Feldman, 1996).

Faking Emotions in Good or Bad Faith

Abraham (1998) notes some of the vagaries found in the literature regarding a construct for emotional dissonance. Referring to the work of Rafaeli and Sutton (1987), Abraham observes that "emotional dissonance occurs when an employee's expressed emotions are in conformity with organizational norms but do not represent his or her true feelings" (p. 229). This definition retains the spirit of Hochschild's separation of feelings and display, but Abraham goes on to consider two different types of "faked" behaviors. The first is "faking in good faith" where workers conform with expected display norms even though those expected norms might conflict with their inner or felt emotions. This conflict creates a dissonant state where constant adherence to required emotions eventually threatens an individual's sense of well-being, health, and job satisfaction through added stress and strain. A second type of faking behavior noted by Abraham as a source of emotional dissonance is "faking in bad faith." Faking in bad faith occurs when an individual actively chooses to ignore prescribed display rules and display felt emotions (Abraham, 1998; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). The distinctions made here between "faking in good faith" and "faking in bad faith" highlight one of the important characteristics of emotional dissonance by drawing attention to the relationship between an emotion that is felt and the resulting display. With the onset of emotional dissonance, an individual enters into an experiential evaluation (perhaps consciously or unconsciously) to assess the cause of the dissonance and the need for either a neutral (non-response) response or either an organizationally compliant or non-compliant behavioral display response. Jansz and Timmers (2002) point out that "emotional dissonance is the result of subjectively evaluating an emotional experience" (p. 81). Jansz and Timmers also note that emotional

dissonance is a cognitive process that includes contextual evaluation rather than a state of being. As such, emotional dissonance is motivational in the sense that it prompts an individual to perform both a cognitive and emotional evaluation that leads to a decision to reconcile, act upon, or suppress the dissonance. Given this, one can observe yet an additional point of disagreement in the literature where emotional dissonance is sometimes considered to be an emotional state while at other times it is considered to be an evaluative part of a larger cognitive process that motivates an individual to act by or against contextually acceptable display expectations. Hochschild's (1983, 2003) description of emotive dissonance is generally considered to be vague and does not provide much guidance, but my reading of her work indicates that a case might be made for emotional dissonance encompassing both perspectives. Hochschild's emotive dissonance might be thought of as being part of a cognitive/emotional evaluation where an individual considers both internal and external contextual factors (personal and organizational display expectations) and makes a decision about the use of appropriate techniques for dealing and/or coping with an emotional experience (Frijda, 1986; Jansz & Timmers, 2002). At the same time, this process of cognitive/emotional evaluation, when sustained over time, can be thought of as creating a state of emotional dissonance that eventually leads to stress, strain, burnout and other health and personal wellbeing concerns.

Threat to Individual Identity

The physiological and psychological threats associated with emotional dissonance and the performance of emotional labor have been explored in several studies (e.g., Abraham, 1998; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Hochschild, 1983, 2003; Schaubroeck &

Jones, 2000). Hochschild (1983) was one of the first to note examples of physical and emotional stress and exhaustion, and over time, scholars have continued to examine these and other similar consequences of emotional labor. In developing her initial presentation of the emotional labor construct, Hochschild also focused on the characteristic of alienation and the separation of the emotional self from the real or authentic self:

> Beneath the difference between physical and emotional labor there lies a similarity in the possible cost of doing the work; the worker can become estranged or alienated from an aspect of self—either the body or the margins of the soul—that is *used* to do the work. The factory boy's arm functioned like a piece of machinery used to produce wallpaper. His employer, regarding that arm as an instrument, claimed control over its speed and motions. In this situation, what was the relation between the boy's arm and his mind? Was his arm in any meaningful sense his *own*? (p. 7)

Jansz and Timmers (2002) address the issues of emotional experience and identity conflict by examining the relationship between the individual and cultural expectations. They approach their cultural examination through the lens of Western culture and recognize that any examination of emotions and culture is inextricably linked to a range of group and subculture expectations that cannot be easily removed from specific contexts. Given this, they chose to address two aspects of commonly held characteristics of emotions, namely irrationality and "involuntarity." The first aspect, irrationality, reflects many of the commonly held Western beliefs about emotion in that it encompasses many of the unreflective and uncontrolled passions associated with the display of emotions. In other words: "*Irrationality* means that people consider emotions

as impulses far removed from rational reflection" (p. 88). The second aspect is one of "involuntarity" and refers to the idea that emotions are often thought of as uncontrollable forces that suddenly take control of one's identity. Building on this discussion of emotions, Jansz and Timmers suggest that individual identity (and perhaps more specifically individual emotional identity) is heavily entwined with the development of social and cultural norms and "as the products of social interaction, individual identities are never static" (p. 89). Western culture requires that individuals develop something of a sense of rationality, responsibility, and accountability. An emotional person is often viewed as being irrational and incapable of participating and contributing successfully to society.

Looking back on Hochschild's (1983, 2003) definition of emotional labor and emotive dissonance, one cannot help but think that a requirement of emotional labor or organizational display compliance is somehow designed to create an irrational state in an individual. Just as social culture determines the norms of individual identity, organizational culture determines the norms for workplace or professional identity. And much like society, organizational culture demands responsibility and accountability (or more precisely organizational display compliance) from individual workers. If one accepts that those who cannot control emotions are somehow irrational and irresponsible, then does it not make sense that compelling an individual to comply with organizational emotional expectations might not somehow induce an imposed state of emotional irrationality not unlike Hochschild's emotive dissonance? Through the use of organizational display norms, an organization requires some individuals to act in an emotionally irrational manner to give the appearance of acting rationally while

maintaining full compliance. Jansz and Timmers (2002) summarize it best: “In this context, emotional dissonance emerges as a warning signal that an emotional person jeopardizes his or her status as an accountable citizen” (p. 90). Given this, it might be possible to argue that emotional labor through enforced display compliance creates a state of dissonance in an individual that robs the individual of the ability to act in a naturally self-determined capacity that invokes a sense of injustice at the individual, organizational, and societal level. This sense of injustice captures the true spirit of Hochschild’s emotionally alienated individual where the self—the soul—has been separated from any sense of real feeling through something of an imposed sense of rational irrationality required for the sake of earning an emotional wage.

Real Self and In-Authenticity

Sloan (2007) addresses the issue of Hochschild’s (1983, 2003) emotional estrangement from the standpoint of the ability of the individual to display his or her “real self.” When workers are inhibited in presenting their real emotional selves, they often encounter feelings of in-authenticity. Sloan (2007) notes that the “idea that emotional labor produces feelings of in-authenticity is based on the assumption that workers find their true selves when they are uninhibited in their emotional feelings and displays” (p. 306). She further observes that modern Western cultures, American culture in particular, now emphasize and expect displays of authenticity in many aspects of daily life—whether in art and cultural displays or personal or social interactions. Drawing from the work of Turner (1975), Sloan argues that only in free and self-regulated displays can an individual experience what might be considered an authentic self. The premise of authenticity is anchored in the concept of self-conceptualization where the individual

derives meanings of authenticity from the position and strength of their association with either institutionalized norms or individual impulsive norms. Much as with previously reviewed constructs (Hochschild, 1983, 2003; Jansz & Timmers, 2002), Sloan's approach to self-authenticity and in-authenticity depends on the individual's perception of available contextual cues and expectations. For example, an individual who demonstrates a non-institutional self-orientation might feel that he or she is being forced into an inauthentic self-conceptualization through compliance with organizational norms.

Emotional Labor Display Rule Perceptions

The preceding discussion has highlighted the idea that emotional dissonance, as part of an emotional labor process, involves a level of conflict that causes one to analyze and reconcile internal conflicts of feeling with external display expectations or requirements. Diefendorff and Richard (2003) consider the antecedents and consequences of emotional display requirements in a study that examines the display perceptions of individuals, coworkers, and supervisors. They note that most organizations encourage, either implicitly or explicitly, a generally positive emotional display. At the same time, they also note that existing research has identified two general dimensions of emotional display expectations. The first dimension encompasses the general expectation that most organizations normally expect positive displays of emotions. The second identified dimension recognizes that most organizations also expect individuals to suppress a majority of negative emotions in the workplace. In keeping with these observations, Diefendorff and Richard (2003) present a model that examines interactional job requirements, personality traits of extroversion and neuroticism, and perceptions of demands for positive and negative displays of emotions in the work environment. They

point out that extroversion and neuroticism have been strongly linked to displays of positive and negative affectivity in existing research. This approach is interesting in that the issue of general mood is addressed through measurements of extraversion and neuroticism and perceptions of emotional requirements. Any study of emotional dissonance and emotional labor needs to consider general mood or affect, but there has been difficulty in accounting for whether mood itself accounts for certain emotional decisions or displays when performing emotional labor. Diefendorff and Richard assume that those high in extroversion will not feel emotional dissonance or experience emotional labor with the same intensity as those high in neuroticism. The opposite is also true; those high in neuroticism will feel emotional dissonance or experience emotional labor with higher intensity. Their findings did not suggest a strong relationship with extroversion and perceived needs for displays of positive emotions. This does seem to make sense in that those high in extroversion would not likely perceive a need to display positive emotions. However, they did find that those high in neuroticism did perceive the need to suppress negative emotions as a requirement of display expectations. On the surface at least, this finding alone seems to lend support to the idea that the suppression of felt emotions creates a dissonance that forces an individual to feign a displayed emotion contrary to their true feelings (Hochschild, 1983, 2003).

Hochschild's (1983, 2003) conceptualization of emotional labor evolved from symbolic interactionism and dramaturgy (Goffman, 1959) and is based on the premise that emotional activity, performed during a social exchange between individuals for the sake of conducting business, can be exchanged for a wage. Given this, the accepted definition of emotions assumes that there is a target or object for emotion and that that

target is an individual engaged in a work-related emotional exchange. In the case of emotional labor, what if the target is not an individual but a display norm? Much of the existing research appears to have assumed (or at least only contextualized) larger organizational norms. However, it is likely that there are several types of norms, including personal expectations, ethical expectations, student-related expectations, supervisor-related expectations, etc., that will ultimately have some bearing on an individual's ability to negotiate and reconcile internal emotions with an array of external display expectations. Through a process of analyzing emotional dissonance, an individual is not able to display what is felt internally, and the individual is forced to display a contrary emotion that conforms to some type of norm. In other words, the individual must contain or suppress a genuine emotion for what is perceived as a more acceptable one. This creates a state of dissonance in an individual that potentially encompasses a cognitive evaluation, an emotional evaluation, and a normative/contextual evaluation. In the absence of the ability to display a genuine emotion, emotional labor serves as a proxy for any genuinely felt emotion. As such, the target of the displayed emotion actually (in some ways) becomes the norm objective being met. The individual invokes an emotional labor process to achieve compliance with the norm perceived to be most important within a given context. All of this being said, emotional labor appears to be a concept designed to fail if it supersedes any meaningful or genuine interaction with another individual. If the object of interaction is normative compliance, there can never be a real or sincere interaction. Emotional labor potentially diverts attention away from the exchange to the effort needed for compliance. Taken from this perspective, Hochschild was right in using the term labor. However, it could be said that both the worker and the individual

receiving the effects of emotional labor are being equally exploited for the sake of emotional compliance.

Emotional Labor and Work Roles

Historically, emotions have remained something of an enigma to us, a mystery seemingly equally seductive and problematic. William James' (1884) question of what constitutes an emotion still resonates with researchers even today. Yet, along with this fascination, traditional research approaches have managed to compartmentalize emotions in ways that do not always allow one to capture the full richness and complexity of emotional events or experiences. Lazarus (1991) notes that research on emotion has typically focused on behavioral aspects divorced from environmental and contextual factors that give shape to the various structures that govern our private and public emotional worlds with seemingly increasing intensity, particularly in the public arena of the workplace.

Kahn (1990) observed the following: "People occupy roles at work; they are the occupants of the houses that roles provide" (p. 692). What is interesting here is how the application of role theory invites further consideration of the environment within the houses that roles create. Hochschild (1979, 1983, 2003) opened the door to the further exploration of how workers emotionally engage with roles and the houses created by both private and public expectations of role identification and display. For Hochschild, the adaptation of personal emotion work into the workplace, along with the additional intrusion of work-related feeling expectations, represented a transmutation of the private self into a public self with the work of emotions now being made available for the use of labor and consumption. For Kahn, the addition of emotional labor to the workplace role

added an enhanced dimension for the consideration of how we fully and personally engage with the expectations and demands of the workplace. All of this sets in motion a long discussed, but perhaps often ignored, divide between the self at home and the self at work (e.g., Hochschild, 1997). It is this very divide that continues to perplex to this very day. In keeping with Hochschild's (1983) description, the inner world of feeling (often cultivated at home in the personal arena) increasingly comes into conflict with the outer emotional world that allows one to communicate with and make sense of the world (irrespective of contextual differences). Khan's notion that we all occupy the houses that varying organizational and societal roles create for us continues to resonate in a way that is difficult to escape.

Hochschild (1979,1983, 2003) touches on something very similar with her distinction between emotion work and emotional labor. Each type of emotion work expectation (along with the corresponding effort) creates a different set of emotion rules and different types of emotional experiences. Kahn (1990, 1992) emphasizes engagement with the roles created in the workplace. These roles help to create both the physical and emotional spaces that workers occupy—in part, these roles are self-defined, and in part, created. Hochschild is concerned with how the personal "self" becomes a part of and engages with the organizational role. For Hochschild, this engagement with the organizational role represents a "transmutation" of the personal self into a "public" self that then takes up the part of an actor in an organizational role (along with other assorted publicly and privately defined roles). Likewise, for Hochschild, feeling is something that remains personal and private to the individual; emotion work is the emotional effort that is exchanged in private, while emotional labor is the emotional effort that is exchanged as

publicly or organizationally desirable affective displays. At the point of transmutation, the private display is transformed into something that is sold to and/or for the organization in exchange for a wage—what might be thought of as the "pinch" of emotional compliance inscribed on both the body and the soul. Kahn's (1990, 1992) research seems to capture the moment when one attempts to bring the "full" self into the role created by the organization. Hochschild, however, seems to target the emotional effort needed to create and perform the representation of the role (possible either to individual targets or others in the organization). However, as Kahn (1990) notes, the emotional effort that is summoned and sustained through emotional labor is only part of the full effort that eventually becomes what he describes as a type of personal engagement—a type of engagement that might be thought of as the level of personal effort needed to carry out organizational role expectations.

In keeping with Hochschild (1983, 2003), it is also possible to consider that emotional labor occurs when the emotional effort needed to support an organizational role is also part of the exchange that occurs for a wage. In other words, there are display rule expectations that are often implied about how one performs the role as well as those that apply to the performance of in-role tasks and expectations. There is perhaps something more happening if we consider the potentially fractured nature inherent in the variety of roles that one might occupy at any given moment. In this case, there is the effort needed to sustain the role/person identification (e.g., professional identification with the role of teacher) and effort needed to create the "illusion" of the process or service involved. So, emotionally speaking, a teacher not only needs to create the role of teacher, he/she also needs to create the "state of mind" that is involved in sustaining the

classroom environment while also sustaining the "professional" role interactions with colleagues and other professionals. Current research seems to suggest that emotional labor happens moment to moment through individual interactions (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). However, psychologist (e.g., Ekman & Friesen, 1971; Lazarus, 1991; Oatley, Keltner & Jenkins, 2006) and sociologists (e.g., Hochschild, 1979, 1983, 2003) have suggested that one is constantly evaluating his or her environment in relation to mood and feeling and that emotional experiences and interactions are contextually much more complex than might be indicated by a concept such as emotional labor. Hochschild's flight attendant is responsible for creating the role of a professional flight attendant while also creating the illusion of the convivial and "homey" atmosphere of the flight cabin (Hochschild, 1983, 2003). At the same time, the flight attendant is crafting professional and personal roles that interact and intersect with colleagues and other professionals. In this sense, Hochschild was perhaps right to suggest that the idea of a core or stable self in contemporary society is difficult to develop and sustain for any length of time. One is constantly being pulled to construct multiple roles all at once and/or in tandem. The real dissonance or possible injustice occurs, I suspect, when one is forced to sacrifice one or more roles for the sake of others. Being a father at work is not always a positive role, yet one might ask whether it is possible to disengage fully from the role of father while at work. The same observation could be made for mothers in the workplace and any others who maintain significant roles outside the workplace. Hochschild's description of the flight attendant's need to create a homey environment marks the moment where the private self is called upon to do the same work in a public space. The feelings required to do this work are now exposed, and the effort needed to

sustain multiple private and public roles is redirected into the requirements of the organizational setting. Perhaps the effort needed to sustain these multiple roles represents something of a transmutation of the private into public, but at the same time, there is something of a transmutation turned in on itself that occurs when the publicly created role begins to impinge upon the private one. When the overall effort becomes too much to sustain, burnout and exhaustion begin to creep in. Gradually, what is felt no longer matches the expectations of one or more of the roles. Hochschild (1983, 2003) described this sort of discordant feeling as an emotive dissonance when it occurs during individual interactions. However, I suspect that the separation of self, the alienation of self, might also be thought of as something of a "transmutative dissonance" when the multiple requirements of public and private roles intersect and collide.

Teachers are certainly not immune to the conditions that lead to the burnout and sense of separation often associated with emotional dissonance and the performance of emotional labor. Hargreaves (1998) observes:

> In an age when the work of teachers is being restructured all around them (often in ways that make it much more difficult), overpersonalizing and overmoralizing about the emotional commitments of teachers without due regard for the contexts in which teachers work (many of which are making teachers' emotional commitments to students harder to sustain), will only add to the intolerable guilt and burnout that many members of the teaching force already experience. (p. 836)

The work of teaching is often associated with the work of caring. Conceptualized within the framework of Hochschild's (1983, 2003) emotional labor, then the emotional labor of teaching might actually be thought of as caring labor. There does seem to be an

expectation that teachers are to be pleasant and caring at all costs, regardless of any potential harm to wellbeing. At the same time, teachers often too easily sacrifice themselves to this compelling need to care for all of those around them including students, colleagues, and family. Hargreaves (1998) emphasizes this point:

> Even among these writers, however, only a few acknowledge that in contexts of an over-rationalized reform agenda which is unsympathetic to the needs of teachers, this caring orientation is not simply a cause for romantic celebration, but can also turn against teachers as they sacrifice themselves emotionally to the needs of those around them, in policy conditions which make caring more difficult. (p. 836)

The presence of such an emotional sacrifice invites us to reconsider Hochschild's (1983, 2003) association of the emotional labor concept with Marxist thought. This conceptualization of emotional labor suggests that a dissonant state, a state of alienation, must be present for an emotion management effort to occur. For the managed heart to be commercialized, the emotions of an individual worker must be suppressed and controlled in a manner that ultimately produces a state of emotional compliance. The suppression and commercialization of private emotion represent the transmutation of the private self into the public self where private emotions are tamed and utilized for the benefit of the organization. This also invites one to consider the extent of the encroachment of the organization into the private emotional world of the individual. Is it fair for any organization to place this burden on an individual? An additional difficulty that might be noted with Hochschild's association with Marx is the inability to consider or apply the concept of emotional labor beyond the level of individual worker and interpersonal

exchanges (e.g., Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011). Granted, research on emotional labor has developed from the sociological and organizational behavior literature, but if there is an interest in understanding the use and movement of the management of emotions, should we not also consider whether or not this emotion work is occurring in other areas of the organization? Emotional labor research in the field of adult education has primarily been conducted into how adults learn and comply with the required expectations of display rules (e.g., Scott & Myers, 2005; Tracy, 2000).

Emotional Labor and Social Constructionism

The preceding review and discussion highlight an important aspect of emotional labor, namely the importance placed on the understanding of emotional experiences as interactions within social and organizational structures, where meaning-making is shared or co-constructed. This type of shared understanding or shared construction of reality is referred to as social constructionism. Berger and Luckmann (1966) describe social constructionism in the in the following terms:

> …common-sense 'knowledge' rather than 'ideas' must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this 'knowledge that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist. The sociology of knowledge, therefore must concern itself with the social construction of reality. (p. 27)

Burr (2003) notes that social constructionism encompasses a wide array of approaches to understanding the social nature of human beings:

> These approaches have appeared under a variety of rubrics, such as 'critical psychology,' 'discursive psychology,' 'discourse analysis,' 'deconstruction' and 'poststructuralism.' What many of these approaches have in common, however, is

> what is now often referred to as ‘social constructionism.’ Social constructionism can be thought of as a theoretical orientation which to a greater or lesser degree underpins all of these newer approaches, which are currently offering radical and critical alternatives in psychology and social psychology, as well as in other disciplines in the social sciences and humanities.” (p. 1)

Burr (2003) also highlights a skeptical view of taken-for-granted knowledge as one of the key assumptions underpinning a social constructionist approach. Knowledge about what is thought of as reality has become so embedded in everyday assumptions that as a society, we have forgotten how (or that we might need to) question assumptions about reality. This runs in direct contrast with positivist approaches to the development of knowledge where reality already exists as something observable and discoverable. Knowledge and meaning are created within the context of social exchanges, and as such knowledge and understanding become inseparable from the cultural associations in which they originate. Knowledge, social action, and power are all interconnected. Burr (2003) notes: “Our constructions of the world are therefore bound up with power relations because they have implications for what is permissible for different people to do, and for how they may treat others” (p. 5). Given this focus on social interaction, it seems natural that social constructionism would place considerable importance on how language shapes reality and one’s ability to act within it.

Along this line, Burr describes two types of social constructionism. The first is micro-level social constructionism that happens at the level of social and discursive interaction; this emphasis on discursive interaction opens the potential for the creation of multiple realities. The second type of social constructionism is one that emphasizes social

structures and views discursive interactions as deriving from the types of interactions allowed by the normative practices of institutional structures. Power lies at the center of the macro-conceptualization of social construction and discursive interaction. This version of social constructionism draws heavily on the work of Foucault and his analysis of discursive practices and relations of power. Foucault (1976/1978) observed:

> It seems to me that power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization…Powers condition of possibility, or in any case the viewpoint which permits one to understand its exercise, even in its more "peripheral" effects, and which also makes it possible to use its mechanisms as a grid of intelligibility of the social order, must not be sought in the primary existence of a central point, in a unique source of sovereignty from which secondary and descendent forms would emanate; it is the moving substrate of force relations which, by virtue of their inequality, constantly engender states of power, but the latter are always local and unstable. (p. 92)

Here one can see the similarities of Foucault's conceptualization of power and social structures. The "grid of intelligibility" forms the field of associations in which power can be exercised. The structures of power are created by the grid, but the exercise of power operates within the field of force relations where individual social interactions occur. Power itself is not necessarily a negative force, but it can hold negative implications regarding how subjects are constituted within discourse. Butler (1997) captures some of this in her description of Foucault's view of politics and subjectivity: "Foucault suggested that the point of modern politics is no longer to liberate a subject, but rather to interrogate

the regulatory mechanisms through which "subjects" are produced and maintained" (pp. 31-32). Macrostructures provide the regulatory mechanisms that govern discursive practices that allow subjects to be constituted and reconstituted. Any sense of agency that a subject might experience occurs at the level of social interaction where power flows and is circulated freely. Relational power can be thought of as emanating upward from the bottom of an institutional structure in a manner that is quite different from the state-derived power of absolute domination; for Foucault and social constructionist, relational power is essentially a positive force that flows through the currents of human interactions. With this conceptualization of power, the importance of the discursive formation of the subject and subjectivity becomes readily apparent. In the extreme, everything that one can think, feel, or do—all of those characteristics thought of as being somehow essential to personality, to being—are formed within the contextual richness and vagueness of language. It is this very contextual richness of language that shapes the display rule expectations of Hochschild's conceptualization of emotional labor within social and organizational structures. The addition of a Foucauldian perspective further expands possibilities for interrogating the concept of emotional labor and how one might begin to think differently about it (St. Pierre, 2000; Freeman, 2017).

Expanding the Conversation on Emotional Labor

Many of the works of Michel Foucault (e.g., 1969/1972, 1975/1978, 1976/1978, 1980, 1985) have helped to shape much of my thinking about how we interact with and are influenced by the discourses that inform understanding of reality. In general, the works of Foucault are difficult to apply directly in many research contexts. This is true for many reasons, but perhaps one of the most challenging is the fact the Foucault

frequently changed his mind about how he approached his own work (Ball, 2013). At the same time, many of his methods, especially those related to genealogy and disciplinary practices, have been particularly useful to me and have also proved useful in analyzing certain aspects of educational practices (Ball, 2013; Zembylas, 2005a, 2005b). Considering the observations noted in the preceding review of emotion and emotional labor research, Hochschild's (1979, 1983, 2003) use of dramaturgy, and the symbolic interactionist display/presentation work of Goffman (1959), the work of Foucault provides an opening to engage the regulatory and display norms associated with the performance of emotional labor. Foucault's use of discourse analysis extends beyond linguistic comparisons and allows for the analysis of associated regulatory and power relationships. Bové (1995) made the following observation of Foucault's use of discourse:

> "Discourse" is one of the most empowered ways in modern and postmodern societies for the forming and shaping of humans as "subjects." In a now-famous play on words, we might say that "power" through its discursive and institutional relays "subjects" us: that is, it makes us into "subjects," and it "subjugates" us…Indeed, we must even hypothesize that power affects the forms which our resistance to power can take. In other words, according to this notion there is no essential self somewhere else within power; consequently, resistance to any particular form of power—resistance to any discursive "truth"—depends upon power and not some abstract category of freedom or the self. (pp. 58-59)

Describing the function of the individual, Foucault (1975/1978) notes the following:

> The individual is no doubt the fictitious atom of an 'ideological' representation of society; but he is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power that I have called 'discipline'. We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production. (p. 194)

Given the perspectives of both preceding passages, it is possible to note that the emotional lives of individuals emerge in potentially much more complex ways than might normally be observed. Discourses of emotional labor encourage individuals to rationalize and analyze emotional expressiveness according to a variety of multifaceted emotional norms (feeling rules, display rules, cultural expectations, professional expectations, etc.). Foucault suggests that a 'subject' cannot exist outside the constraints of discourse and can only emerge within discourses that have always already existed. How we experience our emotional lives is labeled and categorized before we can even take up the position of an emotional subject. Traditionally, emotions have occupied a position equivalent to a state of irrationality—more specifically a feminine position of irrationality (Bordo, 1986). Descartes's now famous utterance establishing the dominance of the cogito—I think; therefore, I am—set the mind and body/emotions in an aggressively dialectical opposition that has remained with us to the present day—an opposition that has left us with a rationally dispassionate cognitive environment devoid of feeling (Boler, 1999; Bordo, 1986; Damasio, 1994, 1999). Likewise, the emotional display expectations of teachers are also decided in advance—even though the emotional subject is disadvantaged by the

humanist tradition, the emotional identity of the "teacher-subject" is disciplined and regulated through existing discourses. St. Pierre (2000) notes, "In poststructural theories, the subject is considered a construction, and identity is presumed to be created in ongoing effects of relations and in response to society's codes" (p. 503). Jackson (2001) captures some of the qualities of this encoding through a feminist deconstruction of the multiple subjectivities of a student teacher's identity where different classroom contexts create remarkably different constructions. At the same time, postmodern thinkers now seem to be imaging spaces and subjectivities extending beyond the "human" conceptualization of self to include interactions/intersections of the self that include human and non-human agents (Braidotti, 2006, 2013; Lather, 2013; St. Pierre, 2013). Braidotti (2013) notes: "More specifically, posthuman theory is a generative tool to help us re-think the basic unit of reference for the human in the bio-genetic age known as 'anthropocene', the historical moment when the Human has become a geological force capable of affecting all life on this planet" (p. 3). Given this, it is possible to consider that any constructed subjectivity is not easily captured in the traditional relationship of body/mind/emotions—in fact, it is possible that such a connection might be much larger and greater than can be easily understood through traditional (Western Humanist) ways of understanding, experiencing, and feeling subjectivity. St. Pierre (2013) suggests contemplating a humanist ontology that exists outside the confinements of traditional humanist binaries—an ontology that is entangled with the world and that hints of justices yet to come. Emotions have long since existed as devalued entities on the wrong sides of binaries, and while Hochschild's (1983, 2003) construct of emotional labor draws attention to the difficulties of the collision of labor and emotion, it is possible that putting a few of these

existing theories to use might allow one to imagine—to catch a brief glimpse—of an entangled emotional state that exists beyond the confines of traditional humanist ways of knowing (either qualitatively or quantitatively). The emotional labor—the feeling experience—of working with adult learners is poignantly dynamic and richly complex. Malcolm (2012) calls for "locating emotions beyond the public/private dichotomy in the sociopolitical sphere of shared experience" (p. 267). Hargreaves (1998) reminds us that including emotions in educational reform only marks a beginning. Kahn (1990, 1992) embraces emotional labor as a quality of engagement that allows one to fully engage the personal "self" with work and the work environment.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented a review of the foundational and empirical literature on emotional labor in organizational and adult learning environments. Recent reviews of emotional labor (e.g., Grandy & Gabriel, 2015) have called for additional clarification of the concept while others (e.g., Callahan & McCollum, 2002) have called for multidisciplinary approaches that expand and enhance the research of emotions in organizational and adult learning environments. Additionally, I noted that the study of emotional labor in adult education, especially that of adult educators, is a burgeoning area of interest with few existing empirical studies, thus establishing a need for the current study.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to explore the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. In this chapter, I describe the development of a critical incident approach to research the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. In keeping with Hochschild's (1983, 2003) development and use of the concept of emotional labor, I concentrate on the effort needed by adult educators to manage feelings in an organizational setting. I briefly examine Hochschild's (1979) critique that Goffman's (1959) approach to dramaturgy and the study of social interaction fails to capture the feelings behind emotional expressions. Building on Hochschild's interpretation of Goffman, I incorporate Ellinger and Watkins' (1998) contextual approach to Flanagan's (1954) approach to critical incident technique (CIT) as a means of capturing adult educators' perceptions of managing feeling in the performance of emotional labor.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

In developing her initial conceptualizations of emotion work and emotional labor, Hochschild (1979, 1983) drew from and critiqued Goffman's (1959) approach to symbolic interactionism, in particular, his use of dramaturgy. Symbolic interactionism concentrates attention on meaning derived from social interaction. For the symbolic interactionist, meaning is neither inherent to an object nor static. Meaning evolves over time through interaction. "Interpretation and action arise from interaction, whether we address the reconstructed past, lived present, or imagined future" (Charmaz, 2014, p.

265). In other words, meaning is not a predetermined or fixed quality; meaning is fluid and nuanced, incorporating interpretations of past, present, and future actions. The ability to act and reflect upon social interactions is crucial to the development of both a sense of self and a sense of agency (Burr, 2003). How we come to understand the world around us is also how we come to understand how we interact as social beings within that world. Dramaturgy further concentrates our attention on how these interactions are produced and staged and the doing or action of interaction. With dramaturgy, meaning is derived from action; meaning retains the fluidity and variability of symbolic interactionism but is now contingent upon the enactment of activities. Dramaturgical analysis concentrates on aspects of production and performance—or, the action of completing activities. Goffman utilized the metaphor of drama as a means of capturing the enactment of roles while engaged in activities. The use of this metaphor extends the possible range of analysis to include staging, scenery, and other aspects of performance. Here, meaning evolves from and becomes entangled with the role of acting during interaction. As Charmaz (2014) notes, "…dramaturgical analysts look at how people accomplished activities first, and then these analysts infer meaning from what these people did" (p. 274). Goffman focuses attention on the constant negotiation of role and performance in each moment of experience. For the study of emotions, the result of this constant negotiation is a type of impression management. The successful impression is the one the audience believes, even when the impression is deceptive: "When an individual plays a part he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them" (Goffman, 1959, p. 17).

For Hochschild (1979, 1983, 2003), though, this type of impression management remains at the level of the interaction, never fully capturing either the individual feelings or the social structures governing feelings associated with an encounter. The feelings behind social interactions are missing:

> The problem is that the actor Goffman proposes does not seem to feel much, is not attuned to, does not monitor closely or assess, does not actively evoke, inhibit, shape—in a word, *work on* feelings in a way that an actor would have to do to accomplish what Goffman says is, in fact, accomplished in one encounter after another. (Hochschild, 1979, p. 557)

The management of impressions is the management of behaviors, and for Goffman, the management of behaviors is the acting that is performed in social interactions. Hochschild, however, suggests that there is another type of acting, one that concentrates on the management of the feelings producing the behavioral displays of emotion that is not accounted for by Goffman. Here, Hochschild turns to the acting techniques developed by Stanislavsky and the American school of acting, where memories and feelings, the cognitive and the felt, are equally called upon in performance. Hochschild (1979) argues that Goffman failed to account for a distinction between felt and expressed emotions in his approach to dramaturgy by focusing only on the displayed emotional expressions of actors. “Goffman’s actors actively manage outer impressions, but they do not actively manage inner feelings” (Hochschild, 1979, p. 557). In other words, emotions remain at the surface of social interactions where they are decoupled from associated feelings. For Hochschild, this decoupling of feeling and expression inhibits understanding of how the individual, the holistically complete cognitive and emotional individual, interacts within

social structures. Goffman's actors capture only the surface level of interaction, a type of acting Hochschild refers to as surface acting. With surface acting, "we are left with the impression that social factors pervade only the 'social skin,' the tried-for outer appearances of the individual" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 558). With an additional type of acting, deep acting, we delve into the managed feelings producing the social skin, thus linking feeling, personality, and social structure together to better understand the influence of social structures on the individual, the juncture where social structures penetrate the social skin of managed impressions to influence the management of feelings.

In the current study, I maintained fidelity with Hochschild's (1979, 1983, 2003) interpretation and extension of Goffman's (1959) approach to symbolic interactionism and dramaturgy. Deep acting and surface acting are techniques utilized in the performance of both emotion work and emotional labor. For Hochschild, emotion work is characterized as the management of feeling performed for private exchange, and emotional labor is the management of feeling performed for public exchange in the workplace. To capture the feelings associated with emotional labor interactions, I incorporated Ellinger and Watkin's (1998) contextual approach to the study of critical incidents. Participants were asked to recount interactions as critical incidents associated with the management of feelings in an adult learning environment. During interviews, I asked probing questions encouraging participants to describe further the significance of interactions and associated feelings. In doing this, I was able to address Hochschild's concern for maintaining a link between personal interaction and the influence of social structures.

Research Design

Qualitative research is often characterized as a design strategy used to capture the lived experiences of participants (e.g., Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Maxwell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Morrow, 2007; Patton, 2015; Roulston, 2010; Straus & Corbin, 1998; Yin, 2011). Merriam (2009) defines qualitative research as an interest in "how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world" (p. 13). These experiences shape a reality that is constructed to form meaning for individuals and co-constructed with researchers during field research to shape contextual knowledge about meaning and interpretation. The result of collecting multiple experiences is the recognition of the existence of multiple perspectives and realities not easily broken down into small units such as variables; rather, the knowledge derived from qualitative inquiry is divergent because the units are contextually and complexly interrelated (Lincoln & Guba, 1986; Maxwell, 2013). One of the primary characteristics of these experiences, as well as qualitative research, is social interaction—reality is not discovered but constructed through social interaction (Merriam, 2009). Qualitative research approaches are primarily concerned with addressing how individuals interpret their experiences and the meaning that might be derived from those interpretations. This can be contrasted with more traditional quantitative approaches where knowledge or understanding is discovered through observation of a separate reality that exists "out there" (Merriam, 2009). Interpretivist research, however, recognizes that knowledge about reality is constructed rather than uncovered (Patton, 2015). Merriam (2009) notes that researchers also take up qualitative methods when there is a lack of sufficient theory to adequately explain a phenomenon. At the same time, Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Arora, and Mattis (2007) note that

qualitative research is a process that is influenced by a range of contextual and cultural elements that cause meaning and meaning making to become fluid. Knowledge is always being developed and co-developed with each succeeding interaction of researcher and participant. Recognition of this fluidity only further enhances the potential richness of the results of a qualitative approach.

Given the exploratory and holistic emphasis of this study, a qualitative case study approach was considered most appropriate for capturing the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. Case studies are considered to be especially useful in studying the in-depth contextual factors of a given situation, such as a program or event. One important characteristic of case study research is the need to define or "bound" the case of interest in some manner. Merriam (2009) defines a case study as "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system." For this study, the selected "bounded system" was a teacher training program that prepares science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) professionals who are content experts in their fields to become teachers in public schools with special needs or underserved populations.

Participant Selection

Patton (2015) describes purposeful sampling as a design strategy used to collect rich contextual information about a phenomenon. Similarly, Ellinger and Watkins' (1998) extension of Flanagan's (1954) CIT focuses on uncovering the contextual richness of critical incidents. Given that the purpose of the current study was to collect detailed critical incidents about the emotional labor experiences of adult educators, a purposeful sampling design seemed appropriate. Two levels of sampling were employed in selecting the program and participants for this critical incident study. The first sampling level

addressed the criteria needed to determine an appropriate organizational setting for the research. The organization needed to be one that would complement the study's focus on exploring the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. The second level of sampling addressed the need for the organization to be located within a geographic region near the researcher's home institution. I first consulted with professionals in adult education within the region of interest. I further consulted with higher education professionals at nearby institutions. A recommendation was made to consider a regional implementation of a national program that prepares working professionals in STEM fields interested in changing careers to become public school teachers. A review of the national foundation's website was undertaken, and it was found that this program is being offered in just a few states around the country, including five institutions in my home state (as well as one implementation at my institution). The program directors at all five in-state locations were initially contacted to explore further the potential of conducting research at those sites. One site did not respond and was removed from consideration. Two of the other sites were in the initial stages of development and implementation or had not yet fully implemented the program at the time of this study. I met with the program directors at two site locations. At this point, it was discovered that the program directors at various sites were allowed a degree of flexibility by the national foundation in the local development and implementation of the program. One of the two sites elected a more traditional integration that was predominantly classroom-based with limited field experiences for student teachers in the program. The second and final site under consideration had developed a unique approach to field experiences for student teachers that included immersion and collaboration with host teachers in the schools as well as

ongoing monitoring and assistance that extended three years beyond the completion of the program. Given that this study focused on the emotional labor experiences of adult educators, the extended contact with student teachers across different areas of the program provided a unique opportunity to capture contextual nuances that otherwise might not have been available with more traditional implementations of the program.

I met with the program director at the selected site to further discuss the nature of the research study and the availability of potential participants. The reviewed IRB submission materials, interview protocols, and results from a pilot study were reviewed with the program director. The program director expressed interest in the purpose of the research and further discussed the study in meetings with national and local program representatives. Thirteen faculty members associated with the program, including program administrators, site coordinators, and teaching faculty, were identified as potential participants. An email inviting participation and describing the overall nature of the study, including critical incident technique and the focus on the emotional labor experiences of adult educators, was sent to all potential participants. Eleven interested participants responded to the initial email. A follow-up email did not generate a response from the two participants who did not respond to the first email, and they were removed from consideration. Of the eleven respondents who initially expressed interest in the study, eight confirmed their interest and willingness to participate, and three indicated that scheduling and/or work conflicts might ultimately prevent them from participating in the study. Given that the unit of analysis for the study was the critical incident, I, in consultation with the committee chair, decided to conduct interviews with the eight confirmed participants. The remaining three respondents would be contacted again if

additional critical incidents were needed. Interviews began in the spring of 2016 and continued through the fall of 2016. Demographic descriptions and portraits of all eight participants are provided in Chapter 4.

Data Collection

Data can be found almost anywhere in the environment as bits and pieces of information. How these data come to be perceived and identified, however, is quite a different discussion. Quantitative data are countable and measurable in some way (i.e., quantifiable). Qualitative data are derived from language or the spoken word in some manner (i.e., qualifiable). Qualitative data are typically collected in three ways: through observations; through in-depth interviews; and, through document review. Many qualitative approaches privilege the spoken word, and of these means of collecting data, in-depth interviews are utilized most frequently (Merriam, 2009). In the current study, I used semi-structured in-depth interviews to gather data on participants' perceptions of critical incidents related to their experiences with emotional labor (Merriam, 2009; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Additionally, website information and other documentation were also reviewed to gather preliminary information about the program (Roulston, 2010). A pilot study was conducted in the fall of 2015 before full implementation of the study. The interview protocol was revised for clarity and flow to reflect the current iteration of questions and organization.

Critical Incident Technique

The critical incident technique (CIT), first introduced by Flanagan (1954), is now widely recognized as a useful approach to conducting research on notable events that are recalled from memory (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005; Ellinger &

Bostrom, 2002; Ellinger & Watkins, 1998; Kain, 2004; Tripp, 2012). These events are thought of as being "critical" in some way for participants and are typically collected and arranged for analysis and generalization. Specifically, Flanagan defined an incident as “any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act” (p. 327). Flanagan (1954) first conceived the CIT when gauging the effectiveness of pilot training and selection programs for aircrews during WWII. Initial studies utilizing CIT as a method concentrated on observations of the performance and effectiveness of human behaviors and as such were particularly grounded in scientific objectivism. These initial studies intended to identify positive and negative iterations of incidents as a means of targeting areas for additional evaluation or potential improvement. At first, representative incidents included short, prescriptive behavioral events that could be used to establish factual patterns across potentially thousands of iterations. Succeeding studies have attempted to enhance the utility of CIT by expanding and enriching the contextual descriptions of reported incidents (Ellinger, 2005; Ellinger & Watkins, 1998). CIT has found a comfortable home in several disciplines, including education (e.g., Buckner, 2012; Kain, 2004; Tripp, 2012), and continues to generate interest among researchers as applications of the method expand and evolve.

As originally described by Flanagan (1954), the CIT approach delineates five general steps for observation and inquiry. These five steps include: 1) establishing the general aim of an observed activity; 2) developing a description of the activity and behaviors being observed; 3) evaluating and classifying data about observed incidents; 4) analyzing data for efficient and practical application; and, 5) interpreting and reporting

data. These steps articulate a thorough and systematic approach that revolves around a well-defined "functional description of an activity" (p. 346). However, Flanagan recognizes that obtaining solutions for all problems around an activity of interest is typically not practical, and he cautions that a careful review of all of the involved steps should be reviewed for potential bias embedded within the process. While sometimes modified (e.g., Buckner, 2012), these five steps remain representative of the process of applying the CIT approach to research.

The first step, establishing the general aim of an observed activity, establishes the basic requirements that define or bound an activity. As Flanagan (1954) notes: "In its simplest form, the functional description of an activity specifies precisely what it is necessary to do and not to do if participation in the activity is to be judged successful or effective" (p. 336). In other words, it is difficult to observe the performance of an activity that has not been clearly defined or is not clearly understood or agreed upon by participants. Flanagan points out that this need for clarity is often overlooked and can lead to difficulties associated with maintaining consistency among the other steps in the CIT process. While he does recognize that it is often difficult to settle on the precise aim or intent of an activity, Flanagan suggests that the overall use of an activity should guide the development of a general aim for participants. For this study, the general aim concentrated on Hochschild's (1983, 2003) definition of emotional labor as the work we do on feeling while meeting the various expectations of emotional display requirements in adult learning environments. Adapting Ellinger and Watkins' (1998) approach to CIT, this study explored the contextual factors associated with emotional labor performance of adult educators. The interview protocol asked participants to describe their experiences

and reactions while using (evoking) or suppressing emotions while engaging with their role or roles as an adult educator. Behavioral descriptions accounted for a portion of responses, but the aim of the study was not to uncover behavioral patterns associated with emotional labor, but rather to explore the social interaction experiences associated with emotional labor and how adult educators made sense of these experiences.

The second step, developing a description of the activity and behaviors being observed, entails establishing the specifications or parameters of the activity being observed. Specific guidelines need to be established for those collecting or recalling critical incidents (observers or participants), and how and what aspects of those incidents will be recorded, as well as how the group being observed will be defined. As would be expected of the period, scientific objectivity is paramount to Flanagan's (1954) approach to research: "Such agreement by independent observers can only be attained if they are all following the same set of rules. It is essential that these rules be clear and specific" (p. 338). Establishing precise parameters for observations in educational studies can pose a challenge in that those most able to report on incidents of interest are not always easily identified (Kain, 2004). In this study, I sought to capture experiences of emotional labor across the various roles associated with the implementation of the program, including classroom faculty, site coordinators, and program directors and administrators. All participants, apart from one assistant administrator, were faculty members in the program; however, some participants also served as site coordinators and program administrators, including the local program director.

The third step, collecting, evaluating, and classifying data about observed incidents, addresses concerns associated with data collection. Advantages and

disadvantages of collecting incidents through direct observation or from recalled memories are described. While Flanagan (1954) stressed the advantages of collecting data from direct observations, he did allow that recalled memories can provide useful incidents given an appropriate motivation on the part of observers. Flanagan recommended four approaches to collecting critical incidents from recalled data, including individual interviews, group interviews, questionnaires, and record forms. Regardless of the selected data collection process, Flanagan noted, "The most crucial aspect of the data collection procedure is the questions asked by the observers" (p. 342). Good questions should refer to the general aim of the activity and should specify the activity and associated behaviors being reported. Kain (2004) observed that the "critical incident interview invites the respondents to tell a story and explain why it is significant for a given context" (p. 74). Flanagan further noted that the interviewer should apply the following criteria to all incidents as they are being collected: (a) actual behaviors should be reported; (b) reported behaviors should be observed by the individual reporting the incident; (c) all relevant factors should be given; (d) the observer should make a judgement about the "critical" nature of an incident; (e) and, evidence should be given as to why an incident is deemed critical. The current study extended this notion of behaviors associated with activities to include the management of emotions and feelings associated with observed activities. Emotional labor concentrates on the emotional effort needed to create a particular image or environment (Hochschild, 1983, 2003). Emotional experiences often have to be uncovered in the midst of associated activities or behaviors. This study adapted protocol questions to ask participants to reflect felt or used emotion within the context of a specific activity or interaction. Describing activities allowed

participants to engage their immediate emotional reactions during an event while also allowing them to reflect on their own reactions and feelings about the emotions or emotional effort they associated with an event.

The fourth and fifth steps described by Flanagan (1954) are those of data analysis and the interpretation and reporting of results. Here, he characterizes three areas of analysis that should be attended to in order to maintain "comprehensiveness, specificity, and validity" (p. 345). Establishing a frame of reference allows the classification scheme to be more closely tied to the intended uses of the data. In terms of issues with reporting results, Flanagan noted that a failure to account for biases in each of the preceding steps could result in a failure to report useful findings or findings that align with the intended general aim of a study. With this study, the emphasis was placed on exploring the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. The concept of emotional labor includes several facets that were of interest to this study, including the regulation and management of feeling, the presence of display rule expectations, and the use of emotion management techniques such as deep acting and surface acting. These facets of the emotional labor process were utilized in both the data collection process (with the development of interview questions and the overall interview protocol) and the conceptualization of the data analysis approach. The approach to data analysis developed for this study is described in succeeding sections.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviewing represents one of the most common means of collecting data for qualitative studies. Interviewing is deemed especially useful when the data of interest cannot be observed directly or needs to be recalled from memory. Merriam (2009) notes:

"Interviewing is necessary when we cannot observe behavior, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them" (p. 88). Semi-structured interviews provide room for flexibility and adaptation during the interview in that they do not follow a prescribed wording or order. Emotions and feelings can be difficult for participants to describe and given this difficulty, a semi-structured interview approach was selected for this study. An interview protocol was developed to help guide the general shape of the interviews with prompts for additional questions that might further enrich the depth of the critical incidents being reported. Well-developed interview questions are "those that are open-ended and yield descriptive data, even stories about the phenomenon" of interest (Merriam, 2009, p. 99). To better understand the context of the emotional labor experiences of adult educators, questions covered four general areas related to emotional labor. These four areas included general emotional experiences included felt emotions, dealing with emotions, emotions in teaching, and suppressing emotion. In keeping with the critical incident technique, participants were asked to "think back to a time when…" or to recall a time when a particular critical incident occurred. For example, the portion of the protocol dealing with "felt emotions" asked participants to think back to a time when "you felt particularly emotional in your teaching role with adult learners." Probing questions for each area concentrated on what was happening at the moment the critical incident took place and how participants felt about the experience including the following: What was happening? What did you say or do? What made it emotional for you? How would you describe what you were feeling? How did it turn out? Additional probing questions concentrated on the significance of experiences and associated feelings. With the exception of probing questions, I attempted to remain as unobtrusive as

possible while participants recalled critical incidents. Field notes and observations were also recorded during each interview. At the beginning of each interview, I reviewed the purpose of the study, the critical incident technique, and the four broad areas of interest guiding the protocol. Participants were given an opportunity to review, ask questions about, and sign consent forms. A total of eight face-to-face interviews were conducted with participants with interview times ranging from 50 to 120 minutes. Four interviews were conducted in participants' offices; three were at the institution's home campus location, and one was at a branch campus in a different location. The remaining four interviews were conducted in a conference room at the institution's main campus. All interviews were recorded using a small portable digital voice recorder. Interviews were transferred to the researcher's computer for storage and transcription. The researcher transcribed all interviews using Express Scribe transcription software and MSWord. Transcripts were formatted with line numbers to facilitate initial coding and the identification of potential critical incidents. Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant interview transcription for protection of privacy and anonymity.

Data Configuration

Interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher using Express Scribe software and MSWord. Following transcription and data configuration, the resulting critical incidents were reviewed for flow and clarity. The eight recorded interviews yielded a total of 160 pages of transcripts with an average length of 20 pages per interview. Initial interview transcripts were edited to remove program and organizational identifiers, sensitive information, and any additional material that might pose a risk to participants' identity and position within the organization. After editing the interview

transcripts, I read each transcript to identify initial critical incidents indicated by participants. It became apparent early in this process that participants tended to interrelate stories about multiple incidents throughout the interview process. In part, this was a result of the semi-structured interview process. While probing questions guided interviews, the semi-structured approach afforded participants a degree of flexibility that resulted in a relaxed, conversational recounting of experiences. This resulted in a rich assortment of critical incident narratives dispersed across each of the interviews. To better facilitate the analysis of the dispersed nature of the incidents, I adopted a narrative approach to critical incident development (e.g., Buckner, 2012; Stephenson, 2015).

Narrative Inquiry

Ollerenshaw and Creswell (2002) describe narrative analysis as a complex holistic process that results in the "restorying" of the stories encountered in the raw transcript data. This approach recognizes that the array of the data emerging from a research project, including interview transcripts, field notes, and documents, sometimes fail to capture the full contextual complexity of participants stories. The revised critical incident approach (Ellinger & Watkins, 1998) utilized in this study emphasizes the constructivist contextual elements associated with participants emotional labor experiences and as such, complements the restorying approach to crafting narratives. As noted earlier, the interview protocol was revised to include questions that prompted participants to consider why critical incident experiences were significant to them. In relating these experiences, participants often tell stories that do not follow a complete or logical sequence. Restorying provides an opportunity for the researcher to analyze the stories for key narrative elements. By focusing on the specifically recalled experiences, the critical

incident technique enhances the researcher's ability to probe and analyze for key elements within the raw transcript data. Ollerenshaw and Creswell (2002) observed: "In the restorying of the participant's story and the telling of the themes, the narrative researcher includes rich detail about the setting or context of the participant's experiences" (p. 332). Citing Yussen and Ozcan (1997), Ollerenshaw & Creswell (2002) describe the problem-solution narrative as a cognitive activity where individuals recount the experience and details of an activity for a specific purpose. Specifically, "A researcher takes the raw data in the form of the transcription and analyzes the data for the five elements of plot structure" (p. 333). These five elements include rough transcription, characters, setting, problem, actions, and resolution. Rough transcription involves combing and coding elements of the raw transcript data for potential structural elements. Characters include the individuals identified as well as characteristics, personality, behaviors, and patterns. Setting includes contextual and environmental conditions. Problem addresses the phenomena being explored or described. Actions represent the movements through the narrative, including feelings, actions, and failed and successful attempts. Resolution addresses answers and explanations associated with the problem. The problem-solution approach forms a natural complement to the critical incident technique as described by Flanagan (1954). Drawing from the work of Ellinger and Watkins (1998), the current study adapted the problem-solution narrative approach to better reflect the contextual and meaning making elements of critical incident narratives (See Table 3.1 below).

Table 3.1

Development of Critical Incident Narratives

Raw Transcript	Characters	Context	Critical Incident Description	Actions	Meaning Made from Emotional Labor Experiences
Initial transcripts reviewed and coded for potential critical incident narratives	Important individuals in critical incident identified and described (e.g., personality, behaviors, patterns)	Contextual elements, including environment, conditions, place, and time identified	Description and explanation of critical incident (reasons why the incident was considered critical)	Actions and movements through the narrative, including feelings, actions, and reactions	Answers questions associated with emotional labor experiences, actions taken, and resulting learning/meaning making

Source: Adapted from Ollerenshaw and Creswell (2002).

I followed this general approach in constructing the original set of 72 critical incident narratives that formed the full complement of identified critical incidents. It is worth pointing out that not all identified critical incidents resulted in a clear resolution. In some cases, the lack of closure from the narrative standpoint actually represented something of a resolution through non-resolution. In some cases, the identified critical incidents generated ongoing questions for participants rather than answers. These incidents were retained as critical incidents because of their ability to provide rich descriptive and contextual details about feelings associated with a particular emotional labor incident. For this study, the incorporation of the problem-solution represented a broad structural framework for identifying and organizing the content of critical incident narratives.

Poetic Inquiry

The goal of qualitative research is to collect thick and rich descriptive accounts of the lives of participants. Often these accounts yield overwhelming amounts of data that cannot be fully accounted for in traditional transcription and analysis. The subtlety of

affective nuances is sometimes lost in the desire for rich description, dampening the emotion of voices yet to be heard. Poetic inquiry offers an opportunity to approach these voices and represent their experiences in ways that are accessible and meaningful to readers (Poindexter, 2002). Found poetry offers one avenue of exploration for the representation of the nuances not easily accounted for in traditional transcripts. Found poetry "takes the words of others and transforms them into poetic form…" (Butler-Kisber, 2002, p. 233).

During one of the interviews for the current study, one participant described a critical incident that included poignant and personal details about her emotional struggles and frustration with the way a friend and colleague was being treated by others in the program. During transcription, I realized that the sensitive nature of the incident would likely prevent its inclusion in the data set. In order to preserve and retain the incident, I turned to poetic inquiry as a possible alternative. Butler-Kisber's (2002) approach to found poetry provided a useful means of preserving the emotional qualities of the incident without betraying its origin. Found poetry limits the range of possible expression by limiting selection of words to those found in the transcript. This was appealing to me in that it allowed a certain amount of expressive creativity without severing the connection to the participant's voice. I began working with the transcript by identifying words that seemed to convey the raw emotions of the incident. I then began experimenting with different combinations of words for variations in rhythmic and emotional impact. In this instance, the struggle of having to hold back or suppress frustration and disappointment was especially poignant as a type of emotional disconnect or dissonance. I continued to experiment with word combinations until I found one that

captured the poignancy of the emotional dissonance without betraying the identity of the participant. Using a found poetry approach allowed me to explore better the feeling behind the suppression of emotion.

Data Analysis

All recorded interviews were transcribed by the researcher and the raw transcript data was analyzed for the presence of critical incidents. Critical incident data were culled and configured using narrative and poetic inquiry approaches. This process resulted in the construction of 72 initial critical incident narratives, including 71 narrative critical incidents and 1 poetic critical incident (see Table 3.1 for a complete description of the narratives). Narratives were first sorted according to overall positive and negative valance—those reflecting negative emotional situations and those reflecting positive emotional situations. Following Katz's (1983, 2001) description of analytic induction, analytic assertions were created for each incident. These assertions were created using Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotional labor to capture how each incident might contribute to an understanding of the emotional labor of adult educators.

Critical Incident 1 – Sandra – Being the Heavy

Analytical Assertion: Setting boundaries for students in the program heightens uncertainty and emotional discomfort.

Emotion Requirements	Emotion Evaluation & Regulation	Emotion Performance	Contextual Factors (Personal)	Emotional Labor Outcomes/Resulting State of Mind
Professionalism emphasized as expectation for program Need to address problems to give the appearance of not having any	Uncomfortable with age relation and working with adults outside of context of guiding/editing assignments Uncomfortable providing corrective guidance or "being the heavy" for adult learners Expresses possible need to suppress discomfort	Uses surface acting to address expectation of emphasizing professionalism: "You're going to have to do this when you're a teacher, so it's doubly important that you don't turn in your report cards late. You can't turn in your progress reports late to administration and parents."	General excitement about working with the program Comfortable working with K-12 students Mentions opportunities for experience and growth Felt comfortable guiding assignments	Some emotional dissonance possible: "I keep coming back to consequences—how to set appropriate boundaries." Suppressing this over time could become an issue

Figure 3.1. Sample critical incident analysis template.

Hochschild's definition concentrates on the work we do on feeling in organizational settings and as such, assertions were created to reflect this aspect of emotional labor. Following initial edits and clarifications, I began the process of identifying which critical incident narratives best informed the emotional labor process. To facilitate this part of the analysis, I developed a template from the emotional labor model described earlier. An example of this template is presented in Figure 3.1 and includes categories adapted from Grandey and Gabriel's (2015) model of emotional labor. Critical incidents were also reviewed for completeness of narrative development. After reviewing the initial 72 critical incidents for emotional labor and narrative characteristics, I selected a sample of 31 critical incident narratives for analysis. The remaining 41 initial critical incidents provided partial or incomplete narratives and were excluded because of a lack of analytic robustness. The 31 critical incidents, along with demographic descriptions and portraits of each participant, are presented in full in Chapter 4. Table 3.2 provides information

about the selected incidents, including the incident number, the participant, the title of the incident, and the associated analytical assertion.

Table 3.2

Selected Critical Incident Narratives

Incident#	Participant	Title	Assertion
2.	Sandra	I wanted to stay out of it	Role uncertainty enhances emotional conflicts and instability with student teacher, faculty, and collegial relationships.
6.	Sandra	Gratified in my envisioned role as teacher	Working independently with student teachers builds trust and enhances feelings of gratification.
8.	Sandra	Being a sounding board	Listening and empathy enhance emotional support for student teachers within the program.
9.	Sandra	Keeping frustration in check	Listening and empathy enhance emotional support for student teachers within the program.
12.	Maria	Offering encouragement	Maintaining encouragement creates a positive emotional support structure for student teachers in the program.
14.	Stephanie	Nurturing their arrival	Creating an emotionally nurturing environment increases the sense of trust between student teachers and faculty.
17.	Stephanie	Right here in front of you	Cultivating emotional awareness heightens awareness of classroom/contextual conditions.
19.	Stephanie	I was glad I went with my gut	Resisting the expectations of others increases the effort needed to display true feelings or emotional consonance.
21.	Stephanie	I was just tired of it	Effective use of emotion management strategies requires the development of trusting relationships.
23.	Stephanie	This is powerful	Using play as a form of emotional engagement enhances the sense of a familial learning environment.
28.	Bettie	Even though we know it's going to make us sad	Using empathy to create understanding of diverse classroom and learning conditions increases the need to manage personal feelings.
30.	Bettie	Chance to feel like they've been	Creating a positive environment for a

Incident#	Participant	Title	Assertion
		heard	student teacher facing a difficult situation increases the need to manage personal feelings of conflict and frustration.
32.	Bettie	Recognizing emotion in teaching and learning	Incorporating emotional aspects of both teaching and learning enhances motion management skills.
33.	Bettie	That feeling of discovery	Withholding criticism helps to foster a positive feeling of discovery.
36.	Amy	Trying to fix this	Simultaneously managing multiple emotional situations across the program increases the need to suppress personal feelings of distress.
37.	Amy	Letting go	A sense of responsibility for student success heightens the discomfort of emotional dissonance and the suppression of disappointment.
38.	Amy	Can't pick up the pieces for him	Managing a single emotional event can require multiple and conflicting emotional labor performances across different layers and relationships of the program.
39.	Amy	I don't really like professors	Suppressing feelings of vulnerability can heighten a sense of role insecurity.
41.	Amy	What were you thinking?	Effort needed to suppress a strong negative emotion, such as shock, can decrease over time if greater effort is needed to sustain a different emotion or feeling state, such as positive emotional support.
49.	Barbara	How is it?	Sustained suppression of feelings of irritation increase a sense of uncertainty.
51.	Bob	Oh shit, I don't know who they are	Underestimating instructional level of students can increase the need to suppress feelings of insecurity.
55.	Bob	I like to glare at them	Sustained surface acting increases the opportunity of experiencing a similar felt emotion over time.
56.	Bob	Why don't they care	Surface acting techniques can enhance critical thinking and reflection opportunities for student teachers.
57.	Bob	I try to be a cheerleader	When dealing with frustration, emotional intelligence techniques such

Incident#	Participant	Title	Assertion
			as empathy can reduce the effort needed for deep acting.
60.	Stan	Emotional data of experience	Virtual simulations can buffer the need to suppress feelings associated with a sustained emotional dissonance.
62.	Stan	They need to be cultural guides	Virtual simulations can enhance the development of emotional intelligence skills.
63.	Stan	I just collected data	Virtual simulations can represent a technological extension of surface acting.
64.	Stan	It's like, "yes!"	Use of instructional strategies can reduce the effort needed for emotional labor performance.
69.	Stan	Embarrassment mode	Emotional intelligence techniques can reduce feelings of tension and embarrassment following a misdirected emotional labor experience.
71.	Stan	Safety in potentially volatile environments	Using humor increases a feeling of safety in volatile learning environments.
72.	Stan	He was going to sabotage this class	Engagement as a teaching/learning strategy can decrease the effort needed to suppress strong negative feelings such as anger or frustration.

Trustworthiness

"Both producers and consumers of research want to be assured that the findings of an investigation are to be believed and trusted" (Merriam & Simpson, 1995, p. 101). This assurance establishes the credibility of a study and the extent to which a researcher has attempted to accurately portray his or her interpretation of a co-constructed reality, or the "interpretation of someone else's interpretation" (p. 101). These co-constructed interpretations produce the "data" of qualitative research. While I referred to the raw data of participant transcripts earlier in this chapter, such a thing as raw data does not exist, data "uncontaminated by human thought and action…" (Freeman, deMarrais, Preissle,

Roulston, & St. Pierre, 2007. p. 25). Given the co-constructed nature of qualitative research, trustworthiness is established in several ways, including triangulation, member checks, peer examination, reflexivity statements, and submersion in the research context (Merriam & Simpson, 1995, p. 102).

Internal validity addresses how well the research findings depict reality. However, one of the challenges of depicting reality is that it does not exist in a fixed state that is easily captured. Perceptions of reality are fluid and ever-changing, and because of this, multiple approaches are often needed to ensure the credibility of findings (Merriam, 2009). To greater enhance the trustworthiness of this study, I utilized multiple methods of data collection, including the collection of critical incidents through semi-structured interviews and field notes collected during interviews. Following the narrative inquiry approach described earlier, critical incidents were extracted and constructed from raw interview transcripts. Additionally, analytical assertions were developed for each critical incident.

Member checking enhances validity by allowing participants to review and provide feedback on initial findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009). Member checking is also a noted as a means of establishing credibility in CIT research (Butterfield, Borgen, Amundson & Maglio, 2005). As a form of member checking, critical incident narratives, along with corresponding analytical assertions, were shared with participants for feedback and suggestions. Following revisions, participants were given an additional opportunity to review the critical incidents and analytical assertions for accuracy. Three of the eight participants returned narratives with minor edits and

adjustments. One participant was uncertain of the association of one analytic assertion, but this one was eventually approved after a brief conversation with the participant.

The peer review process (Merriam, 2009) or peer debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1986) allows others with knowledge of a topic and methods to provide recommendations. Ellinger and Bostrom (2002) found peer review to be a useful means of establishing trustworthiness in critical incident studies. For doctoral students, this process often involves circulating copies of chapters to members of the dissertation committee. Throughout the course of this study, I shared copies of transcripts, critical incident narratives, analytical assertions, and initial findings with the committee chair and other members of the committee. The committee chair served as an ongoing source of feedback during the study. Other members of the committee served as a secondary review source and provided additional comments and suggestions.

In qualitative research, reliability addresses the issue of how well the results of a study are represented by the collected data (Merriam, 2009). In other words, are the findings of the study consistent with the data? The issue of reliability is uniquely problematic in social sciences because human behavior and experiences are not represented by static or fixed events. Qualitative researchers address problems of reliability by concentrating on transparency throughout the process of data collection and analysis. This transparency is often achieved with the use of an audit trail that includes details about how data were collected and how decisions were made during the development of categories and themes. In this case, the audit trail included an interview protocol used with each participant, a contact log for participants, notes from interviews, the interview transcripts and critical incident narratives and the template form with notes

and memos used during analysis (described in detail in the data analysis section of this study).

Subjectivity Statement

Peshkin (1988) reminds us that subjectivity is present in all aspects of our lives and that it encapsulates more than just our immediate academic and research environments. Given this, there are several considerations that might affect my own subjectivity in terms of the proposed research. I have developed a study in which I propose to examine potentially sensitive workplace characteristics within the context of an educational environment. Most of my professional career has been spent working in a variety of educational settings, and each of these experiences has left its own uniquely indelible impression. My earliest undergraduate training as a public school music teacher provided me with a foundation and awareness of many general issues concerning education—especially issues of pedagogy, curriculum development, and classroom management. Additionally, my undergraduate studies provided me with a broad introduction to cultural issues often associated with a humanities background, but it was also this undergraduate experience that left me with some of my earliest impressions of what it was like to participate in a large educational environment—especially in terms of the mentor-like relationships that form between some teachers and students and how important these relationships can be to the success of students. I mention this because I greatly benefited from the encouragement and attention given by a few key instructors, and I have come to greatly appreciate the emotional time, effort, and energy that must be invested in order to reach the unique needs of students. My work as a professional academic librarian has shaped much of my understanding of the contextual nature of

organizational settings and has also been responsible for many of my contacts with adult learners and those who provide instruction to adult learners. I have been responsible for developing and delivering instructional programs to adult learners in an academic setting and have been able to build upon my earlier interests in the interactions of teachers and students in an academic environment. At the same time, these experiences highlight a few of the challenges that I will need to be aware of as I attempt to explore issues of emotions and emotional labor among adult educators in an organizational setting. Many of the programs that reach adult learners take place in environments very different from my own position in higher education. For example, adult educators working within the context of a community literacy program or a prison education system will have vastly different experiences and perceptions about the nature of their students and the placement and investment of emotional energies. The demands of emotions and emotional labor in the classroom do not run along a one-way street and much of what I explored asked individuals to consider potentially difficult or uncomfortable questions about perceptions of their relationships with both their students and their organizations. Most of my professional work experience has evolved within the context of small private colleges, and my assumptions about working and teaching environments could be quite different from those who have worked in other settings. Beyond all of this, there is the recognition that I am still evolving in terms of my skills and abilities as a researcher. Bettie St. Pierre once described the process of engaging in research as one of "rigorous confusion." This has certainly been true of my experience as a doctoral student and evolving researcher. Rigorous confusion is the challenging work of thinking. It is challenging because it disrupts. It disrupts the ordinary and mundane to expose the complexity of knowledge

often taken for granted and at face value. It forces us to challenge how we think and to be willing to change how we think. Changing how we think is a daunting task that often leaves us uncertain and unwilling—blinded by the seemingly insurmountable opacity of confusion. This is the challenge that I set for myself in completing this dissertation.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I described the theoretical and methodological approaches utilized in the current study. Semi-structured interviews and the critical incident technique were used for data collection. Critical incident narratives were crafted using raw data from transcripts. Analytical assertions were created to describe each incident. Issues of reliability and validity were addressed, and a description of each phase of the research process was provided in sufficient detail for the reader to make inferences of the validity and reliability of the critical incident narratives presented in Chapter 4 and the findings and conclusions presented in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

PARTICIPANTS AND CRITICAL INCIDENT NARRATIVES

The charm of the little robot R2-D2,
in the film Star Wars, is that he seems so human.
(Hochschild, 1983)

The purpose of this study was to explore how adult educators describe and make meaning of emotional labor experiences in an organizational setting. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight participants who serve as faculty members in a teacher training program that prepares working professionals in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields to become public school teachers in areas with disadvantaged or underserved populations. These interviews initially yielded a total of 72 critical incidents. Narrative representations were crafted for each incident using the raw data from each of the interview transcripts, and 31 incidents were ultimately selected for presentation and analysis here (see Chapter 3 for a description of the process for selecting the incidents included here and Appendix A for a complete listing of the original 72 incidents). A brief biographical vignette is provided for each participant with the selected critical incidents following. The words of participants are presented in italics throughout the narrative body of this chapter.

Participants and Critical Incidents

The eight participants in this study were faculty members teaching in a national program that prepares professionals working in STEM fields for new careers as public school teachers. A single site implementation of the program at a college in the

Southeastern United States was selected for this study. At the time of the study, participants had 1 to 2 years of experience teaching in the program; however, all of the participants had several years of combined experience in a wide array of educational settings, including public schools, corporate training, and adult and higher education. Table 4.1 provides a demographic summary of the eight participants who provided critical incidents for this study.

Table 4.1

Demographic Profiles of Participants Supplying Critical Incidents

Pseudonym	Age Range	Race*	Gender	Education	Years Teaching Adults	Years Teaching in Program
Sandra	31-40	W	F	PhD / Educational Psychology	8	1
Maria	41-50	W	F	PhD / Educational Leadership	16	2
Stephanie	51 or Older	W	F	PhD / Administration and Supervision	20	2
Bettie	41-50	W	F	EdD / Curriculum & Instruction	2	2
Amy	51 or Older	W	F	EdD / Curriculum & Instruction	5	2
Barbara	51 or Older	W	F	PhD / Psychology: Cognition & Development	33	2
Bob	41-50	W	M	PhD / Educational Psychology	12	2
Stan	51 or Older	W	M	PhD in Instructional Design & Technology	35	2

Note: *Race: W=White

Sandra

Sandra is a white female in her middle 30s with a PhD in educational psychology. She has been working with adult learners for 8 years, and before joining the current program, she worked primarily as a classroom instructor helping to prepare teacher candidates for elementary and middle school positions. She remarked that she had felt *fairly removed* from the public school classroom environment and was enthusiastic about

the opportunity to work with teacher candidates in the field again. And while she was visibly excited about the possibility of working with older students, she did note concerns about working with student teachers who were already experts in their respective fields. She seemed to struggle with issues of how to engage student teachers in the program as well as issues of how to engage her role as site coordinator. Emotionally, she struggled with managing her own frustrations with these issues while continuing to maintain a positive support structure for student teachers in the program. Selections from Sandra's critical incident narratives are presented below.

Incident 2: I Wanted to Stay Out of It

One of my [student teachers] *was having a very difficult time with the host teacher—the relationship was disintegrating. I'm observing and speaking with both of them in debriefings. But over a period of time, I'm hearing something from the* [program director]. [By that time], *we've gone all the way up to the top of the food chain, and the host teacher has gone and expressed concerns to the principal. I haven't had this communication with the host teacher. I'm only hearing things from the* [student teacher], *and then I'm hearing things from my supervisor that the host teacher has called. 'That was a really difficult situation because I wasn't necessarily sure how to address the problem. Is this truly just the case of two personalities clashing? Was it something that I needed to address with my* [student teacher]*?' I felt quite conflicted. I saw my role as a site coordinator to be a support for the student, and I also felt like it was very important for me to maintain our relationship. We did have a relationship that was built on trust, and he felt comfortable accepting constructive feedback from me. At the same time, I almost felt like it was above my head and I wanted to stay out of it and not get involved.*

[Ultimately, I ended up] *on the phone and asking for help. Dr. _____, Dr. _____, and myself asking questions like, 'How shall we handle this?' I felt supported in that regard, but there was a period of a couple of days where it was just lot of phone calls being made between me and*

Dr. _____. Dr. ____ got in touch with Dr. _____ and relay calling and trying to figure out the best way to deal with the situation. Again, I think this teaching situation is, as far as working with adult learners, a little bit different in that there are multiple parties and institutions involved. Honestly, in the moment, I thought, 'I don't want to be involved in this. I want to get out of this. This is not what I signed up for.' It felt like losing sight of what I wanted to do or what my purpose was. And I think part of that just came from being uncomfortable because it was a situation I had to participate in. So, a little bit over my head, and again, I keep coming back to if this had just been one of my on-campus classes, it might have felt a little bit different. We're on the tail end of it now, so it's now and everybody's back on track, I think, and successful.

Incident 6: Gratified in My Envisioned Role as Teacher

One time where I really felt like I was honoring my responsibility—what I had envisioned for myself as my role as a teacher—was one time where one of my [student teachers] *had received feedback from another professor about a paper. He was unclear about what the professor's feedback was and what was being asked of him. He had called and asked if I could meet with him at the school and sit down and review the commentary with him. We probably spent two hours together where I was helping him understand what the critique was, the points he had missed, and then helping him figure out how to move forward. During that, there was for him a lot of, 'Oh, I understand now,'* [and] *light bulbs going off. By asking him questions and referencing things that I had observed, he was then able to articulate what he needed to meet the expectations of that particular paper. I felt good because he trusted me and felt comfortable asking me to come and help him. I felt gratified that I was able to make sense of what he was concerned about and help him work through that and that he was able to take my feedback and ultimately complete the assignment.*

Incident 8: Being a Sounding Board

I have built a relationship with this one individual, such that there's times where I've had to use emotion as far as being an empathic listener, an encourager, and a sounding board for him to express concerns. There was a time where he was spoken to very sternly by the supervisor of the program because of concerns about some of his behaviors in labs, his performance on a final, [and] *requests to be absent on a couple of occasions. She really had to read him the riot act. That was one of those times where I felt like, okay, he's had his talking to. He's calling me to be a support within the program. In that instance, I used empathy and listened to what he was talking about. I would not say that I would validate all his statements like, 'Oh, you know that is so awful that she said that.' I would not undermine what she said, but I would allow him to just talk. Then there have been other instances where* [I had to be mindful of] *boundaries within the program and not wanting to undermine my colleagues so that there is a consistent message or expectations—and not wanting to bridge that line between being an instructor and a friend. I don't see myself as a friend. I don't see that that's my job, but I do believe that I can support any student best if I can also, when appropriate, be empathic and understanding and address the social and emotional concerns that the may have too.*

Incident 9: Keeping Frustration in Check

There was another instance where I was really concerned about him. He's in this new phenomenal placement. He was given this other opportunity to move into a new classroom. This teacher took him on midyear. I would go and observe him in class, and he would be in the back and not paying attention. I kept thinking if this was me, I would be sitting there and writing down everything that this master teacher is doing. I think we all felt so appreciative of this teacher for opening his classroom. I wanted to see my student demonstrating some [professionalism]. *One time it was his birthday, and he asked for the day off. It happened to be in the middle of parent-teacher conferences, and to me, it just seemed totally unprofessional. I was frustrated and*

irritated with him and concerned about how his behavior was going to reflect on us—almost just out of respect for his host teacher. If he did that sort of stuff when he's a teacher, he would get in trouble. He had emailed me to ask if he could be off and I wrote back and said, 'No, it's important that you attend parent-teacher conferences. It's a valuable learning opportunity.' I felt like I had to be firm and not say, 'Yes, it's your birthday. You deserve the day off.' I think it's very different from any other traditional adult ed. situations where you have the instructor and the student…. Some of the frustration that I've had with this one student, I've had to keep in check and make sure that I'm focused on specific behaviors [and] *specific outcomes instead of just saying, 'Get your act together.' I disengage* [while] *trying to remain unemotional and trying to focus on the situation at hand. That's been in the face of feeling really frustrated or irritated—those times where you feel like you've had a conversation five times and you have to have it another time. You want to say, 'Why haven't you gotten this yet?'*

Maria

Maria is a white female in her 30s who has served in a variety of public school positions, including classroom teacher and principal. She has been working with adult learners for 16 years and has been associated with the current program for 2 years where she has served as an administrative assistant to the program director. Maria does not interact with student teachers in the program on a regular basis, but she does talk about her feelings of empathy towards them and the challenges facing them as they navigate the complexities of changing careers to become a teacher. Overall, her own emotional experiences are positive, and she emphasizes her belief in the success of the program and a desire to offer *encouragement* to student teachers as they progress through the program. While only one critical incident is provided by Maria, it offers us a glimpse into the

organizational emotional labor expectations of projecting an image of a successful environment. Maria's critical incident is included below.

Incident 12: Offering Encouragement

I've tried to give them encouragement, encouraging words like, 'You can do this. You're almost there. You're doing a great job.' The edTPA really got to them. A lot of them were super stressed with that. That's a portfolio based assessment that the state has implemented for all teacher candidates. They have to put together a portfolio, and they have to pass that to be certified. They get really nervous because they're being videotaped and there's a lot of written commentary. It's really intimidating, and it took a lot of time to put together. They're trying to prepare lessons for their classroom, for their field experience, and continue each day with their students. And then they have coursework too; it's just a lot. [I try to have] *empathy for them. The way the program is designed is really a positive thing, and I think it's going to help them be more successful as teachers in future. We try to present a very positive manner and to encourage them by saying that this is something that you do anyway, 'You plan for your lessons. You're not just videotaping yourself and then you're going to give your students an assessment. You're just presenting this to an outside person to show them how good you are.'*

Stephanie

Stephanie describes herself as a *transformational leader*. She has worked with adult learners for over 20 years and has worked directly with the current program for 2 years as program director and faculty member. Her involvement, however, extends well beyond this; she was also instrumental in the planning and development of the program, including recruiting and selecting the first cohort of student teachers. Stephanie holds a PhD in administration and supervision, but she is also active as a certified marriage and family counselor. Her description as *transformational* can be seen in her *nurturing* attitude towards students and the overall program. Emotionally, she concentrates great

care on cultivating a successful learning environment. Partial funding for the program is received from a national organization, and Stephanie observed: *It's really funny, most of the other colleges spent a lot of their funds paying faculty to do work, and I spent a lot of funds on the* [student teachers]*—like I said, feeding them, buying them shirts.'* Building a sense of community is important to her. *I think people want to feel a part of something, and I think as we get older, there's less facilitation of that.* However, building a sense of community is about much more than creating a pleasant learning environment. She encourages student teachers in the program to challenge what they think they know about poverty and the learning environments that they will be working in: *Really, let go of what you think you know and be open to learning something.* Her tone of voice and demeanor during the interview only further reinforced the strong feelings she associates with her involvement in the program. Following are the selected critical incident narratives provided by Stephanie.

Incident 14: Nurturing Their Arrival

They don't really know what's about to hit them. By virtue of the nature of the program, they're intelligent; they're worldly, [and] *even then ones that are just out of undergraduate programs have backgrounds and experiences that surpass typical groups of students. They're very committed, open, communicative, and for the most part allow themselves to be vulnerable to the process, which there's a huge effort on our part to establish a sense of trust with them before they ever get here.*

I spent a lot of time in those initial days nurturing their arrival—everything from making sure that their bathrooms are cleaned in the dorms to gift bags to cell phone numbers, meeting their families, [and] *feeding them. Food has been a central part of this*

program. It's really funny, most of the other colleges spent a lot of their funds paying faculty to do work, and I spent a lot of funds on the [student teachers]*—like I said, feeding them, buying them shirts. We bought a van so we could all travel together. That sense of community is something I don't think you find in higher ed. except maybe in sororities and fraternities or something, but not in an educational setting, per se, not on a big scale like this.* [It's important] *because I think that's just what people want. I think people want to feel a part of something, and I think as we get older, there's less facilitation of that. You have to seek it out yourself. I think with graduate students, in particular; we don't create nurturing environments for them. We don't provide those supports for them like we do for undergrads. And just because somebody's 30 years old doesn't mean that they don't still appreciate and need, it's not mothering; it's the promotion of collegial interaction and value. I think they feel valued when we do things.* [We find] *out when their birthdays are and* [make] *a dessert for every single one of them on their birthday. We just know who they are as people as well as who they are as students. I don't think that we do that very well at all in higher ed.—certainly not in the graduate programs. I think we just think that these are grownups, they have their own families* [and] *they don't need that kind of care.*

Incident 17: Right Here in Front of You

Some of that comes too from the way we teach, I think. Because when you're teaching something like poverty in a classroom with air conditioning and nice lighting and everybody's got a snack, there is a disconnect there. To expect students to be able to get into that level of emotion is [difficult]*, but like in this particular class that I'm talking about, I showed a video called Rich Hill. It's an actual documentary about that, and so*

you bring it a little closer in, but it's very much founded in Dewey where he says unless you've had that experience you can't. We do try to take them into the actual scenarios. Before we did the class on poverty, we took them to [a disadvantaged school], *and they worked with high-risk kids in a school. They actually got to see how kids are dirty or see how they don't bring their materials. So, we try to do that, but you can't do that 24/7. That's one of the reasons the year-long clinical experience with this program is so important. They're actually learning in the context of the school setting. Where I really get excited is that you're there in the classroom and something happens, and you have the opportunity to say, "Here it is, right here in front of you. This is it. This is what we're talking about."*

Incident 19: I Was Glad I Went with My Gut

The strongest emotion that I have felt in this entire process was for a [student teacher] *who a couple of the faculty, when we were reviewing files for selection, said, "No." They just did not think we should take this person as a* [student teacher]. *I felt very different than that. I met the student in person, and I immediately had a connection with him and felt that there was so much more there than was on paper. And that turned out to be completely true—it was a sense of relief because this person is going to make a difference—already has. I was glad that I went with my gut. I was glad I wasn't influenced by academics because there's so much more there. You can teach people things, but you can't create virtues, and I tend* [to be] *much more drawn to that than I am somebody who just has a strong academic background. And as it turned out, this person is probably the strongest* [student teachers] *we've had yet overall. The best all-around if*

you want to call it that. It was very affirming, and it really influenced my final decision making on the second cohort in terms of what I was looking for in folks.

Incident 21: Using Emotion to Go Deeper

I'm a trained marriage and family therapist, and so I find myself, and I used the word manipulation a minute ago, but I find myself very often knowing how to use words and tones to trigger things and I think probably I do it more to get people to go deeper. A student might provide an answer to something, and I know good and well that that's either just the surface or that they're not being [completely] *honest. I'll challenge that, but in a way that a counselor would, if you will, to get them to either get more honest or go deeper. I do that fairly often, but I'm very careful to know that that trust level is already established before I push somebody to that point. I can think of one particular incident with a* [student teacher]*. This person is an extraordinary writer. I mean extraordinary. And yet,* [she] *offers excuses all the time for doing work late or not doing work well.* [She] *constantly complains about the workload and how* [she doesn't] *have the skill to do the assignment, when, absolutely,* [she's] *one of the best writers that I've ever encountered. One time, I was just tired of it. I had just handed back a set of papers, and I don't know if sarcasm is an emotion, but it's certainly what I used. She made some comment to indicate that she had struggled with the assignment and I just said, 'Could you turn to the back of your paper and read aloud my feedback?' And of course, it said, 'This is the best.' I tried to process with her, 'What is it that you don't see there?' It was kind of risky and probably put her on the spot more than she wanted to be on the spot. But that's a time that I can remember saying, 'I'm not going to let this go,' and use whatever to break this down. I did see a little bit of a change in her after that. It was kind*

of passive aggressive on my part too. If I think back strongly enough, I probably set it up so that whatever her comment was led to that [interaction].

Incident 23: This is Powerful

Another time that was sort of a similar feeling of 'Oh, my gosh!' was when we had a drone workshop [and] *exhibition. Collectively, the two cohorts built radio controlled aircraft together. We took them out onto the soccer field to fly them. I actually started crying on this one. The first one finally flew. Not many of them got up, but it wasn't the fact that the airplane flew, it was looking up at them, and their arms were in the air. I've got a picture of it. They were like, 'Yes!' For me, it was like, 'Wow! This is powerful, and we created this opportunity for them.' You just don't get that in a lecture or in a classroom.* [It was powerful] *to see professional people engage in what I would call play. It required a lot of academic knowledge to build these things. The launching of them was child's play. It was so joyful and uninhibited—like licking icing or something. You don't get that much in academia. We do a lot of that in* [this program]. *We do a lot where things that don't normally happen in learning environments get to happen. It was* [significant] *because it was so emotional. It was like you gave somebody a present that they really liked. You were just so overwhelmed with how much it meant to them, and it wouldn't have happened if we hadn't done it. I think that goes back to the familial environment that surrounds the learning. You take the whole hierarchy of needs and consider it, and I think that makes the difference.*

Bettie

As one of the more recent additions to the faculty and the program, Bettie describes herself as someone who is *creative* and thinks *out of the box*. Bettie is a white

female in her 40s and holds an EdD in curriculum and instruction. She has been involved with adult learners and the program as a faculty member for about 2 years. Before joining the faculty, she spent several years teaching in public schools. As a faculty member in the program, she has been responsible for coordinating and supervising field experiences for student teachers in the program. These field experiences are somewhat unique in that the association with the student teacher continues for a 3-year period after they have gained employment. She expressed considerable enthusiasm about this aspect of the program, remarking, *You really get the impact of what they have learned in the classroom in practice in their own classrooms.* This enthusiasm was evident throughout the interview in her voice and use of non-verbal expressions and gestures. Emotionally, she concentrated on the positive aspects of the program and a desire to create a successful learning environment. However, she did remark on how difficult this can be to achieve. She spoke of using emotion or teaching emotional labor to student teachers as a means of preparing them for the settings that they will ultimately be teaching in. *It's a really difficult subject to deal with because when you talk about where some of these children are, it's emotional and it's emotional for them, but it's actually a way to use that emotion to help them understand why it so important….* Bettie's critical incident narratives are presented in the following section.

Incident 28: Even Though We Know It's Going to Make Us Sad

One of the things we do try to show our students is, 'This is what some of your students are bringing with them to class.' It's a really difficult subject to deal with because when you talk about where some of these children are, it's emotional and it's emotional for them, but it's actually a way to use that emotion to help them understand

why it's so important to differentiate, why it's so important not to snap to judgements about students. If you have a student that's always falling asleep in class, maybe you need to find out why. I think it's probably affected all of our students, but generally we see it the most, even though we teach [it] *in the classroom when they go out into the schools and they start that internship experience, and they really have to interact with some of these students. We have interns with students who don't speak English, and they experience the frustration of trying to communicate with that student, but also how scary would that be to be in a school with thousands of other people and you can't even say, 'I'm sick, or I need to go to the restroom—or even, where is the restroom?' So, they've had those experiences. Also, we've had teachers or interns come back and say, 'I'm so sad for my students because they've gotten to high school and they're on a third-grade reading level. How can I fix this for them? What do we do?' Because they know that their students are embarrassed, they know that their students are struggling, and they feel that sadness for them. They really want to make it better, and they don't know how. And for us, it's a teachable moment.*

Incident 30: Chance to Feel Like They've Been Heard

This was one of those times where I felt one thing and probably showed another because we try to be very positive, especially when the student is already down. You try to portray what's positive and show them the potential ways to remedy this problem or to fix things. I was listening to them vent all of their frustrations and talk about this, and I was really sad for the student. I felt like, 'Wow, this really isn't working out.' I'm trying to help the student feel better about the situation, but in my mind, I'm thinking, 'I don't know what to do.' That was a conflict. Some of that conflict is in my role. I do all the field

placements and all the induction support. I want to support that situation and find ways to make it work and ways to help. As a professor who was with this person when they started out and have helped them go through, I really wanted to say, 'I don't want you to be there either. I want to send you to a school where they love you and think you're great.' That is a conflict with, 'I feel this way, but then I know that really….' But I did know at that point that it would not have helped the student for me to be down about the situation as well. You try to be positive with them and on the inside, I was feeling just as negative as they were. I was concerned that if I was also negative about it and down, that it would just depress the student even more. I was wanting to [say]*, 'Let's calm down and let's think about the situation.' Sometimes they will get into a frustrating situation, and it's hard for them to see other sides of the story. That's why I felt like it was important for me to kind of mirror the other side and help them to see that maybe it wasn't as bad as they felt like it was.*

Incident 32: Recognizing Emotion in Teaching and Learning

One thing that I think is unique about [this program] *is that we recognize that a lot of teaching is actually emotional—it's not just the emotion in teaching students, but it's emotional to be a learner. As a teacher, you have to deal with both of those sides. I think we've done a good job of trying to at least help* [student teachers] *see that that it is a strong factor in your classroom. For a long time, I think we tried to link it more towards motivation and not really identify it as emotional. But how your students feel about learning has a lot to do with how much they'll learn. That's one of the things* [that's] *especially difficult for new teachers because they're trying to figure out teaching, let alone figure out all this other stuff. That can be frustrating, but we have made it a*

point to make sure that they understand that there are some really emotional aspects to teaching. There are things that you're going to bring home with you, that are going to weigh on you and that you're going to have to find a way to deal with. There are times when, as a classroom teacher, you may be really mad with a student because of some of their actions, but you have to get up the next day and let it be a new day. If you are mad with a parent, you don't get to hold a grudge, and you can't take it out on their child.

Incident 33: That Feeling of Discovery

One of the new [student teachers] *came in, and they were so excited because they were going to write a paper. They were going to write a paper on this theory that they had come up with. At this point, of course, they had not had a lot of theory or research, and they were just starting out. We were sitting there knowing that this theory had been developed many years ago, but they had just discovered it for themselves. We were trying to be very positive and upbeat because we didn't want to diminish that wonderful feeling of discovery that you got* [from] *it. They could figure it out another day. On this day, we wanted to support them. But in a way, you're going, 'That's been around for a long time.' You still want to do the excitement for that student because they're getting at things, things are clicking.*

Amy

Amy is a white female in her 50s. She has been working with adult learners for 5 years and has been active in the current program for 2 years. She holds an EdD in curriculum and instruction and currently serves as the curriculum director for the program. Her previous professional experience includes working as a public school teacher. She describes herself as someone who *values interaction with students and*

learners as they grow. In addition to working as curriculum director, Amy has also served as a site coordinator for the program, an experience she describes as something akin to *a college supervisor on steroids*. Her enthusiasm for students was further reinforced during the interview through her use of facial expressions, hand/arm gestures, and her tone of voice. She also spoke very poignantly of her struggles to balance her own emotional responses with the expectations of colleagues and the contextual demands of certain situations. Her enthusiasm for students sometimes made this difficult. She noted that there were times where '*I felt responsible and distressed, and I questioned myself*.' At the same time, Amy appears to have learned from experiences with managing emotions: '*I think I tried to be more facilitative in my role as site coordinator. I am more aware of it*.' The following section contains selections from the critical incidents provided by Amy.

Incident 36: Trying to Fix This

I was being backed by my immediate supervisor and being criticized by a colleague who was in the program. That was very uncomfortable for me. I felt my allegiance to the cohort of [student teachers]. *And because I felt like I had the experience of working day-to-day with them, I felt like I needed to stand by them and I did. We made some changes at the last minute to how the grading was going to happen and that made some other program colleagues uncomfortable because now, after the fact, we're saying, "So now we need some data from you about what happened over the summer because we need this presentation and portfolio to not be the only way we're assessing them." It made other faculty members* [uncomfortable] *because their understanding was that they were facilitating experiences with the* [student teachers], *but that the evidence of their*

work with them was going to be this final presentation. This culminating piece was it. We were then asking them to, 'Hey, go back and rate, grade, give us something so that we can spread out the impact of this single thing.'

We didn't foresee; I didn't foresee, none of us really did, the pressure they [students] *would feel to perform at that point…. In the middle of it, I was very distressed because I felt responsible. Because* [the program director] *was away, I felt like, 'Should I have foreseen this?' There were grumblings earlier. 'Should we have prepared for it more?' The way we planned the summer was less intentional than the rest of the program, 'Should we have given them more time to do this?' The days that we said, 'Oh, this afternoon is free for you to breathe and go.' Should that have been a time we said, 'You need to start working on this.' I felt responsible and distressed, and I questioned myself. But I again felt, like I said, this allegiance to these* [students], *and knew that this is a program that we had signed on for three years. I was not going to let it fall apart at that point. I think I also gained some degree of confidence in standing my ground and backing them up.* [The program director's] *backing and confidence in me was one thing, but the* [student teachers] *looking to me and acceptance of what I said was a trust bond that grew with that experience. I responded and was doing something about it.*

Incident 37: Letting Her Go

In the end, we ended up having to meet with [the director of the program]. *We had to ease her out of the program and had to involve* [a representative from the foundation]. *I felt really uncomfortable. I was not uncomfortable with letting her go. I did not feel like she was going to make it in the program, but I became really uncomfortable when we met downtown at* [the foundation representative's local office], *where he flies into.* [The

program director] *and I drove down and* [the foundation representative] *met us there, and* [the student teacher] *was in the room. He was really savvy in his conversation with her explaining what was happening, what was going on, that this wasn't a good fit. But then after she left there was some, almost laughter and making fun of her in some ways that disturbed me, not that it would have changed the outcome, but I kind of watched across the table from me while we were trying to share these things that were happening, that were reality, that she agreed with, you know, it was almost these pleading eyes looking at me, 'Help me, help me.' And I'm trying to get her to embrace this, which she did on some level, 'I get that, but, but, but….' And that was difficult. It's something* [the program director], *and I have talked about several times. It haunts both of us. 'What could we have done differently? Should we have seen this before she was admitted? Was there anything that informed the way we looked at the current cohort of* [student teachers]*?'* [In coping with the disappointment], *I was more intentional about record keeping, more intentional about the work that I did in the triads.* [I] *was very sensitive to that particular host teacher's* [feelings], *she felt responsible too. She and I had a couple of conversations, she's like, 'You know it wasn't a complete loss.' She felt like maybe that if she'd been in a different kind of a program if it hadn't been the compacted program and that sort of thing, she might have made it. She* [the host teacher] *ended up working with another one of our* [student teachers]*, so it wasn't like she'd lost having a* [student teacher]*. I think I tried to be more facilitative in my role as site coordinator. I am now more aware of it.*

Incident 38: Can't Pick Up the Pieces for Him

There was someone from the county office who was being escorted around by an assistant principal—who walked into the room where the staff development was going on, and there was [our student teacher] *asleep in the back of the room. He didn't have all that information when he was sharing with me what was going on. He didn't have the big picture, but he said, 'Yes, the assistant principal came in, and I was asleep. And I told him that this didn't have anything to do with me and that I didn't need to pay attention to it. He told me that it did, that it did matter that I was not presenting a very professional demeanor and that I had to at all times.' He* [the student teacher] *said, 'I did wake up, and I did pay attention and when* [the host teacher], *and I were back in the room, he* [the assistant principal] *came to visit.' The assistant principal is someone that I don't know very well. He came back to the room and just dressed him down—told him that this is not kosher, that you will not do this. He* [the assistant principal] *talked to him about professionalism and* [the student teacher] *owned it. He was admitting fault and was very apologetic to me.*

While I'm driving my car, I'm going, 'Oh my god, [the program director's] *in California.' And my thoughts were, 'We have a good relationship with this school.' One of our lab facilitators was a host teacher last year. And this* [student teacher] *and another one are in their clinical experiences there. I'm like, 'Oh, you know this relationship is important to us, to me.' I'm* [from the county]. *I'm proud of my personal relationship with* [the school], *but also our* [program] *and* [our College's] *relationship with* [the school]. *His actions were not just a reflection—it was a reflection of him—but it also had a potential to tarnish the way the other* [student teachers] *were perceived if the assistant*

principal said, at the county office, 'This is a [student teacher from this program]*.' It took us so long to get into* [this school district]*, so I was disappointed. I was angry.*

He got it; he immediately owned it. I've already talked to him and suggested that he share that experience so others in the cohort could learn vicariously from that incident. I [emphasized to the student teacher]*, 'You need to compose a letter, an apology letter. You need to own this. You need to make connections with the TKES standard of professionalism and let him know that you completely understand this.' But I also reached out, because of the relationship that we have with* [this high school]*, with one of the assistant principals. He and I have a very, not informal relationship, but we call each other by our first names. I composed an email to him that was very formal because I was having to step back and really own it for* [the College] *and for the program. 'We are aware of it. We are attending to it. We are supporting him and hope that our relationship isn't damaged.' I think that I have some savvy in doing that. In my background, I've been told that I'm a pretty good mediator and I've had to do that among groups of faculty members a lot when I taught at the secondary level. It's not an uncomfortable thing for me to do,* [but I do find myself] *being careful* [with] *roles sort of bleeding into one another. With this* [student teacher]*, what wanted to come out of my mouth when he told me what happened was, 'It's okay, everybody does it.' I wanted to tell him the story of us as teachers on our cell phones, or us laughing, or us in a faculty meeting—because I understood that. But realizing the nature of the relationship I had with him and that at that point what I needed to present to him was much more firm than I normally have to be. I almost wanted to reach out and say, 'It's okay, it's okay.' Because he'd been crying. I tried to be very adult—I really had to almost be a parent—and very supportive of him*

but facilitating his working through it and dealing with it. I wasn't going to pick up the pieces for him.

Incident 39: I Don't Really Like Professors

One particular [student teacher] *said something to the effect of, 'Well, I don't really like professors.' I'm* [bristling] *if you want to talk about an emotion. They generally don't know what they're talking about. She goes on to say, 'I tend to do only what I have to do because I can usually figure it out myself.'* [My colleague] *and I were like, 'What on earth?' And she continued over the course of that session and a subsequent session to really present herself as 'know-it-all-ish.' I thought, 'Who are you?'*

I also felt very vulnerable in a way. I really did because I thought, 'I'm really not a science person. I certainly don't have a neuroscience background.' I felt like I had to measure up in some way, so I felt a little vulnerable. I've been really careful. When she emails me, I want to be really clear in my emails back to her. I'm not one of those professors that tends to label students, 'Oh, they don't know what they're doing.' I also have seen her grow. [Working through the vulnerability] *just took time and getting to know her a little bit more and trying to understand why she might feel that way. And I still don't know because I haven't asked her. She's also someone who's pretty savvy in the classroom.* [I] *saw her interact with kids in a way that was, 'She's got that* ***it*** *as a teacher.' I think getting back to realizing it's a growing process and she's learning about herself and also making herself vulnerable by admitting that. Whether she thought about it or not, that took a lot of, honest, a lot of guts to even say that to us.*

Incident 41: What Were You Thinking

He had actually come up to us after we introduced the activity but before the incident and said, 'Do I need to take my modeling pictures down?' And I said, 'Well, what kind of modeling pictures are they?' He says, 'Well, they're artistic pictures.' And I said, 'If they're things that you think are potentially a problem, then yeah.' He said, 'But they're my art.' After being enlightened by the three who came to me, I saw one picture, and I stopped looking. It was completely nude, and he had a scarf around him and all it was covering was his male body part, that was it. And I went, 'Woah!' And I scrolled down, and there was another guy completely [nude], *and I'm like, 'Oh, great!' I stopped, and I called* [the program director], *she was still in Europe, and I said, 'You need to see this.' It was the middle of the night, and she's going, 'Oh, my f-ing god!' And she's like, 'What was he thinking?' And I'm like, 'I don't know.'* [The program director and another colleague] *proceeded to look at all of it. I couldn't look anymore. I've got to work with this program. I've got to work with him.*

We had to bring the [national foundation representative] *down, and they laid it out for him: 'You've got this much time to clean it up, or you're gone. We can't risk this. This is too big an issue.' When the* [other colleague] *brought it up again, she'd poke me and go, 'I can't look at him.' But I had too. I think what I was hiding, the emotion I was hiding, was the shock. I wasn't hiding my disappointment because I still never figured out, 'What were you thinking?' When I was reminded of it, for brief periods of time,* [I was] *kind of hiding that shock. But again, I did not peruse the whole thing, everything that was there. I can only imagine, and I wouldn't let them tell me because I didn't want that to impede the relationship that, if I knew he was going to stay in the program, I was*

going to have with this student. Maybe I wasn't suppressing it other than initially because the shock didn't hang there for long with me. The visual that I had was limited. After we got the odd explanation from him, that wasn't the thing; there were other issues with [this student teacher] *that, in terms of his growth towards becoming a teacher, I think overshadowed that. I would forget for long periods of time. For* [the others], *every time they look at him, that's what they see. And they have to remind me, and I'm like 'Gee, thanks.'*

Barbara

Barbara has been working with adult learners for 33 years. She is a white female in her 50s and holds a PhD in psychology with an emphasis in cognition and development. She has worked the current program for 2 years and has served as a site coordinator and faculty member. In addition to her work with adults, Barbara has also worked as an elementary school teacher in public schools. She describes herself as someone very attuned to the needs of economically disadvantaged students, *especially in terms of math and science*. Barbara spoke of a lifelong passion for learning at all levels that permeated much of her interview. While not displayed overtly, this passion for teaching was communicated with a calm intensity that lasted throughout much of the interview. Barbara often spoke of the use of emotions within the context of storytelling. She frequently uses storytelling as a teaching tool, and emotional and contextual cues are related through stories. She also focused some of her attention on teaching student teachers to manage their own emotions. At the same time, Barbara also found that it was sometimes difficult to manage her own emotions. She shared one example where she found it nearly impossible to withhold her disappointment in dealing with how a friend

and colleague was being treated by others. Here, her emotional calmness gave way, and she hesitated during the interview while struggling to find the words to describe this experience. The experience was so strong for both the participant and the researcher that it seemed to evade capture through traditional narrative representation. Given the emotional and sensitive nature of this experience, this critical incident is presented as a poetic narrative below.

Incident 49: How is It?

How is it?

One of the

Most exciting

Experiences

How is it?

Extraordinarily

Good listener

A math teacher

How is it?

Training people

To go into

High needs schools

How is it?

Only person of color

So negative towards her

Should do something

How is it?

She would not

Want me

To be the white knight

How is it?

Irritated me

Didn't know what to do

Contained a lot of feeling

How is it

That other people

Get beat on so much?

Bob

Bob is a white male in his 40s. He holds a PhD in educational psychology and has worked in the current teacher preparation program for 2 years. He has worked with adult learners for 12 years and has also previously taught in special education in public school settings. In addition to degrees in education, Bob holds a degree in drama. This background in drama seems to shape much of his approach to managing emotions in classroom settings. During the interview, his awareness of acting technique and delivery

was very evident. He frequently changed the tone and pitch of his voice for emphasis and used hand/arm gestures and other forms of nonverbal communication. While expressing confidence in his ability to call upon acting techniques to manage his own emotions in classroom settings, he also noted that communicating and managing emotions in an online environment can be challenging and that *one of the reasons that I don't love online delivery* [is] *I think it's kind of emotionally stale*. Voice and a sense of presence are important to the effective communication of emotions for Bob. To this end, he has adapted his approach to online delivery by including recorded feedback with assignments to better shape emotional connections in the online classroom. He describes making an emotional connection as *a central component of teaching*. The following section presents the selected critical incidents provided by Bob.

Incident 51: Oh Shit, I Don't Know Who They Are

I realized two or three of the centerpiece activities I had planned for that day of instruction were kind of irrelevant because they were already past it. Here's where the emotional reaction might come in, it was like, 'Oh, shit, I don't know who they are.' That was a little unsettling because I realized they are a unique group of people. My little barometer in my head is somehow going to have to be recalibrated. There was a little bit of insecurity. I can remember kind of standing; I can even remember the kind of classroom we were in because I remember having this feeling like, 'Gees!' with that content, these were on the master's level. I designed a doctoral level course [for a different group] *on that same content where we go three steps beyond as far as theory and principles and practice. It's not that I don't know it, or I'm not capable of leading them to explore with a whole lot more depth, I just wasn't prepared that day. There was a*

little bit of like, 'Okay, I'm going to look like a fool, and my credibility is going to be compromised because I'm going to look like I don't know that I'm talking about.' Even though I really do, I'm just not prepared to talk about it in that way today. That was what I remember. They're going to see; they're going to think I'm a fraud here. There was a time early on in my career where it would have given me anxiety, where I would have felt like, 'Okay, I'm insecure.' And I would have maybe asked myself the question, 'Do you really know what you're talking about? Do you really know your stuff?'

And I would have really asked that. That would be the thought that would kind of drive the 'ugh,' but this wasn't that. I've been at this long enough that I know what I'm talking about. I'm just not prepared. Now, what I do, and this sounds awful, but I always have a couple of carefully curated videos—and they're always relevant—that we can pull out and watch, and we can think and talk. I pulled some of the content that I'd planned for the second [meeting] *because there were four meetings across the semester. I grabbed some of the ideas I had earmarked for the second and third meeting and just pulled them in. I do remember it was like, 'Okay I'm going to have to totally rethink meeting number three and meeting number four because that's not what they're going to need at all.' I think I just improvised. But I remember thinking, 'I'm going to have to improvise well because these folks are going to detect bullshit.' They were able to connect new ideas and new experiences to their previous knowledge and experiences quickly—a lot of sophistication. Their thinking was qualitatively different than what I was used to—complexity, and then the speed—that was an adjustment.*

Incident 55: I Like to Glare at Them

What it really is, it's more like technique. I will ask a question like, 'Do you think that we should just let anybody into this profession?' And I'll look at them. And I'll pause. In my mind, I'm emotionally neutral, but I want that question to come across as serious. I'll glare at them, and I'll pause and let them think. I start light and then gradually move towards seriousness. I start light so that I get everybody on board with me so that I get people to feel welcomed into the conversation, that it's not scary. And then once I get them in, gradually, what I try to use to try to carry a conversation, what I'm thinking is, 'Pique their curiosity. Keep them curious. Keep them thinking. Keep them wondering about stuff.' I'll try to convey enthusiasm like, 'Can you believe that? What do you think about that? Did you ever think about it that way?' I do that a lot.

Now the thinking is there, but it's not like I'm really feeling it in the moment, I'm acting like I do. [After sustaining that over a 3- or 4-hour class], *it stirs up the enthusiasm for me. It conjures it up, and then I really do feel enthusiastic. That's why I don't want to have class at night. It's hard to go home and go to sleep because I'm excited and then my brain, it's turning and turning and by the end. I'm thinking about all kinds of stuff. I think about conveying enthusiasm, which to me is a characteristic of good instruction no matter what you're teaching. It probably starts off as a really good representation of enthusiasm, a really good sort of faking, but faking enthusiastic behaviors and speech.*

Incident 56: Why Don't They Care?

One of the conversations that I have with them because I'm pretty familiar with the schools that they're going to be in and the population of kids that they're going to work with is basically the message to them, 'Don't fool yourself into thinking you

knowing your stuff and being really smart and being really enthusiastic is going to matter a bit to the kids that you're about to teach. You're going to have to think way beyond that, and that's going to be hard.' [I achieve this] *through activities, doing some applied activities. So, well, in fact, one of them I'm going to do today. They've constructed a lesson plan, and this is a model lesson plan that we've been using across labs, with lesson planning and assessment and my lab and technology. Right now, it's probably in a form that on paper looks like an exemplar. It's great; it's really solid as far as checking off all the boxes of exemplary planning practice. So, what I'm going to throw at them today is a couple of scenarios, so like, 'You've got this great piece of curriculum, and I'm telling you right now it's really good.' Because I will have seen it by then, 'It's great. You get an A on it. All right, you're about to go use it in your 10th-grade or 11th-grade science classroom, and it's perfect for what might be a 10th-grade biology classroom.' Now imagine this, 'You walk in there, and three-quarters of your class could not give one shit about listening to you. And they don't care anything about the lesson, this beautiful lesson experience that you've planned out. That, for all intents and purposes, is a great piece of curriculum. They could not care less, and they're not going to listen to you unless you do something other than what you have—that you take that plan and you somehow deliver it so that it resonates with them. What are you going to do?'*

So, then there's a process, digging out well, 'Why don't they care?' Often what they seem to experience is a lot of frustration because really the solution to that problem, it's never as cut and dry as, 'You've got three-quarters of your class who are not interested, all for the same reason. Often, it's maybe half your class, and it's maybe some kind of varied and nuanced reason why they're not on board with your great lesson.' I've

taught this lesson in other classes and even with them too, I remember from last year that the reaction is, 'Okay, I get it, but what am I supposed to do?' It's almost like I'm taking their toys away, they say, 'Well, what am I supposed to do now?' [My] *reaction is, 'I'm sorry, but that's the reality you're going to be facing. So, you're going to have to….' It's not that it's tough love, but, 'You're going to have to learn to plan well and teach really well, but it doesn't end there. Your skill set is going to have to be a good bit more expansive than just that. You're going to have to learn how to quickly, accurately figure out why is a kid not on board with you.'*

It's not [using curriculum] *consciously. But I want to throw them a gentle curveball so that they will think in a deeper fashion when they're ready to think beyond what is the box of essential good practice because we need more than just that. That box is kind of what everything else is built on. When they're ready to think, then that's what I want to do. It's like, 'And now for the full story. Now we'll open the curtains and show you what you're really dealing with.' I don't know. I don't intend for there to be some sort of dramatic moment, but I want them to remember it. I think we want to sort of protect them from being too idealistic. Because we know that they're content experts, and this whole misconception I'm about to say gets dispelled very quickly. The fact that they are very enthusiastic about their content is great, but that doesn't mean that they're going to teach it well or that their kids are going to be that enthusiastic about the content. They're going to have to sell it.*

Incident 57: I Try to Be a Cheerleader

[When they come back to me], *I level with them and I'm honest. I say, 'You know what, there are a lot of districts and schools who do things that are completely out of*

your control, who don't serve students very well, such as rigid pacing guides and prepackaged curricula that are inherently not flexible.' But again, within your own little sphere of influence, 'How, even in small ways, can you cultivate some kind of flexibility so that you can work within that to serve your students, even a little bit better? You might not be able to really bring in all of these principles that I'm trying to teach you. It doesn't mean you forget about them, but you may have to accept the fact that you are working within some constraints right now.' But moment to moment, for example, 'You may not be able to differentiate the final product that kids generate from a unit. It may be an end of unit test that someone else has written, and they've used for the last five years; it may have to be that. But you can still differentiate the content of questions that you ask particular kids and the way that you ask it, the way that you phrase it because you know the kid, the kind of vocabulary they have. You have some ideas of their background knowledge, and you can customize even that, just your verbal interactions, and that's constrained by pacing guides—that's not constrained by the curriculum you have to do today versus tomorrow, that's what's happening in the moment.' [I] *try to explain to them that, 'Even though you are constrained, and in ways that are probably unfair, and don't really serve kids, you can still empower yourself, even if it's in little ways.' I try to be a cheerleader.*

Stan

Stan is a white male in his 50s who has spent more than 35 years teaching adult learners in a variety of settings. He holds a PhD in instructional design and technology and has taught in the current teacher preparation program for 2 years. Much of his early career focused on management and human resources training in corporate settings. He

describes himself as a *previous corporate trainer now preparing teachers and instructional designers*. This corporate experience has remained with him over time and even found its way into his interview in the sense that he remained somewhat guarded and detached throughout. He was straightforward and upfront in his responses but not always easily forthcoming. He tended to view emotions and the management of emotions in terms of *data* about events. Talking about his own emotional experiences was not easy for him. Because of his experiences in corporate training, he has come to rely on technology as a means of buffering and gauging emotional responses. He remarks, *As a facilitator, there's nothing more dangerous than a room full of MBAs all just waiting to tear you apart*. Creating a *safe* learning environment has become an important part of his approach to managing and teaching emotional responses in classroom settings: *What I've found is that if I've got a safe vehicle like that, that they're interested, that they're involved, it alleviates a lot of concerning emotions*. Stan's critical incident narratives are presented in the next section.

Incident 60: Emotional Data of Experience

Probably the most data have come from group experiential activities that I've run with both cohorts, and I've [also] *run significantly outside of this—corporate environments, consulting environments—and still doing it in higher ed. in terms of simulations, games, those kinds of things. The most emotions on both sides, them and me, have arisen from those kinds of experiences. My experience has been that that always raises the level of emotional data. The first summer they brought them in, I was asked by the coordinators of the program if I could do some kind of experiential learning event with that group—this would be face-to-face, not virtual. I and a couple of my students*

facilitated a cultural diversity simulation called BaFa' BaFa'. One reason I used those in my prior professional life was based on Kurt Lewin's model about [how] you unfreeze an organization, go in and make changes, and then refreeze [it]. *I've used this for years because people drop their guards. They drop their emotional guards and drop their professional guards and get into the competition and get into the game—the experience. Now you're seeing real data. You're seeing real emotions, real behaviors good and bad. I've run that simulation all over the country in a different venue, in a different role, but the same thing happened.*

What I found is this group [the first program cohort] *came in real tense, it was a very competitive entrance to the program. I think they were still going through the norming stages of figuring out where they are and how competitive they have to be to survive. Is this collaborative or is this individualistic? They were tight, and all those behaviors were present. It's a game, and they're trying to immerse themselves into alien cultures. They totally got into it and what I was that people started dropping these shields and started becoming competitive, becoming isolated. I had one student who* [had] *a very professional, courteous demeanor; he got really aggressive in this simulation. I found that really interesting that these behaviors came out, that he was really trying to sabotage other groups. He really went to an extreme.*

Incident 62: They Need to Be Cultural Guides

The mechanics of it [simulation BaFa' BaFa'] *are, 'How do you collaborate? How do you come across to others? How do you work as a team? Do you communicate? How do you manage conflict?' There's these mechanics that we're working on that come from any simulation that I've ever worked with. We're trying to cultivate those. I'm trying*

to get them to see how they come across to others and stuff like that. On a higher level, there's the actual content. The content is appreciating cultural diversity and understanding that people need a cultural guide to effectively embed themselves into new cultures. The hook, the social hook as we would call it in simulation design research, is that they understand that they need to be cultural guides to help people into their culture because it's difficult to immerse yourself into new cultures as an outsider.

Their particular context is one; they've got four cultures that they're dealing with, really multiple cultures. One of the cultures is coming into College and a graduate program, that's a new culture. Another one is going into K-12 where so much of their time is spent, and they've got to embed themselves into that culture. Additionally, it's now them in a classroom with kids which is a whole separate culture. Then they're drilling down into independent cultures with families of different backgrounds and religions and so forth. The higher order content of the simulation is to learn how important it is to recognize when they're getting ousted by the culture that they can't get into and they don't understand why that those behaviors aren't wrong, they're just different. The real social hook by the guy that developed it was the fact that communication is the key to breaking those barriers. Being a cultural guide is your vehicle to break through those bolts.

Incident 63: I Just Collected Data

My experience with that person is that I didn't intervene. I let it flow like it was and I just collected data. I had some questions in mind that I was going to use in the debriefing to try to bobble it up, 'Did anybody see behaviors that you didn't like? Why is that? What about it did you not like? How would you handle that if it were you and

another teacher trying to work through this scenario?' Frankly, I didn't have to because they brought it up. He was very nonchalant about it. My take from it was that he didn't learn from the reflection, that he pretty much thought that it was still okay. Even though he grew a lot, I think the student actually still had some issues further into the program that aligned with those behaviors. They were there. They were real. I'm at a stage where I don't get emotionally charged about it. Sometimes I'll start worrying, 'I need to intervene, or this is going to get out of hand.' I've done that plenty of times, but I try my best not to do that because of the effect on the outcomes.

Incident 64: It's Like, "Yes!"

The dialog was so rich and so engaging that we ate three-quarters of the class. We had a four-hour layout, and we talked for almost three hours—we just ate a total portion of the lab. I had all these activities that we were going to do. But there's no way that I'm going to intercept it. From my emotional perspective on that, it's like, 'Yes!' You just don't get that every day and you don't get it with the average class who kind of comes in and is sitting there waiting for you to do something to 'edutain' them. I know my terminology is not very academic. I don't apologize for it, but I'll just say that it's not. I talk like I see it. But the truth is that this group was loaded. My feeling was positive. I was like, 'Yeah!' There's a little bit of, 'I'm the greatest professor there ever was.' And then I step back and think well, 'Wait a minute. This is really being driven by strategy.' I've given them an opportunity where they can all respond, and now they're all engaged, and now they can all offer their opinions safely. We did get to the presentations, but that's all we did for the day.

It was so educational for the group; it was just all positive emotions for me. It's being driven by their being loaded with this data instead of coming in and, 'What are we doing today?' They knew what we were doing, and they were ready to talk about it. I've talked to some other [program] *facilitators who said the exact same thing has happened to them. It is conducive to this group, be that background capabilities, expectations, competitiveness, survivalist, I don't know what it is they're drawing on. My emotions were overflowing with, 'There's no way I'm stopping this. This is very positive.'*

Incident 69: Embarrassment Mode

In a program related class, we were talking about technology in the classroom [and] *a student teacher said something along the lines of, 'That's a bunch of crap.' Now, every student in there is going like, 'What are you going to do about it?' There's that dynamic. I dropped the hammer on her, and I probably got red-faced when I did it and said, 'That's so wrong.' I said, 'I'll be glad to talk with you at length independently about your philosophy on this, but to trash that openly in class is just wrong.' We had just before that been going through a roleplay situation, and she said she was still in that mode—that's what she told me in private. And I think she was. I think she thought we were still in this roleplay model where you were playing the student and the teacher, and I think she was actually playing the student who lashed out and came at me. Nobody got it but her that she was still in that mode. My first reaction was red-faced and drop the hammer on her. She said, 'Well, I thought we were playing roles of bad students.' Then I go into embarrassment mode of some degree because it really got me.*

I'm not beyond apologizing to a student if I make that kind of error, and that's exactly what I did. It turned out all right in terms of the rest of the evening and future

classes in that class. If you get confronted that openly and abruptly, that's when I shed all the philosophies of good classroom management, and I go to the hammer. I back peddled and apologized for it, and she seemed to be alright with that There was a little moment of tension. I know professors that would have sent [her] *out the door, she'd have been packing at that moment, and that would have been a real travesty. There could have been a student that does that with fully negative intentions, and that's a different story. But I really believe that's where the student was. She was lagging behind a little bit in where we were. It goes to show you that there's growth in me for that. That's probably why my first response to your question was about stepping back and trying to find out what's really going on, 'What are they really saying? Can you tell me why you said that?' What I've found is good listening is probably the best tool in your toolbelt as a professor in any environment, which means you don't jump to conclusions. It means you get more data before you make a firm decision on where they're coming from.*

Incident 71: Safety in Potentially Volatile Environments

I use the term safe or in control. I've done lots of training in potentially volatile environments. I've even had college classes that could be volatile. What I've found is that if I've got a safe vehicle like that, that they're interested, that they're involved, it alleviates a lot of concerning emotions. You're the neutral facilitator and part of it is because you're getting out of this 'me talking to them' mode. I think there's a whole splurge of emotions in that, when you're talking about that kind of lecture approach because it's then, 'Who's smarter, you or me?' And, 'Listen to me, I'm the professor.' It raises the potential for challenge and for people shutting down, especially adult learners because they're like, 'I've been in banking for 30 years, and this 30-year-old is telling

me….' They just shut you out. I call it 'fish-eyed' because you look at them and they're like [imitates fish-eyed look].

I use a lot of humor to facilitate that—that's my mechanism for safety or comfort. I'll stop and say, 'Do you know that research shows that the general attention span is five to seven seconds and that those of you that are currently fish-eyed, I know you're at the beach.' They get a chuckle out of that. I said, 'I'll make a deal with you. If you'll give me a real look once in a while, then I won't lecture for three hours staring out the window.' And I'll say, 'We'll treat each other respectively in that sense.' I do a lot of that. I've gotten to where I do it pretty naturally without looking like I'm trying to work them too much. They respond to that. They just want to know that you don't think you're smarter than them. Even though you might be, or you might not be, they don't want to feel that—people resist that, adult learners resist that.

Whether it's through bruises and blood or pedagogy research, I've found that there's a way to reach them without getting into that authoritative role. I always keep it as an option, but I just don't go there much—don't have to. I even use it to avoid going there, 'Okay, well John has given us his perspective, does anybody else…?' I do play on that to keep it real so they feel like, 'This is a person that's here to help me. They're talking with me, not to me.' It doesn't mean that it's the best approach, but it's my fit and [one] *I'm really comfortable with. It's happened over years and involves a lot of emotional antennas out for body language for people, the setup of a room; there are all kinds of variables involved here.*

Incident 72: He Was Going to Sabotage This Class

My first experience with that was in a community college environment. An infamous, kind of well-known surgeon in this region, got arrested for drunk driving and pulled all these stunts to get out of it—the judges just burned him. So, he was in a room full of 20-year-olds, 30-year-olds, and 40-year-olds that were charged with DUIs. This guy took it upon himself that he was determined that he was going to sabotage this class, and he tried his best. I was 21-years-old with no pedagogical or real knowledge on facilitating. This was a 12-week event, and it was [like] *going into battle. I tried research and said, 'Okay, I'll out research him.' And be able to talk about, 'Well, that may be true, but 90,000 people died in this way.' You couldn't out research the guy. The guy was too well equipped. I tried reaching out to him outside the classroom. There was no going. He was going to sabotage this class no matter what happened. I just really fought through it.*

It took every ounce of my being to maintain neutral and maintain cool and not draw down. He was trying to get a rise out of the classic cop thing, 'Let's see if we can get this cop mad and cussing and storming out.' He never did. This was on a weekly basis. I'd go home and crawl in the front door. I had some peer support, and I would talk to them and say, 'How do I approach this guy?' And they'd say, 'Do you want us to pull the ripcord on him and pull him out?' I said, 'No, this is my first time, and I've got to learn to work through this.' And I did.

I can honestly say towards the end; he finally realized that I wasn't the enemy, that I really was trying to offer some data. I didn't do this by design, but what I found is, I'm talking about hitting your head on the windshield, and he would engage in, 'This is what it would cause when the brain hits.' He would get into this medical [discussion],

and I would just cultivate the crap out of that. I would totally embellish that and say, 'Why is that so dangerous? Especially for small kids or something. All of a sudden, we had this medical expert. He was covering, 'I'm a doctor. I know better. Why am I in this environment? Why am I sitting here with drunk drivers and people who are charged with DUI?' First, he attacked it, and when he saw that his expertise became recognized, he mellowed in the last two or three classes and talked to me outside. Even towards the end, he said, 'You're really hanging in there and doing a good job. You've got us engaged.' It's probably to this day why I use a lot of humor to manage a group of people, no matter who they are, and why I try to do it on a very personal level, meaning get down on their level and say, 'Let's talk about this. Yeah, it would feel great to stomp your breaks and watch people behind you smash the windshield. But what about that three-year-old? Do they deserve that?' I picked up a lot of skills from that experience. It left me pretty ingrained. I had scar tissue from that one. From a teaching standpoint, it really contributed to the way I teach now.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented selected critical incident narratives from eight adult educators. The critical incidents culled from transcripts of semi-structured interviews conducted with each participant. Interview transcripts yielded a total of 72 critical incidents that were used to develop the incident narratives. Critical incident narratives were derived from the words of participants. Following an additional evaluation as described in Chapter 3, the 31 critical incident narratives selected for analysis were presented in this chapter. This chapter also included a brief biological description of each

participant followed by the selected narratives created from each participant's critical incidents.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The overall purpose of this study was to explore how adult educators experience and make meaning of emotional labor experiences in an organizational setting. In this chapter, I present the identified themes and subthemes derived from critical incident narratives and develop illustrative examples drawn from the selected incidents (see Table 5.1 for a summary of themes and subthemes) (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Overall, three prominent themes emerged from analysis of the selected critical incidents presented in Chapter 4. Themes 1 and 2 highlight the emphasis placed by adult educators on nurturing and cultivating a trusting emotional environment for student teachers in the program. Together, these two themes reflect distinct aspects of the nature of adult educators' emotional labor experiences and as such closely align with this study's first research question. With Theme 3, the focus is on how adult educators manage emotions across different areas and layers of the program and how experiences of managing feelings and emotions trigger opportunities for additional learning and understanding. Given this focus on learning and understanding, Theme 3, along with associated subthemes, aligns with the second research question of this study. The presentation and discussion of findings is organized according to the research questions that guided the study. I also discuss the analytical discrepancies noted during the analysis of findings and present the conclusions of the study, implications for theory, implications

for practice, limitations of the study, and offer suggestions for future research. The words of participants are presented in italics throughout the narrative body of this chapter.

Table 5.1

Prominent Themes and Subthemes

Theme	Subtheme
RQ 1: What is the nature of emotional labor in adult education?	
Theme 1: Nurturing emotional trust	
Theme 2: Cultivating emotional awareness: Context of learning	• Setting emotional context • Challenging emotional context • Managing emotional context
RQ 2: How do adult educators make meaning of emotional labor experiences?	
Theme 3: Managing emotions: Triggers for learning	• Managing frustration • Coping with uncertainty • Being genuine • Resisting expectations • Managing emotions across the program

Research Question 1: What is the Nature of Emotional Labor in Adult Education?

The first research question of this study addressed the nature of the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. Hochschild (1983) defines emotional labor as a type of labor that "requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others—in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place" (p. 7). Interestingly, one of the themes that emerged from the analysis of critical incidents in this study mirrors somewhat the sense of "being cared for" in a "safe place" expressed by Hochschild's flight attendants. This theme addressed the perceived need for participants to develop and maintain trusting

relationships primarily with student teachers in the program but also with colleagues and other individuals representing different areas of the program.

Theme 1: Nurturing Emotional Trust

The trust described by participants was one of a sense of emotional trust that reflected a sense of safety and working in emotionally safe spaces where diverse issues could be addressed. This sense of trust also reflected an intense awareness of the needs of student teachers and the need for faculty to nurture and cultivate trusting relationships with them.

Sandra, for example, described an incident where she felt *gratified* that she was *honoring my responsibility* and *my role as a teacher* in helping a student teacher to understand and *move forward* with feedback received from another faculty member. In this case, Sandra's motivation is not articulated from the standpoint of what is expected from the program, but rather, her sense of gratification emanates from a perception of emotional consonance or harmony where her feelings associated with her role as faculty member align with her own individual sense of performing her role as a teacher. The feeling of gratitude is experienced in association with the student teacher. She shares empathy by meeting with the student teacher and in turn, feels emotionally rewarded by the nurturing of a trusting relationship:

> *I felt good because he trusted me and felt comfortable asking me to come and help him. I felt gratified that I was able to make sense of what he was concerned about and help him work through that….*

Maria, too, noted a sense of generating support by offering *encouragement* to student teachers preparing for portfolio assessments. In terms of providing her own

individual support, she attempts to have *empathy for them*. However, also speaking as an administrator for the program, she remarked, *We try to present a very positive manner and to encourage them by saying that this is something that you do anyway*…. She highlights both individual and organizational expectations associated with nurturing trusting and successful learning and organizational environments. The expressive movement is two-fold in this case. The effort of attempting to have empathy for student teachers is felt in association with both the student teachers and the organization. The incident unfolds within the context of a relationship to technology and assessment, and the attempt at trying to have empathy betrays an uneasiness in the presence of assessment technology, regardless of the role of faculty member or administrator. Maria suppresses this uneasiness while trying to sustain the organizational expectations of a supportive and encouraging administrator. The indication of trying to encourage suggests something of a struggle in the relationship with student teachers. The display of administrator is felt differently from the display of faculty member, suggesting an emotional dissonance associated with conflicts in role performance. At the same time, the emotional dissonance is also suggestive of a conflict at the intersection of private emotion management and emotional labor performance—an intersection where the transmutation to emotional labor and emotion management techniques collide. The effort of trying to have empathy is a struggle with the repetitive mimicry of organizational expectations—the pull of organizational expectations and emotional labor. The feeling of emotional dissonance is perhaps more pronounced because the pull of emotional labor is also a pull away from expressive potential.

Similarly, Stephanie, as the director of the program, addressed both personal and organizational expectations of developing a trusting environment. From an organizational perspective, she noted that *there's a huge effort on our part to establish a sense of trust with them before they ever get here.* However, she spoke most intensely about the amount of time she personally spent preparing for the arrival of the first cohort of student teachers:

> *I spent a lot of time in those initial days nurturing their arrival—everything from making sure that their bathrooms are cleaned in the dorms to gift bags to cell phone numbers, meeting their families,* [and] *feeding them. Food has been a central part of this program. It's really funny, most of the other colleges spent a lot of their funds paying faculty to do work, and I spent a lot of funds on the* [student teachers]*—like I said, feeding them, buying them shirts.*

But she also commented on the organizational desire to foster a growing sense of community:

> *We bought a van so we could all travel together. That sense of community is something I don't think you find in higher ed. except maybe in sororities and fraternities or something, but not in an educational setting, per se, not on a big scale like this.* [It's important] *because I think that's just what people want. I think people want to feel a part of something, and I think as we get older, there's less facilitation of that. You have to seek it out yourself. I think with graduate students, in particular; we don't create nurturing environments for them.*

Stephanie, both as program director and individual faculty member, concentrated all her emotional energies on developing nurturing supports. She cautioned that this is *not*

mothering, but rather, *it's the promotion of collegial interaction and value*. In this case, the development of a nurturing environment is not perceived as simply caring about the needs of student teachers, but as a process of engaging not only with student teachers but also with the program as a whole: *We just know who they are as people as well as who they are as students*. Developing this sense of emotional trust is perhaps something more than the emotional labor of creating the convivial and safe environment of Hochschild's (1983) airline stewardesses. The expressive qualities of nurturing, while accomplishing expectations of the organization, also highlight relationships with student teachers. Nurturing emotional trust entails engaging both personal and professional aspects of the lives of student teachers, thus providing an area where the personal characteristics of emotion work constantly pivot with organizational expectations typically characterized as emotional labor, an area where the balletic movements of private and public emotional expectations are not so easily disentangled.

Bettie described an incident where withholding certain emotions associated with criticism of a student teacher's work enhanced a nurturing environment by allowing the student teacher room to think freely and make discoveries, including those of theories already well established:

> *One of the new* [student teachers] *came in, and they were so excited because they were going to write a paper. They were going to write a paper on this theory that they had come up with. At this point, of course, they had not had a lot of theory or research, and they were just starting out. We were sitting there knowing that this theory had been developed many years ago, but they had just discovered it for themselves. We were trying to be very positive and upbeat because we didn't want*

> *to diminish that wonderful feeling of discovery that you got* [from] *it. They could figure it out another day. On this day, we wanted to support them. But in a way, you're going, 'That's been around for a long time.' You still want to do the excitement for that student because they're getting at things, things are clicking.*

In this instance, the suppression of criticism is not only performed by the participant but collectively by a group of faculty members who chose not to disrupt the student teacher's somewhat serendipitous *feeling of discovery*. At first, this might seem to reflect Hochschild's (1983) description of surface acting where "we deceive others about what we really feel, but we do not deceive ourselves" (p. 33). What is interesting here is that the use of the technique of surface acting is self-imposed by the group in a way that is not indicative of an organizational requirement and more closely resembles the private emotion management of emotion work. The ultimate result achieves the organizational expectation of providing an environment of student success, but the more prominent effect of engendering a sense of emotional trust and freedom on the part of the student teacher is not imposed. In this case, silence is shared in relation with the student teacher as a performance of emotion work that is something a little more than either emotional labor or emotion work—a withholding of expression through silence that is silently expressive.

Amy related a complex incident that highlights the difficulties of balancing organizational expectations with those of the faculty member, the student teacher, and even outside entities as well. Amy found herself having to make a decision about suppressing her own shock associated with the revelation that a student teacher had placed nude artwork of himself on a publicly viewable website. She concentrated all of

her emotional effort on how to best support the student teacher, regardless of her own feelings about the situation, even when other colleagues had difficulty looking at him or interacting with him. She ignored many of the details of the situation, stating, *…I wouldn't let them tell me because I didn't want that to impede the relationship that, if I knew he was going to stay in the program, I was going to have with this student teacher*. Amy intentionally shielded herself from ongoing exposure to the situation by suppressing feelings of shock and disappointment to nurture an ongoing relationship with the student teacher better as he continued with the program. For other faculty members, the association with the nude photograph dominated the image of their relationship with him—to the point that their interactions with him were experienced as a sort of nudeness governed by shocked apprehensiveness. In addition to shielding herself from exposure additional exposure to the student teacher's artwork, Amy also shielded herself from potential exposure to the requirements of the organization as well—something of a double move in that she was protecting herself and the student teacher at the same time as a means of encouraging the growth of the relationship. The resulting effort is something of a creative extension of emotion work that blends private and organizational expectations in a manner expressive of both.

In some situations, developing emotional trust might involve the reassessment of misdirected emotion work effort. Stan, for example, reported that he allowed himself to react with anger (felt emotion) in an exchange with a student teacher before fully assessing the context of the exchange:

> *In a program related class, we were talking about technology in the classroom* [and] *a student teacher said something along the lines of, 'That's a bunch of*

> *crap.' Now, every student in there is going like, 'What are you going to do about it?' There's that dynamic. I dropped the hammer on her, and I probably got red-faced when I said it and said, 'That's so wrong.'*

This reflects the complex emotional dynamics of the classroom setting. Stan describes an array of conflicting emotional expectations that allow for only a moment's consideration, a moment that makes it difficult to gauge the tenor of the exchange accurately. The immediate expectation arose from the perception of tension in the room. Misreading the student teacher's response as insolence, Stan reacted to the tension in the room by *dropping the hammer* on the student teacher rather than suppressing his frustration, thus reacting with genuine anger. The affective contours of the classroom environment attuned to the perception of insolence as Stan's previous experiences and associations propelled him toward an event of expressed anger. However, he did attempt to reevaluate the situation by asking the student teacher to clarify what she meant by her comments and listening to her. The event reattunes to the student teacher with an extension of an expressive gesture of empathy. Stan commented, *What I've found is good listening is probably the best tool in your toolbelt as a professor in any environment, which means you don't jump to conclusions. It means you get more data before you make a firm decision on where they're coming from*. He also expressed concerns about maintaining the relationship: *I know professors that would have sent [her] out the door, she'd have been packing at that moment, and that would have been a real travesty.*

Stan further elaborated the idea of developing emotional trust in another incident as an extension of maintaining a safe classroom or learning environment:

> *I use the term safe or in control. I've done lots of training in potentially volatile environments. I've even had college classes that could be volatile. What I've found is that if I've got a safe vehicle like that, that they're interested, that they're involved, it alleviates a lot of concerning emotions. You're the neutral facilitator and part of it is because you're getting out of this 'me talking to them' mode. I think there's a whole splurge of emotions in that, when you're talking about that kind of lecture approach because it's then, 'Who's smarter, you or me?' And, 'Listen to me, I'm the professor.' It raises the potential for challenge and for people shutting down, especially adult learners because they're like, 'I've been in banking for 30 years, and this 30-year-old is telling me….' They just shut you out. I call it 'fish-eyed' because you look at them and they're like* [imitates fish-eyed look].

Maintaining a neutral stance as a facilitator potentially alleviates the need for emotion work, *it alleviates a lot of concerning emotions.* In an adult learning environment, teaching strategy and emotion management intermingle to maintain a delicate balance of an emotionally "safe" space. Utilizing an instructional strategy where facilitator and adult learner can engage content equally fosters the emotionally trusting environment that allows this safe space to evolve. Emotional responses of the adult learners in the class prompt the nature of any emotion management strategies he might pursue. As a result, Stan maintains something of a heightened sense of emotional awareness for classroom dynamics.

> *Whether it's through bruises and blood or pedagogy research, I've found that there's a way to reach them without getting into that authoritative role. I always*

keep it as an option, but I just don't go there much—don't have to. I even use it to avoid going there, 'Okay, well John has given us his perspective, does anybody else…?' I do play on that to keep it real so they feel like, 'This is a person that's here to help me. They're talking with me, not to me.' It doesn't mean that it's the best approach, but it's my fit and [one] *I'm really comfortable with. It's happened over years and involves a lot of emotional antennas out for body language for people, the setup of a room; there are all kinds of variables involved here.*

Theme 2: Cultivating Emotional Awareness: Context of Learning

Marsick and Watkins (2001) suggested enhancing informal and incidental learning by helping "learners identify conditions in the sociocultural that help them learn more effectively or that stand in the way of learning" (p. 31). In addition to nurturing an environment of emotional trust with student teachers, participants in this study identified areas in their formal instruction where emotions are used to stimulate an emotional awareness of the contextual conditions facing student teachers in the program as they prepare to work with disadvantaged and underserved populations. Student teachers in the program were typically already experts in their fields of study with some having worked professionally for several years. The theme of cultivating emotional awareness emerged as participants described their efforts to better prepare student teachers for a range of emotional and socio-cultural conditions.

Setting Emotional Context

Recognizing that teaching can be an emotionally challenging and draining experience marked the starting point for the cultivation of emotional awareness in student

teachers. Bettie noted that student teachers sometimes struggle to understand that emotions permeate all aspects of teaching and learning:

> *One thing that I think is unique about* [this program] *is that we recognize that a lot of teaching is actually emotional—it's not just the emotion in teaching students, but it's emotional to be a learner. As a teacher, you have to deal with both of those sides. I think we've done a good job of trying to at least help* [student teachers] *see that it is a strong factor in your classroom.*

She also related how her own experiences with student teachers have helped her identify a need for including emotions in teaching:

> *For a long time, I think we tried to link it more towards motivation and not really identify it as emotional. But how your students feel about learning has a lot to do with how much they'll learn. That's one of the things* [that's] *especially difficult for new teachers because they're trying to figure out teaching, let alone figure out all this other stuff. That can be frustrating, but we have made it a point to make sure that they understand that there are some really emotional aspects to teaching.*

This emotional preparation often blended formal instruction with informal and incidental learning, as Bettie further noted:

> *I think it's probably affected all of our student teachers, but generally we see it the most, even though we teach* [it] *in the classroom, when they go out into the schools and they start that internship experience, and they really have to interact with some of these students…we've had student teachers come back and say, 'I'm so sad for my students because they've gotten to high school and they're on a*

> *third-grade reading level. How can I fix this for them? What do we do?' Because they know that their students are embarrassed, they know that their students are struggling, and they feel that sadness for them. They really want to make it better, and they don't know how. And for us, it's a teachable moment.*

This blending of formal and informal learning experiences was also articulated by Stephanie:

> *We do try to take them into the actual scenarios. Before we did the class on poverty, we took them to* [a disadvantaged school], *and they worked with high-risk kids in a school. They actually got to see how kids are dirty or see how they don't bring their materials…. That's one of the reasons the year-long clinical experience with this program is so important. They're actually learning in the context of the school setting. Where I really get excited is that you're there in the classroom and something happens, and you have the opportunity to say, 'Here it is, right here in front of you. This is it. This is what we're talking about.'*

Here, formal classroom instruction set the stage for contextual learning to occur during field experiences, not unlike the process called for by Marsick and Watkins (2001). Emotions were identified as being important to both formal and informal learning environments, and emotion work, to some extent, helped shape the contours of these environments. Except, in this case, organizational and individual emotional expectations aligned in a way that almost made them indistinguishable from one another. The effort to control feeling is partly enmeshed with curriculum decisions imposed at the organizational level—courses are intentionally designed to include emotional and cultural experiences that promote empathy and emotional intelligence skills. This is akin to an

emotional labor effort embedded at the level of the organization through organizational processes and procedures. At the individual level, emotion management, emotion work, is being performed by faculty responding to the needs of individual students. Hochschild (1983, 2003) defined emotional labor as a requirement to control individual feeling for the benefit of organizational goal achievement. Curriculum design and delivery outline these expectations, but decisions about the execution of these expectations remain with the individual faculty member. On one level, the organization requires faculty, through the curriculum, to perform emotional labor by exposing student teachers to the conditions of potential school placements, even if faculty feel uncertain about how student teachers might react (as noted with Bettie's and Stephanie's examples). On another level, faculty balance their own feelings and emotional displays with organizational expectations to achieve a result that at first best achieves their individual expectations and then achieves the expectations of the organization. It is as if the definition of emotional labor as a requirement "to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others…" conflates an organizational level outcome by attempting to capture it at the level of the individual worker (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7). This conflation is further troubled by a loosely tethered Marxist relationship that requires works to manipulate their feelings and the feelings of others for the benefit of the organization. Here, organizational expectations are implied, not required, and faculty make their own decisions about how to best manage emotions and perform emotion work when interacting with student teachers.

Challenging Emotional Context

In addition to setting emotional context, the notion of challenging the emotional context also emerged as a subtheme of cultivating emotional awareness. This was especially evident in incidents where overlapping organizational expectations intersected with the expectations of faculty members and student teachers.

Bob related an incident in which he described his attempts at encouraging his student teachers to think about the challenges facing the students they would eventually encounter in their own classrooms. He recognized from his own teaching experiences that expertise in content knowledge did not always translate into engagement in the classroom, a message he shared with his student teachers: *Don't fool yourself into thinking you knowing your stuff and being really smart and being really enthusiastic is going to matter a bit to the kids that you're about to teach. You're going to have to think way beyond that, and that's going to be hard.* Bob blends his own informal learning experiences with course curriculum to provide enriched learning experiences. In doing so, Bob fosters opportunities for student teachers to engage in their own informal learning experiences. He achieves this by challenging their assumptions about content versus delivery and engagement.

> *'You've got this great piece of curriculum, and I'm telling you right now it's really good.' Because I will have seen it by then, 'It's great. You get an A on it. All right, you're about to go use it in your 10th-grade or 11th-grade science classroom, and it's perfect for what might be a 10th-grade biology classroom.' Now imagine this, 'You walk in there, and three-quarters of your class could not give one shit about listening to you. And they don't care anything about the*

> *lesson, this beautiful lesson experience that you've planned out. That, for all intents and purposes, is a great piece of curriculum. They could not care less, and they're not going to listen to you unless you do something other than what you have—that you take that plan and you somehow deliver it so that it resonates with them. What are you going to do?'*

Bob utilizes his emotions to intensify his delivery while challenging his student teachers' understanding of content and school context. His use of emotions here is more akin to emotion work rather than emotional labor in that he is making calculated decisions related to his own experiences about how to best make his point at this moment. While Bob's immediate teaching goals align with institutional goals, he is not consciously managing his emotions to meet those goals. Rather, he is drawing from a palette of emotional experiences to challenge student teachers' feelings about delivering content. Bob's characterization retained the concerns for nurturing noted in other incidents in the study:

> *But I want to throw them a gentle curveball so that they will think in a deeper fashion when they're ready to think beyond what is the box of essential good practice because we need more than just that. That box is kind of what everything else is built on. When they're ready to think, then that's what I want to do. It's like, 'And now for the full story. Now we'll open the curtains and show you what you're really dealing with.' I don't know. I don't intend for there to be some sort of dramatic moment, but I want them to remember it. I think we want to sort of protect them from being too idealistic. Because we know that they're content experts, and this whole misconception I'm about to say gets dispelled very*

> *quickly. The fact that they are very enthusiastic about their content is great, but that doesn't mean that they're going to teach it well or that their kids are going to be that enthusiastic about the content. They're going to have to sell it.*

By challenging student teachers to think beyond the confines of best practice, Bob demonstrates how emotional seeds can be planted as triggers for further emotional growth. Possibly, even more, telling though is Bob's final emphasis on the need to sell the content of the curriculum. Here we can begin to perceive the tug that is the pull of organization-level display expectations. Generating enthusiasm about selling content also extends to the selling of an organizational image producing successful teachers. At this moment, organizational expectations cut through the teaching heart to remind us that student teachers are responsible for selling the successful image of the program. In a sense, Bob has intermingled personal exchanges of emotion work with emotional labor to reinforce the emotional labor training of student teachers further. Seeding opportunities for informal learning and reflection set the emotional tone and soften the blow of the potential emotional disconnect.

The delicate finesse of the interplay of emotion work with emotional labor was further illustrated in an incident where Bob describes the moment student teachers return to him with questions about constraints they encounter in the classroom:

> [When they come back to me], *I level with them and I'm honest. I say, 'You know what, there are a lot of districts and schools who do things that are completely out of your control, who don't serve students very well, such as rigid pacing guides and prepackaged curricula that are inherently not flexible.'*

The pinch of emotional dissonance emerged when student teachers encountered the inflexibility of selling the standardized curriculums they encountered in their schools. Bob attempted to sooth the pinch of emotional labor by encouraging them to look for moments of informal learning. He cannot tell them what to do, but he can help them explore opportunities. In a way, he is coaching them to find moments of resistance where emotional labor performance can fade into the more flexible techniques of personalized emotion work, those folds where the constraints of program, organizational, and curriculum demands are less intrusive. The shell of emotional labor fades for Bob as well as he subtly pushes back against his own constraints while "cheerleading" his student teachers to do the same.

Managing Emotional Context

A final subtheme that emerged was one of managing the emotional context, a type of management that involved managing one's own emotional context as well as that of others. The infusion of technology in the form of virtual simulations provided a mechanism for surveilling and managing emotions within the context of the program, further highlighting already noted complexities of distinguishing between emotional labor and emotion work.

Stan described three incidents that revolved around the incorporation of virtual simulations as a means of introducing student teachers to the challenges of working across culturally diverse contexts. These simulations were also a feature of his earlier years of working in a corporate environment. The first incident described one student teacher's aggressive reaction to the competitive environment fostered by the simulation:

> *What I found is this group* [program cohort one] *came in real tense, it was a very competitive entrance to the program. I think they were still going through the norming stages of figuring out where they are and how competitive they have to be to survive. Is this collaborative or is this individualistic? They were tight, and all those behaviors were present. It's a game, and they're trying to immerse themselves into alien cultures. They totally got into it and what I was that people started dropping these shields and started becoming competitive, becoming isolated. I had one student who* [had] *a very professional, courteous demeanor; he got really aggressive in this simulation. I found that really interesting that these behaviors came out, that he was really trying to sabotage other groups. He really went to an extreme.*

There are a few things that need to be pointed out here. In terms of informal learning, the simulation opens up opportunities for student teachers to examine their own reactions, the extent to which they were willing to go to be competitive and how that might affect their interactions with others in the program. From the organizational standpoint, it further illustrates how training for eventual emotional labor performance is embedded, intentionally or not, into the structure of the program. The simulation manipulates student teachers into letting their personal and professional guards down to expose behaviors that might be flagged as a potential concern for successful completion of the program (as well as the embodiment or personification of the organization's image). Additionally, Stan's enthusiasm for collecting emotional data perhaps betrays the extent of the manipulation:

> *They drop their emotional guards and drop their professional guards and get into the competition and get into the game—the experience. Now you're seeing real data. You're seeing real emotions, real behaviors good and bad.*

Is the manipulation isolated to student teachers only? The emphasis on data collection implies a clinical distance from the manipulation of the event, thus buffering faculty from directly experiencing the manipulation. However, the goal of the simulations is not simply the manipulation but rather the immersion into other cultures, as Stan observed in another incident:

> *One of the cultures is coming into College and a graduate program, that's a new culture. Another one is going into K-12 where so much of their time is spent, and they've got to embed themselves into that culture. Additionally, it's now them in a classroom with kids which is a whole separate culture. Then they're drilling down into independent cultures with families of different backgrounds and religions and so forth.*

This articulates the full range of cultural and emotional issues the program attempts to address through the cultivation of various formal and informal learning experiences. These experiences craft a palette of skills and techniques for evaluating and managing emotions, either for individual or organizational objectives.

While debriefings typically encouraged student teachers to share concerns and observations, Stan noted in a final incident that the student teacher observed earlier failed to recognize the aggressiveness of his competitive behaviors even when pointed out by others participating in the simulation.

> *Frankly, I didn't have to because they brought it up. He was very nonchalant about it. My take from it was that he didn't learn from the reflection, that he pretty much thought that it was still okay.*

Before the debriefing, however, Stan chose not to interfere with the simulation. *My experience with that person is that I didn't intervene. I let it flow like it was and I just collected data*. He commented that he remained emotionally distant throughout the process to avoid affecting the outcome of the simulation. The student teacher continued to experience problems has he progressed through the program: *Even though he grew a lot, I think the student actually still had some issues further into the program that aligned with those behaviors*. He continued: *They were there. They were real. I'm at a stage where I don't get emotionally charged about it*. It was observed during the analysis of an earlier incident that Stan has suppressed his frustrations with one of his earliest teaching experiences throughout most of his career. This has led him to pursue teaching strategies that concentrate on maintaining safe and emotionally neutral learning environments. In this case, the virtual simulation potentially took on the role of buffering feelings associated with that earlier teaching experience, to the extent that he chose not to engage this student teacher during the simulation. In this case, Stan's earlier informal learning experience possibly inhibited his ability to completely and effectively manage his and his student teacher's emotions, thus leading to an incomplete learning experience for the student teacher.

Research Question 2: How do Adult Educators Make Meaning of Emotional Labor Experiences?

Marsick and Watkins (2001) describe incidental learning as a process that is always ongoing, whether consciously or unconsciously. The learning process is initiated by a triggering stimulus that may come from either internal or external sources. The emotional labor process provides a framework for considering how emotional labor experiences might serve as triggers for incidental learning. Many of the participants in this study noted incidents where emotion work and emotional labor experiences prompted additional learning related to personal and professional growth. These emotional labor experiences included managing frustration, coping with uncertainty, being genuine, resisting expectations, and managing emotions across the program. The following sections explore how these experiences triggered learning opportunities for participants.

Theme 3: Managing Emotions: Triggers for Learning

Managing Frustration

Managing various aspects of frustration, anger, or irritation featured prominently among many of the critical incidents captured in the study. The need to manage frustration across the program resonated in different ways. In some cases, frustration management concentrated with incidents involving individual students. In others, it involved incidents with colleagues and even remnants of previous experiences that still influenced current feelings and behaviors.

Sandra, for example, described an incident where she felt that one of her student teachers was lacking in his demonstration of professionalism, even though he was in a

phenomenal placement with a host teacher. The student teacher did not seem to be paying attention and did not seem to grasp the importance of attending to the related activities of becoming a teacher: *I was frustrated and irritated with him and concerned about how his behavior was going to reflect on us—almost just out of respect for his host teacher.* Sandra began to experience everything within the context of the student teacher's unprofessional behavior. Irritation and frustration heightened her awareness of his behaviors, so much so that the entire experience of the incident came to be felt like a sort of unprofessionalism. What potentially began as irritation escalated into the sustained suppression of frustration while still attempting to support the relationship with this student teacher. Everything seems to have reached a tipping point when the student teacher requested the day off for his birthday during the middle of parent-teacher conferences. Sandra described how she had to learn to try to *disengage* and remain *unemotional* while working with this student teacher:

> *Some of the frustration that I've had with this one student, I've had to keep in check and make sure that I'm focused on specific behaviors* [and] *specific outcomes instead of just saying, 'Get your act together.' I disengage* [while] *trying to remain unemotional and trying to focus on the situation at hand. That's been in the face of feeling really frustrated or irritated—those times where you feel like you've had a conversation five times and you have to have it another time….*

Here, Sandra's learning experience was triggered by her need to remain *unemotional* while working with this student teacher. By focusing on certain behaviors (both hers and the student teachers), she attempted to disengage and suppress her feelings of irritation.

The hesitation with trying to remain unemotional suggests a buffer potentially shielding her from organizational and student-teacher expectations. Disengagement implies something of an emotional silence (experienced in association with the student teacher's unprofessionalism) that disrupts the relationship with the student teacher. In some ways, the effort of disengagement only intensifies the feelings of irritation associated with the event. She remained aware of the need to sustain a positive image for the institution and the program, and as such, her learning was influenced by both internal and external factors. In a sense, she emotionally disengaged from the immediate situation while remaining emotionally engaged with the program expectations. The difficulty of achieving this balance cannot be understated. The association with unprofessionalism had to be reattuned before feelings of frustration could dissipate. To achieve this, Sandra had to learn to withhold certain aspects of her own personal concern for the student teacher while maintaining a display of organizational professionalism—something of an inversion of the professional relationship with the student teacher.

In another incident, Stephanie applied her training as a marriage and family therapist to a situation that evolved in her classroom. While this training was not related to any provided by the institution or the program, she adapted it to meet her needs as a faculty member, especially in instances where she wants to encourage student teachers to challenge their own learning: *...I find myself very often knowing how to use words and tones to trigger things, and I think probably I do it more to get people to go deeper.* She cautions that *I do that fairly often, but I'm careful to know that that trust level is already established before I push somebody to that point.* As in other incidents, we see that developing a trusting relationship is an important part of managing emotions in adult

learning and organizational settings. In this case, a student teacher demonstrated a regular lack of confidence in her own work, and Stephanie used her emotional reaction to challenge the student teacher's thinking:

> *One time, I was just tired of it. I had just handed back a set of papers, and I don't know if sarcasm is an emotion, but it's certainly what I used. She made some comment to indicate that she had struggled with the assignment and I just said, 'Could you turn to the back of your paper and read aloud my feedback?' And of course, it said, 'This is the best.' I tried to process with her, 'What is it that you don't see there?' It was kind of risky and probably put her on the spot more than she wanted to be on the spot. But that's a time that I can remember saying, 'I'm not going to let this go,' and use whatever to break this down. I did see a little bit of a change in her after that. It was kind of passive aggressive on my part too. If I think back strongly enough, I probably set it up so that whatever her comment was led to that* [interaction].

Stephanie's learning was two-fold. She transferred her learning about how to use emotion as a marriage counselor, but she also learned to monitor the level of trust she had developed with the student teacher. The transition of techniques from one setting to another implies a certain amount of risk and vulnerability for Stephanie. Techniques that might have facilitated emotion work in one setting, such as marriage counseling, might not be fully realized within the current context and organizational expectations. Recognizing that she was taking a risk, she allowed her frustration to come through as a sarcastic comment intended to help guide the student teacher past her own inhibitions about her work. The use of emotion work was nuanced in that Stephanie suppressed

much of her frustration while allowing a moment of calculated sarcasm to propel the student teacher's learning forward. The creative application of emotion management techniques in the absence of organizational intrusion indicates a type of emotion work that stretches the expressive limits of emotional labor.

For Bettie, managing frustration became enmeshed with the process of helping one of her student teachers manage her own frustration with a difficult teaching placement. Bettie learned to manage her own frustration with the situation while also attempting to provide supportive encouragement for the student teacher. Suppressing this frustration caused Bettie to recognize the need to maintain a positive support structure:

> *But I did know at that point that it would not have helped the student for me to be down about the situation as well. You try to be positive with them and on the inside, I was feeling just as negative as they were. I was concerned that if I was also negative about it and down, that it would just depress the student even more. I was wanting to* [say]*, 'Let's calm down and let's think about the situation.' Sometimes they will get into a frustrating situation, and it's hard for them to see other sides of the story. That's why I felt like it was important for me to kind of mirror the other side and help them to see that maybe it wasn't as bad as they felt like it was.*

However, an emphasis on trying to be positive also betrays a hesitation in which the extension of empathy and concern falls somewhat short of full potential, a hesitation indicative of a struggle between personal and organizational expectations. Here one can also see the early formation of emotional dissonance, where the mask of remaining positive begins to pull away from negative felt emotions. Suppressing negative emotion

is not enough, and the distance between suppressed and displayed registers as a growing sense of vulnerability perceived as the potential for failure. To close this distance, Bettie reframes the situation by mirroring multiple points of view for student teachers—something of an added technique or technical enhancement of feeling suppression. Mirroring also refocuses attention on the student teacher and away from the organization.

Amy's poetic narrative catches a glimpse of her struggles with attempting to understand the treatment by others of a colleague in the program. She struggles with the question: *How is it?* She suppresses frustration and disappointment while attempting to understand how others can be *so negative towards* her colleague. She questions whether or not to intercede but also recognizes that her colleague would not want her *to be the white knight*. The incident remains unresolved, but we are left with a strong emotional trigger that questions: *How is it that other people get beat on so much?*

In Stan's case, suppressing frustration triggered a learning experience that has remained with him throughout his career. In one of his first teaching experiences with adults, Stan encountered an adult learner who was particularly resentful of having to take a DUI training class. As Stan recalled, *I was twenty-one-years-old with no pedagogical or real knowledge on facilitating.* The adult learner was a doctor, and at first, Stan attempted to engage him through additional research and preparation for the class. But as Stan noted:

> *You couldn't out research the guy. The guy was too well equipped. I tried reaching out to him outside the classroom. There was no going. He was going to sabotage this class no matter what happened. I just really fought through it.*

Stan struggled to find a connection with the doctor and worked very hard to suppress his frustration: *It took every ounce of my being to maintain neutral and maintain cool and not draw down*. Eventually, Stan engaged the doctor by drawing from his medical expertise as a doctor to supplement discussions in the class. Stan further noted:

> *I didn't do this by design, but what I found is, I'm talking about hitting you head on the windshield, and he would engage in, 'This is what it would cause when the brain hits.' He would get into this medical* [discussion], *and I would just cultivate the crap out of that. I would totally embellish that…First, he attacked it, and when he saw that his expertise became recognized, he mellowed in the last two or three classes and talked to me outside.*

Engaging this student teacher in the way that he did allowed Stan to relieve the tension of suppressing his own anger and also the anger and resentment displayed by the adult learner because of having been forced to take the class. Engaging the doctor's personal expertise allowed Stan to make a personal connection and diffuse a potentially hostile classroom environment. While he did learn from the immediate experience, it is also one that followed him throughout his career: *I picked up a lot of skills from that experience. It left me pretty ingrained. I had scar tissue from that one. From a teaching standpoint, it really contributed to the way I teach now*. Stan also remarked: *It's probably to this day why I use a lot of humor to manage a group of people, no matter who they are, and why I try to do it on a very personal level….* Stan's informal learning helped him to transfer personal emotion management skills into a classroom setting. He also adapted these techniques by integrating them into a general approach to classroom learning strategy and management.

Coping with Uncertainty

Kahn (1990) observed: "People occupy roles at work; they are the occupants of the houses that roles provide." However, when work roles suddenly become less well defined, the security provided by organizational houses or structures becomes less certain. At times, individuals might find that they no longer occupy the structure they once thought they did; and at other times, structures begin to collide in ways that destabilize feelings of security associated with the occupation of any one role. Study participants noted feelings of uncertainty associated with vaguely defined role expectations and insecurities related to moments of instability in role performance. Coping with feelings of uncertainty emerged as a subtheme of how participants learn to manage emotions in this environment.

In an incident related by Sandra about one of her student teacher's deteriorating relationship with a host teacher, feelings of uncertainty emerged from multiple conflicts across different layers of the program. A growing sense of uncertainty increased as the host teacher failed to report problems to her and began contacting others in the program, including the host teacher's principal and eventually, the director of the program. Sandra expressed conflicting feelings about the situation:

> *That was really a difficult situation because I wasn't necessarily sure how to address the problem…I felt quite conflicted. I saw my role as a site coordinator to be a support for the student, and I also felt like it was very important for me to maintain our relationship.*

Her growing uneasiness and role anxiety continued to increase until she lost a sense of what her role should be in the program:

> *Honestly, in the moment, I thought, 'I don't want to be involved in this. I want to get out of this. This is not what I signed up for.' It felt like losing sight of what I wanted to do or what my purpose was. And I think part of that just came from being uncomfortable because it was a situation I had to participate in.*

Especially revealing here is Sandra's reluctance to maintain her involvement. At the individual level, she remains confident in her ability to perform her role as a support for the student teacher, but once this collides with other expectations across the program, her uncertainty increases. Hochschild (1983) described emotive (emotional) dissonance as "maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning" that "over the long run leads to strain" (p. 90). When this strain is sustained, emotional dissonance potentially causes one to become numb to true feelings. We can see signs of this strain when Sandra indicated that she felt like she was *losing sight* of or what her *purpose was* and *because it was a situation I had to participate in*. We can also see early signs of possible estrangement (Hochschild, 1983, 2003) where the strain of the dissonance eventually gives way to an encroaching sense of separation from emotion—something akin to an emotional numbness.

The pinch of emotional dissonance also triggered an opportunity for reflection and learning. Sandra examined her existing role of providing support for and maintaining a relationship with the student teacher within the context of the program and the evolving conflict. She reached out to her colleagues for advice and did find that she *felt supported in that regard*. She also spent time on the phone attempting to establish better lines of communication with the multiple parties involved in the program. Sandra noted that *everybody's back on track* but also recognized that she continues to struggle with the idea

that *if this had just been one of my on-campus classes, it might have felt a little different*. The individual emotional dissonance was resolved, but something of an organizational dissonance lingers that continues to strain role expectations across the program.

Amy encountered a similar sense of role insecurity when confronted by a student teacher who remarked in class that she did not like professors:

> *I'm* [bristling] *if you want to talk about an emotion. They generally don't know what they're talking about. She goes on to say, 'I tend to do only what I have to do because I can usually figure it out myself.'* [My colleague] *and I were like, 'What on earth?' And she continued over the course of that session and a subsequent session to really present herself as 'know-it-all-ish.' I thought, 'Who are you?'*

At first, Amy was surprised and a little angered by the encounter, but later she expressed a feeling of vulnerability and uncertainty in her ability to work with student teachers who came from such advanced professional backgrounds:

> *I also felt very vulnerable in a way. I really did because I thought, 'I'm really not a science person. I certainly don't have a neuroscience background.' I felt like I had to measure up in some way, so I felt a little vulnerable.*

Her initial frustration triggered an opportunity to consider further why she felt so vulnerable and also why the student teacher reacted in the way that she did:

> *I've been really careful. When she emails me, I want to be really clear in my emails back to her. I'm not one of those professors that tends to label students, 'Oh, they don't know what they're doing.' I also have seen her grow.*

Amy suppressed her irritation long enough to allow time for her relationship with student teacher to evolve:

> [Working through the vulnerability] *just took time and getting to know her a little bit more and trying to understand why she might feel that way.*

Working through her own vulnerability actually allowed Amy to recognize that the student teacher had also made herself vulnerable by making the comment—potentially triggering learning opportunities for both:

> [I] *saw her interact with kids in a way that was, 'She's got that* ***it*** *as a teacher.' I think getting back to realizing it's a growing process and she's learning about herself and also making herself vulnerable by admitting that. Whether she thought about it or not, that took a lot of, honest, a lot of guts to even say that to us.*

Bob expressed a similar sense of uncertainty in an incident where he felt *unprepared* for the academic level of student teachers he encountered early in the program. In this instance, Bob had prepared material for what he expected to be a typical master's level course. But when he began the lecture he found the group to be much more engaged than anticipated and suddenly felt unsure of how well he knew his student teachers:

> *I realized two or three of the centerpiece activities I had planned for that day of instruction were kind of irrelevant because they were already past it. Here's where the emotional reaction might come in, it was like, 'Oh, shit, I don't know who they are.' That was a little unsettling because I realized they are a unique group of people. My little barometer in my head is somehow going to have to be recalibrated. There was a little bit of insecurity.*

This moment of feeling unsettled, of feeling off balance, triggered both an emotional response and a learning/evaluation response as well. His immediate concern turned to one of maintaining his professional credibility with the class:

> *It's not that I don't know it, or I'm not capable of leading them to explore with a whole lot more depth, I just wasn't prepared that day. There was a little bit of like, 'Okay, I'm going to look like a fool, and my credibility is going to be compromised because I'm going to look like I don't know that I'm talking about.' Even though I really do, I'm just not prepared to talk about it in that way today. That was what I remember. They're going to see; they're going to think I'm a fraud here.*

Bob's concern for being *compromised* betrayed a need to suppress a certain level of fear, but previous experiences had helped him prepare for unexpected contingencies. His fear of being uncovered as a *fraud* seemed to have more to do with his ability to perform his expected role at that moment than with any sense of not knowing his content. He had prepared extra video material to use in the case of unexpected circumstances, but he felt uncertain in his need to *improvise* his role as a teacher at this moment, uncertain in his ability to deliver the content effectively and without deception. In this case, the expectation of building trust with student teachers emerges as a dual effort incorporating trust in content knowledge and trust in ability to deliver the content. Over time, Bob has learned to adapt content for unexpected occurrences, but he still seems to struggle with suppressing uncertainties related to delivery in this setting:

> *But I remember thinking, 'I'm going to have to improvise well because these folks are going to detect bullshit.' They were able to connect new ideas and new*

experiences to their previous knowledge and experiences quickly—a lot of sophistication. Their thinking was qualitatively different than what I was used to—complexity, and then the speed—that was an adjustment.

Being Genuine

While negative emotions acted as triggers for many of the learning experiences encountered in the study, positive emotions also emerged as a subtheme for learning related to emotional labor experiences. Not all emotional labor efforts are related to negative emotions (Hochschild, 1983, 2003). Emotionally consonant or genuine displays also account for work that is performed with emotions in organizational settings. Genuine displays of emotion trigger learning that is sometimes related to additional emotional experiences.

For example, Stephanie described an incident where two groups of student teachers were working collaboratively to assemble and fly model planes as part of a team exercise. A considerable amount of emotional effort went into developing the support structure for this activity to happen, not unlike the emphasis placed on developing trusting and supporting relationships with student teachers described earlier. In this instance, though, the success of the activity, the fact that one of the planes flew, acted as a point of release and relief, as though Stephanie had been holding her breath waiting not only for the plane to fly but for the program to fly as well. At that moment, the small plane taking off to the cheers of a small group of graduate students became emblematic of the success of the program and the release of a sustained emotion work effort:

I actually started crying on this one. The first one finally flew. Not many of them got up, but it wasn't the fact that the airplane flew, it was looking up at them, and

> *their arms were in the air. I've got a picture of it. They were like, 'Yes!' For me, it was like, 'Wow! This is powerful, and we created this opportunity for them.'*

At the same time, Stephanie recognized the importance of expressing positive emotions as a means of nurturing emotional trust and support:

> [It was powerful] *to see professional people engage inT what I would call play. It required a lot of academic knowledge to build these things. The launching of them was child's play. It was so joyful and uninhibited—like licking icing or something. You don't get that much in academia. We do a lot of that in* [this program]. *We do a lot where things that don't normally happen in learning environments get to happen. It was* [significant] *because it was so emotional. It was like you gave somebody a present that they really liked. You were just so overwhelmed with how much it meant to them, and it wouldn't have happened if we hadn't done it. I think that goes back to the familial environment that surrounds the learning.*

In a sense, the incident was so emotional for her because it reflected the culmination of a collective emotion work effort, an effort comprised of multiple emotion work experiences over time resulting in genuinely felt sense of joy. The effort or work associated with emotion management techniques faded effortlessly into the background—an integrative transduction of technique allowing the genuine feeling of experiencing experience to emerge.

In another incident, Bob described how the utilization of positive emotions further enhanced his own levels of enthusiasm. In this case, Bob stressed the need to convey a sense of enthusiasm about his subject material while teaching. As he points out, it is not that he lacked in enthusiasm, but rather that his enthusiasm was not always present at

every moment that he was teaching. He described a process where he gradually builds a sense of seriousness that layers and rises to a crescendo throughout the class:

> *And I'll look at them. And I'll pause. In my mind, I'm emotionally neutral, but I want that question to come across as serious. I'll glare at them, and I'll pause and let them think. I start light and then gradually move towards seriousness. I start light so that I get everybody on board with me so that I get people to feel welcomed into the conversation, that it's not scary.*

Bob is careful to maintain tempo and pacing in a way that slowly draws everyone into the conversation. At first, his immediate emotions are neutral, but this changes as he progresses through the class.

> *Now the thinking is there, but it's not like I'm really feeling it in the moment, I'm acting like I do.* [After sustaining that over a three or four-hour class], *it stirs up the enthusiasm for me. It conjures it up and then I really do feel enthusiastic. That's why I don't want to have class at night. It's hard to go home and go to sleep because I'm excited and then my brain, it's turning and turning and by the end. I'm thinking about all kinds of stuff.*

Bob's enthusiasm is contagious not only to the class but to himself as well. He harnesses his feelings in an emotionally choreographed dance that amplifies his energy and enthusiasm. His initial neutrality rises to a level to match his actual enthusiasm while bringing the class along with him. The expression of genuinely felt emotions can at times require an effort that is similar to suppressing or evoking an unfelt emotion. In this case, the application of emotion management techniques enhances the transition of personal and public displays of emotion.

> *I think about conveying enthusiasm, which to me is a characteristic of good instruction no matter what you're teaching. It probably starts off as a really good representation of enthusiasm, a really good sort of faking, but faking enthusiastic behaviors and speech.*

Stan described an incident where the emotional labor effort was one of not interfering with the positive energy of the class. In this case, Stan recognized that the student teachers in his class were highly prepared and highly motivated:

> *The dialog was so rich and so engaging that we ate three-quarters of the class. We had a four-hour layout, and we talked for almost three hours—we just ate a total portion of the lab. I had all these activities that we were going to do. But there's no way that I'm going to intercept it. From my emotional perspective on that, it's like, 'Yes!' You just don't get that every day and you don't get it with the average class who kind of comes in and is sitting there waiting for you to do something to 'edutain' them.*

Stan attributes this motivation not to his own enthusiasm but rather to the development of an instructional strategy encouraging the safe exchange of ideas and discussion. In a sense, the emotional labor effort was delivered through instructional strategy rather than emotional performance during the class:

> *My feeling was positive. I was like, 'Yeah!' There's a little bit of, 'I'm the greatest professor there ever was.' And then I step back and think well, 'Wait a minute. This is really being driven by strategy.' I've given them an opportunity where they can all respond, and now they're all engaged, and now they can all offer their opinions safely. We did get to the presentations, but that's all we did for the day.*

Stan met the organizational expectation of maintaining a successful learning environment for student teachers through the integration of emotion management techniques with instructional strategy. This adaptation freed Stan from the need to control his feelings during class and allowed him to engage his student teachers more genuinely. At the same time, a reliance on instructional strategy implies a certain aversion to emotion work performed in a public setting. There is no indication of a requirement to perform emotion management, as with emotional labor, but Stan also seems to avoid emotional engagement if possible.

Resisting Expectations

There were occasions where emotional labor display expectations were interrupted with moments of resistance, moments that could be thought of as representing a temporary emotional dissonance. Ultimately, the resolution achieved organizational and program goals, but at the individual level, participants struggled with resisting the immediate pressures of colleagues and student teachers while trying to balance their own feelings about certain situations.

An incident from Sandra highlighted her struggle with balancing the desire to sustain a supportive relationship with a student teacher while also being mindful of the need for boundaries and consistent messages across the program. One of her student teachers came to her asking for help after receiving criticism from his faculty supervisor:

> *There was a time where he was spoken to very sternly by the supervisor of the program because of concerns about some of his behaviors in labs, his performance on a final,* [and] *requests to be absent on a couple of occasions. She*

> *really had to read him the riot act. That was one of those times where I felt like, okay, he's had his talking to. He's calling me to be a support within the program.*

Sandra stated that she used empathy in attempting to provide support, but she also noted that she resisted any expectations of being critical of her colleague:

> *In that instance, I used empathy and listened to what he was talking about. I would not say that I would validate all his statements like, 'Oh, you know that is so awful that she said that.' I would not undermine what she said, but I would allow him to just talk. Then there have been other instances where* [I had to be mindful of] *boundaries within the program and not wanting to undermine my colleagues so that there is a consistent message or expectations—and not wanting to bridge that line between being and instructor and a friend. I don't see myself as a friend. I don't see that that's my job, but I do believe that I can support any student best if I can also, when appropriate, be empathic and understanding and address the social and emotional concerns that the may have too.*

Display expectations emanate from a variety of sources. Sandra recognized that her student teacher's expectations conflicted with her own and program/organizational expectations. The student sought affirmation of his initial negative perception of the criticism he had received. Sandra resisted this and instead concentrated her empathy on helping the student teacher overcome his frustration without compromising her colleagues or her professional relationship with the student teacher. This point of resistance seems subtle, but it opens the potential for a brief moment of emotional dissonance to be redirected towards a positive resolution—something akin to a suspended cadence where the dissonance disrupts only for a moment. This falls somewhere in

between Hochschild's (1983, 2003) description of surface and deep acting as emotional labor techniques. It is like a type of surface acting that does not deceive. Sandra suppresses her momentary dissonance while resisting this part of the student teacher's expectation. Here, the organizational expectation of providing an environment for student success clashes with the expectations of both the faculty member and the student teacher potentially setting the stage for both to experience a moment of emotional dissonance. In a sense, this dual dissonance has triggered potential learning opportunities for both Sandra and her student teacher. Sandra uses empathy and redirects the student teacher's behavior to help resolve his dissonant feelings. She then reflects on her own emotional dissonance and chooses to sustain hers through resistance while assisting him and reflecting on the expectations of her colleagues and the organization. By recognizing the need to maintain barriers, Sandra's dissonance is resolved on the side of the organization but not necessarily on the side of the student teacher. Sandra's need to maintain barriers could result in a sustained emotional dissonance similar to the type described by Hochschild (1983, 2003).

Stephanie described another incident where she resisted the expectations of a group of colleagues during the program admissions process. Her colleagues clearly felt that a particular student teacher should not be admitted to the program, but she felt differently and resisted their expectations of compliance:

> *The strongest emotion that I have felt in this entire process was for a* [student teacher] *who a couple of the faculty when we were reviewing files for selection, said, 'No.' They just did not think we should take this person as a* [student teacher]. *I felt very different than that.*

Stephanie chose to momentarily resist the expectations of her colleagues in order to focus her attention on developing a relationship with the potential student teacher. This point of resistance also creates a momentary dissonance at the organizational level in that by pushing back against her colleagues, Stephanie is also pushing back against organizational admissions policy. Much like Sandra, Stephanie chooses to endure a momentary emotional dissonance that ultimately leads to a resolution that benefits both the organization and the student teacher. In this case, however, the emotional dissonance was sustained a bit longer with a resolution coming in the form of a sense of relief after the student teacher was in the program for a while:

> *I met the student in person, and I immediately had a connection with him and felt that there was so much more there than was on paper. And that turned out to be completely true—it was a sense of relief because this person is going to make a difference—already has.*

As with Sandra's incident, the emotional resistance ultimately achieved organizational goals; however, the motivation in Stephanie's case seems more closely tied to individual expectations and a desire to cultivate nurturing relationships with student teachers. Where Sandra weighed colleague and organizational expectations, Sandra did not. Sandra stated:

> *I was glad that I went with my gut. I was glad I wasn't influenced by academics because there's so much more there. You can teach people things, but you can't create virtues, and I tend* [to be] *much more drawn to that than I am somebody who just has a strong academic background.*

This point of resistance triggered in Sandra a reflection that helped her to recognize the qualities in potential student teachers that were most important to her. Regardless of

outside pressures, Sandra gained confidence in making decisions that balanced her own feelings with those of colleagues and the organization. Sustaining an emotional dissonance over time through resistance facilitated Sandra's growth in making decisions:

> *It was very affirming, and it really influenced my final decision making on the second cohort in terms of what I was looking for in folks.*

Managing Emotions Across the Program

The preceding discussion has noted the complexities of managing emotions among varying sets of display and feeling expectations. Many of these complexities revolve around the need to manage emotions across different layers of the program, including student teachers, host teachers, host administrators, program administrators, etc. As defined by Hochschild (1983), the concept of emotional labor struggles to contain the richness of these experiences. In part, the tethering of the concept to Marx's description of labor presents something of a problem in that this type of labor is typically performed at the level of the individual worker. As has been observed, emotional labor performance experiences have extended beyond the level of the worker, in this case, the program faculty member, to include colleagues, the institutional program director, external administrators and others. The following section further explores the complexities of managing emotions across the various program and organizational layers.

In one incident, juggling multiple emotional labor experiences across the program caused Amy to question her ability level and self-confidence. Near the end of the first summer of working with the first cohort of student teachers, Amy realized that the assessment that had been planned for summer courses was not going to be sufficient to

meet the goals of the program. She struggled with needing to tell faculty that they were going to have to revise their assessment (while classes were in progress in some cases):

> *We made some changes at the last minute to how the grading was going to happen and that made some other program colleagues uncomfortable because now, after the fact, we're saying, 'So now we need some data from you about what happened over the summer because we need this presentation and portfolio to not be the only way we're assessing them.' It made other faculty members* [uncomfortable] *because their understanding was that they were facilitating experiences with the* [student teachers], *but that the evidence of their work with them was going to be this final presentation. This culminating piece was it. We were then asking them to, 'Hey, go back and rate, grade, give us something so that we can spread out the impact of this single thing.'*

The student teachers were already under considerable stress, and this situation only further increased the level of stress for all involved. The faculty members were unhappy with the changes, and while Amy felt supported by her supervisor, she also felt uncomfortable with criticism from her colleagues and struggled with her own sense of loyalty to her student teachers.

> *I was being backed by my immediate supervisor and being criticized by a colleague who was in the program. That was very uncomfortable for me. I felt my allegiance to the cohort of* [student teachers]. *And because I felt like I had the experience of working day-to-day with them, I felt like I needed to stand by them and I did.*

The nexus of these multiple emotional events forced Amy to consider where she would focus her emotional efforts. In this case, she chose to focus her emotional energy on nurturing her relationship with her student teachers (partly in protecting or shielding them from the situation and partly in providing reassurance and encouragement). The evaluation of an emotional labor effort is complex and dynamic, and Amy is faced with a myriad of questions about how to balance the multiple emotional masks she needs to wear. Ultimately, she decides to concentrate her genuine energy on her student teachers while buffering her own insecurities and criticisms from her colleagues.

> *I felt responsible and distressed, and I questioned myself. But I again felt, like I said, this allegiance to these* [student teachers], *and knew that this is a program that we had signed on for three years. I was not going to let it fall apart at that point.*

Here we see the dance of the emotional self with the public self where the transmutation of the private is never fully completed. A core tenet of emotional labor is derived from the capture and capitalization of the emotion work we perform daily in our private lives (Hochschild, 1979, 1983, 2003). The moment of capture is the transmutation of the private self into a public self where displays of emotion are exchanged for a wage value. The difficulty for Amy is determining where these exchanges take place—in other words, what part of the self is allotted for wage exchange and what part is retained as private. The result is something of a juxtaposition of the private and public selves. The public self maintains a display akin to emotional labor where professional norms and standards govern her interactions with colleagues. The private self remains genuine in its display of emotion; Amy maintains her allegiance to her students. But this does not come without a

cost. For Hochschild, emotional dissonance is the separation of the private self from public display. The divide is more complex than this. Amy chooses to perform emotional labor in order to buffer and protect the private self. She performs emotional labor and emotion work concurrently. She experiences and emotional dissonance in dealing with the criticisms of her colleagues and the organization, but the distress and allegiance she feels for her student teachers are genuine. Both acts of emotion management ultimately advance program and organizational goals, but organizational expectations do not always govern the decisions Amy makes. When the stress of maintaining an emotional dissonance becomes too great, Hochschild maintains that we try to pull the acts of feeling and feigning closer together (1983, p. 90). However, in Amy's case, the strain of the dissonance is two-fold in that Amy is performing acts of emotion management for both private and public reasons. A secondary dissonance has inserted itself in such a way that Amy cannot pull the two together. Something akin to an organizational dissonance cuts across the divide between public and private selves that causes Amy to choose between protecting the private self she displays to her students and the public self she displays to her colleagues—the result of which is a dual dissonance that spans the organizational divide. Amy is struggling to protect herself against the sort of estrangement Hochschild described as estrangement from emotion that pulls at the private self (1983, p. 230). Amy has learned to selectively apply emotional labor in a way that helps guard against the pull of estrangement.

Another incident from Amy further highlights the complexity of sustaining separate emotion management acts. Here, she struggles with the process of dismissing a student teacher from the program. Amy said that she had reached a decision and was

comfortable severing ties with the student. At the same time, though, as in the previous incident, she maintained a feeling of support for the student teacher, even as she was being let go:

> *...I kind of watched across the table from me while we were trying to share these things that were happening, that were reality, that she agreed with, you know, it was almost these pleading eyes looking at me, 'Help me, help me.' And I'm trying to get her to embrace this, which she did on some level, 'I get that, but, but, but….' And that was difficult.*

This came into direct conflict with the reactions of her colleagues as they assembled for the final meeting with the student teacher:

> *...I became really uncomfortable when we met downtown at* [the foundation representative's local office], *where he flies into.* [The program director] *and I drove down and* [the foundation representative] *met us there, and* [the student teacher] *was in the room. He was really savvy in his conversation with her explaining what was happening, what was going on, that this wasn't a good fit. But then after she left there was some, almost laughter and making fun of her in some ways that disturbed me, not that it would have changed the outcome….*

Again, Amy focuses her emotional effort on providing support for the student teacher, to try to provide some level of comfort when the student teacher's eyes are pleading with her from across the table. She struggles to maintain a vestige of the organizational expectation of nurturing an emotionally trusting environment by attempting to reassure the student during this transition. Amy's emotions are genuinely felt, and in an effort of personal emotion work and sympathy, she attempts to share these feelings with the

student teacher while also guarding slightly against her feelings about the scene as it unfolds during the meeting. The foundation representative and the program director successfully execute what at first appears to be surface acting. However, this comes into question once the student teacher leaves the room and Amy notes laughter and disparaging remarks that made her uncomfortable. Hochschild (1983) describes surface acting where one deceives others but not oneself. Amy's colleagues displayed a lack of concern that betrays a distancing from both organizational and individual feeling expectations—potentially something of a double feign where they fool themselves as well as the student teacher, thus failing to perform either emotion work or emotional labor completely. Which begs the question: Should the emotional labor performance have continued once the student left the room? In some ways, it did:

> *It's something* [the program director], *and I have talked about several times. It haunts both of us. 'What could we have done differently? Should we have seen this before she was admitted? Was there anything that informed the way we looked at the current cohort of* [student teachers]*?'*

If emotional labor involves preparing the body for an "imaginary action," as Hochschild (1983) suggests, then this implies the remnants of an emotional dissonance that has lingered since the dismissal of the student teacher, a dissonance that occurred at both the individual and organizational levels (p. 230). An organizational dissonance occurred when the organizational expectation of maintaining an environment of student success failed to follow through at the end of the meeting. This organizational level of dissonance extended to the host teacher as well:

> [I] *was very sensitive to that particular host teacher's* [feelings], *she felt responsible too.*

For the host teacher, this dissonance resolved with the placement of a new student teacher. For Amy, this dissonance triggered a learning opportunity that allowed her to adjust how she approaches her supervision work in the field:

> *I was more intentional about record keeping, more intentional about the work that I did in the triads… I think I tried to be more facilitative in my role as site coordinator. I am now more aware of it.*

The resolution of the organizational dissonance remains unclear.

Another incident emphasized the need to manage simultaneous emotional labor efforts stemming from the same event. In this instance, one of Amy's student teachers was caught by a host school administrator sleeping during a staff development training session. Personally, Amy empathized with the student teacher and wanted to tell him that it happens to everyone:

> *With this* [student teacher], *what wanted to come out of my mouth when he told me what happened was, 'It's okay, everybody does it.' I wanted to tell him the story of us as teachers on our cell phones, or us laughing, or us in a faculty meeting—because I understood that.*

However, she realized that she also needed to attend to the relationship with the host school and the program. Amy suppressed her frustration and presented a firm demeanor to better help the student teacher work through the process on his own:

> *But realizing the nature of the relationship I had with him and that at that point what I needed to present to him was much more firm than I normally have to be. I*

> *almost wanted to reach out and say, 'It's okay, it's okay.' Because he'd been crying. I tried to be very adult—I really had to almost be a parent—and very supportive of him but facilitating his working through it and dealing with it. I wasn't going to pick up the pieces for him.*

Amy next turned her attention to the relationship with the host school.

> *And my thoughts were, 'We have a good relationship with this school.' One of our lab facilitators was a host teacher last year. And this* [student teacher] *and another one are in their clinical experiences there.*

The level of anger she was suppressing is immediately evident. Also evident is the range and scope of emotional labor efforts she felt responsible for:

> *I'm like, 'Oh, you know this relationship is important to us, to me.' I'm* [from the county]. *I'm proud of my personal relationship with* [the school], *but also our* [program] *and* [our College's] *relationship with* [the school]. *His actions were not just a reflection—it was a reflection of him—but it also had a potential to tarnish the way the other* [student teachers] *were perceived if the assistant principal said, at the county office, 'This is a* [student teacher from this program]*.' It took us so long to get into* [this school district], *so I was disappointed. I was angry.*

As with earlier examples, this incident further highlights the complexities associated with emerging distinctions between emotion work and emotional labor. Personally, Amy again focused her attention on demonstrating empathy and providing a supportive but firm environment. While shielding him from some of the friction generated by his falling asleep during staff development, Amy also encouraged the student teacher to take responsibility for his actions.

Analytic Discrepancies

A unique aspect of Katz's (1983, 2001) approach to analytic analysis is the constant refinement of definitions and explanations associated with the observed phenomenon. Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotional labor served as a guide in developing descriptive assertions of the critical incidents included in this study, with emphasis placed on how well each assertion captured the induction and suppression of feeling necessary to produce a desirable emotional display. Assertions were critiqued and refined throughout the analysis process. Following the analysis, all assertions were again compared with Hochschild's definition to determine the breadth of fit for descriptive fullness, resulting in partial matches for several incidents. All incident assertions captured some aspect of emotion management, but few expressed a requirement for emotion management. This prompted further analysis of the texts of selected critical incidents. Analytic analysis requires a reconciliation of such discrepancies through revision of either the definition or the explanations/assertions. However, Katz does caution that the intent of such reconciliations is not a universal explanation but rather an accounting of the resolution of discrepancies; or, as he describes it, "The test is not whether a final state of perfect explanation has been achieved but the *distance* that has been traveled over negative cases" (Katz, 1983, p. 131). In this spirit, the following discussion examines where discrepancies occurred during the analysis developed in Chapter 5 and further explores a resolution that considers the contextual nuances of the emotional labor experiences of adult educators.

Emotional Labor as a Requirement

The lack of a requirement to perform emotional labor was one of the first noted discrepancies in the analysis. This betrays an issue with how the definition of emotional labor is constructed and how well it applies to a learning environment, in particular, the learning environment that formed the context of the current study. To some extent, the requirement to perform emotion management conflates an organizational phenomenon with an individual one. In the worlds of Hochschild's (1983) flight attendants and bill collectors, this requirement extends to the selling of one's bodily and emotional displays as a manifestation of company expectations. In other words, bodily affect becomes an extension of the company's affective presence at the point of contact with an external stakeholder. In essence, the smile of the flight attendant becomes the smile of the company (something akin to a walking billboard representing the company in the form of a forced embodiment). Flight attendants were trained and expected to embody the company's message or brand. But how does this embodiment become emotional labor? The emotion management process of emotional labor is transactional in nature, and when the display is sold as a transaction, where the human display becomes the corporate display, emotional labor is performed, and the resulting display is exchanged for a wage—what is given freely in private is now bartered in public for a wage. There is little doubt that adult educators engage in various types of emotion management but when, if at all, does this emotion management become a type of labor?

To begin to address this, we must first consider the contextual differences between Hochschild's corporate environment and the adult learning environment that formed the setting of this study. Her flight attendants were front-line workers that

represented the company's point of contact with the external world. They received training in how to best display the desired image and were even assessed on measures of image (such as appearance and weight). This was the ultimate intrusion of the corporate body into the human body, a jarring coupling that results in a transmutation of privately held feeling rules and the potential for emotional dissonance and estrangement. Adult educators in this study rarely reported such intrusive requirements. Rather, decisions about the application of emotional displays often revolved around an array of individual decisions made to achieve the best results for a given situation. Often, these results corresponded with overall organizational expectations, but the means of achieving them were not a result of direct organizational interventions.

Additionally, the student teachers in this study, not the faculty, more closely resembled Hochschild's flight attendants in that they were being trained to represent the "face" of the program and the institution during their field experience placements. This was especially evident in how faculty members in the program created intentional experiences that, either through curriculum or individual design and strategy decisions, communicated and shaped the emotional experiences of student teachers. Formal classroom experiences provided a general framework, but incidental learning during field experiences prompted further questions about how to cope with their feelings about their placements in underserved and disadvantaged schools. In many cases, these learning experiences allowed student teachers a certain degree of self-discovery as long as the image of the institution and the program were favorably projected. However, in cases where the behavior of student teachers potentially jeopardized the image of the program or the institution, emotional display expectations immediately snapped into focus.

Emotional Labor vs. Emotion Work

This leads to another issue with the lack of clarity about distinctions between emotional labor and emotion work. Existing research literature frequently uses the terms interchangeably; however, as concepts, this study found that emotional labor and emotion work do function separately in an adult learning environment. Hochschild (1979, 1983) described emotion work as feeling management performed privately. Emotional labor (1983), through a transmutation of the private self, moved feeling management into a public arena where emotional displays became commercialized. In this study, emotional labor functioned primarily as an organizational expectation that monitored how individual faculty members interacted with an outside entity on behalf of the institution. Faculty members also performed emotional labor when directly representing and mediating the interests of the institution to internal constituents across the program. While implied, organizational restrictions and requirements related to display expectations associated with emotional labor were rarely mentioned. Emotion work more closely represented the emotion management strategies described by faculty. These strategies concentrated on daily interactions with student teachers and colleagues and focused on developing and sustaining emotionally trusting relationships.

Emotional Dissonance

Hochschild (1983) described emotional dissonance as the resulting strain of needing to balance a sense of feeling and feigning over time. In other words, one is required to sustain suppression of what is truly felt in order to maintain organizational display expectations. The implication here is that emotional dissonance is the result of suppressing felt emotions. There has been disagreement in the research literature about

whether emotional dissonance is an antecedent or outcome of emotional labor (e.g., Morris & Feldman, 1996). Discrepancies about the constitution of emotional dissonance were also noted in this study. Instances of emotional dissonance similar to those described by Hochschild were especially noted by faculty in moments where the expectations of the organization were felt as an imposed requirement. As noted above, faculty described personal approaches to emotion management that more closely resembled emotion work and any dissonance that was felt was described as an intrusion into this personal space—emotional labor was often performed in response to this intrusion. The intensity of the dissonance was pronounced in the sense that emotion management strategies (whether characterized as emotional labor or emotion work) were multidirectional in nature requiring the suppression of conflicting feelings while also calling on the calibration and balance of conflicting displays in the same instance (such as a meeting with a student teacher and administrators representing different layers of the organization). The complexity of emotional dissonance was more than one of antecedent versus outcome. Also, feelings of dissonance were not limited to the performance of emotional labor. Faculty described instances where emotions were suppressed over time because of events not associated with the current organization or program. This type of suppression often acted as something of a defensive mechanism to protect against a previously perceived feeling of failure or a fear of failure where the associated dissonance had been sustained for a long period (the span of a career in one example). This type of dissonance was more closely associated with the personal characteristics of emotion work and interactions with student teachers and was not directly attributable to the organization.

Transmutation

Hochschild (1983) suggested that emotional labor represents a "transmutation of the private emotional system…" into a public arena where the rules that govern display expectations are "arranged in a different way" (p. 90). The implication is that a transmutation of the private emotion management system must be present for emotional labor to occur. Decisions about display rules and associated techniques become part of and are controlled by the organization and become embedded in the organizational culture. This study found that emotion work and emotional labor tend to coexist, and that faculty tend to make decisions about display rule expectations in association with personal and organizational perceptions of work role responsibilities. Faculty described the application of techniques and strategies associated with emotion work when interacting with student teachers in the classroom and also occasionally with colleagues—in other words when wearing the "face" of teacher and professional colleague. However, when representing the "face" of the organization, faculty did describe a need to control and align emotional displays according to the expectations of the organization. But the transmutation was not always perceived as something forced or coerced. In some cases, faculty described incidents where they elected to perform emotional labor without consideration of organizational expectations—performing emotional labor because it was the right thing to do. Others, however, described incidents where the performance of emotional labor felt coerced and intrusive, and in these moments, a transmutation of private emotional systems was especially pronounced. For Hochschild's flight attendants, the transmutation was much more jarring in that organizational requirements were explicitly embedded in organizational culture and

learning. In the adult learning environment of this study, expectations were less explicitly defined and, in some cases, faculty performed emotional labor in a way that protected or shielded them from the potential effects of such a transmutation. This resulted in emotion work efforts that sometimes mimicked or gave the appearance of emotional labor but never completely performed because of organizational expectations. This also resulted in emotion work efforts where faculty resisted the pressures and expectations of both the organization and other colleagues. As a result, the presence of a full transmutation of private emotional systems was not easily observed in this study.

Estrangement

For Hochschild (1983), estrangement represents the taxing qualities of the effort needed to perform emotional labor. "This is why emotion work is *work*, and why estrangement from emotion is estrangement *from* something of importance and weight" (p. 230). This type of estrangement was rarely noted in this study. When it was noted, it was typically in association with incidents where the performance of emotional labor was required by the organization (and often experienced as a dissonance or something intrusive). In this study, however, faculty employed emotion management strategies as a means of protection from this type of estrangement. Faculty associated relationships with student teachers as private emotional systems where emotion work was freely performed for the benefit of student teachers and the nurturing and development of relationships with them. The performance of emotion work often coincided with organizational expectations, but in cases where it did not, faculty responded in ways that attempted to protect them and their student teachers from intrusion from the organization. The emotional effort of emotion work for faculty in the study concentrated on the

development of trusting relationships with student teachers. Estrangement from these relationships represented the separation from something important as described by Hochschild.

Conclusions

Conclusion 1: The Concept of Emotional Labor Fails to Fully Capture the Complexity of Emotion Work Performed Across Varying Organizational Layers.

The requirement to perform emotion work in the workplace as a key component of emotional labor presents something of a barrier to the useful application of the concept in adult learning environments. Similarly, the tethering of the concept to a Marxist framing of worker oppression further inhibits application of the concept at a level other than that of a front-line worker. The preceding discussion of analytical discrepancies noted in this study highlighted the difficulty of determining the equivalent of a front-line worker in an adult learning environment. In this case, student teachers more closely aligned with Hochschild's flight attendants in that they were the ultimate recipients of training dealing with the representation of the organization in a public arena. In essence, the student teachers became the "face" of the organization and the program during their field experiences in the school systems. This was especially evident, for example, in the incident where Amy described working with a student teacher who had been reprimanded by a school administrator for falling asleep during a staff training session. Amy's first concern was the reputation of the program and the relationship that had been developed with the school. This incident also raised a question of the distinction between emotion work and emotional labor. While the student teacher was being trained to represent the organization in a particular way, the moment Amy interceded, she became the

representative "face" of the organization. This seems to suggest that the performance of emotional labor might be distinguished, in part, by how and when it is applied as opposed to a fixed positioning with an oppressed front-line employee. The adult educators in this study described characteristics associated with the performance of emotional labor when acting on behalf of the direct interests of the organization. Given all of this, the performance of emotional labor in this adult learning environment was driven by a need to represent or preserve the organization's reputation, regardless of direction or position within the organization. This finding runs in contrast to Hochschild's (1983) description of emotional labor as a requirement associated with oppressed front-line workers but supports Tracy's (2000) finding that "emotion labor control systems were dispersed among myriad sources" (p. 119). In the absence of a requirement or perform emotion work as emotional labor, we are left with the performance of emotion work in an organizational setting. Callahan (2000) noted a similar discrepancy in her study of emotion work and emotion systems theory. Emotion work was often seemingly performed in an effortless and unconscious manner that did not betray any sense of requirement.

Conclusion 2: Emotional Labor and Emotion Work Experiences Trigger Informal Learning Opportunities.

In addition to developing emotionally trusting relationships, the adult educators in this study also emphasized a need to provide contextual awareness of emotions in learning environments. This awareness typically stemmed from personal and informal encounters with emotion management and extended to include a blending of formal and informal approaches to preparing student teachers for a range of potentially emotionally

charged contextual scenarios, including curriculum decisions, classroom management and engagement, and cultural and socioeconomic issues. Emotional intelligence, described by some as a component of emotional labor, has been used to indicate abilities of emotional awareness and sensitivity. However, the adult educators in this study described something more than a process of teaching sensitivity to the emotions of others. They also encouraged student teachers to question and challenge their own assumptions and the assumptions of others about emotional context of the learning environment. Rather than teaching them how to "do" emotional labor, they allowed student teachers room to "feel" their own encounters and develop their own approaches to managing them, even though the pressure of organizational expectations was always present. This stands in contrast to Hochschild's (1983) description of flight attendants being trained to feel and perform emotions in very particular ways. Cultivating a space for student teachers to have their own informal learning encounters with emotions shifted emphasis away from merely replicating a set of skills to encouraging student teachers to incorporate these skills in a manner that best adapts to their own contexts and expectations. The performative qualities of Hochschild's emotional labor, in part a result of oppressive framing, required that the skills associated with emotion management somehow produce the same performance regardless of contextual nuances. It is difficult to imagine that inattention to these nuances would result in anything other than a conflicted emotional environment filled with dissonance and burnout. The requirement to perform inhibits the very performance its seeks to achieve. The faculty in this study, rather than mandating the performance, provided the skills and contextual awareness to potentially support performance.

Implications for Theory

Hochschild (1979) suggested that emotion work utilizes cognitive, bodily, and expressive techniques as well as techniques that work on feelings that "can be done by the self upon the self, by the self upon others, and by others upon oneself" (p. 562). Emotional labor is the transmutation of these feeling and body techniques into a public arena, a transmutation of feeling tethered to a Marxist framing of oppression that anchors it at the level of the individual worker. With the adult educators in this study, this framing became problematic in that emotional labor failed to fully capture the presence of emotion work across the organizational setting.

Emotional labor was present in moments adult educators perceived a need to represent the interests of the organization regardless of level or direction within the organization. In part, this was consistent with the findings of other studies, such as Scott and Myers (2005) study of the socialization of firefighters where new recruits perceived a need to control emotions to gain favor with older colleagues. Callahan's (2000) study of emotion work using a systems function approach to the organization noted that the performance of emotion work often coincided with internal organizational goals. Callahan's study did not distinguish between emotion work and emotional labor. However, the current study found that what has typically been characterized as emotion work was more closely associated with personal goals (that could benefit the organization) while emotional labor was more closely associated with organizational goals.

Additionally, a perceived need to perform emotional labor did not always imply a requirement to perform. Adult educators in this study performed emotional labor and

emotion work for a variety of reasons, but the primary reason revolved around cultivating and protecting emotionally trusting relationships with their student teachers, even if this meant resisting the expectations of the organization or colleagues. This suggests that there is more to the study of emotional labor than the experience of individuals, what Malcolm (2012) refers to as the need to consider emotion within the context of a "shared terrain of interaction." In some cases, adult educators performed emotion work and emotional labor in ways suggestive of a sense of going above and beyond any requirement of role responsibilities. Kahn (1990) noted the importance of emotional energy in personal role engagement. The emotion work of adult educators in this study closely resembled Kahn's description or personal engagement, a type of engagement where individuals felt free and safe to express an emotionally desired self throughout the organization. Emotional labor, however, when perceived as compelled, more closely aligned with Kahn's personal disengagement, a type of defensive of protective stance deflecting organizational interference or imposition, thus safeguarding emotional energy for desired emotional expressions. Adult educators personally engaged in-role tasks through emotion work and personally disengaged from emotion work in order to perform role tasks associated with emotional labor.

Further, the concept of emotion work also failed to fully explain how adult educators in this study made decisions about their use of emotion management strategies. As conceptualized, emotional labor and emotion work imply feeling management based upon predetermined or desirable emotional outcomes, thus normalizing the strategies for producing such outcomes. This normalization constricts the expressive range of emotions and concentrates effort on the processes and techniques needed to reproduce desired

emotional outcomes—hence the emphasis on teaching airline flight attendants to exhibit particular modes of conduct as a means of modulating emotional displays. Similarly, Scott and Myers' (2005) firefighters socialized into an ever-narrowing range of acceptable emotional displays. The commodification of the process of how to manage the expressive techniques of emotion work for emotional labor restricted the very emotional expression it attempted to capture. None of the adult educators in this study described a normalizing process for emotion management, and as such, a commodification of feeling rules and emotional displays was not readily evident. Rather, they described emotion management strategies and gestures of exchange that were adaptive and responsive to the unique demands of a given situation (often responding in creative ways), thus taking different approaches to managing meaning (Hochschild, 1979). This adaptivity and responsiveness are captured by some aspects of Kahn's (1990) theory of personal engagement and disengagement but in the absence of commodification or normalization of emotional expectations, how adult educators make these decisions remains unclear.

Implications for Practice

This study further expanded Ellinger and Watkins' (1998) constructivist approach to critical incident data collection by incorporating interview questions that emphasized the contextual aspects of emotional labor performed by adult educators. The resulting critical incident narratives captured rich descriptions that enhanced understanding of a topic as potentially elusive as emotional labor. Questions and probes encouraged adult educators to think not only about what they were feeling in the moment of emotion management but also the significance of how they responded to those feelings. The

additional incorporation of a narrative approach to critical incident development facilitated the identification of complex incidents across interview transcripts.

The adult educators in this study did not apply cause and effect logic to their approaches to emotion management. The requirement to perform emotional labor assumes prescribed responses across similar organizational encounters. Hochschild's (1983) flight attendants were conditioned through formal training to wear their smiles at all times. Scott and Myers (2005) firefighters learned through informal socialization and selection rituals to always control their internal feelings. Adult educators, however, made decisions about emotion management strategies based upon the available conditions within a given context. This was especially evident in how they incorporated emotions into their teaching as a means of establishing emotional context. Rather than fostering exact perceptions of desired emotional displays, adult educators concentrated their efforts on providing opportunities for student teachers to explore a variety of emotional contexts and reactions, thus allowing student teachers to make their own decisions about how to achieve a desired result. A blending of formal and informal approaches to emotions and emotion management fostered creative exploration that did not always provide student teachers with absolute answers. The implication here is that successful emotion management or emotion work relies on the development of an organizational context that cultivates that success. Teaching emotion management techniques only, such as suppressing and exhorting or surface acting and deep acting, in the absence of creative expression renders an effort void of expression. This is perhaps why Hochschild's flight attendants complained that they felt their smiles were no longer their own. Unlike the managed heart, the teaching heart thrives on creative expression.

Limitations

There are several limitations in this study that need to be addressed. To remain faithful to Hochschild's (1983) conceptualization of emotional labor, I concentrated the focus of the study on adult educators' perceptions of emotional labor experiences—what it felt like to manage feelings in an organizational setting. Unlike emotional displays, which can be visibly observed and studied, feelings are intangible and not always easily described or remembered, making the perceived recollection of the feeling management experiences of emotional labor performance a limitation. However, I attempted to accommodate this limitation by adapting Ellinger and Watkins' (1998) contextual approach to critical incident technique to gather richer descriptions of critical incidents during interviews and also by allowing the participants to review the critical incident narratives. Additionally, the use of a case study approach to study a single implementation of the program inhibits the generalizability of findings and conclusions to a larger population.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study served as a foundation for additional research into the emotional labor experiences of adult educators. The emergent themes and subthemes provided initial insight into what these experiences are like, especially regarding the importance of providing a nurturing and supportive environment, as well as adapting to the needs and characteristics of a unique group of adult learners. However, the emphasis on cultivating a nurturing environment made it difficult to distinguish between the performance of emotion work and emotional labor. Decisions about emotion management, emotion work, and emotional labor performance were not always made in response to organizational

display rules. Further exploration of Sarasvathy's (2008) effectuation logic and emotional labor performance could add insight into the decision-making processes associated with emotional labor performance. Likewise, emotional labor, when present, was rarely performed in isolation and often encompassed multiple simultaneous performances across the organization, suggesting a need for additional examination of the conceptual anchoring to frontline workers. It is hoped that the contributions of this study will stimulate interest in these and other potential areas of research into emotional labor experiences of adult educators.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented findings and conclusions derived from the analysis of selected critical incident narratives. Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique, along with Katz's (1983, 2001) analytic induction analysis, were utilized to develop themes and subthemes associated with the selected critical incident narratives. Prominent themes highlighted the development of emotional trust and the importance of emotion management strategies as triggers for learning in adult education settings.

CHAPTER 6

CODA

Surely, this is the hardest work that we must do,
this work of being willing to think differently.
(St. Pierre, 2000)

In music, a coda is typically thought of as the final added section of a composition—the final musical thoughts of a composer added to bring a composition to an end. One of my earliest experiences with a musical coda was the finale to Beethoven's *Symphony no. 5*, where the familiar opening theme is transformed into a triumphant march of barely contained enthusiasm. Kim (2016) expanded the idea of the musical coda to encompass features of research design: "By working on how to construct our research coda, we try to find ways to give the reader some sort of catharsis, reverberation, 'oomph,' or new understandings of the field that should be made available through implications" (p. 229). Here, I have chosen the term coda as means of engaging the potential for new understandings. In Chapter 2, I explored some of the ways emotions have been studied across disciplines and how postmodern theories have expanded thinking into research on emotions. Foucauldian analyses, such as those by Tracy (2000) and Zembylas (2005a), utilize what Freeman (2017) refers to as dialectical thinking, a type of thinking that "challenges the objectification and essentialism associated with categorical thinking as well as the intentional and uniform view of the actor often portrayed in narrative thinking" (p. 46). Some have criticized the critiques of essentialism for not producing anything new beyond the value of the critique itself (MacLure, 2013;

St. Pierre, 2014). Theories of affect offer an additional way of beginning to think differently about the concept of concepts and traditional concepts such as emotional labor. Thinking this way poses several challenges, not the least of which is a call to simply leave the trappings of humanist research (including quantitative and qualitative traditions) behind (St. Pierre, in press). This type of thinking "asks us to move away from conceptualizing things *as* something, or as something existing or identifiable, and think of objects, or parts of objects, as participating in an event of fast and slow moving assemblages…" (Freeman, 2017, p. 97). In this chapter, I explore how theories of assemblage and affect open a discussion of how the concept of emotional labor might be thought differently.

Thinking Emotional Labor Differently with Affect

While there are several theories of affect that might potentially inform an interrogation of emotional labor, I focus particular attention on Bennett's (2010) description of assemblages and Massumi's (2002) description of movement and affect. Drawing from the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987), Bennett uses the image of the assemblage as a means of approaching a type of inquiry that reaches beyond the confines of conventional human-centered research. The assemblage becomes a "vibrant" collection of the human and the non-human, the material and the immaterial. Bennett (2010) observes: "bodies enhance their power *in* or as *a heterogeneous assemblage*" (p. 23). Assemblages are made up of complex relationships formed through a variety of materials and groupings. As Bennett (2010) notes: "Assemblages are ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts" (p. 23). Agency, in terms of traditional human-centered agency, now begins to become destabilized. The structure of power no

longer holds as it did before and becomes diffused and dispersed. The "human-like" qualities of assemblages become less important as all manner of materialities begin to take on characteristics reminiscent of human interaction. Bennett (2010) further notes:

> What this suggests for the concept of agency is that the efficacy or effectivity to which that term has traditionally referred becomes distributed across an ontologically heterogeneous field, rather than being a capacity localized in a human body or in a collective produced (only) by human efforts. (p. 23)

Freedom of action and affectivity are no longer centered only within the efforts of human beings. This distributed view of power and agency echoes somewhat Foucault's descriptions of power as a force shared among individuals, except here we now have a type of power that is also circulating among human and nonhuman actants. In terms of affect, Bennett (2010) shifts attention even further away from the efforts of human beings:

> While I agree that human affect is a key player, in this book the focus in on affect that is not only fully susceptible to rational analysis or linguistic representation but that is also not specific to human organisms, or even bodies: the affect of technologies, winds, minerals. (p. 61)

Given all of this, it is possible to see that affect emanates not only from human bodies but from other nonhuman bodies as well, and that not unlike the distributed sense of agency, that affect also moves among, across, and through a collective of human and nonhuman materials. Bennett (2010) observes that assemblages have no head or point of central control:

> Assemblages are not governed by any central head: no one materiality or type of material has sufficient competence to determine consistently the trajectory or impact of the group. The effects generated by an assemblage are, rather, emergent properties, emergent in that their ability to make something happen (a newly inflected materialism, a blackout, a hurricane, a war on terror) is distinct from the sum of the vital force of each materiality. (p. 24)

This emphasis on the emergent properties of newly inflected materialism could be useful in terms of developing additional ways of thinking about emotions and emotional labor. Hochschild (1983, 2003) defined emotional labor as a type of labor that produces a desired state of mind in another individual and is exchanged for a wage in an organizational setting. The implication is one of the production of a "total package" of emotional experience (Tracy, 2008). To move forward, however, the tension underlying the conceptualization of emotional labor as an essentialist construct must be addressed. Definitions of emotion and affect are frequently used interchangeably in disciplines such as psychology and sociology, which has contributed no small amount of confusion to the discussion of emotion. Hochschild's definition of emotional labor describes feeling and emotion as qualities that reside within an individual. However, my intent here is to move the discussion away from the essentialist qualities of conventional research. In doing this, I will turn to Massumi (2002):

> An emotion is a subjective content, the sociolinguistic fixing of the quality of an experience which is from that point onward defined as personal. Emotion is qualified intensity, the conventional, consensual point of insertion of intensity into semantically and semiotically formed progressions, into narrativizable action-

> reaction circuits, into function and meaning. It is intensity owned and recognized. It is crucial to theorize the difference between affect and emotion. (p. 28)

In defining emotion as contextual and subjective, Massumi allows for the consideration of affect as something different, something not tied to the individual. Massumi (2002) further writes:

> An emotion or feeling is recognized affect, and identified intensity as reinjected into stimulus-response paths, into action-reaction circuits of infolding and externalization—in short, into subject-object relations. Emotion is contamination of empirical space by affect, which belongs to the body without image. (p. 61)

Important here is the description of emotion as recognized affect—or, as Massumi eventually describes it, emotion is the capture of an affect in empirical space. Emotion and feeling remain within the realm of subject-object relations and representation, and as such, they also remain tethered to, and a containment of, empirical space. Yet affect allows one to pivot into that other space. For Massumi, this is a virtual space where affect and the body without an image begin to intermingle. Affect, once untangled from the body, is free to move through and across this virtual space. In a sense, affect creates (but is not a part of) the space where recognition of emotional and bodily representation becomes possible. Now, it is possible to consider a space where virtual affect begins to move a little more freely and without the full need for foundational meaning. Massumi (2002) further observes:

> Affects are virtually synesthetic perspectives anchored in (functionally limited by) the actually existing, particular things that embody them. The autonomy of affect is its participation in the virtual. Its autonomy is its openness. Affect is

> autonomous to the degree to which it escapes confinement in the particular body whose vitality, or potential for interaction, it is. Formed, qualified, situated perceptions and cognitions fulfilling functions of actual connection or blockage are the capture and closure of affect. (p. 35)

Massumi provides us with a description of affect that can escape the confines of a generating body and carries with it the potential for virtual interaction. This is a type of affect that is not totally free of the foundational anchors that try to pull at it, but it is one that has freedom of movement. Massumi does not completely dislodge his approach from the conventional descriptions of emotion, but he does provide just enough freedom to imagine something a little different—a virtual presence that does not completely escape the restraints of the subject/object binary but does offer something of a parallel space that pivots away from the binary to allow a certain degree of affective movement. This degree of movement comes from what Massumi (2015) refers to as *thinking-feeling*:

> [Affect] cannot be reduced to 'feeling' as opposed to thinking. It has to be understood as *involving feeling in thinking, and vice versa*. This requires revisiting the whole notion of rationality – and self-interest. In a process-oriented frame, the thinking-feeling of affect is always directly implicated in an operativity – *it pertains more fundamentally to events than to persons. It is directly enactive*. (p. 90)

Combined with Bennett's (2010) description of assemblages, one now has a means of considering how affective groupings form and how affect moves among the varying materialities of assemblages. I have come to think of this movement as a type of rhizoaffectivity—almost something of an assemblage of assemblages where multiple

collections of affects move among and through moments of intensities similar to those described by Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987).

Vibrant Assemblages and Looking Beyond the "Brute Data" of Emotion Research

Social science research is a "messy" process that does not always produce "neat and tidy" units of knowledge. It is assumed that careful adherence to method produces "bankable" knowledge (Freire 2000) that appears as if automatically present and available. Law (2004) notes the following about method:

> Method? What we're dealing with here is not, of course, just method. It is not just a set of techniques. It is not just a philosophy of method, a methodology. It is not even simply about the kinds of realities that we want to recognize or the kinds of worlds we might hope to make. It is also, and most fundamentally, about a way of being. It is about what kinds of social science we want to practice. (p. 10)

And ultimately, the issue comes down to one of what kind of person one wants to be and how he or she wants and is able to participate in the formation of that being. Conventional approaches to social science research provide methods and processes for producing knowledge, but perhaps, with the inclusion of a different way of thinking, it might be possible to look beyond the results of traditional research methods. This is not to say that these methods somehow produce "bad" or "wrong" knowledge, but it is possible to begin to stretch the "gaze" of traditional empirical methods to see if there might be a different way of thinking about reality. Law shifts attention away from method and techniques and onto the kinds of practices that create a sense of being. The question, then, becomes one not just of discovering or creating a reality, but also one of

how to exist within such a reality. Post qualitative research breaks with the positivist traditions of both quantitative and qualitative research to emphasize ontology and being. Theory and method can no longer be separated from context. St. Pierre (2013a) notes the following:

> The rational seems to be that if qualitative data can't be numbers (pure and uncontaminated by humans) then the word will have to do. Once the empirical is transformed into the real, visible words on a page—brute data—these researchers strip the words from context, manipulate them, order them in binaries and hierarchies and categories, label some words with other words (code data), and even count words. Words become quasi numbers. (p. 224)

So, the question becomes one of how to reimagine the contextual nature of knowledge beyond the collection of data and coding. Law's (2004) questioning of method provides an opening to begin considering just such a difference through the formation of method assemblages. Creating such a research assemblage requires the conceptualization a space where multiple approaches might be able to coexist alongside the inherent tensions observed across paradigms. Law emphasizes that conventional methods produce certain types of knowledge while leaving traces of others. The process of executing a particular method might produce a reality that does not quite meet the full expectations of the method.

Massumi's (2015) description of the Kanizsa triangle (see Figure 1) as an "emergence effect" of affect provides some guidance on how seemingly disparate elements might come together to form an assemblage that suggests a temporary virtual presence—a virtual triangle that shimmers in the insistence of its own presence. And in

this insistence: “The reality of this virtual triangle makes the situation about how the invisible, or more generally, the imperceptible, may come to characterize an event” (Massumi, 2015, p. 185).

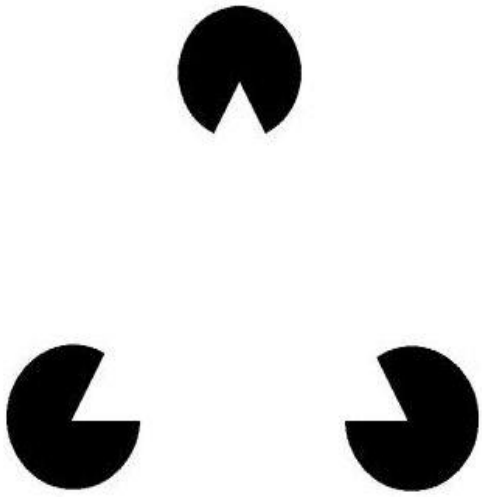

Figure 6.1. The Kanizsa Triangle.

With this image, it is possible to generate a dialogue about one of the questions that have emerged throughout this study—namely, the question of how to think differently about the work and movement of emotions, especially in light of conflicting theoretical approaches. Researchers (e.g., Fineman 2000; Grandey & Gabriel 2015) are already calling for the development of additional approaches to emotion research. The virtual emergence represented in this triangle provides a conceptual presence to do this work, to cultivate a critique that is inclusive rather than exclusive of paradigmatic “heat” (Law 2004), that hints at the edges of the phenomena without necessarily filling in all of the white space between. This is possible in part because “that emergence of the shimmering triangle that we see without seeing it is in a way fresh every time” (Massumi 2015, p. 185). The conceptual presence emerges again and again in a slightly different way, a

slightly different space, and it is through this emergence that one begins to re(re)imagine a different approach to the study of the movement and work of emotions in organizational settings—where vibrant spaces begin to shimmer and data begin to "glow" (MacLure 2013) with the energy of the assemblage.

The assemblage allows consideration of something beyond the container of the concept of emotional labor. As a concept, emotional labor has shown itself to be incapable of capturing everything related to work and emotions in one "neat and tidy" container. The essential qualities assigned to the concept begin to seep out from around the edges, to peer back in an inviting and alluring way as if asking one to consider the question: What's going on here? What spills and creeps around the edges is neither good nor bad. In terms of interrogating the concept, interest does not necessarily lie in the essentialness of what might be captured, but rather, in the nonessential vibrations produced by what is not contained, by what escapes capture. This does not imply that a fiction should be invented around what has escaped. "Assent or denial are not the responses concepts seek" (May 2005, p. 22). The concept of emotional labor as it now stands informs what we know about work that is done with emotions. As such, it invokes a hierarchy of additional terms that further attempt to refine and position our understanding (e.g., surface acting, deep acting, emotive dissonance)—to pin down or to fix it in place so that we *know* what *it* is that is being dealt with.

This is the essence of an epistemological knowledge project. Knowledge is privileged. In order to know, data need to be collected. The more data collected, the more secure the notion that the concept created is a representation or facsimile of what has been observed. Yet, what happens when the concept that has been pinned down begins to

leak? The palimpsest of the pin reveals that all is not what it seems. Perhaps the pin is too tight, the concept too tightly fixed. Knowledge insists on its own foundational security, its truth. Yet it is perhaps this very foundational certainty that inhibits and constricts thought. Data are so tightly bound and implicated by their own insistence for categorical certainty that the freshness of thought becomes stale—if not impossible. As researchers, we need to free ourselves from the dependency on visible knowledge that can be cut and shaped into bits of data that are further arranged into what is knowable. If we turn to Deleuze's description of ontology, where thought is privileged over knowledge, then we are free to think something different (St. Pierre 2011, 2014), to think difference (Deleuze 1968/1994), to simply change the conversation (May 2005) to one of ontology.

Mangles, Assemblages and Vibrant Matter

The work of Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987) provides an opportunity to think of a world that is different, a world that is entangled rather than divided by the violence of the binary oppositions of positivist empiricism. Jackson (2013), drawing from the work of Pickering, describes the idea of the "mangle" where the human and the non-human coexist in an entangled manner where agency is as much a part of the human as the non-human. Agency is no longer something that emanates from the stable, essential, all-knowing human being of the Enlightenment. In this case, agents are constantly shifting between being "real" entities and socially constructed entities. Both the human and the non-human share performative qualities that allow them to produce one another. As Jackson (2013) notes: "The material is not *purely* produced by human intention, nor does human agency pre-exist or transcend the material: *they mutually constitute one another*" (p. 744). In this constantly syncopated and balletic movement that is the

mangle, any notion of realist representation dissipates right before our eyes. The shifting states leave one with brief glimpses of a trace, much like a palimpsest, where the real only exists in the moment of emergent creation and impressions of what is thought of as real continue to haunt long after perceived reality has faded away. Various writers have referenced similar types of non-hierarchical organization. Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987) referred to assemblages. Barad (2007) describes entanglement. And Bennett (2010), drawing from the work of Deleuze and Guattari, describes assemblages of human and non-human vibrant matter. The subject, data, and the researcher can no longer be separated. The subject can no longer speak as an essential self that produces data that are waiting to be discovered and interpreted. As MacLure (2013) observes, "*instead* of multiple instances, interpretation substitutes patterns or meanings" (p. 660). Rather than being found, however, data "glow" and present themselves to us and make their presence known to us (MacLure, 2013).

Putting Theory to Work

MacLure (2013) argued the need to "consider the question of how successful we have been at putting theory to work in the doing, thinking, and writing of research, in specific research projects and investigations" (p. 998). In part, it is this problem of putting theory to work that this study sought to address. As researchers, we tend to place theory in boxes that further box in the objects of their attention. Lather (2013) described this as "QUAL 2.0" where multiple realities and voices are recognized, but essentially, research "remains within the humanist enclosure" where "the filed becomes centered, disciplined, regulated, and normalized…." (p. 635). "QUAL 3.0" loosens the constraints placed on qualitative concepts but the "field continues to be structured" (Lather 2013, p.

635). The turn towards post qualitative inquiry, a different way of thinking about inquiry, or "QUAL 4.0", is inquiry that is becoming, "inquiry that might produce different knowledge and produce knowledge differently" (Lather, 2013, p. 635). It is this challenge of producing knowledge differently that this study has also attempted to address. These challenges are nothing short of a very slippery theoretical and methodological slope that reimagines the precariousness of the task at hand as something of a methodological becoming. MacLure (2011) is unforgiving in her critique of merely appending "linguistic experimentation" to research studies:

> I want to make one important point here: *linguistic experimentation is not enough*. If a play script is just a matter of converting propositions into spoken turns in a not-very-interesting dialogue, it will not make language stutter. If interpretation is merely written up, or dressed up, in the style of a fairy tale, it will not make the language stutter. Multiple voices will not make language stutter, if each voice is that of an intact phenomenological subject and the voices are orchestrated and surveyed by the off-stage writer-researcher. (p. 1000)

St. Pierre (2014) echoes a similar sentiment:

> And here it becomes very difficult to think inquiry once one tries to shift to the ontological. Do we continue to inquire as we have and simply ask ontological in addition to epistemological questions—add ontology and stir—as if ontology is not always already there? Do we simply substitute ontological for epistemological questions in the same old enclosure, as if ontology and epistemology can be separated? Can we use futural concepts as methods to break open that structure? (p. 15)

At this point, it is fair to ask a simple question: *How does one continue?* How does one avoid the temptation to simply overlay ontological questions onto the epistemological enticements of a concept (Deleuze & Guattari, 1991/1994) as seemingly mundane as emotional labor? Is it possible to think emotional labor differently without simply adding new window dressings to try to cover the old with the new?

Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotion invites further consideration how a body is prepared to act. Her definition of emotional labor draws on the work of the actor to exhort or suppress feeling as a means of producing an emotional product. Here, she speaks of a body that is prepared to act, to produce an emotional image:

> Emotion, therefore, is our experience of the body ready for an imaginary action. Since the body readies itself for action in physiological ways, emotion involves biological processes. Thus when we manage an emotion, we are partly managing a bodily preparation for a consciously or unconsciously anticipated deed. (Hochschild, 1983, p. 90)

It is here with the body that is prepared to act that it is possible to consider how an entanglement of affect theory might intensify the interrogation of the concept (Deleuze & Guattari, 1991/1994) of emotional labor.

Affect Theory

A discussion of emotional labor revolves around how we manage and control feeling, and the feelings associated with that control—essentially, the feeling of experiencing that control. Emotion and feeling are contained within the body and can only be experienced from within. For Hochschild (1983), emotion is the experience of a body prepared to act, the "experience of the body ready for an imaginary act" (p. 230).

Emphasis is given to conditions that prepare a body to act from within—the feeling of the anticipation of preparing to act. She continues: “Thus when we manage an emotion we are partly managing a bodily preparation for a consciously or unconsciously anticipated deed” (p. 230). But what happens to this experience once the body prepared to act begins to move? The movement of the body prepared for imaginary action shifts our attention away from the knowledge of the internal to knowledge that is “in the world” (Manning, 2013). With this move, we can now begin to consider how a body moves and the forces that affect this movement. Here, one considers affect in the practical sense of Spinoza as described by Massumi (2015): “What a body is, he says, is what it can do as it goes along” (p. 3). This is something akin to the capacity of the body to act while in the act—the ability to in-act (Manning, 2013). Massumi also notes: “A body is defined by what capacities it carries from step to step” (p. 4). Emotional labor theory and affect theory are derived from quite different ontological perspectives, but the juxtaposition of the two during analysis potentially unlocks possibilities for different lines of thought. Once a body is in movement, this movement draws our attention to the practices that shape the body’s capacity to affect and be affected. Capacity is not contained within the body; affect is the remainder of this capacity once the body is in movement and in relation to movement. Once engaged in movement relations, the body’s capacity becomes open to affecting as well as being affected. Affect is always more than one but part of the same force—Spinoza’s ability of the body to affect and be affected is the force of affect (Massumi, 2015, p. 3).

Technique and Technicity

Manning (2013) describes technicity as the affective tonality of an event. Technicity is the collection of techniques that allows the potential of an event to unfold. Technique can be thought of as the repetitive movement that shapes memory and virtual potential. An ecology or assemblage of techniques constitutes a technicity. However, a technicity does not constitute a formal event but rather mediates the convergence of affective forces constituting an event. Thought in this way, emotional labor and emotion work can be considered technicities that constitute assemblages of techniques (including surface acting, deep acting, induction, and suppression of emotion, etc.). Emotional labor and emotion work, as objective conceptualizations, enable the contextual conditions that allow a sense of becoming often felt as subjective form taking. Here, the question is not what these concepts do but rather one of how: "An object is as much about how it does as what it does" (p. 32). Even when organized, the experience of experiencing an event can never be predetermined. An event can only be experienced in the middle of the moment—or perhaps in the moment of the middle where everything happens. Technicity elicits an attunement to the affective quality of an event. Affect calls forth the fields where affective attunements occur, thus articulating the momentary association of feeling with the experience of experiencing. As Manning (2013) observes, "Technicity captures the affective tonality of a process, a tendency, and catapults it toward new expression" (p. 33). Emotional labor and emotion work both elicit performances based on the management of feelings and emotions. Affect theory invites reconsideration of how these performance events unfold by shifting attention away from the internal knowledge of

human beings to the knowledge of movement and becoming in the world—the experience of experiencing.

Technique and Transduction

Manning (2013) describes technique as "the repetitive practices that form a composing body" (p. 33). Anyone who has studied music recognizes the mundane repetitiveness of practicing scales. Yet, over time, this repetition gives rise to an expressive vocabulary no longer tethered to the repetition, an expressive vocabulary that reaches beyond and is more than scales. There are many expressive techniques associated with the practice of teaching. Anyone who has spent time presenting to groups has caught him or herself pausing briefly in front of a mirror to practice a smile. The concepts of emotional labor and emotion work can be thought of as techniques that contribute to a larger vocabulary in the expressiveness of teaching as performance. Techniques build on techniques. A technique for controlling feeling can be combined with a technique for smiling to form an expressive association. The additive quality of techniques adds to an ecology of expressive potential. This expressive potential is characterized as technicity, the "set of enabling conditions that exact from technique the potential of the new for co-composition" (p. 33). Technicity is the field of expressive potential where technique enables creativity. The transition occurs through a process of technical transduction. Manning (2013) notes: "Technicity is a shift of level that activates a shift in process. This is how techniques evolve. Without transduction we would have only mimicry, translation" (p. 33). It is at this moment of transduction that we can begin to see how the techniques associated with emotional labor and emotion work combine to form expressive potential in teaching.

Interlude 1: The More-Than of Feeling

Here, I consider how incorporating thinking with affect theory at the point of analysis might inform a study of emotional labor. On the surface, such an incorporation seems incommensurable. Hochschild (1983) emphasized the preparation of a body, through the control of feeling, to perform an imaginary act. Affect theory does not equate emotion with affect. Emotion and feeling are unique qualities of the human being. In affect theory, affect is a force that allows the bodies of human beings to take form. This form taking is relational and co-constitutive: "It is the force, the lure, through which a certain constellation comes to expression" (Manning, 2013, p. 26). Affect is the relational force that inflects the tonality of this coming to expression, the more than of the experience rather than the feeling of the experience—the feeling that accompanies the experience of experiencing. Feeling also is not confined to the human body: "It is affective tonality. It is the generative force, singular to this event, that moves the event toward its resolution" (Manning, 2013, p. 21). Emotional labor is situated within the human body while affect theory explores the forces that allow a body to take form. Manning (2013) notes:

> The question here cannot be limited to the body "itself" as though the body weren't active in co-constituting the ecology at hand. It that ecology tunes to categories such as color or gender, these aspects of the field will continue to be foregrounded. The issue is not to deny this but to ask *how* these ecologies come to co-constitute a body in this or that way. The point is not that there is no form-taking, no identity. The point is that all form-takings are complexes of a process

> ecological in nature. A body is the how of its emergence, not the what of its form. (p. 17)

In the preceding analysis in Chapter 5, following traditional qualitative methods of inquiry, I attempted to address the nature of adult educators' experiences with emotional labor and emotion work. Rich description and analytical analysis yielded themes and subthemes intended to provide further insight into the meaning of these experiences. Amy described one of her student teachers has having *that **it*** as a teacher. In other words, there is a quality related to the experience of teaching that is both of teaching and something more—an expressive quality that escapes the body of this or that teaching body. But what does this tell us about having *that **it*** as a teacher that Amy described? There is little doubt that emotion plays an important role in teaching adults and that concepts like emotional labor and emotion work help us to understand better the meaning of these experiences, but they fail to capture *that **it***. Concepts fail to capture this because *that **it*** is the point where the art of teaching stretches beyond language and words fail. *That **it*** will never be captured in language—it can never be fully described. But it can be experienced. And experience can be felt—often as the experience of experiencing an event. The experience of experiencing is the expressive force that allows the performance of an event to unfold. The *that **it*** of teaching is this expressive force. In order to think differently about anything that has preceded, we must think teaching as a performance of expression. We will never be able to understand the meaning of *that **it***, but we can begin to understand the conditions that allow the performance and experience of *that **it*** to take shape.

Thinking Emotional Labor as Technicity

Thinking emotional labor as technicity foregrounds exploration of the contours of the concept, the contours where movement begins to stir and affect readies itself to dance. Emotional labor requires performance preparation and enactment governed by organizational display rules and expectations. Affect theory shifts our attention to the enactment of movement and the co-productive processes of assemblages. Feeling becomes active rather than reactive. Consider Amy's incident where she described suppressing frustration with a student teacher who had fallen asleep during a training meeting at his host school (see Incident 36: Trying to Fix This in Chapter 4). How does the concept of emotional labor perform within this context? First, we might consider an assemblage consisting of a faculty member, student teacher, and host teacher. Emotional labor expectations provide techniques for interacting with the school administrator as well as techniques for interacting with the student teacher. Viewing this incident simply from the standpoint of emotional labor misses many of the nuances shaping a complex interconnectedness of assemblages. Techniques for parenting blend with techniques of teaching to present a new performance of faculty member-parent. This performance propels the event toward a new capacity that allows Amy to perform the relationship of faculty member-student teacher in a new way. The affective tonality modulates with the blending of techniques into a technicity that intermingles affective capacities ranging from anger to empathy. Emotional labor expectations suggest a need to maintain control over the image of the institution and the program. Amy's initial anger is experienced within the context of these expectations—expectations with techniques tending toward compliance. However, this performance tends toward difference through improvisation.

For Manning (2013), improvisation is more than replicating form—improvisation moves the event toward a performance of the assemblage teacher-parent—the context of emotional labor inflected in a different key that modulates from anger to supportive empathy. Anger and empathy are not the drivers of this event but, rather, are experienced alongside as the residue of affective movement. When feeling is what remains of what has already been felt, the conceptualization of the control of feeling falters. Feeling cannot alter the outcome of an event—it can only be experienced in association with the event as part of the virtual potential of future events and the experience of experiencing an event. Feeling is the more-than of the body in the moment. Consider also Amy's encounter with the school administrator who reprimands the student teacher. Again, the contextual elements of emotional labor suggest techniques for this interaction (how to speak, how to smile, how to compose an email, etc.). Amy incorporates these techniques into a performance tending toward a resolution of institutional/program expectations. While Amy associates feelings of concern and frustration with various aspects of the event, the overall affective tonality is one of positive momentum towards a performance of faculty member in relation to student teacher and school administrator. This brings up a question: do the techniques employed imply more than mere imitation? Technique based upon rote repetition achieves little more than mimicry (Manning, 2013). In contextualizing compliance, the display expectations of emotional labor potentially inhibit the expressive capacities of associated techniques by encouraging mimicry, in this case, a mimicry that perpetuates the desired face of the program and institution. The milieu of technicity cannot be determined in advance of the experience; technicity is not a mediator of events (Manning, 2013). Yet, nothing in this event suggested the presence of

such mimicry. The event culminated with a positive technicity of relationship in performance.

This brings up another question, however: what happens when mimicry is employed? Amy's description of dismissing a student teacher from the program invites additional exploration (see Incident 37: Letting Her Go in Chapter 4). Amy was uncomfortable with how colleagues and the program foundation representative acted toward the student teacher after she had left the room. Within the contextualization of emotional labor demands, Amy was expected to act in compliance with the dismissal of the teacher, to wear the expected face of a representative of the institution and the program. The event was the dismissal. An array of associated techniques provide potential for experiencing the experience of the event. Amy's feeling of uncertainty, as a feeling already felt, shapes part of that experience. Amy attempts to sustain the remnants of a relationship with the student teacher by encouraging her to accept the conditions of the dismissal. But the effort falls flat, a half-hearted effort at technique that dissipates into mimicry, a shell of the performance of relationship noted in the previous example. Why? The surge of potential from the earlier performance has diminished to an imitation of stifling compliance. The lack of concern on the part of Amy's colleagues only intensifies an association with a feigned coolness. It now seems impossible for creative experience and compliance to coexist. The rigid contextualization of emotional labor effectively removes the affective potential of technicity from experience while also drawing from acting techniques as means of simultaneously attempting to commercialize the craft of acting, ultimately conscripting feeling as well.

Thinking with technicity in this way suggests that there is more to emotional labor than currently defined. The requirement to control feeling inhibits the sort of creative expression it attempts to capture. The preceding analysis is full of examples where faculty cultivate and engage emotional experiences in a variety of ways, especially in ways that lead to stronger relationships with student teachers. Rarely do these experiences emanate from controls set in place by the institution. Rather, these experiences represent an intentional crafting of relationships from moment to moment.

Thinking Emotion Work as Technicity

Thought of as technicity, emotion work more closely aligns with Manning's (2013) description of technicity as a craft. However, emotion work does retain similarly restrictive qualities for emotional labor in the sense that social structures and expectations intersect with attempts at the personal control of feelings (Hochschild, 1979). In fact, Hochschild's critique of Goffman found that concentrating on behavioral expressions alone failed to capture the experience of managing the feeling of emotion fully. Hochschild looked even deeper inside the individual to find clues about the management of feeling. Affect theory does not address the feelings of the individual, feelings associated with the psychological; however, affect theory does recognize that actualization of the psychological is inseparable from the virtual of the ontological—they cannot be thought separately. The knowledge of experience spills over to inform more than the being of human being. The thought of being moves into the world. "Cleave the notion of the body beyond the human" (Manning, 2013, p. 31). Feelings, in the affective sense, are the co-constitutive force that remains after human feeling is accounted for. Even managed feelings leave remainders. These remainders open a thought space where

the potential of affective force peeks back at us from around the edges of assemblages of the human and the nonhuman. Consider, for example, Stan's incident where student teachers were engaged with a virtual simulation (see Incident 61: Emotional Data of Experience in Chapter 4). We can immediately see the emergence of an assemblage that includes relationships with student teachers and technology. The virtual simulation becomes part of a technological technique that mediates relationships with student teachers. There are techniques for interactions among the student teachers, techniques for interactions with the virtual simulation, as well as techniques for interactions of student teachers with faculty. We might say that the event is one of experiencing the management of emotions. We might also say that emotion work is being used to manipulate the feelings and behaviors of student teachers. Here, I use emotion work because Stan, while incorporating emotion work into the curriculum, is not being coerced into displaying an expected face by the program or institution more typically associated with emotional labor. At the same time, there is a type of emotion work that is occurring in an organizational setting. Thinking with technicity, we can begin to consider how this event is being produced. The assemblage with technology provides a clue. Stan remarked that the feeling he associated with this event was one of simply collecting data. During the actual running of the simulation, the experience is one of a sense of calm and safety—to the extent that the event propels itself towards a climax of uneventfulness, a technicity attuned to an affective neutrality of safety (even though the student teachers encounter a range of associated feelings).

In this case, thinking emotion work as technicity allowed me to consider further the forces shaping Stan's experiences. The techniques he employed across his incidents

inflected additional attunements to safety—especially in relation to learning environments with adults. The overall effect was one of a forward momentum that has not yet concluded, with each event technicity building on the next. One can almost begin to glimpse a moment where the virtual and the actual fold into each other to possibly suggest what Deleuze referred to as "a life"—the potential of all life before it has actualized into the life of this or that individuation (Deleuze, 2001). A current attuned to safety has carried Stan throughout much of his professional career. In fact, Stan has spent much of his teaching career utilizing techniques that craft or cultivate safe learning environments. In another incident, Stan revealed that his first encounter with adult learning was a hostile one. This hostility was only further reinforced by his experiences as a corporate human resource development trainer. Over time, a hint of fear has impinged upon his relation to adult learners and learning environments. At the same time, this fear has not impinged upon his focus on maintaining relationships. Thinking emotion work (and emotional labor) this way opens a discussion of how emotion work performs within the context of relationships and the potential for feelings of vulnerability.

Interlude 2: The Vulnerability of Estrangement

The preceding discussion of affect theory highlighted examples of how thinking with technique and technicity informed the critique and analysis of emotional labor in this study. The extended analysis developed throughout this chapter noted distinctions between emotion work and emotional labor, even though these terms are sometimes used interchangeably in scholarly research. One distinction that emerged from this thinking is one of vulnerability. Hochschild's (1983, 2003) use of emotive dissonance suggests that one of the consequences of performing emotional labor is a perceived separation of self

or face from feeling that can lead to an estrangement from emotion. The conditions of this type of estrangement have not been addressed in the research literature. However, Hochschild maintains, "This is why emotion work is *work*, and why estrangement from emotion is estrangement *from* something of importance and weight" (p. 230). How can we begin to think of this separation from something of importance and weight? The current analysis suggests that part of the answer might lie with expressive potential enabled by the techniques associated with emotion work and emotional labor. Essentially, these techniques remain the same for both, but each enables different conditions for expressive potential. And by expressive potential, I mean the affective potential that can only be experienced in the moment of experience through transduction (Manning, 2013). Affect is what remains once this potential has been realized—the resonance that lingers after the expressive event. This resonance is the *that **it*** of Amy's student teacher. In this case, the separation from something important is the separation from *that **it***, the distance between repetition and expression—or, the distance between translation and transduction. Utilizing the conditions that form a body at work, a commercialized body, emotional labor attempts to harness expressive potential by merely translating the emotion management techniques typically associated with emotion work into organizational settings, typically through compliance with feeling and display expectations as observed by Hochschild. However, rather than enhancing, emotional labor actually disrupts the expressive potential enabled by emotion management techniques. In other words, compliance with emotional labor expectations stifles the expressiveness it attempts to promote. In the midst of this expressive movement, there is the potential for dissonance, or as Hochschild characterized it, emotional dissonance. But emotional dissonance is not

unique to emotional labor; it can also be observed in the personal application of emotion work. But it is also here, where two different types of emotional dissonance intersect, that we can begin to consider the distinguishing conditions of emotional labor and emotion work. There is some debate in the research literature about whether emotional dissonance is an antecedent or outcome of emotional labor performance—in other words, does one perform emotional labor because of the dissonance or is the dissonance a result of the requirement to perform emotional labor? Given the analysis of critical incidents in this study, adult educators seem to experience emotional labor as a response to a requirement that potentially disrupts the incorporation of personal emotion management techniques associated with emotion management.

Consider Stan's virtual simulation example from the discussion on thinking emotional labor as technicity. Stan's association of safety with virtual simulations and technology could suggest a protective view of interpersonal exchanges in adult learning environments with the simulations acting as something of an emotional buffer. Stan performs emotion work as a means of mediating conditions that might have otherwise required him to perform emotional labor—in essence; he performs emotion work to avoid potentially making himself vulnerable to the requirements of emotional labor. In doing so, Stan protects himself from the type of estrangement described by Hochschild. Amy's example from the affective theory discussion above further illustrates these points. When interacting with the student teacher who fell asleep during a meeting, Amy concentrated her emotional energy on sustaining relationships. The context of these relationships shaped how she experienced what she later described as frustration and anger. The movement of the event pushed forward, not toward a resolution of anger, but through and

beyond the event itself. When interacting with the student teacher, Amy applied techniques that led to an expression or becoming of parent-faculty. When interacting with the school administrator, she applied techniques that led to an expression of becoming faculty-institutional representative—in other words, an expression of becoming the face of the institution. In both cases, Amy opened herself to a certain amount of vulnerability, an emotional openness that reinforces the development of emotionally trusting relationships. But how does this help distinguish between emotional labor and emotion work? In the case of the student teacher, Amy engaged a personal level of expression as parent-faculty that was not influenced by any immediate sense of institutional requirements. This is certainly a type of expressive work that takes place in an organizational setting, but it reflects a personalized application rather than a commercialized one, an expressive capacity that is more indicative of emotion work. A key tenet of emotional labor is the transmutation of the personal system of emotional expression, emotion work, into an organizational setting (Hochschild, 1983, 2003). The application of techniques of personal expression in this instance suggests that a transmutation has not yet fully occurred. Amy's interaction with the school administrator is more closely tied to the work that might be thought of as emotional labor. Amy maintains an awareness of the importance of relationships with the host school and the foundation representing the program. Amy engages techniques that lead to an expression of becoming faculty-institutional representative—she effectively orchestrates the performance of a face fully expressive of institutional responsibility. She is emotionally vulnerable on several fronts because of the strain of supporting multiple emotionally trusting relationships. The institutional image has been damaged, and Amy is responsible

for repairing the relationship as quickly as possible. Amy engages the school administrator and the expressive capacity of an emotional labor effort suddenly sharpens into focus—or does it? A transmutation of emotional capacity happens the moment Amy puts on the face of the institution. The event culminates with an expressive quality that potentially aligns with institutional expectations. However, the expressive techniques Amy utilized indicate a more personalized motivation. She recognized that she needed to "own this" for the institution, and she engaged in emotional labor as a result—with a bit of modification or improvisation. The form taking of the process of becoming faculty-institutional representative occurred in relation to the becoming associated with faculty-student teacher, and as such, was never disassociated from other types of form taking. The result was an expressive event that allowed for the possible perception of an expressivity of emotional labor based on an improvisation using techniques more closely associated with emotion work. In this sense, the transmutation was temporary. Manipulating expressive techniques allowed Amy to creatively protect herself from becoming too vulnerable to the process of emotional labor, from becoming too open to the strain of emotional dissonance and estrangement. To be clear, this was not a faked performance—it did not descend into expressionless mimicry; it was emotion work improvised in a different key—the key of emotional labor.

The process of accounting for thinking with affect theory allowed for broader interrogation of the concept of emotional labor. Manning's (2013) descriptions of technique, technique, and transduction provided a starting point to begin to think emotional labor differently. Thinking facets of emotional labor, such as deep acting and surface acting, as techniques highlighted the expressive potential of events associated

with the performance of emotional labor. Doing this allowed the veneer of the concept to be stripped away to the point that the idea of the container was no longer relevant to the immediate discussion. What was important was how techniques were utilized. For Manning (2013), technique utilized for the sake of technique resulted in mere repetition or mimicry, a translation of skills lacking in expressive quality. When considering the intended result of emotional labor as an event made possible by the assembling of various techniques, it is possible to reimagine emotional labor in terms of a failed transmutation of emotion work. Hochschild (1983, 2003) described emotional labor as a transmutation of the skills of emotion work into a public or organizational setting. Yet, the initial findings of this study failed to account for such a transmutation fully. Thinking with technique and translation further highlighted the narrow focus emotional labor creates. As a concept, emotional labor aspires to the capture of experience through the mandate of technical translation. Ironically, the requirement to perform the skills associated with emotional labor permanently inhibits the attainment of the desired expressive event. Figure 6.1 provides an illustration of this process. Given the inherent constraints of emotional labor, the transmutation that Hochschild described is never fully possible. The co-opting of technical skills for organizational expression does not guarantee the desired result and potentially stifles the very creativity that the technical skills are intended to engender. In this sense, emotional labor is a failed transduction, a failure to achieve creative expression. The violence of Hochschild's emotional dissonance and estrangement suddenly gain in intensity when thought of in terms of failed expression—an expression not possible when thought only in terms of emotional labor.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Emotion Work
(Hochschild, 1979)</td><td colspan="3">Transmutation (Hochschild, 1983)</td><td rowspan="2">Expressive Event</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Organizational Expectations/Feeling & Display Rules (Hochschild, 1979, 1983)</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Private Emotion Management Techniques</td><td>Translation
(Manning, 2013)</td><td>Emotional Labor
(Hochschild, 1983)</td><td>Transduction
(Manning, 2013)</td><td>Public/Organizational Emotion Management</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 6.2. Illustration of the transmutation of emotion work.

Reflection: "Thought in the Act"

By incorporating theories of affect, specifically Manning's (2013) technique, translation, transduction, and technicity, I attempted to account for the moment of thinking about the experience of analyzing critical incident narratives, an experience that some have referred to as "thinking in thought" (Massumi, 2002; St. Pierre, in press) or "thought in the act" (Manning & Massumi, 2014). Thought in the act is a dance of attention that "is not attentiveness of the human to the environment but attentiveness of the environment to its own flowering, at the very limit where experience and imagination, immediacy and cross-checking overlap" (Manning & Massumi, 2014, p. 6). At first glance, theories of emotional labor and affect seem incommensurable because of contrasting epistemological and ontological divides. Yet, thinking about experience as thought in the act invited further interrogation of the concept of emotional labor while not encroaching upon the paradigmatic divides that often inhibit such endeavors (Law, 2004; St. Pierre, in press). It became apparent that the concept emotional labor failed to capture the phenomenon it sought to contain.

Why do concepts such as emotional labor fail? The question is one of repetition or mimicry—the mere translation of technique (Manning, 2013). Repetition invokes images of certainty and reliability that further perpetuate similar images. However, thinking concepts in this way immediately destabilized any sense of certainty. Suddenly, I was faced with the disorienting notion that hours of diligent effort had potentially produced

hours of diligent mimicry. The process of research, especially method, is one of habit—a habit that attempts to control the conditions of an event, such as this research study. Yet, as Massumi (2015) pointed out, we only "believe" that we have control: "The event takes us with it and the outcome is always experienced in retrospect…we have the habit of taking the past and imposing it on the future…" (p. 156). Thinking about thought in the midst of analysis momentarily relieved the burden of imposition. Coding and thematic development faded into the background, and the disruption that emerged was one of theoretical play where I allowed my mind to wander—an experience not unlike Deleuze and Guattari's (1980/1987) lines of flight.

St. Pierre (in press) cautioned that this sort of thinking cannot begin with the trappings of qualitative methods that privilege the disembodied voice of a subject that already was—the imposition of the recently remembered past to imagine the future. The use of Manning's (2015) theory of affect was not predetermined at the beginning of this study. I delved deeper into reading as analytical discrepancies emerged. The result of this thinking in thought was similar to Massumi's (2015) depiction of the Kanizsa triangle, a burgeoning recognition of "how the invisible, or more generally, the imperceptible, may come to characterize an event" (p. 185). Encountering two heavily positivist techniques, Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique and Katz's (1983, 2001) analytic induction, provided the "shock to thought" (Massumi, 2002) that engaged and energized my thinking. I reimagined emotional labor not as a concept but as techniques that enable expressive potential and set the stage for expressive events unburdened by predictable outcomes. The results of this thinking in thought are summarized below in Figure 6.2. To be clear, this is not the representation of a linear model derived from analysis but rather

an attempt to capture the image of thought that emerged during *thinking* about the *doing* of analysis.

Emotion Work (Hochschild, 1979)	**Transmutation** (Hochschild, 1983)			**Effectuated Emotion Work**
	Organizational Expectations/Feeling & Display Rules (Hochschild, 1979, 1983)			
Private Emotion Management Techniques	**Translation** (Manning, 2013)	**Emotional Labor** (Hochschild, 1983)	**Transduction** (Manning, 2013)	**Public/Organizational Emotion Management**
Evoking (Callahan, 2000; Hochschild 1979, 1983) Suppressing (Callahan, 2000; Hochschild, 1979, 1983)	Repetition, Mimicry of Techniques (Manning, 2013) Deep Acting (Evoking) Surface Acting (Suppressing)	Emotional Dissonance (Hochschild, 1983) Estrangement (Hochschild, 1983) Veiling (Callahan, 2000)	Creative/Artistic Integration of Techniques Integration of personal and organizational expectations	Technicity and Improvisation (Manning, 2013) Non-causal/Effectuation Logic (Sarasvathy, 2008)
		Encouraging Learning/Organizational Context (Marsick & Watkins, 2001)		

Figure 6.3. Thinking in thought with multiple theories.

In developing concepts, one aspires to capture and enclose the experiences associated with events. Yet, the usefulness of this veneer of capture wears thin when concepts fail to inform or perform as expected. It was this impediment that forced me to further search for a way to think differently about the concept of emotional labor. The presence of emotional labor remained elusive throughout this study. The pinning of the concept was so narrow that it was hardly observable at all. Reimagining emotional labor as a set of techniques rendered the idea of concept unnecessary.

The requirement to perform, the mandated use of techniques, was exposed as nothing more than an incomplete transduction, a translation mired in mimicry. Shedding repetition requires a creative integration of techniques, an expression or transduction (Manning, 2015), often remembered but not easily captured in retrospect. Here, the concepts of humanist research fail, and the need for a different type of concept (Deleuze

& Guattari, 1991/1994; St. Pierre, in press) arises. For Manning, this new concept was one of technicity achieved through a transduction of technique, an improvisation on technique that runs along new lines of flight—much like Deleuze and Guattari's (1980/1987) description of Glenn Gould: "When Glenn Gould speeds up the performance of a piece, he is not just displaying virtuosity, he is transforming the musical points into lines, he is making the whole piece proliferate" (p. 7). Confined within a shell of oppression perpetuated by habitual mimicry, emotional labor failed to proliferate.

Theories of affect resist practical application. The thinking in thought approach incorporated into this study cannot be replicated in other studies in exactly the same way. However, the thought process of allowing theories of affect to continue to disrupt traditional understandings of concepts and approaches to research is one that might continue to benefit others. The caveat remains, though: these theories cannot be used to think humanist concepts in advance of inquiry. So, how does one continue after such an exercise in thought?

While this study did not aspire to create new non-humanist concepts, it did attempt to meet the challenge of finding a way to think the concept of emotional labor differently. Sarasvathy (2008) described a similar process of thinking differently as effectuation:

> Effectuation is the inverse of causation. Causal models begin with an effect to be created. They seek either to select between means to achieve those effects or to create new means to achieve preselected ends. Effectual models, in contrast begin with given means and seek to create new ends using non-predictive strategies. In addition to altering conventional relationships between means and ends and

> between prediction and control, effectuation rearranges many other traditional relationships such as those between organism and environment, parts and whole, subjective and objective, individual and social, and so on. In particular, it makes these relationships one of *design* rather than one of *decision*. (p. 16)

Sarasvathy used the metaphor of the chef to illustrate effectuation. Chefs tend to create menus based on the best available ingredients during any given season. A good chef can create a dish with whatever ingredients happen to be on hand. Line cooks, by comparison, are only expected to meet the requirements of a given recipe. Creativity is neither expected nor desired—the requirement demands perfection of repetition. As conceived by Hochschild (1983, 2003), the requirement of emotional labor also demands repetition, stifling any sense of the creative or expressive use of emotions.

Sarasvathy's (2008) effectuation offers an avenue of additional exploration. The emotional labor experiences of adult educators captured in this study closely resembled those of a chef. They assessed the need for and use of emotion management strategies utilizing the creativity of a chef selecting the best ingredients available at the time. In other words, they confounded the logic of cause and effect by resisting or ignoring organizational expectations in favor of nurturing and protecting relationships with student teachers. Additionally, the adult educators in this study fostered awareness of emotions in learning environments by creatively blending formal and informal learning opportunities derived from the observed needs of student teachers. To this end, it is possible that we might begin to think of this type of emotion work as the effectuated emotion work of adult educators (see figure 6.3). Effectuated emotion work potentially enables (not captures) the creative and expressive potential of the use of emotions by adult educators.

Thinking Emotional Labor Differently:

Additional Implications for Theory

As noted earlier in the reflection on the incorporation of affect theory, Sarasvathy's (2008) effectuation logic offers one potential avenue of exploration, especially when considered in light of Kahn's (1990) personal engagement and disengagement. The emotion work (Callahan, 2000; Hochschild, 1979) of adult educators in this study more closely aligned with Kahn's personal engagement and Sarasvathy's effectuation. In other words, adult educators did not always make emotion management decisions based on the immediate or expedient needs of the organization, especially when interacting with student teachers. Rather, they made decisions that sought to cultivate and preserve a sense of expressive freedom along with the reserve of associated emotional energy—an emotion work driven by personal engagement and effectuated decision making—what might be thought of as effectuated emotion work. Emotional labor performance, however, evolved along two different paths. First, a requirement to perform emotional labor, when present, forced adult educators to disengage from the personal association with emotion work and in-role responsibilities, a forced personal disengagement. Second, in some cases, adult educators chose to perform emotional labor as an extension of in-role expectations similar to organizational citizenship behaviors (Smith, Organ & Near, 1983). Adult educators did not easily distinguish between emotion work performed personally and emotion work performed on behalf of the organization. They were personally engaged without a sense of being compelled to do so. However, the imposition of organizational requirements sometimes forced them to disengage personally in order to perform emotional labor for the organization. When the

requirement to perform was not perceived as an imposition, emotional labor was performed as something of a modulation of emotion work, freely performed in the manner of a citizenship behavior. Personal engagement thrives on effectuation, where creativity is not driven the ultimate outcomes of organizational goals. Personal engagement reflects fully creative engagement in the moment—a moment fueled by effectuation logic. Given this framework, the jarring disruption potentially caused by the transmutation of emotion work into emotional labor is even more pronounced. The separation of self from the effort of this personal engagement is a distinct separation from something important, an estrangement derived from a forced disengagement. Emotional dissonance is the recognition of this separation.

For the adult educators in this study, emotional labor was primarily performed within the context of interactions on behalf of the organization or at the level of the organization. Often, these interactions required disengagement from personal interactions with student teachers and duties often associated with in-role tasks. Adult educators performed emotion work as a type of personal engagement typically reflected at the level of classroom and colleague interaction. Emotional labor was not observed at this level of interaction. Emotional labor was evident when in-role responsibilities recalibrated to reflect organizational goals and expectations. If the recalibration was perceived as in interference, an emotional dissonance, emotional labor was performed, and adult educators disengaged from the personal engagement of emotion work. If the recalibration was not perceived as interference, emotional labor was performed as an extension of emotion work in a manner similar to organizational citizenship behavior without disrupting a sense of personal engagement. In the absence of an organizational

requirement, organizational goals and expectations remain secondary to the personal goals of responding to the needs of student teachers.

This thinking about decision making is potentially reflected in effectuation logic where the relationship between cause and effect is inverted. Adult educators constantly select from a variety of emotional options at any given moment with the intent of producing the best possible outcome for that moment. Organizational expectations cannot cause a sterile and plastic emotional performance to happen when this type of thinking is in play, where the emphasis is on the best performance for the given situation and not an ideal performance to fit every situation—an effectuated emotion work. Embracing creative design over rational decision making, effectuated emotion work enables expressive potential rather than mandating expressive outcomes derived from prescribed techniques.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I explored theories of affect to develop suggestions for an additional approach to thinking about emotional labor. Specifically, I developed a discussion around Manning's (2013) use of technique and technicity as a means of further interrogating the concept of emotional labor. To do this, I approached the analysis of data in the earlier part of the study as an event where thinking in thought (Massumi, 2002; St. Pierre, in press) became possible. This thinking allowed me to consider further the relationship between emotional labor and emotion work and how associated techniques lead to either performance mimicry or expressive potential. The results of this thinking also generated additional questions about the assumed causal nature of adult educators' decisions about emotional labor performance.

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APPENDIX A

COMPLETE CRITICAL INCIDENTS

Incident#	Participant	Title	Assertion
1.	Sandra	Being the heavy	Setting boundaries for students in the program heightens uncertainty and emotional discomfort.
2.	Sandra	I wanted to stay out of It	Role uncertainty enhances emotional conflicts and instability with student, teacher, and collegial relationships.
3.	Sandra	We've got to work this out	An external focus on student success from an outside audience creates a sense of emotional tension.
4.	Sandra	That's the high	A feeling of pride creates a heightened sense of emotion across the program.
5.	Sandra	What am I supposed to be doing?	Role uncertainty heightens feelings of insecurity within the program.
6.	Sandra	Gratified in my envisioned role	Working independently with students builds trust and enhances feelings of gratification.
7.	Sandra	I felt like a counselor	Using specific examples of success to reassure students creates an emotional support structure that relieves stress and frustration.
8.	Sandra	Being a sounding board	Listening and empathy enhance emotional support for students within the program.
9.	Sandra	Keeping frustration in check	Emotional disengagement and a focus on specific behaviors provide a buffer for feelings of frustration and irritation.
10.	Sandra	Doing some concrete teaching	Working individually with action-oriented activities increases feelings of gratification about students and the program.
11.	Maria	I hope they don't ask me any questions	Teaching experts in other fields increases feelings of intimidation.
12.	Maria	Offering encouragement	Maintaining encouragement creates a positive emotional support structure for students in the program.
13.	Stephanie	It was finally real	Sustained frustration increases emotional dissonance/fatigue.
14.	Stephanie	Nurturing their arrival	Creating an emotionally nurturing environment increases the sense of trust between students and faculty.

Incident#	Participant	Title	Assertion
15.	Stephanie	Now I see what you meant	The use of emotional labor strategies does not always yield immediate responses.
16.	Stephanie	Let go of what you think you know	Withholding real feelings about students' lack of experience with teaching environment leads to an increased sense of frustration.
17.	Stephanie	Right here in front of you	Cultivating emotional awareness heightens awareness of classroom/contextual conditions.
18.	Stephanie	Still struggling with that	Emotional labor is not limited to a single transaction/context and may require sustained effort over time.
19.	Stephanie	I was glad I went with my gut	Resisting the expectations of others increases the effort needed to display true feelings or emotional consonance.
20.	Stephanie	He was going to do it his way	Suppressing frustration over time increases the need to manage a range of emotions.
21.	Stephanie	Using emotion to go deeper	Effective use of emotion management strategies requires the development of trusting relationships.
22.	Stephanie	Sharing pride	Displaying genuinely felt emotions enhances the emotional support structure of the program.
23.	Stephanie	This is powerful	Using play as a form of emotional engagement enhances the sense of a familial learning environment.
24.	Stephanie	I just sat there	Withholding display in the form of no response increases the effort needed to manage a feeling of frustration.
25.	Bettie	And I was part of that	Sustained emotional engagement across the program enhances positive feelings and emotions.
26.	Bettie	They didn't understand the opportunity they had	Managing disappointment increases feelings of frustration.
27.	Bettie	It worked	Effort needed to sustain emotional support for the learning environment enhances feelings of being overwhelmed at the end of the program.
28.	Bettie	Even though we know it's going to make us sad	Using empathy to create understanding of diverse classroom and learning conditions increases the need to manage personal feelings.

Incident#	Participant	Title	Assertion
29.	Bettie	Using emotion to teach diversity	Expert blindness can increase feelings of frustration when using empathy to teach student teachers about classroom and learning conditions.
30.	Bettie	Chance to feel like they've been heard	Creating a positive environment for a student teacher facing a difficult situation increases the need to manage personal feelings of conflict and frustration.
31.	Bettie	Look how far she's come	Student success after the program enhances a sense of pride.
32.	Bettie	Recognizing emotion in teaching and learning	Incorporating emotional aspects of both teaching and learning enhances emotion management skills.
33.	Bettie	That feeling of discovery	Withholding criticism helps to foster a positive feeling of discovery.
34.	Bettie	It's not getting easier	Managing the frustration of student teachers increases the need to suppress personal feelings of frustration.
35.	Bettie	Managing students' frustration with edTPA Process	Checking in with student teachers as a means of managing stress decreases personal feelings of frustration.
36.	Amy	Trying to fix this	Simultaneously managing multiple emotional situations across the program increases the need to suppress personal feelings of distress.
37.	Amy	Uncomfortable letting her go	A sense of responsibility for student success heightens the discomfort of emotional dissonance and the suppression of disappointment.
38.	Amy	Can't pick up the pieces for him	Managing a single emotional event can require multiple and conflicting emotional labor performances across different layers and relationships of the program.
39.	Amy	I don't really like professors	Suppressing feelings of vulnerability can heighten a sense of role insecurity.
40.	Amy	Drawing the line	Calling on and sustaining positive and supporting emotional displays that are not truly felt increases the discomfort of suppressing frustration.
41.	Amy	What were you thinking?	Effort needed to suppress a strong negative emotion, such as shock, can decrease over time if greater effort is needed to sustain a

Incident#	Participant	Title	Assertion
			different emotion or feeling state, such as positive emotional support.
42.	Barbara	Hanging on the tail of a kite	Positive emotional consonance can enhance positive feelings of uncertainty.
43.	Barbara	I didn't have to do a thing	Harmonized emotional displays decrease the need for emotional labor performance.
44.	Barbara	One day in class it just all spilled out	Conveying emotions through storytelling can enhance feelings of empathy.
45.	Barbara	You don't know what you're talking about	The need to maintain a neutral or objective display increases the effort needed to suppress frustration.
46.	Barbara	It just made me so proud	The total effort of multiple emotional labor experiences can enhance feelings and displays of strongly felt emotions such as pride.
47.	Barbara	Exploring the amazon	Delaying displays of positive emotions over time enhances feelings of strong emotions such as pride.
48.	Barbara	Passion through storytelling and copper pots	In sharing stories of vulnerability, the work that is done on feeling is that of an emotional labor effort turned inward to unlock previously suppressed emotions.
49.	Barbara	How is it?	Sustained suppression of feelings of irritation increases a sense of uncertainty.
50.	Bob	Oh, okay, I get that	Emotional neutrality of online teaching increases the need for emotional sensitivity when providing comments about student work.
51.	Bob	Oh, shit, I don't know who they are	Underestimating instructional level of students can increase the need to suppress feelings of insecurity.
52.	Bob	I'd rather just talk	Including recorded feedback reduces feelings of discomfort in conveying emotional tone in an online teaching environment.
53.	Bob	Alright, I've had enough	Suppressing feelings of frustration over time increases the effort needed to maintain neutral or positive displays.
54.	Bob	Are you going to stop this?	Emotional pressure from the class can enhance a feeling of uncertainty when evaluating the need for performing emotional labor.

Incident#	Participant	Title	Assertion
55.	Bob	I like to glare at them	Sustained surface acting increases the opportunity of experiencing a similar felt emotion over time.
56.	Bob	Why don't they care?	Surface acting techniques can enhance critical thinking and reflection opportunities for students.
57.	Bob	I try to be a cheerleader	When dealing with frustration, emotional intelligence techniques such as empathy can reduce the effort needed for deep acting.
58.	Bob	Validate and redirect	Redirecting student questions, as a form of surface acting, can decrease the effort need to suppress feelings of frustration.
59.	Stan	It requires refocusing	Refocusing students' attention on learning instead of grades can buffer or reduce negative feelings.
60.	Stan	Emotional data of experience	Virtual simulations can buffer the need to suppress feelings associated with a sustained emotional dissonance.
61.	Stan	Emotionally excited that I'm getting data	Virtual simulations can reduce (or displace) the effort needed to perform emotional labor.
62.	Stan	They need to be cultural guides	Virtual simulations can enhance the development of emotional intelligence skills.
63.	Stan	I just collected data	Virtual simulations can represent a technological extension of surface acting.
64.	Stan	It's like, "yes!"	Use of instruction strategies can reduce the effort needed for emotional labor performance.
65.	Stan	Emotional prep and technology	Instructional design and overpreparation can reduce the effort needed for emotional labor performance.
66.	Stan	If I engaged them, I felt safe	Emotional effort applied to experiential learning activities and engagement enhances feelings of safety and being in a safe environment.
67.	Stan	More instinctive than emotional	Students' focus on grades increases the effort needed to suppress feelings of frustration.
68.	Stan	Try to step back emotionally	Emotional intelligence techniques can

Incident#	Participant	Title	Assertion
			reduce the effort needed to suppress initially felt emotions.
69.	Stan	Embarrassment mode	Emotional intelligence techniques can reduce feelings of tension and embarrassment following a misdirected emotional labor experience.
70.	Stan	Watching the dynamics in a room	Emotional intelligence skills enhance classroom management and engagement.
71.	Stan	Safety in potentially volatile environments	Using humor increases a feeling of safety in volatile learning environments.
72.	Stan	He was going to sabotage this class	Engagement as a teaching/learning strategy can decrease the effort needed to suppress strong negative feelings such as anger or frustration.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview Protocol

Exploring the Teaching Heart: A Critical Incident Study of the Emotional Labor Experiences of Adult Educators

SCRIPT: Hello. My name is Joe Brenes-Dawsey and I am a doctoral student in the Adult Education Program at the University of Georgia. I'm conducting a research study that explores how educators who work with adult learners experience, use, and manage emotions. My interest in this research stems from my own experiences as a teacher and from conversations with friends and colleagues over the years. Teaching can be an incredibly emotional experience and teachers often describe teaching in terms of how it makes them feel. I'm interested in learning more about how educators working with adult learners describe their own experiences with emotion in organizational learning environments. As an educator, your experiences with adult learners and adult learning organizations will provide a unique contribution to the knowledge and understanding that emerges from this research.

This interview will take about 90 minutes to complete and will ask questions about your experiences with emotion while working with adult learners. I would like your permission to audio record this interview so that I may accurately document your responses. You will have an opportunity to review a transcript of this interview. I will use pseudonyms in place of all names and locations, and I will not use any information that might identify you in some way to others. You may skip any questions that you do not want to answer, and you may end the interview at any time. I would also like to obtain your written consent to participate in this study. You and I will both sign and date each copy of the consent form, indicating that we agree to continue with this interview. You will receive one copy of the consent form and I will keep the other. Your participation is completely voluntary. If at any time you would like to stop the interview, take a break, return to a previous question, or withdraw your participation, please let me know. Please feel free to ask any questions you might have as we proceed through the interview. Please take a moment to review and sign the consent form.

[Sign and date consent forms.]

Do you have any questions before we begin?

[Set timer.]

[Turn on recorder.]

[Begin interview]

This is Joe Brenes-Dawsey with (pseudonym). The date is [date] and we are beginning the interview at [time].

Felt Emotions

Tell me about a time when you felt particularly emotional in your teaching role with adult learners.

- What was happening?
- What did you say or do?
- What made it emotional for you?
- How would you describe what you were feeling?
- How did it turn out?

Dealing with Emotions

Tell me about a time when you dealt with strong emotions in one or more learners.

- What happened?
- Who or what triggered your response?
- What did you say or do?
- What made it emotional for you?
- How did it turn out?

Emotions in Teaching

I'd like you to think about a moment when you have intentionally used emotion in teaching while leading a learning activity for adult learners. Tell me a little more about that moment.

- What were you doing?
- What activity was taking place?
- How would you describe the emotion that you used?
- How did the learners respond?
- What led you to use that emotion?
- How would you describe your feelings about that experience?

Suppressing Emotion

At times, adult educators do not always express the emotion that they really feel when leading a learning activity. I'd like you to think about a time when you intentionally *did not* express what you were feeling while interacting with adult learners. Tell me a little more about that moment.

- What were you doing?
- What activity was taking place?
- How would you describe the emotion you didn't express?
- What were you actually feeling at the time?
- What kind of response did you get?

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT LETTER

University of Georgia

Invitation to Participate in an Interview Study

Dear [redacted] Faculty Member:

I am a doctoral student under the direction of Dr. Karen Watkins in the Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy at The University of Georgia. I invite you to participate in a research study entitled *Exploring the Teaching Heart: A Critical Incident Study of the Emotional Labor Experiences of Adult Educators*. The purpose of this study is to explore the classroom and workplace emotional experiences of adult educators. Drawing inspiration from existing research on emotional labor, this study will focus on adult educators' emotional experiences and the need to control or manage emotions during interactions with students.

You're eligible to be in this study because of your work with adult learners in the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Program. Your experiences with a wide range of adult learners participating in the program will help to provide further insight and understanding to these emotional experiences.

Your participation will involve participation in one to two 1 ½ hour interviews about your experiences with emotion and working with adult learners. You will be asked to complete a brief professional background form (about 10 minutes to complete), and you will also be given an opportunity to review a transcript of interview sessions (about 60 minutes to complete). There are no anticipated risks associated with this research, and your participation will help contribute to a better understanding of emotions and the management of emotions in adult learning environments.

If you would like additional information about this study, please feel free to call me at [redacted] or send an e-mail to jdawsey@uga.edu. If you have any additional questions, you may also contact the professor supervising the research, Dr. Karen E. Watkins, Professor and Associate Department Head, Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy, University of Georgia by sending an email to kwatkins@uga.edu.

Thank you for your consideration!

Sincerely,

Joseph Brenes-Dawsey

APPENDIX D

CRITICAL INCIDENT DESCRIPTION

University of Georgia

Invitation to Participate in an Interview Study

Dear Faculty Member:

I am a doctoral student under the direction of Dr. Karen Watkins in the Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy at The University of Georgia. I invite you to participate in a research study entitled *Exploring the Teaching Heart: A Critical Incident Study of the Emotional Labor Experiences of Adult Educators*. The purpose of this study is to explore the classroom and workplace emotional experiences of adult educators. Drawing inspiration from existing research on emotional labor, this study will focus on adult educators' emotional experiences and the need to control or manage emotions during interactions with students.

You're eligible to be in this study because of your work with adult learners in the [redacted]. Your experiences with a wide range of adult learners participating in the program will help to provide further insight and understanding to these emotional experiences.

Your participation will involve participation in one to two 1 ½ hour interviews about your experiences with emotion and working with adult learners. You will be asked to complete a brief professional background form (about 10 minutes to complete), and you will also be given an opportunity to review a transcript of interview sessions (about 60 minutes to complete). There are no anticipated risks associated with this research, and your participation will help contribute to a better understanding of emotions and the management of emotions in adult learning environments.

If you would like additional information about this study, please feel free to call me at [redacted] or send an e-mail to jdawsey@uga.edu. If you have any additional questions, you may also contact the professor supervising the research, Dr. Karen E. Watkins, Professor and Associate Department Head, Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy, University of Georgia by sending an email to kwatkins@uga.edu.

Thank you for your consideration!

Sincerely,

Joseph Brenes-Dawsey

APPENDIX E

PARTICIPANT BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Background Data Form – "Exploring the Teaching Heart: A Critical Incident Study of the Emotional Labor Experiences of Adult Educators"

Please complete the following prior to the scheduled interview:

Name	
Daytime Phone	
Email	

How do you describe yourself? ___American Indian or Alaska native ___Asian ___Black or African American ___Hispanic or Latino ___Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander ___White	*Please indicate all educational achievements and the field in which they were earned in:* _____ Doctorate in _____ _____ Specialist in _____ _____ Masters in _____ _____ Bachelors in _____ _____ Associates in_____ _____ Trade/Technical/Business School Diplomas in _____ _____ Trade/Technical/Business School Certificate in _____ _____ Other Training or Certification – please explain:
Age Range: ___*21-30 years of age* ___*31-40 years of age* ___*41-50 years of age* ___*51 or older*	Number of years teaching adults _____ Number of years teaching in Woodrow Wilson Georgia Teaching Fellowship Program _____

In one sentence, describe yourself as an educator:

_____

_____

APPENDIX F

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
CONSENT FORM
Exploring the Teaching Heart:
The Emotion Management Experiences of Adult Educators

Researcher's Statement

I am asking you to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. This form is designed to give you the information about the study so you can decide whether to be in the study or not. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." A copy of this form will be given to you.

Principal Investigator: *Karen E. Watkins, PhD*
Professor and Associate Department Head
Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy
850 College Station Road
Athens, GA 30602
kwatkins@uga.edu
[redacted]

Purpose of the Study

I am seeking fifteen to twenty [redacted] faculty members to interview as participants for a dissertation research study titled "Exploring the Teaching Heart: A Critical Incident Study of the Emotional Labor Experiences of Adult Educators." The purpose of this project is to explore the classroom and workplace emotional experiences of adult educators. Drawing inspiration from existing research on emotional labor, this study will focus on adult educators' emotional experiences and the need to control or manage emotions and emotional expectations during interactions with students in the classroom.

Study Procedures

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to take part in one to two 1 ½ hour interviews. All interviews will be digitally recorded for transcription and review. No names or identifying qualities will be retained from the interviews. Interview recordings and any associated identifiers will be retained for no more than one year following the conclusion of the study. You will be given the option to suspend an interview at any time if you feel uncomfortable answering any of the questions. Prior to the interview, you will be asked to review an information packet that contains a description of the critical incident technique and questions that may be asked during the interview. These materials

should take between 20-30 minutes to review. As a participant, you will also be asked to complete a form that asks you to describe your educational background and experience as a professional educator working with adult learners. Identifying demographic information (such as name and contact information) will be retained only for the duration of the study and will only be used for the purpose of communication during the study and for review and clarification of interview transcripts. This will take 10-15 minutes to complete. Following the interview, you will be asked to review the interview transcript for accuracy and return an amended transcript to the researcher by email. This will take about 60 minutes to complete. Depending upon the number of interviews conducted, the total time commitment for your participation in the study should range from approximately 3 to 4 ½ hours (including reviews of materials and transcripts).

Risks and Benefits

There are no anticipated substantive risks associated with this study. Benefits of participation may include providing participants with opportunities to discuss and reflect on the role and importance of emotions and how emotions help shape knowledge and understanding of the role of the adult educator. However, because this research will ask you to recall events potentially associated with strong emotions, you may experience discomfort associated with a particular event or incident. You may skip any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering. You may also withdraw from participation in the study at any time by notifying the researcher.

Recording and Privacy

Interviews for this study will be digitally recorded for transcription and additional thematic analysis by the researcher. All information collected will be held confidential unless otherwise required by law. Your identity will be screened, and all data and identifying information will be encrypted and kept in a secured location for one year following the conclusion of the study.

Please provide initials below if you agree to have this interview audio recorded or not. You may still participate in this study even if you are not willing to have the interview recorded.

_____I do not want to have this interview recorded.
_____I am willing to have this interview recorded.

Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or stop at any time should you become uncomfortable with it without penalty or loss in which you are otherwise entitled. Your participation in this study will not affect your employment status.

The main researcher conducting this study is Joseph Brenes-Dawsey, a doctoral student at the University of Georgia. Please ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact Joseph Brenes-Dawsey at jdawsey@uga.edu or at

[redacted]. You may also contact the professor supervising the research, Dr. Karen E. Watkins, Professor and Associate Department Head, Department of Lifelong Education, Administration, and Policy, University of Georgia. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chairperson at 706.542.3199 or irb@uga.edu.

Research Subject's Consent to Participate in Research:

To voluntarily agree to take part in this study, you must sign on the line below. Your signature below indicates that you have read or had read to you this entire consent form and have had all of your questions answered.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.