NAVIGATING EMOTIONAL LABOR IN INCLUSIVE POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION IPSE PROGRAMS

by

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(Under the Direction of Karen E. Watkins)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to understand emotion work experiences of individuals teaching, working or mentoring in Inclusive Postsecondary Education Programs (IPSE) for adult students with intellectual disabilities in higher education. Questions guiding this research were:

1. What does emotion work mean to individuals teaching, working or mentoring in an IPSE program?
2. What is the nature of the emotional engagement of faculty and staff when working with IPSE students?

Interviews were conducted with twelve IPSE professionals that worked in a variety of roles within three different Inclusive Postsecondary Education Programs (IPSE) in the United States. Critical incident technique was used to frame interviews asking interviewees to reflect on emotional encounters in IPSE work. The data revealed five major themes. The primary theme that emerged was the importance of learning to navigate and regulate emotion. Interviewees spoke to the need to learn through emotional situations, leverage the strength of their professional team and to navigate tough emotional moments with an understanding that emotion is part of the nature of disability work. Other themes that emerged were IPSE staff's use of emotion as a motivator, that staff take emotional situations home with them. We learned that emotional labor comes from issues with the boss and bigger problems with the educational,

social and government system that surrounds IPSE work. Findings indicated that individuals teaching, working and mentoring in IPSE programs do indeed fit Hochschild's definition of emotion laborers. Conclusions drawn from the findings were: 1.) learning mediates emotional labor and 2.) emotional labor roles varied based on roles where interviewees worked. Finally this study concluded that; 3.) lower institutional support manifests in higher emotional labor levels of IPSE staff. Future research studies should include a broader spectrum of individuals that work as IPSE Program Directors and university administrators that oversee IPSE work. Further research around the specific emotional tolls burdening IPSE program staff would generate a better understanding of specific stressors in IPSE work and may help higher education administrators take a proactive approach to reducing the burden on staff members, thus increasing employee satisfaction and decreasing turnover.

INDEX WORDS: Adult Learners, Adult Education, Emotional Labor, Emotion Work, Inclusive Postsecondary Education Program, IPSE Program, Disability, Critical Incident Technique

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the women who shared their stories with me. Thank you for articulating the triumphs and challenges of your work, and for the difference you make each day in the lives of your students.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

How we manage our emotions to control the way we are seen by others is a continuous process. Offices, courtrooms, homes and schools are a few of the social settings staging the backdrop for ongoing daily and hourly emotion management. In some societies, emotion management may be seen as being polite in an uncomfortable situation, choosing your battle in a conflict or staying calm during an upsetting situation at work or with family. Though we may not give much thought to the emotional adjustments we make to shrug off the negative comment of a colleague, control our anger in a meeting or feign excitement for a friend, these adjustments matter. The internal emotional adjustments we are making to outwardly impact the emotions we display have an impact on professional success, our mental health, and how we perform each of our roles in life.

Distinguishing Among Emotion Management, Emotion Work and Emotion Labor

Managing and altering emotions is not inherently a bad or good thing. But managing or altering emotions does have implications. Sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild (1983) described emotion work as an action situated under the larger umbrella of emotion management. Depending on the situation and the individual engaging in emotion work, the engagement could result in positive feelings creating a sense of control and pride or negative feelings and thoughts and sustained worry. The ability to remain aware of your feelings, perceive the feelings of others and consider the needs and thoughts of multiple parties involved in a situation is considered emotional intelligence. While emotional intelligence is not inherently positive, emotional

intelligence is a personal strength that allows people to bring all their emotion into the room, make space for the thoughts and feelings of others and consider the feelings of team members when tackling a problem (Salovey & Mayer, 1990). An educator may feel the pride in his or her emotional intelligence when navigating an academic integrity case with a student while sustaining a calm authoritative demeanor throughout the interaction. Because the educator-maintained control of the situation by tuning in to the feelings of the students involved, the situation was handled with care to address student concerns while following university protocol. Emotion work that feels inauthentic to those engaging in it may take a further emotional toll, causing the individual to feel estranged and confused about his or her authentic emotions. Known as emotional dissonance, this phenomenon leads to burnout and negative feelings about work interactions. Not all inauthentic emotional exchanges lead to emotional dissonance, and there are no set engagement rules about how much an individual must engage in inauthentic emotional encounters before they experience emotional dissonance.

The practice of emotion work is further complicated when it occurs on the job, as a part of the job. It is in this space that the practice of managing emotions evolves into emotion labor. While emotion work is a natural part of life that the majority of individuals engage in without fanfare, increasingly the working world is demanding emotion labor as a part of the job. Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotion labor is "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" for a wage (p.7). Service roles often dictate the need for employees to regulate their emotions at work and put on a face to reflect what the company finds most important and meaningful. "This labor requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (Hochschild, 1983 p.8). Emotional labor for an elementary school special education

teacher may occur in a parent meeting. When sharing bleak test scores with a discouraged parent the teacher packs up his dismay and appears to be upbeat and positive focusing on the progress the student has made, turning attention away from the failing scores. If his true emotion were to show in the moment he might break down in tears with the parent over the seriousness of the situation or disengage in frustration. However, his job as a special education teacher dictates he remain professional and positive meaning the teacher must engage in emotion labor to satisfy the expectations of his role in the school and in the parent teacher meeting.

Emotion labor in practice is the conveying of an inauthentic and unfelt emotion as a requirement of a job. This may mean evoking a kind demeanor and smile despite painful personal problems or suppressing rage when threatened by a coworker or customer. Physicians, public officials and elderly care workers are all positions that readily come to mind who are expected to engage in this form of emotion labor that necessitates an empathy disconnect. Also known as emotional numbing or disassociation, an empathy disconnect, functions to allow individuals experiencing complex emotions to shut down and take exchanges at face value without trying to perceive or react to the emotions of others. This coping strategy allows individuals to push through to the next task without taking the time to confront the emotional weight of situations.

The face of a company or an organization is often reflected through service roles seen on the front line of an organization. The service model in businesses may push employees to stifle their own emotions to convey the feeling and face of the company. Increasingly the inclusion of emotion labor in education (Gonzales & Ayers, 2018) and roles outside service fields are becoming known. Employees in corporate work (JungHoon, Chohyung, Seung-Hoon & Choong-Ki, 2018), nonprofit work (Callahan, 2000) and the healthcare field (Larson & Yao, 2005) are

some of the career arenas voicing increased involvement in emotion labor. Emotion labor extends into the realm of disability services. From nurses providing medical care for individuals with a disability, to personal care attendants assisting an individual that needs disability accommodation to a social worker negotiating financial and service benefits for the disabled (Yoon & Hyun, 2017), working in disability services is an emotionally laden job (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002) increasing the chance that workers will engage in emotion labor.

Emotion Labor in Education and Disability Services

Emotion labor is a phenomenon that has become an area of interest to researchers in recent years as western society makes a shift from more manual labor focused jobs to more people focused jobs. Emotion labor involves a job requiring an employee to utilize emotion as a part of their work to convey the feelings of the company or to direct interactions with customers. Emotion labor has been studied in the context of professional settings, educational settings that explore emotional labor in early childhood education teachers (Keller et. al., 2014) and in adult education (Brenes-Dawsey, 2018; Buckner, 2012; Zhang & Zhu, 2008). Emotion labor has been associated with teacher burnout and turnover in K-12 education (Chang, 2009). Though different from the emotion labor of the grade school teacher, college professors also deal with situations that call for emotion labor exchanges in their job teaching, completing university service work, researching with and mentoring students in academia.

Teaching is a job that ranks high in emotion labor. Emotion labor in teachers is important because it affects the quality of instruction for students and job satisfaction and retention rates of instructors (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). The passions of teaching itself, care for students' welfare, impatience with academic bureaucracy, exhilaration and joy at students' success, and even grief at the loss of a class at the end of the year are all emotions that are felt keenly by teachers and

administrators working in schools (Sachs & Blackmore, 2010). Emotion impacts not just classroom interactions but spans organizational layers and takes different forms as the environment varies (Brenes-Dawsey, 2018). Teachers are often faced with the decision to express or suppress emotion in the classroom, then how to display or suppress these feelings in the moment simultaneously perceiving how their action might be interpreted by learners (Buckner, 2012). Even a reaction to the emotional queues of students or colleagues in the educational context are part of the dance that is emotion in education.

Reacting to emotions of learners in the classroom with techniques to reframe challenges or redirect thoughts can be especially helpful to adult learners. Adults bring a plethora of experiences to the classroom that impact how they process information, learn and interact with teachers and classmates (Buckner, 2012). Still, emotion in the classroom is not all bad, studies show that those engaging in emotional exchanges view them differently and that while emotion labor can be stressful, some educators choose instead to focus on how they handled the situation and about the emotional intelligence they displayed that helped them move through the tough situation. Emotional intelligence is an ability to understand emotions of other individuals how to manage your own (Goleman, 1995) and can be helpful in promoting learning and organizational teamwork (Sardo, 2004) and developing inter-personal sensitivity that can be valuable in the classroom (Dulewicz & Higgs, 2004). The individual engaging in the emotion labor, may view emotion work on the job framed in a positive way and identify this emotional exertion as emotional intelligence. Introduced by Salovey and Mayer (1990 p.433), emotional intelligence is "a form of social intelligence that involves the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use this information to guide one's thinking and action" (1990). Emotional intelligence in the classroom can manifest in a richer learning

experience for students with new learning triggers thanks to emotional exchange, as well as increased opportunities for teachers to develop new facets of professionalism and empathy (Brenes-Dawsey, 2018). Cultivating emotional intelligence to improve student learning in the classroom (Vandervoort, 2006), leadership ability in a company (Vasilagos et. al., 2017) or patient relations in the nursing field (Smith, et. al., 2009) are among the numerous ways that emotional intelligence can be utilized to improve relationships and work environments. In this study, emotional labor will be explored in disability education in an effort to learn how emotion is conceptualized in disability education at the collegiate level.

Introduction to Disability and Disability Education in America

Disability studies is an emerging field in the United States, originating in the 1970s in the wake of the civil rights movement gaining steam alongside the women's movement and LGBT movement. A major accomplishment of the movement was manifest in the Americans with Disabilities Act that was signed into law in 1990. This life changing piece of legislation profoundly impacted the quality of life of Americans with disabilities however, progress toward this equity took decades. United States' history is spotted with horrific transgressions against the disabled community such as preventing disabled individuals from immigrating to the United States, institutionalizing the disabled in squalid conditions, deeming the disabled unfit to rejoin society, and sterilizing hundreds of these individuals against their will (Nielsen, 2012). The concept of justice for the disabled population stemmed from the shocking 1966 documentary that aired on national television, "Christmas in Purgatory". This broadcast filmed via hidden camera, brought the public behind the walls of a mental institution for the first time ever and struck rage in citizens that called for reform of the system that supported individuals with a disability.

Christmas in Purgatory served as a call to change makers like United States Senator Robert F. Kennedy that disability reform was needed.

Individuals speaking out for disability rights saw great opportunity in the civil rights movements of the 1960s and mobilized with other activist groups to fight for equal access, federal legislation to support disability rights and later educational rights for children with a disability. Stemming first from the Civil Rights Movement, the Disability Rights Movement continued to gain traction in the years to come, alongside the Women's Movement. By partnering with a wide variety of activists, the realities of marginalized individuals in the United States were voiced at a national level and initiated the largest change in American disability rights history (Vaughn, 2003). Pressure from disability advocates lobbying for social change spurred early disability legislation like the Community Mental Health Act, Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments, the Voting Rights Act, Urban Mass Transportation Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act among other legislation, sought to end disability disenfranchisement.

Disability rights was gaining traction globally in the 1980s as the United Nations declared 1981 the International Year of Disabled People. The UN summoned member nations to improve disability rights and access. The United States responded by forming the National Organization on Disability. NOD works to increase employment opportunities for adults with disabilities by partnering with companies around the country and helping them rethink job positions in businesses and realize the strength a more diverse population of employees could bring to their business (National Organization on Disability, 2019). "The International Year of Disabled People in 1981 raised disability as a human rights issue[s] in the global public discourse. The rise of the contemporary disability movement in the latter decades of the 20th

century, and the vocal demand for relevant curricula by disabled people and their allies, lent weight to the legitimacy of the new discipline" (Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009 p.48).

As we entered the final decade of the last century, disability rights and disability studies continued inclusion was becoming a larger part of American consciousness. In 1990 the Americans with Disabilities Act was signed into law. ADA spoke to the discrimination, segregation and dehumanization that Americans with disabilities were subjected to and recognized the rights of all individuals to enjoy the pleasures of life and to experience society alongside peers, taking part in all facets of public life. For the first time in the country's history the government enforced the desegregation of the disabled by ensuring access to buildings, transportation systems and otherwise banning disability-based discrimination in work, housing, commerce and other contexts.

Nearly twenty years later, societal changes that stemmed from the ADA are evident. From access to public spaces to educational inclusion at the K-12 and now the collegiate level for individuals with disabilities; the changing disability rights landscape has widened services to serve more diverse individuals and increasingly integrate the American population.

The Changing Landscape of Postsecondary Education for Individuals with Disabilities

A shift is occurring in adult education with the recent incorporation of inclusive postsecondary education options for adults with an intellectual disability (Rocco & Delgado, 2011). As a response to the amended Higher Education Act of 2008 congressional funds were allocated for the development of inclusive educational opportunities for adult students with a disability (Higher Education Opportunity Act-2008, 2010). These inclusive programs, known as Inclusive Postsecondary Education Programs IPSE, seek to transition adults with disabilities into the world in a similar way to how mainstream college students experience higher education.

IPSE programs focus on socialization, independent living skills, self-advocacy, academic enrichment and targeted career skills to cultivate employability in a student's chosen field (Think College, 2019). IPSE programs are funded largely by the United States Department of Education's Transition and Postsecondary Programs for Students with Intellectual Disabilities (TPSID) grant. TPSID finding was first allocated in 2010, awarding 27 programs with grant finding for five years (United States Department of Education, 2015). Weinkauf's (2002) study of IPSE programs showed positive student outcomes with increased student confidence, academic enhancement, cultivation of professional skills and overall life improvement. IPSE programs may also boost employability of students. A 2004 study showed that students with an intellectual disability that participated in postsecondary education were more likely to be competitive professionally in higher paid work positions with less need for supports on the job (Zafft, et. al., 2004).

IPSE programs differ from other disability initiatives like sheltered workshops and job training programs in that they strive to promote an immersive and authentic collegiate experience for students, minimizing differences between students and allowing them to plan their own college and career path (O'Brien, et. al., 2009). Individuals with disabilities constitute a substantial minority group in the United States with 26% of adult Americans living with some type of disability (CDC, 2020). In higher education, students with a disability constitute only 11% of the student population (National Council on Disability, 2015). Unfortunately, students with a disability are underrepresented in higher education with lower degree completion rates than students without a disability, 34% of disabled students complete an attempted college degree versus 50% of non-disabled students that attempt a college degree (National Council on Disability, 2015). With a growing number of IPSE programs that seek to transition intellectually

disabled adults into society after a K-12 education, understanding the role emotion labor plays in this unique sector of higher education is worth exploring. Intellectually disabled adults are a marginalized group of Americans that have only recently arrived on the scene in higher education, thanks to the decrease in institutionalization among disabled Americans and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act that was reauthorized in 2004 in an effort to continue moving toward inclusive opportunities for all people. These factors coupled with growing rates of intellectual disorders like autism and the increase in life expectancy of Americans all contribute to the need to invest in the future of IPSE programs that will educate this population of adult learners and equip them to work and live in an integrated society. With an increased prevalence of autism, there is a particular need for research on the transition of youth with Autism Spectrum Disorder, ages 16 through 21 years old, into postsecondary education, community living, and employment (Briel & Getzel, 2009; Hendricks & Wehman, 2009).

Statement of the Problem

An expansion integrating adults with disabilities into higher education necessitates better understanding of how emotion work exchanges in IPSE programs affect instruction, program success and student success. I am particularly interested in how IPSE program faculty, staff and peer mentors engage emotionally in the classroom. A substantial gap in the literature exists on the role emotion work plays in IPSE programs for adult learners with an intellectual disability. IPSE programs seek to equip students with a college experience that assists in their transition to adult life and empowers them to fulfill personal goals such as employment, independent living or starting a family. These relatively new collegiate programs have only recently arrived on the scene in the United States; therefore, long-term data about the effects of IPSE programs on students and their impact on society is ongoing. Short term data reports growth in maturity,

improvement in goal setting and progress tracking, increased socialization skills, and promotions and pay increases at work (Lynch & Grezel, 2013). Think College (2019) career trends reported that 78% of students who completed an IPSE program were employed, pursuing internships or transferring to another postsecondary education opportunity within ninety days of graduation. Of this group 44% were employed and paid minimum wage or higher for their work. (Grigal et. al., 2018). Anecdotal comments from parents, students and faculty involved in these programs can lead us to believe that IPSE programs may be an important step for students on the path to securing a career and preparing to live independently after program completion.

In the United States the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) allows students with a disability to remain in the public school system until they are 21 years old because these students require additional years of instruction to develop life and career skills. The reality is that the majority of students with a disability choose to matriculate through the school system on the same timeline as their classmates and thus may complete their K-12 education without full concept mastery. After graduation young adults with a disability are shuffled to a sheltered workshop program that silos them away from abled individuals, into a work role in an organization that does not take their wishes and professional goals into account, or they are isolated with only family for companionship (Armstrong, 2006). IPSE programs present a unique opportunity for young adults with a disability to continue their education in an integrated collegiate environment that allows them the opportunity to direct their own path and increases their chance at independent living and a full, well-rounded adult life. Without adult education programs teaching and mentoring students as they transition into adulthood, this population of adult learners might be caught in the system between the end of their primary education and adulthood (Barken, 2010).

Parents interviewed in a study of postsecondary transition for intellectually disabled adults in Queensland, Australia expressed frustrations with a lack of continuing education options for their children. “When a child with special needs finishes school, it is like falling off a cliff for the care [giver] and the child. A huge void, living in a rural area makes it ten times harder” (Davies & Blemish, 2009 p. 255). Similar sentiments are felt by caregivers and parents of young adults with an intellectual disability in the United States.

IPSE programs provide a person-centered planning approach to education, allowing the opportunity for the students and their support system of parents, friends and mentors to decide how curriculum should be designed to meet the career aspirations and goals of the student. Person centered planning refers to "a family of approaches to organizing and guiding community change in alliance with people with disabilities and their families and friends" (O'Brien & Lovett, 1992, p. 5). With around 308 IPSE programs located across the United States, adult students with intellectual disabilities now have access to higher education alongside mainstream college students (Hart, et. al., 2006).

In a cohort study of forty students with an intellectual disability, twenty of whom had the opportunity to engage in an IPSE program, findings revealed that students with experience in postsecondary education were more likely to obtain competitive employment, required fewer supports, expanded social networks and increased self-esteem (Hart, et. al., 2006). Another survey of students involved in IPSE programs found that 65% of students exited the program with a paying job.

Understanding how emotion work manifests for employees teaching, working or mentoring in an IPSE program is important when contextualizing emotion work within disability higher education and working to develop coping mechanisms and employee resources to

improve IPSE programs. Through qualitative inquiry, my research will explore emotion work in action through critical incidents relayed by faculty members teaching in IPSE programs, program staff that work with IPSE students and peer mentors that have close relationships with IPSE students at three universities that offer IPSE programs.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of my research was to understand emotion work experiences of individuals teaching, working or mentoring in IPSE programs for adult students with intellectual disabilities in higher education. Questions guiding this research include:

1. What does emotion work mean to individuals teaching, working or mentoring in an IPSE program?
2. What is the nature of the emotional engagement of faculty and staff when working with IPSE students?

Significance of Study

This research will address a gap in the literature by using emotional labor theory as a lens to examine critical incidents of emotion work, labor and/or intelligence in IPSE programs. These relatively new programs opening on college campuses around the United States do not yet have information about the role of emotion management in IPSE programs. Learning if emotion management is involved in daily work with IPSE students may open doors for further research about implications of emotional inputs of workers, turnover rates in the field and employee/teacher satisfaction.

Data generated in this study may better equip adult education programs preparing faculty for teaching in IPSE programs, improve structure and supports for those working in IPSE programs and improve mentor and teacher training for those involved with IPSE programs. My

research will tap into a sector of adult education that has not previously been explored and will provide insights about how emotion impacts the functioning and structure of this specific type of program. Supporting adult education research that focuses on improving programs for learners with an intellectual disability will have a ripple effect that positively impacts faculty and staff that support IPSE programs and in turn, the students enrolled in the program. Improving IPSE programs at universities and the lives of adults with an intellectual disability could make substantial social, economic, and civic contributions that positively affect the United States.

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 includes background information about emotion work, emotion labor and emotional intelligence as well as a brief disability history of the United States. IPSE programs are introduced and contextualized and the study is introduced. An overview of the research design along with the significance of the problem, purpose of the study and the guiding research questions are noted. In Chapter 2, I examine relevant literature about emotion work and emotion labor, emotion in teaching, emotion in disability services and a history of disability services and adult education. Chapter 3 describes the methodological details of the study like data collection and analysis, theoretical considerations, trustworthiness, and limitations of the study. Chapter 4 provides a picture of the interviewees using thick description to describe critical incidents of emotion in their work in IPSE programs. Chapter 5 reports findings of the study. Chapter 6 presents conclusions drawn from the study findings and notes areas for future research.

Definition of Terms

Disability Services – A range of companies, services or supports that frequently work with individuals with a disability and equip them to move through life. (Ex. Social workers, employment services, medical professionals, personal care attendant.)

Emotional Intelligence - "a form of social intelligence that involves the ability to monitor one's own and others' feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them, and to use this information to guide one's thinking and action" (Salovey & Mayer, 1990 p.433)

Emotion Labor - "The management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" for a wage (Hochschild, 1983 p.7). The terms emotion labor and emotional labor are used interchangeably throughout his study.

Emotion Management – The management of feeling to control movement through social situations and the world (Goffman, 1959).

Emotion Work- The work of manipulating emotions to fit the situation in a manner deemed appropriate. Fits under the broader concept of emotion management.

IDEA Act – The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act is a piece of American legislation that ensures students with a disability be provided a free public education that are tailored to their individual needs.

IPSE Program – An inclusive university or collegiate school environment past high school level (e.g., community college or four-year university).

CHAPTER 2

Review of The Literature

An expansion integrating adults with disabilities into higher education necessitates better understanding of how emotion work exchanges in IPSE programs affect instruction, program success and student success.

Understanding how emotion work manifests for employees teaching, working or mentoring in an IPSE program is important when contextualizing emotion work within disability higher education and working to develop coping mechanisms and employee resources to improve IPSE programs. The purpose of this study was to understand emotion work experiences of individuals teaching, working or mentoring in Inclusive Postsecondary Education IPSE programs for students with intellectual disabilities in higher education.

With a growing number of postsecondary inclusion programs that seek to transition intellectually disabled adults into society after a K-12 education, understanding the role emotion work plays in this unique sector of higher education is worth exploring. Intellectually disabled adults are a marginalized group of Americans that have only recently arrived on the scene in higher education, thanks to the decrease in institutionalization among disabled Americans and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act that was signed into law in 1990. These factors coupled with growing rates of intellectual disorders like autism (Briel & Getzel, 2009; Hendricks & Wehman, 2009; Seltzer et al., 2004) and the increase in life expectancy of disabled individuals, all contribute to the need to invest in the future of IPSE programs that will educate this population of adult learners and equip them to work and live in an integrated society. This

expansion in the adult education landscape means more information is needed to understand how emotional labor exchanges in IPSE classrooms affect instruction, student learning and program success. There are also human resource development implications for how IPSE faculty, staff and mentors engage emotionally in their work in IPSE programs.

This review of the literature documents the history of emotion work and emotion labor and its role in higher education and disability service. Background about disability history in the United States and context about Inclusive Postsecondary Education Programs IPSE will also be explored. This review of the literature was conducted using Google Scholar, Pro Quest and ERIC. Search terms were emotion work, emotional labor, emotion labor, emotion labour, emotional labour, deep acting, IPSE, disability education. This literature review will discuss emotion work and emotion labor and how they manifest in the professional world and in higher education. Background on IPSE programs will be explored, as we understand the role IPSE adult learners in higher education.

Emotional Labor

Sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild developed emotional labor theory in the 1980s as a way to study how unpaid emotional tolls play into the professional lives of Americans. Emotional labor theory holds that the modern working world is one centered just as often on the successful generation of emotion labor via service roles as on the creation of a product or good. Hochschild (1983) opens her book *The Managed Heart*, by comparing the work of flight attendants (at that time called stewardesses) in 1960s America, with that of an impoverished child working in a wallpaper factory in Europe at the turn of the century. While at first glance the two scenarios may seem to have little or no relation to each other, Hochschild explains that both employees are exchanging labor inputs for job security in their chosen workplace. While jobs in

manual labor can strain the body, emotion labor that employees are asked or forced to perform on the job can have a mental and emotional impact that is rarely recognized. The concept of emotional labor as a whole, is further embedded within a larger framework that accounts for the creation, management and interaction of our emotions (Thoits, 1989). The term impression management is the broader umbrella under which the concept of emotional labor lives (Gardner & Martinko, 1988; Grove & Fisk, 1989).

Emotion is multifaceted and is experienced individually yet assumptions have shaped how we approach and experience emotion (Morris & Feldman, 1996). The first assumption is that emotion is socially constructed and impacted by the world around us. This assumption holds that individuals have a participatory role in the way emotion is experienced and we have the capacity to suppress, enhance or affect emotion (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Hochschild, 1990; Kemper, 1990; Thoits, 1989). The next assumption holds that emotion takes effort on the part of the individual. Though an individual may feel anger, expressing the emotion of anger requires the individual act and display the emotion to the world by a rising of voice or clenching of fists. This assumption emphasizes *labor* in emotion labor, conveying that the manifestation of emotion does indeed require labor on the part of the individual experiencing the emotion (Tolich, 1993). The third assumption suggests that emotion has become entirely a commodity and no longer belongs to the individual, but is imbedded in service provided in a transaction (Wichroski, 1994). The final assumption is that of emotion norms or display rules. Hochschild's study of emotion labor is grounded largely in this assumption of display rules. Display rules convey that there are correct emotions to fit particular situations and professional roles (Ekman, 1973; Goffman, 1959). The seemingly remorseful funeral home director, or the upbeat and energetic cashier at the department store, are both examples of display rules at work in the marketplace.

Emotion Work

The practice of emotion labor is rooted in the concept of emotion work. Emotion work is born from the belief that an individual may need to convey different feelings than he or she is actually feeling. Emotion work often manifests in an individual putting on a “front” for others to display an emotion different from the felt emotion actually being experienced, or to exaggerate emotions to influence the feelings of others. The primary types of emotion work are emotion suppression and emotion evocation (Hochschild, 1983). The focus on evocation of emotion is about conjuring “a desired feeling which is initially absent"(Hochschild, 1979, p. 561). An individual may work to evoke happiness for a friend that is moving across the country for a job promotion, despite the fact they feel a sense of loss as a result of the move. Still another example is the suppression of happiness an individual may feel when they learn about the death of an abusive family member. The focus of suppression is “on undesired feeling which is initially present" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 561). Both of these situations find our emotion regulator feeling the need to match the happiness or grief level of those around them, while working to blend into the scene and not disclose genuine emotion. This unsteady emotional terrain feels tricky and individuals may worry that disclosure of their true feelings could result in judgment from others (Goffman, 1959). Feeling rules are the informal guidelines in society that dictate how we should feel in particular situations and act as guidelines for usual emotion work. The need to feel grief at a funeral, engaged in a story being told by a friend at a cocktail party or excited for the good fortune of another person are all outlined by unspoken feeling rules (Hochschild, 1979).

Ashforth and Humphrey explore emotion labor using the concept of display rules. The term display rules conveys the emotional exchange expected and the way workers conform on the job to comply with management expectations (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). In a study with

focus on emotional labor specifically in service roles, Ashforth and Humphrey chose to view emotional labor through a different lens. “We prefer to focus on behavior rather than on the presumed emotions underlying behavior because it is the actual behavior or compliance with display rules that is directly observed by and directly affects service recipients and as we will discuss, one may conform with display rules without having to "manage" feelings. Thus, our definition both emphasizes behavior and decouples the experience of emotion from the expression of emotion” (Ashforth &Humphrey, 1993 p.90).

Hochschild explains that most people engage in emotion work daily without giving it much thought. In the western world women tend to engage in emotion work more, based purely out of a tradition of oppression and service. Emotion work can range from acting excited about a gift received by a family member during a holiday celebration, to acting engaged in your spouse’s story told at a dinner party regardless of the fact that you have heard it numerous times. While emotion work is a natural part of life that the majority of individuals engage in without fanfare, increasingly the working world is demanding emotion work as a part of the job. When emotion work is demanded of employees it transforms into emotion labor. Hochschild’s (1983) definition of emotional labor is “the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display” for a wage (p.7). Service roles often dictate the need for employees to regulate their emotions at work and put on a face to reflect what the company finds most important and meaningful. “This labor requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others” (Hochschild, 1983 p.8).

Depending on an individual’s job position, offering a fake smile to rude customers or disconnecting from human empathy to deliver tough news to clients without expressing any

visible regret or emotion may be some routine emotion labor exercises. Physicians, public officials and elderly care workers are all positions that readily come to mind who are expected to engage in this form of emotional labor that necessitates an empathy disconnect. The face of a company or an organization is often reflected through service roles seen on the front line of an organization. Companies understand that these interactions can evolve in different ways and work to control employee and customer interactions. The service experience created by the employee on the front line sometimes provides the only tangible takeaway from a business transaction and can leave the customer with feelings about the company, thus affecting their decision to patronize the business again in the future (Bowen, et. al., 1991).

Perhaps the most famous example of emotional labor at work is the case of the Delta Airlines flight attendants that were documented in Hochschild's work. Hochschild chose to study emotion labor within the context of an airline for several reasons. The work of a flight attendant requires prolonged interactions with customers and the position falls between that of a service industry job and an elite position like that of a doctor or lawyer. At the time the study was performed it was difficult to isolate a career field with a relatively equal number of males and females working in the same position, and certainly difficult to isolate a career field in which both male and female employees performed in the same capacity on the job. Flight attendants served as a sound study group because male and female flight attendants worked in the same capacity with airline customers.

In this study, emotional labor was imposed on flight attendants by the company culture in an effort to reflect an accommodating, attractive and reliable feeling among passengers, and leave them excited to fly with Delta again in the future. By interacting with flight attendants during Delta training, continuing education, on flights, in break rooms and on airport transit

Hochschild learned about emotional interactions in the career in a hands-on way often directly following emotional exchanges with customers. Through semi-structured interviews, observation and document analysis, Hochschild learned about coping mechanisms the flight attendants employed in difficult situations, how flight attendants were trained to leverage emotion work on the job, and Delta's emotional expectations of the flight attendants. Though not explicitly outlined by Delta, flight attendants felt the unspoken pressure to act on the job, even when the company did not directly impose emotion labor on them. Hochschild points out emotional labor can be inferred. Emotional labor taxes employees silently, often without one giving much thought to the impact this implied emotional tax has on energy and mood. In the case of the Delta flight attendants, and that of service roles around the world, emotional labor is a commodity that is produced and sold through our job sometimes without conscious awareness of the laborer.

Consequences of Emotional Labor

While the consequences of engaging in emotion labor may seem minor at first glance, Hochschild's study showed that over time the strain placed on employees required to engage in regular emotion labor as a part of their job indeed impacted their personal lives. "When rules about how to feel and how to express feelings are set by management, when workers have weaker rights to courtesy than customers do, when deep and surface acting are forms of labor to be sold, and when private capacities for empathy and warmth are put to corporate uses, what happens to the way a person relates to her feelings or to her face?" (Hochschild, 183 p.89) Interviews with flight attendants revealed that emotional interactions on the job not only resonated with workers more often than one might think; some interviewees were emotional when speaking about their experiences *years* after the incident being reiterated had occurred.

Multiple interviewees shared stories that related to surface acting turned deep acting on the job. When speaking about how she gets into character on the job one flight attendant shared that she experiences periods of manic behavior following a flight when she is unable to relax or "come down" off the artificial emotional high of being "on" during a flight. In cases like this, individuals may experience emotional dissonance as a result of emotional labor. In cases where emotional dissonance occurs, employees can lose touch with a sense of authentic self (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993) as a result of routinely falling into deep acting.

Empirical evidence suggests that while we may focus on emotional labor in service roles, it occurs in a variety of other positions that require client worker exchanges or exchanges between coworkers (Pugliesi, 1999). Studies of emotion labor have revealed that not all implications of emotion labor are negative. Gimlin's work found emotion labor to be an equalizer between the interacting groups that diminished the power difference between the two parties (Gimlin, 1996). Emotional labor can also impart a healthy ability for emotion regulation that is empowering to the individual regulating emotion, while creating an interaction that is satisfying to both parties (Leidner,1993; Stenross & Kleinman, 1989; Tolich, 1993). Emotional regulation that results in positive outcomes is known as emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence focuses on the implications that result from an individual gauging and managing emotions in a healthy and constructive way that positively impacts others around them (Goleman, 1995). In the working world, emotional intelligence often manifests in better employee performance due to improved psychological health, work motivation, and performance levels (Bierema, 2008).

Goffman on Impression Management and Origins of Emotional Labor

Much of Hochschild's work was inspired from that of sociologist Erving Goffman's study of impression management and dramaturgical work. A symbolic interactionist, Goffman viewed the world through the series of encounters that individuals engage in daily. The symbolic interactionist's perspective is that meaning is created by those experiencing it and evolves over time. Symbolic interactionists believe reflecting and interpreting social interactions is pivotal, as reality is created through exchange. Goffman's theory of impression management explains how individuals control their meaning and how the world's view about them is constructed. Impression management is an ongoing process through which individuals engage with the world to craft the version of themselves that they would like the world to see. This process can be layered and change depending on the company one is in, or the responsibilities at hand. For many people this means settling into different personas during different seasons of life or during certain activities. People may simultaneously manage different or even opposite selves in the same day. A seemingly committed student in the classroom hoping to garner admiration of his teacher may construct the persona of the sports-centric athlete at basketball practice when the student persona no longer fits the social needs around him.

Using the clever example of the theatre, Goffman developed the concept of dramaturgy and described the world as a stage with interactions between groups of people as the stories acted out by the players controlling the performance through deep or surface acting. Different relationships necessitate varying levels of impression management or acting to "set the stage" for the exchange that is to take place. Surface acting entails superficial (though still carefully calculated) acting to conform to social expectations and play the appropriate role for the setting you are in. Deep acting involves one be engulfed more fully in the persona they wish to convey

often going to greater lengths to better set the stage for the ongoing performance. Goffman describes the casting, costuming, scenery and performance that is planned in an effort to carry on exchanges in a way that is beneficial, comfortable or pleasing to those starring in the production. Relationships between the parties in question will influence the lengths to which parties will go to maintain impression management. This could range from merely guarding oneself in a conversation to seem polite and intelligent, to rearranging your home and dressing up the family in new clothes in an effort to seem extra impressive when a friend comes over for dinner.

Goffman describes the world in a front and backstage view to differentiate between the seen/act and the felt/unseen backstage. The dining room of a restaurant is the front stage while the kitchen is the backstage where employees laugh and joke, loosen uniforms or complain about customers. Classrooms opposed to teacher's lounges, a home's living room and bedroom, or an office's boardroom and breakroom are all examples of common front and back stage settings in different arenas of life. Dramaturgy says that in our daily life we each wear a "mask" as we go about our roles at work, at school or in social situations. Even when we are not acting, we are usually engaged in ongoing impression management as the audience. As polite participants Goffman shares that we are "asked to believe that the character [we] see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess" (Goffman, 1959, p.17). In the Presentation of Self, Goffman explains we are all playing at different parts in the world. When we scurry to look busy when the boss walks over at our workplace or when we work to convince visitors in our home that the house is always in the pristine condition they observe during their visit, we are engaging in surface or deep acting (Goffman, 1959).

To maintain the act or performance, it is important that individuals are cognizant of the front and backstage, knowing that the veil between front and backstage should not be crossed by

those not part of the performance. In the event that an outsider does penetrate backstage via an "importuned intrusion" (i.e. any forum in which actors are not in character like a teacher' lounge, bedroom, behind a closed office door) the offending party must redirect attention to another important matter immediately so as not to embarrass the actor or herself/himself by acknowledging the breech of confidence and the ongoing performance (Goffman, 1959, p.136, 209). In subsequent decades impression management has evolved as more people joined the workforce, family structure and familial expectations changed and we gained new impression management tools via social media.

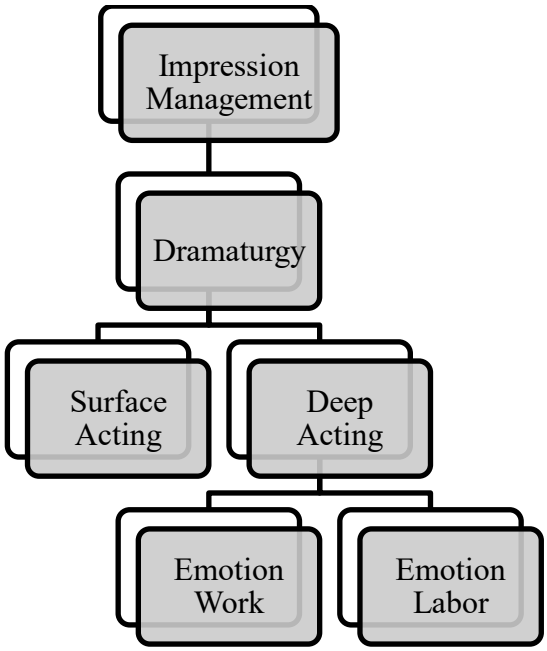

Figure 2.1 *Goffman and Hochschild Theoretical Connections*

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Hochschild (1983) adapted Goffman's (1959) theory of dramaturgy to explain the deep acting flight attendants engaged in during shifts. While sitting in a Delta training session tasked to train flight attendants for handling difficult passengers, Hochschild learned that deep acting

was the preferred coping mechanism that veteran flight attendants used when customers were overwhelming or rude and how they taught new employees to deal with such customers. Some flight attendants shared they pretend the "irate" passenger has an intense fear of flying, while another flight attendant offered that she pretends something traumatic has just happened in the customer's life triggering their behavior. One veteran flight attendant drew from past experience to develop a coping-mechanisms that she shared with the group: "Once I had an irate that was complaining about me, cursing at me, threatening to get my name, and report me to the company. I later found out that his son had just died. Now when I meet an irate, I think of that man" (Hochschild, 1983 p.25). By engaging in dramaturgy to create stories and excuses for the behavior of passengers, flight attendants felt more equipped to manage emotion labor.

Drawing off symbolic interactionism and dramaturgy (Goffman, 1959) Hochschild was interested in the emotional implications of employees practicing forced impression management as an expectation of their job. Goffman's theory of impression management explains behavioral adjustments as a means to control the way you are viewed by other people. Hochschild sought to understand the emotional implications for this altering of behavior in an effort to influence the beliefs of others. She coined the term emotion work to define the management of feeling for private exchange among individuals. The term emotional labor was developed to describe the management of feeling for public exchange.

This study uses Hochschild's (1983) theoretical interpretation and definitions of emotional labor and emotion work as influenced by Goffman's (1959) theory of impression management and dramaturgy. This study will utilize critical incident technique to gather detailed qualitative data about the feelings of individuals working in IPSE programs in a hope to learn

more about the possibility of emotion work or emotional labor in their exchanges with IPSE students.

Empirical Studies of Emotional Labor

As the concept of emotional labor became better known, studies on emotional labor in service interactions (MacDonald & Sirianni, 1996; Stearns, 1988), outside traditional service fields (Morris & Feldman, 1996; Pugliesi & Shook, 1997) and emotional labor interactions in education were researched (Sachs & Blackmore, 2010) and the theory evolved. Pugliesi (1999) proposed that two dimensions of emotional labor exist, self-focused and other focused. Other-focused emotional labor is what was traditionally considered emotional labor, instances like a store clerk masking annoyance at a rude customer and carrying out the transaction with kindness. The second trajectory of emotional labor is self-focused emotional labor and occurs in situations where regular management of emotions is performed. An office atmosphere on a day-to-day basis is an example of self-focused emotional labor. Remembering to organize an office birthday party because it is expected or ensuring everyone feels included in conversation in the break room are examples of self-focused emotional labor. Even though the employee in question has no interest in facilitating friendly conversation or coordinating a break room birthday party and neither task is part of her or his job description, these tasks are expected as part of the ongoing persona of *caring coworker*. This regular performance is ongoing resulting in the constant engagement in emotional labor as opposed to isolated interactions that are the focus of other-focused emotional labor (Pugliesi, 1999). Uncertainties in the life of an individual engaging in emotional labor have an impact on how they interact in work, the manner in which they engage in emotional labor, their takeaways from interactions and how takeaways affect their personal life. (Pugliesi,1999).

The theoretical frameworks of the studies in the empirical table below all use Hochschild' s theory of emotional labor to underpin findings and explore the ways emotion is used in their chosen field of study. Hochschild's theory of emotional labor explains that companies bring private life public by asking or requiring employees to invest emotional capital into jobs (Hochschild, 1983). Studies in the empirical table display variations on emotional labor research that measure emotional input in the workplace in different ways, while consistently returning to Hochschild's theory to ground and orient findings. Elementary education, higher education in the United States, in China, jobs in the American service industry and a career in debt collection are all careers represented in the studies displayed in the table. Though the study environment and data collection methods vary among the studies, all of the careers explored in the studies involve workers engaging in emotional labor to hide feelings of disappointment, appear enthusiastic or stern to others, or assure management teams that they wholeheartedly share in the vision of the company.

Hochschild's study of emotional labor is the starting place for my table and my interest in emotional labor theory as she pioneered the field and began asking the questions that interest me about the emotional exchange required of employees in the workplace. Hochschild was interested in the commodification of human emotion and sought to explore the way individuals in the modern-day workforce were similar to the people that were used in the industrial revolution to keep factories running (Hochschild, 1983). She spoke of the way that poor people were used as a human cog in the wheel of progress, often mistreated and asked to push their limits to function seamlessly in the great machine of the industrial revolution and compared the manual laborer with the modern-day emotion laborer. On the job, emotion management could manifest as appearing upbeat and positive in a frustrating professional-training scenario (Brenes-

Dawsey, 2018) or surface acting to seem gruff and strict in a job at a financial institution (Sutton, 1991). As evidenced in Buckner's (2012) study of emotion labor in adult education settings, adult educators are constantly running a feedback loop assessing the emotional needs of learners and adjusting on the job. These educators simultaneously alter their own emotions on the job while holding true to their goal of facilitating learning and empowering learners.

Hochschild administered a survey to college students to map their experiences masking labor, as a precursor to her Delta Airlines study. Preliminary results from the survey helped her make the decision to study flight attendants in her research. Hochschild chose a sample group of Delta flight attendants to learn more about emotional suppression. Observing flight attendants on the job, hanging out in break rooms with them, attending Delta training school and continuing education were all ways Hochschild dug deeper into the company culture to learn more about emotional labor on the job at Delta. Lastly, she took the time to speak with outside parties that had specific expertise in, or experience working with flight attendants.

It was from this study that the emotional labor theory emerged. Studies following Hochschild sought to understand how emotional labor may or may not be involved in other career fields. Correlations to burnout, emotional exhaustion, job turnover rates and career success rates are angles other researchers have taken in exploring potential correlations between emotional labor in a job and career outcomes (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Jeyng, et. al., 2018; Zhang & Zhu, 2008). Because my research will examine emotional labor in higher education programs, I made an effort to review literature in which Hochschild's theory of emotional labor had been used in an educational setting. Among these studies were those that drilled further into Hochschild's concepts like that of emotional dissonance, while also introducing a new phenomenon gleaned

from a study called emotive effort. (Krumul & Geddes, 2000). Emotional geographies as markers in education were studied to provide a more accurate reflection of how emotion impacts the workings of a classroom (Hargreaves, 2000). In higher education, studies explored how emotional labor affects faculty and student perception of the "customer service" exchanges which occur in higher education (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004).

Positive implications of emotional labor are discussed by Brenes-Dawsey (2018) in a study of teacher education faculty using emotional regulation on the job. This study showed an alternative view of emotion on the job as educators described tough incidents with pride.

Emotional labor in elementary school classrooms is explored as a fourth-grade teacher interacts with a challenging student who experiences behavior and attention struggles (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). The qualitative format the study was conducted in, and the depth of information covered in the study provided a great example of how small sample sizes can indeed yield valuable data that is rich in detail. The primary data generated in this study was gathered via reflective journal entries from the principal investigator, a fourth-grade teacher. Using journal entries, student binders, class recordings, student work and lesson plans gathered over a two-year period provided a varied, spontaneous and rich data reservoir. This study provided an in depth look at one educator's emotional labor experience in the classroom.

A quantitative study on emotional labor and career exhaustion, measured emotional labor using a Likert scale survey to learn if/how emotional labor correlated to career exhaustion and burnout that is said to be linked to high turnover in education (Zhang & Zhu, 2007). This study introduces the cultural implications of emotion in work, taking into account how Chinese culture influences the educators in the study and impacts the role they believe they should play in their job. Educators in this study viewed emotional labor as part of doing their job well and welcomed

the responsibility that emotional labor entails. Zhang and Zhu (2007) found that emotional dissonance and eventual burnout only occurred when surface acting occurred on the job. Frequent engagement in deep acting actually positively correlated with job satisfaction in this study.

Reviewing the empirical literature spurred thoughts about future research opportunities to explore how emotional labor in IPSE programs may correlate with faculty turnover in that area of higher education. The literature provides evidence that emotional labor is often involved in higher education teaching environments (Brenes-Dawsey, 2018; Constanti & Gibbs, 2004; Zhang & Zhu, 2007) and potentially in disability advocacy groups and support service programs for the individuals with disabilities. Learning more about how emotional labor does or does not affect the burnout and turnover rate of faculty in IPSE programs would be valuable information as programs continue to develop and spread to college campuses nationwide.

Table 2.1

Empirical Studies of Emotional Labor

Study	Purpose of Study	Sample	Methodology	Results
Hochschild "The Managed Heart" 1983	Understand emotional labor exchanges expected from Delta airline stewardesses and the effect these exchanges have on them. **Service Industry**	-261 Surveys completed by college students -Interaction with Delta stewardesses (observation, interviews, informal conversation) -People with expertise in different angles in flight attending (sex therapist, union employees, restaurant workers that flight attendants frequented.	**Mixed Methods** Sample was selected because both men and women in the role perform in the same capacity on the job. Delta was selected as the airline company in the sample because of their increased focus on customer service and passenger comfort.	Flight attendants engage in intense emotional labor on the job each day and Delta prepares attendants for this exchange from their first day of training by reinforcing the need for emotional labor and deep acting in the position.
Pugliesi "The Consequences of Emotional Labor: Effects on Work Stress, Job Satisfaction, and Well-Being" 1999	Understand the effects of the two dimensions of emotional labor (self-focused and other focused) and how emotion labor compares with work related demands. Understand what links of any emotional labor has to job satisfaction or stress. **Higher Education**	1114 surveys completed by faculty and staff at an American university. N= 368 Faculty N= 585 Classified Staff N= 161 Service Professional Staff 4 point scale used to measure responses about seven job characteristics.	**Quantitative** Bivariate correlations between job conditions, emotional labor, job reactions and distress	• "Lower job complexity and control associated with higher levels of self-focused emotional labor. • Lower job control is weakly associated with higher levels of other-focused emotional labor. • Higher job demands associated with higher levels of both types of emotional labor. • Self and other-focused emotional labor associated with lower levels of job satisfaction and higher levels of perceived job stress and reported distress. • Self-focused emotional labor has stronger relationships with all key variables than does other-focused emotional labor."
Brenes- Dawsey "Exploring the Teaching Heart: A Critical Incident Study of the Emotional Labor Experiences of Adult Educators" 2018	Explore how adult educators describe and make meaning of emotional labor experience as well as the conditions that give rise to those experiences. **Higher Education – Adult Education**	8 in-depth semi structured interviews were conducted N= 72 critical incidents defined N= 31 critical incidents selected for robust analysis.	**Qualitative** Critical incident technique narratives were used to establish themes that applied across the program.	Resulting Themes • Nurturing Emotional Trust • Cultivating Emotional Awareness: Context of Learning • Managing Emotions: Triggers for Learning

Study	Purpose of Study	Sample	Methodology	Results
Buckner "Engaging Moments: Adult Educators Reading and Responding to Emotions in the Classroom" 2012	Explore how adult educators read the emotions of students, what actions they took to perceive emotions and how emotion is handled in the adult classroom. **Higher Education -Adult Education**	11 in-depth semi structured interviews were conducted N= 47 critical incidents defined	**Qualitative** Constant comparative methodology and poetic inquiry was the vehicle through which data was examined.	**Finding 1**- "The circumstances, occurrences, and events that indicated emotion and served as catalysts for the educators' interventions clustered into two broad categories of communication and uncharacteristic behavior." **Finding 2**- "Upon perceiving emotion in learners, the adult educators in this study acted in ways meant to empower the learners and to facilitate learning." **Finding 3**- "Educators in this study took action based on five broad categories of beliefs."
Constanti & Gibbs "Higher Education Teachers and Emotional Labour" 2004	Learn how teaching staff in higher education, are expected to perform emotional labour in order to achieve the dual outcomes of customer (i.e.. student [1]) satisfaction, and profit for the management. **Higher Education**	**In-depth interviews** **Focus groups in higher education** Perspectives and expectations of the three participants to emotional labour: - manager - front-line employee - customers N= 4 Academic Faculty-unstructured interviews (1 on 1) N= 4 Student Member focus group N= 1 Chief Executive of the college	**Qualitative** In-depth unstructured interviews at a higher education institution conducted Fall-Spring semester. 4 In Depth Interviews 4 Student Focus Group Interview with Chief Administrative Officer	"Performing emotional labour is required both for a successful delivery of service to customers (students), but also as a strategy for coping with the need to conceal real feelings. Demands made by customers and the administration means tensions occur and exploitation potential appears in the unequal distribution of power. Appeals to the dispositional aspects of the emotional labourer do not, reduce the risk of exploitation but rather shift it to that of voluntary exploitation. The research is of value as an aid for the management and support of academic staff in an age of managerialism and to the notion of the student as customer."
Isenbarger & Zembylas "The Emotional Labour of Caring in Teaching" 2006	Identify and describe these emotions and in particular, the "emotional labour" of a caring approach in an inclusive classroom." **4th Grade Teacher**	N**= 1 Teacher:1 Student** *Classroom Info:* "An inclusive class of 22 students with a mix of socioeconomic backgrounds. 4 students had been labelled with learning disabilities (three of these children received support services), 1 was in the cross-categorical program, 2 were in the Title program, and 8 were gifted children."	**Qualitative** Collaborative Action Research Project – 2 years duration Grounded Theory data collection and analysis Case study format between one teacher and one student. *Data sources:* Reflective journal, Student binders, Class notes, recordings & student work, Teacher planning material	"Results from this case study show that this teacher's performance of emotional labour is related to her professional and philosophical stance about the role of caring in teaching and learning. The study also demonstrates that the performance of emotional labour is an important aspect of the reality of teaching and has an impact on teacher's commitment, satisfaction, and self-esteem."

Study	Purpose of Study	Sample	Methodology	Results
Hargreaves **"**Mixed emotions: teachers' perceptions of their interactions with students" 2000	Learn how emotional geographies differ in educators working in elementary and secondary education. Does this difference have a negative effect on learning? **Elementary & Secondary Schools**	N= 53 Interviews 15 schools 60 teachers Mean Age = 40	**Qualitative** Mapping "Emotional understanding and misunderstanding in teaching result from what we term **emotional geographies** of schooling and human interaction Analysis of data from the emotions projects points to Sociocultural, Moral, Professional, Political, Physical geographies	Elementary classrooms places of emotional intensity where personal and physical closeness and expectations of professional warmth = emotional geographies pose risks to consolidating that emotional understanding. Secondary school patterns of school organization and professional norms guiding interactions with students seemed to pose more problems of achieving emotional understanding in the classroom. = The emotional geographies of secondary schooling that posed the strongest threats to emotional understanding in our database seemed to be physical and professional ones.

Emotional Labor in Education

Teaching is a job that ranks high in emotional labor. Emotion labor in teachers is important because it affects the quality of instruction for students and job satisfaction and retention rates of instructors (Sutton & Wheatley, 2003). Emotional labor of female primary school administrators performing daily in their career was studied by Sachs and Blackmore in an effort to understand the toll emotional labor placed on female school administrators striving to appear as calm and collected as a man would appear in the same job. Interview respondents in the study made clear "the schools and classrooms are emotional arenas are, therefore, self-evident. The passions of teaching itself, care for students' welfare, impatience with bureaucracy, exhilaration and joy at students' success, and even grief at the loss of a class at the end of the year are all emotions that are felt keenly by teachers and administrators working in schools" (Sachs & Blackmore, 2010 p.272). Emotional labor in the classroom is not limited to primary education, it occurs in higher education and adult education programs as well (Brenes-Dawsey, 2018; Buckner, 2012) Emotional labor in the classroom is not all bad, studies show that instances of emotional intelligence, ability to understand emotions of others individuals and to manage your own (Goleman, 1995) can be helpful in promoting learning and organizational teamwork (Sardo, 2004) and developing inter-personal sensitivity that can be valuable in the classroom (Dulewicz & Higgs, 2004).

Stress in Disability Services

Much of the research surrounding work in disability service has explored causes of stress, coping mechanisms and burnout among disability services workers without zeroing in on emotion work or emotion labor as a stressor. Still, instances of depersonalization frequently noted in the disability burnout literature (Dyer & Quine, 1998; Innstrand et. al., 2004; Thomas &

Rose, 2010) share similarities with emotion labor (Hochschild, 1983) and deep acting (Goffman, 1959) as disability workers frequently feel the need to display an inauthentic self on the job.

The disability service field is filled with positions that range from medical professionals to genetic counselors, personal attendants, social workers as well as a number of other positions that serve individuals with a disability and families of individuals with a disability. Disability service roles are generally known as stressful due to a combination of factors like understaffing in care facilities and patient management agencies, low pay for workers (Dyer & Quine, 1998) inadequate government funding and high turnover due to staff burnout. Work stress and its relation to burnout has been studied within the context of community living organizations (Thomas & Rose, 2010), programs for individuals with learning disabilities (Dyer & Quine, 1998) and outpatient programs (Emerson et. al., 1999; Innstrand et. al., 2004). Burnout and high job turnover in the disability field is both unsustainable for organizations and may inhibit the progress of the individuals using these disability services programs. High stress jobs take an emotional toll on the employees, depleting them until they are run down and finally leave their job. Some disability work stress studies examine burnout through the lens of Maslach (2003) who broke burnout down into three dimensions 1. emotional exhaustion, 2. depersonalization, 3 and reduced personal accomplishment. Maslach (1999) found that interpersonal stress that were thought to be a problem mainly in human service work, actually spanned many other work realms. In a study of community home care workers, researchers found that emotional exhaustion and depersonalization were associated with increased negative emotions, decreased optimism about their job and a decreased likelihood to go the extra mile in their role (Thomas & Rose, 2010). In a study of staff stress and work satisfaction, bridging the emotional gap between work and home was found to be a serious problem for employees in a disability service role

(Emerson et. al., 1999). The literature notes stress and burnout in disability services as problems wearing on employees and ultimately negatively affecting the field of disability services as a whole due to frequent employee burnout. This research on emotional labor of disability educators, may speak to the "depersonalization" that was mentioned in many of the disability work stress articles discussed here.

Teaching Adults with Intellectual Disabilities

The field of adult education and human resource development has neglected research needs about educating adults with disabilities far too long (Procknow & Rocco, 2016). Just as the field of adult education made space for minorities in the workplace and in classrooms, so must individuals with disabilities be included in the field of adult education. IPSE programs are a step in the direction of inclusion and equality. Although the majority of disability scholars have been personally affected by disability, this fact should not exclude scholars that are not directly affected by disability from adding to the body of knowledge on the topic and advancing the field of disability and adult education. Race and gender research is not limited by the background of the principal investigator in a study; neither should ability, or disability limit research possibilities in this developing subset of adult and disability education (Brooks & Edwards, 1997; Johnson-Bailey & Cevero,1998; Tisdell & Taylor, 1995).

Adult education scholar Tonette Rocco (2011) highlights three reasons adult disability education research should be pursued. Rocco points out that becoming disabled presents learning opportunities for the individual with the disability and their family to learn more about disability, adults learn best when real life situations present them with a challenge they need to learn from (Knowles, 1980). There are increasing numbers of adults with disabilities enrolling in education programs around the globe and traditionally disability has served as a marker that diminished

opportunities that a person enjoyed like work, education, leisure and social activities (Tonette & Delagdo, 2011). IPSE programs are a step in the right direction toward broadening the fields of adult education and human resource development while pioneering a relatively new connection in inclusive education and providing opportunities to a marginalized sector of the country that is too often ignored.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented a review of the foundational and empirical literature on emotional labor in service roles and education which consisted of an examination of emotion work, and emotion labor as well of the implications of each while situating them in the context of education and disability services. The evolution on emotional labor from its roots in impression management and symbolic interactionism were discussed. An introduction to disability history and education and IPSE programs were presented alongside a profile of stress and burnout in disability service. A gap in the disability and emotion labor literature was revealed as an area that this study will fill.

My research will address a gap in the literature by using emotional labor theory as a lens to examine critical incidents of emotional labor in IPSE programs in higher education. Limited research exists regarding emotion in disability education work. The body of research surrounding emotion in higher education disability services is even smaller. These relatively new postsecondary opportunities on college campuses do not yet have data around how emotion of staff working in IPSE programs affect working conditions, staff turnover and may affect program success long term. It is my belief that emotional labor is commonly involved in IPSE work. Learning how emotion is involved in the daily work of staff and mentors in IPSE programs may open doors for further research about turnover rates in the field and teacher satisfaction.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to understand emotion work experiences of individuals teaching, working or mentoring in Inclusive Postsecondary Education Programs IPSE for adult students with intellectual disabilities in higher education. This chapter explores the development of a critical incident model to research emotion work experienced by IPSE adult educators and peer mentors. Emotion work is examined through critical incidents of emotion as experienced by IPSE staff. I discuss Flanagan's (1954) approach to Critical Incident Technique (CIT) and describe how this process was used to examine critical incidents of emotion work in this study. In this chapter I will outline the design of the research study, data collection methods, sample selection, and data analysis procedures that were used.

Research Design

This study took an interpretive qualitative approach using critical incident technique (Flanagan, 1954) with semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1996) as the means of data collection. The research paradigm used in qualitative research is important in informing the context for the research process, and setting the stage for how data will be collected and interpreted (Ary et. al., 2010). A research paradigm is a system of practice used to define the nature of inquiry. The interpretive approach is rooted in the social sciences and holds that people make their own meaning as they interact with the world around them. Because interpretivists believe reality to be socially constructed, interpretive research seeks to understand various phenomena by learning about the meaning that people assign to these phenomena (Deetz, 1996). A basic research

approach that seeks to understand how individuals interact with and react to their environment, an interpretive research paradigm is a natural fit for my research, as observation and interpretation are the primary ways interpretative researchers collect research data.

Because this research paradigm assumes an individual cannot be isolated from its context in the world, interpretive research approaches are ideal for studying phenomena in its natural setting. The researcher takes an active role in the research process through interactive data collection methods and engages with the interviewee to understand the data through the social frame of the interviewee and the setting in which the interview is taking place (Ary et. al., 2010). Reeves and Hedberg (2003) believed the world is understood through the subjective experiences of individuals making sense of personal experiences within particular social settings. The interpretive paradigm seeks to "understand the meaning people make of their experiences" (Ary et. al., 2010 p. 454).

An interpretive approach was a suitable fit for this study as I will worked to interpret meanings behind interviewees' critical incidents of emotional labor. Three major dimensions compose a research framework; epistemology, ontology and methodology (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Fragmenting each of these dimensions helps the researcher better characterize the details of research, the lenses through which they are viewed, and how they will make meaning in the research context.

Table 3.1 *Fundamentals of the Interpretive Research Paradigm*

Feature	**Description**
Purpose of Research	The purpose of my research was to understand emotion work experiences of individuals teaching, working or mentoring in Inclusive Postsecondary Education Programs IPSE for adult students with intellectual disabilities in higher education.
Ontology	○ There are multiple realities, and reality is constructed through human interaction. ○ Human experience varies vastly, thus social realities exist due to the different lived experiences, views and interpretations of the world.

Epistemology	○ Life and world events are understood within the social context and mental framework that an individual has in place that has been influenced by his or her life experiences. ○ Interactive data collection methods are well suited for an interpretive paradigm. ○ Interpretive researchers construct a reality that affects the study while gathering the data through interactions with interviewees
Methodology	○ Common data collection methods are: interviews, reflective practice or reading/writing exercises. ○ Research product is shaped by the researcher's participation in the data collection process and by the values of the researcher.

Qualitative research is an excellent tool for stepping into another world and experiencing a situation through the eyes of another individual. Grasping the context of the situation and interpreting the words of the interviewee at a deeper level is possible through qualitative research as researchers can tune in to understand the tone, facial expressions, body movements and pauses that mean so much in an interview and bring life to the words a respondent is articulating. Qualitative research involves the study of phenomena in its natural setting in an effort to make sense of the phenomena within the context of the surrounding world (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). It has been argued that qualitative research is the best method by which to understand more about human learning (Domegan & Fleming, 2007; Henning et. al., 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Richardson, 2000) and to build a "complex and holistic picture" (Creswell, 1998 p. 14-16). Understanding detailed information about situations like the role of a participant in an event, their perceptions, beliefs or thoughts about an interaction can only be characterized using a qualitative research method (Price, 2002). Examining critical incidents of emotion work in interactions with students requires a study design that allows ample space and opportunity for respondents to explain their experiences, feelings and interactions in detail, making a qualitative research approach the best way to gather the data needed to answer the research questions in this study.

Qualitative research delivers an abundance of important information that is vital to the context of a study that is often bypassed in research using quantitative methods. Qualitative research is “rich and holistic” offering a comprehensive understanding of a research process, allowing the researcher to learn the whole story by isolating themes that emerge in the data (Tracey, 2013 p.5). Another merit of qualitative research particularly important to this study, is that this method allows the chronological flow of a story to be preserved, helping readers understand what events may have contributed to a decision or event; or why an incident happened as it did. Keeping track of chronological flow is an important part of critical incident technique and proved to be of pivotal importance in this study. Using a qualitative research approach gave life and voice to incidents, viewpoints and characters in stories recounted in my research interviews (Tracey, 2013).

A qualitative case study was the best fit for this research, since case studies are particularly well suited to examining a system or program in context with descriptive details. Case studies are an excellent way to examine complex situations in a rich and holistic way, well suited to learning more about the role of emotion in IPSE programs. Merriam (1988, p.21) describes the definition of a case study as “an intensive holistic description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit”. Merriam (2009, p.28) spoke to the importance of “fencing in” what she was going to study, also described as outlines a “bounded system”. Defining the bounded system, defines the case being examined and is an important first step in understanding the size and scope of the study. This study examines three cases, each case or “bounded system” investigates the role of emotion in the work of individuals working in an IPSE program at three universities in the Southeastern United States.

Participant Selection

Selecting study participants is a complicated portion of any research study. Targeting the appropriate people for interviews, observations etc. is a complex early step in designing a study. Ensuring an ample sample size is gathered while controlling for the large amount of detail and data that is provided in a qualitative study is difficult, as is selecting individuals that are knowledgeable about the research topic without being biased. Finding individuals willing to commit the time to participate in a research study, and to engage in the vulnerability required of qualitative interviews were difficulties faced in recruiting interviewees to participate in this study.

A purposeful sampling approach was used to recruit study participants. Purposeful sampling gleans rich and detailed information making it an excellent sampling fit for critical incident studies (Patton, 2015). Purposeful sampling involves using relevant information the researcher already knows about the subject being studied to inform the search for high quality data sources (Ary et. al., 2010). This sampling method was best suited for this study to ensure the IPSE programs studied had similar practices and expectations for students. Although there were differences in some programmatic details, length of program and cohort size, the three universities in this study offered comparable IPSE programs and employed staff members that worked in similar capacities across all three institutions. Purposeful sampling ensured nearly all IPSE staff at each university participated in the study, thus providing a strong representative sample of each program.

My research on the emotion work exchange involved in working in IPSE programs used an interpretive approach to explore critical incidents of emotion labor in the job of IPSE faculty, staff and peer mentors. Research data was collected from faculty members, staff members and

peer mentors supporting IPSE programs at three universities in the Southeastern United States. By sampling each of these groups that work in IPSE programs, more robust data was gathered. Each group has a different touch level with students, working with them in varying capacities (teaching, advising, social skill development and free time) and at different intervals (weekly class interaction, semester advising sessions and daily lunch and free time).

The sample size was twelve interviewees total, composed of a mix of faculty, staff, former staff and peer mentors. All interviewees were female, an accurate reflection of the abundance of women working in IPSE programs and disability education. The interview pool consisted of an ethnically diverse group of women. However, I have chosen not to report specifics about ethnicity in an effort to protect the privacy of interviewees. Interviewees ranged in degree level and educational background with educational expertise that ranged from Art and Special Education to Exercise Science and Recreation Parks & Tourism. Two interviewees were currently pursuing bachelor's degrees, four interviewees held a bachelor's degree as their highest level of educational completion, five had master's degrees and one interviewee had doctoral degrees. Specific information about race and educational background are not included in this dissertation in an effort to protect the anonymity of the interviewees. Because critical incident studies define sample group by number of critical incidents recounted in the interviews and not individual interview respondents, this group of twelve interviewees provided an ample data set of 64 critical incidents.

The universities sampled were chosen based on similar program structure, IPSE student advising, course planning similarity and proximity to the researcher. All programs had a hands-on approach with IPSE students affording the opportunity for students to be part of inclusive classes and take part in mainstream student life on campus. University one employs 6 full time

staff and has approximately 80 volunteer peer mentors. University one enrolls 10 new students annually making the total IPSE program enrollment approximately 40-46 students annually. University two employs 3 full time staff and approximately 60 volunteer peer mentors. University two enrolls around 8 new students annually making the total IPSE program enrollment approximately 16-20 students annually. University three employs 4 full time staff and approximately 30 volunteer peer mentors. University three enrolls around 8 new students annually making the total IPSE program enrollment approximately 16-20 students annually.

IPSE student enrollment varies annually based on the applicant pool, so smaller than average cohort sizes are a normal occurrence. Similarly, undergraduate peer mentor numbers may vary based on the semester and IPSE cohort size. Each university had graduate students that assisted in programing, mentoring, teaching and planning. University two also regularly employs undergraduate interns to work in the program.

Table 3.2 *University Profile*

University One	**University Two**	**University Three**
6 Full Time Staff	3 Full Time Staff	4 Full Time Staff
Approx. 80 Peer Mentors	Approx. 60 Peer Mentors	Approx. 30 Peer Mentors
4-year program	2-year program	5 semester program
Approx. 40-46 IPSE Students Enrolled Annually	Approx. 16-20 IPSE Students Enrolled Annually	Approx. 16-20 IPSE Students Enrolled Annually

Universities in this study have different IPSE program lengths with different levels of inclusion in mainstream university courses. Each program had an internship component focused on exposing students to different interests during their time in the program and helping them build professional skills they can use in a chosen field upon program completion.

Data Collection

Virtual, semi-structured interviews were the data collection method used in this study. The nature of the data necessitated a qualitative research model and data collection methods that

allowed the researcher an abundance of thick description and detail. Initially, data collection was planned for face-to-face sessions at each university. However, the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic interrupted data collection when universities in the United States moved to a virtual model in an effort to maintain social distancing.

Interviews

Interviews were held via Zoom session. This allowed interviewees the security to provide feedback via video call from the privacy of their home and eliminated any worry about other people overhearing confidential interview details. Interview sessions lasted approximately two hours per session. Interviews were recorded via digital voice recorder and data was stored in a password protected folder on the researcher's laptop. Data was transcribed using Trint Audio Transcription Software on the researcher's computer. Interviewees were provided with a list of the interview questions a week prior to the interview session. Reviewing the questions allowed time for interviewees to understand the critical incident technique process and to reflect on the topics to be discussed in the interview session.

Interview questions explored critical incidents of emotion work in interactions in the IPSE program and interview transcripts were be analyzed using Arlie Russell Hochschild' s (1983) lens of Emotional Labor Theory to understand if an emotional toll is placed on individuals working in an IPSE program. Semi-structured interviews maintained organization in the transcripts and encouraged rapport while still allowing space for the interviewee to move the conversation in another direction when recounting incidents, if they so choose. To clarify and reinforce the critical incident model, I took time clarify the details of the interview process at the onset of the interview. I thoroughly explained the CIT process during the interview orientation and again at the start of the interview to the respondent. Flanagan's (1954) definition of a critical

incident was shared to further clarify the types of reflections that the respondent might want to share. Interviews were Zoom recorded and audiotaped to ensure multiple records of the interview were available for consult during the data analysis and coding process. During the interview, targeted follow up questions were asked to ensure the researcher understood the emotional incidents being shared in an effort to reduce confusion during the data analysis process. An interview guide and list of questions is included below. Pseudonyms were assigned to interviewees in an effort to protect anonymity. The pseudonyms in this dissertation are a bit unique as they represent teaches, professors and mentors that have impacted my life and educational trajectory.

Interview Question Guide

1. How long have you been involved in this IPSE Program?
2. How long have you been involved in IPSE work?
3. How did you decide to get involved with IPSE work?
4. What was it like your first day working in this IPSE Program?
5. Tell me about a time when you felt particularly emotional in your role with IPSE students.
   - What happened?
   - 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?
6. I would like you to think about a time when you intentionally suppressed emotion when interacting with IPSE students.
   - What were you doing?
   - What activity was taking place?
   - How would you describe the emotion you did not express?
   - What kind of response did you get from the student/students?
7. Tell me about a time when you expressed authentic emotions in an interaction with IPSE students.
   - 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?

8. Can you describe ways your emotions have changed over your time working in IPSE work?
9. Are there any additional experiences you want to share?

Ensuring Trustworthiness

The question of how to ensure accuracy and trustworthiness in qualitative research is a common concern (Morse, 1999). Concerns that have surfaced about the trustworthiness of qualitative research, question the empirical value of the research, data quality and confirmability of qualitative studies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). While quantitative research is checked for validity and reliability, a different set of safety measures are used in qualitative research to ensure the researcher is conducting a sound study and interpreting the data within a set framework (Amankwaa, 2016). Lincoln and Guba (1985) established a set of criteria that could be used to ensure the trustworthiness of qualitative research. The criteria described four factors (credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability) when at work together would ensure the trustworthiness of a qualitative study.

Establishing credibility is critical to ensuring readers can have confidence in the truths you proclaim in study findings. Credibility is established by persistence in research, visiting sites and conducting interviews multiple times, engaging in peer debriefing, member-checking and triangulation. Conveying transferability of research increases a study's relevance by proving that the data has applicability in other areas. Using thick description as a method by which to deliver detailed accounts of the settings, people and details of the study is a way to ensure transferability in research (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Transparency and confirmability are critical steps in

qualitative research to drop the veil between the research process and the reader. Displaying neutrality in the research process convinces readers that research procedures and processes were fair and that conclusions were reached in truth and not because of bias (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

I ensured trustworthiness in this study by utilizing journaling by annotating interviews in thick description, triangulating data and conducting a final data audit when finalizing my research process. These measures were taken in an effort to ensure the credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability thus ensuring the overall trustworthiness of my study. Data triangulation can be carried out in numerous ways; overall, the goal is to ensure that the data is more rigorously analyzed. This is often done by ensuring data is being viewed and analyzed from multiple perspectives and using multiple data sets to inform a study. Thus increasing the chance that the study conclusion reached is trustworthy. As opposed to triangulation in quantitative research, qualitative researchers use triangulation as a way to ensure robust descriptions and accounts of the study is provided to inform the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Source triangulation, methods triangulation, theory triangulation and perspective triangulation are methods presented by Denzin (1978) and Patton (1999). Each of these types of triangulation examine different aspects of the study in an effort to assure objectivity in each step of the research process.

Source methods and theory/perspective triangulation were used in this study to ensure soundness and truth in the research. At the onset of the study analytical triangulation was used to fine tune critical incident interview prompts to gather feedback on interview questions, and interview technique. Methodologically, I worked to gather detailed interviews from respondents to accumulate complex and descriptive data that informed the research questions. Interviewing a variety of respondents that have served in different roles in IPSE programs with varying

involvement levels in programs produced diverse data, as individuals faced different challenges in their work and had perspectives influenced by their work and challenges. Interviewing people that served in a variety of IPSE roles provided a more comprehensive picture of emotion in IPSE work. Some interviewees served in multiple roles in IPSE work (peer mentor, graduate assistant and later full-time staff member) interviewing people with multiple perspectives on IPSE work helped ensure more trustworthy data by providing a more comprehensive picture of emotion work in IPSE roles across the three programs represented in the study.

Research memoing during interviews helped me sort out hunches, thoughts and follow-up questions in the moment, while creating a research trail that I could refer back to during data analysis. Documenting a clear stream of ideas from entries written throughout the research process to capture my thoughts, questions, and hunches throughout the study was incredibly helpful to the research process ensuring that research inferences were authentic having trickled down through the data. These memos document the experience of collecting, sorting and analyzing data. Ideas can be followed from critical incident technique interview planning to research memos and interview transcription data analysis then finally into study findings. Research memos, observation and interview transcriptions were used to draw out themes of the study using a drill down method that began with assertions about emotion in each IPSE incident recounted then connected them to sweeping themes from which conclusions were drawn about critical incidents of emotional labor in IPSE programs.

Data Configuration

Information gathered through interviews were informed by critical incident technique. Flanagan (1954 p. 9) describes critical incident technique as “a procedure for gathering certain important facts concerning behavior in defining situations”. Critical incident technique grew out

of research during World War II when the Aviation Psychology Program of the Army Air Force developed a set of procedures for the selection and classification of aircrews. Researchers found that by prompting interviewees to recall noteworthy instances (a critical incident) in their work, they received rich and informative data that they may not have gathered if they had conducted interviews in a more direct manner with questions about the leadership ability of certain crewmembers. A method of inquiry originally rooted in industry, military and organizational psychology (Flanagan, 1954) CIT has evolved to fit a plethora of disciplines (McClelland, 1998) and fields offering researchers a way to investigate and explore (Chell, 1998; Woolsey, 1986) fields that engage in behavioral research and qualitative interviews (Ellinger & Watkins, 1998).

An incident is defined as "any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predications to be made about the person performing the act". An incident qualifies as "critical" when it "occurs in a situation where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and where its consequences are sufficiently definite to leave little doubt concerning its effects" (Flanagan, 1954 p. 1).

By asking respondents to lead with an incident, data can be gathered based on a more focused and detailed account of an experience. Flanagan's CIT model contains five steps.

1. Determine the General Aim
2. Develop a plan for collecting factual incidents in the field
3. Collect the data
4. Analyze the data
5. Interpret the information reported within the frame of the activity

Flanagan noted the importance of understanding what the objective of the CIT was prior to beginning the process. This step becomes even more important when individuals in different

positions are weighing in on the process because each stakeholder could have different priorities that stem from their position. This study used an adapted version of Flanagan's CIT model to collect and analyze data, incorporating a cross incident analysis as part of the process as well as cross university analysis. The figure below illustrates the process.

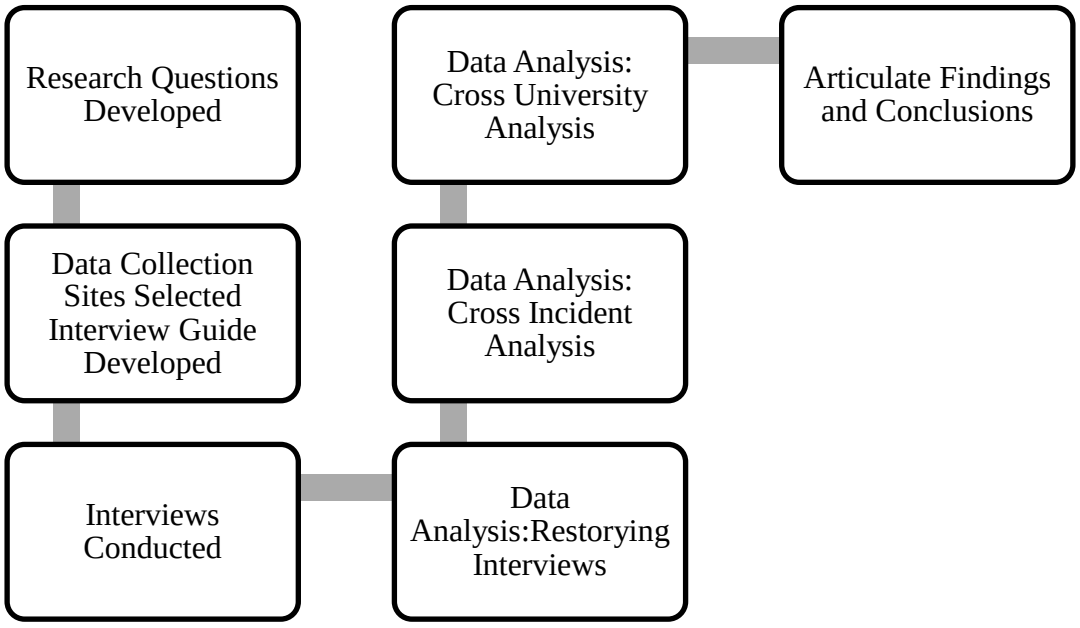

Figure 3.1 *Critical Incident Technique Model*

For this research on IPSE programs, data was triangulated by interviewing staff, program directors, former staff, former graduate assistants and undergraduate peer mentors in IPSE programs. Based on the literature on emotional labor in higher education and the stress imposed on employees in the disability services field I chose slogans following Flanagan's suggestion to choose an objective or "slogan-like" marker to keep in mind when developing critical incident technique question guides. (Flanagan, 1954 p. 337). In the second stage of the CIT process, the researcher decides on a data collection method, puts together a plan for collecting factual information and decides who will be conducting the interviews or observing the process. At this point in my study subject matter experts (faculty, staff, program directors and peer mentors) in three IPSE programs were contacted to schedule interviews while I carefully constructed an

interview script of reflective questions, sought feedback on the questions and revised as necessary.

The third step in the CIT process is actually collecting the data. Flanagan highlighted four data collection methods including group interviews, individual interviews, questionnaires and record forms (Butterfield et. al., 2005). This study utilized semi-structured virtual interviews to collect critical incidents of emotion in IPSE work. Interviews were scheduled via email after orienting interviewees about the study aims, anticipated outcomes, data collection method and any potential risks or benefits that might be associated with participating in the study. Interviewees were oriented on the basics of critical incident technique to better understand the questions they would be asked. They were also provided a list of questions to read and reflect on prior to the interview. On the day of the interview, I recounted the aims, potential risks of the study and explained interview procedure before the interviewee signed the research consent form. Each interviewee consented to have the interview Zoom recorded and audio recorded to ensure data accuracy. The twelve interviews varied in length but usually ran around two hours long. Interviews were transcribed, restoryed and shared with interviewees for a member check.

Next, data was analyzed and categorized into critical incidents by way of sorting and resorting data. As similar incidents occurred across interviews and assertions became more specific, themes were broken down on an even more granular level. As part of the data analysis process, audio files were revisited to recheck accuracy of the incidents, storyline, and details. Video recordings of the interviews were watched to zero in on body language, facial expressions and response rhythms in the interview that might color responses and incidents. Analyzing CIT data is considered by some researchers (Flanagan, 1954; Oaklief, 1976; Woolsey, 1986) to be the most difficult part of the process. Erickson (2012 p. 1462) says that: “In a qualitative analysis,

one wants to discover, through analytic induction, a few general assertions – pattern statements with a wide enough reach that they connect by threads, as it were, to sub-assertions, which ultimately are connected by threads to data bits across multiple sources in the total corpus of information sources." In order to accurately categorize the data and connect these threads, Flanagan suggests researchers determine a frame of reference that makes sense for the topic being researched, formulate categories and determine a level of specificity to be used in reporting the data.

This study used analytical induction as the data analysis method drawing from Erickson's (2012) approach of data screening, coding and naming critical incidents. A virtual card sorting procedure was used to map the data in a Microsoft Excel table, (Marsick & Watkins, 2003) this made data analysis tangible and scannable as the data collection and analysis processes moved forward. The final step of the CIT process is interpreting and reporting the data. Check-ins to ensure trustworthiness in CIT have evolved over the decades and across studies as research areas that use CIT vary. Inter-rater reliability checks, triangulation (Skiba, 2000), reliability panels (DiSalvo et al., 1989) to check categorization of data and member checks among colleagues and peers (Ellinger & Bostrom, 2002) are just a few of the ways in which trustworthiness can be checked in studies using CIT. Triangulation of data, interviewee member checks to ensure the incidents were reported accurately and repeated passes through the interview recordings and transcripts were undertaken to ensure the trustworthiness of this study.

Critical incident technique is suited to qualitative research for several reasons. The descriptive nature of qualitative research, interview as the data collection method and natural setting in which CIT happens are just a few of the reasons a qualitative research format overlaps with the conditions required for retrospective self-report CIT data collection (Chell, 1998).

Critical incident technique was an attractive data collection option for this study because of the added objectivity brought to the research by way of this data collection technique. By utilizing CIT the likelihood of interviewees' responses, being influenced by my interview questions was reduced. Asking interviewees to share a time when they managed emotion in the classroom opened the arena for any number of responses negative or positive, and reduced the likelihood that the response was constructed in a manner to deliver what the interviewee believed the researcher wants to hear. Utilizing CIT is a good fit for a study that has a smaller sample size. The sample in CIT is represented by the number of critical incidents recounted in the data and not the number of respondents interviewed (Watkins et. al., 2018). Qualitative interviews are an avenue to obtaining a rich data set from a relatively small number of faculty, staff and administrators working in IPSE across the region. Because CIT seeks rich and detailed data from respondents, the method is well suited as respondents recount detailed personal incidents from their work in IPSE programs.

Data Analysis

Critical incident narratives were constructed after interview transcripts were restoryed to synthesize details of an incident, the individuals involved in it, the actions taken and emotions felt. After mapping the incident context, conflict, what the interviewee said, did, and felt an assertion was assigned to emotion in relation to that specific incident. This process yielded many stories from interviewees, 64 of which were classified as critical incidents for this study. A subset of 39 incidents were selected for analysis.

Incidents were selected for inclusion based on the depth of description in the story, context provided as part of the incident and the discussion of emotion at play in each story. Funneling the 64 critical incidents down to the 39 most substantive incidents that were analyzed,

involved mapping the flow each individual interviewee incident in detail to pick out the who, what, where and why of the incident and pinpoint the emotion at play in each of those moving parts. Selected incidents were examined through the lens of Hochschild's definition of emotional labor. The 39 critical incidents along with profiles on interviewees is presented in detail in Chapter 4. A comprehensive guide to critical incidents in this study can be found in Appendix A. Table 3.3. provides a brief guide to each of the 39 critical incidents, along with the corresponding participant, title and assertion.

As interviews continued, it was clear that patterns were emerging in the data in relation to the professional role of interviewees and their relationship to emotion in the workplace. Comments about emotion management expectations or emotional safety nets in programs were also prevalent in interviews and tended emerge in patterns in specific programs. For this reason, I chose to take data analysis a step further by performing a cross incident analysis, in an effort to compare similarities and differences in emotion across the three IPSE programs included in this sample.

Table 3.3 *Selected Critical Incident Narratives*

Incident #	Participant	Title	Assertion
1	Howard	An Enormous Amount of Pressure	Emotional labor is reoccurring in IPSE work
4	Howard	That was Some Rough Stuff	Emotional labor is reoccurring in IPSE work
6	Howard	The Elevator Ride	Emotion work is sometimes a liability
7	Howard	Do They Realize What They're Doing?	Emotion work is sometimes a liability
9	Nettles	Sliding Doors	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
10	Nettles	I Had To Suppress My Emotions	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
12	Nettles	We've Never Seen You So Upset Before	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
13	Gowen	You Can't Want It More Than They Want It	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make

15	Gowen	Its ok, I can See It, I'm Gonna Respect That	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
17	Berry	I Managed to Keep It Together	Staff regulate emotion to empower students
18	Berry	You Are That Person	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
21	Berry	I Came From That Emotional Piece	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
22	Berry	Do Not Cry, Do Not Let Him Think You Are Losing It	Emotion in IPSE work makes staff question their abilities
23	Wurst	I Had Tears In My Eyes	Emotion as a motivator
24	Wurst	Waterworks	Emotion work is an investment
26	Jordan	It Was So Traumatic	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System
27	Jordan	I Saw With my Own Eyes	Emotion as a motivator
28	Jordan	Capital P P*****	Staff take emotional situations home with them
30	Fouraker	A Different Level of Stress	Staff take emotional situations home with them
31	Fouraker	I Felt Like I Failed	Staff regulate emotion to protect students
32	Fouraker	You See the Ignorance	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System
33	Fouraker	It Broke My Heart	Emotion as a motivator
35	Edwards	What Did I Do to Deserve That?	Staff take emotional situations home with them
36	Edwards	I Can't Be Here Right Now	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
37	Edwards	Leaving a Stamp	Staff regulate emotion to empower students
39	Ryles	Being a College Girl	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
43	Ryles	I Was In Helping Mode	Staff regulate emotion to protect students
44	Ryles	Internally in the Moment, I'm like, Oh Gosh	Staff regulate emotion to protect students
47	Lacy	That Was A Shift for Me	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System
48	Lacy	I Felt Pretty Exhilarated and Confident	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
50	Lacy	Mother Mode	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
52	Lacy	I Could Be a Light for Him	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
54	Davis	So Full of Joy	Emotion as a motivator
56	Davis	I was Devastated, It was Really Hurtful	Staff take emotional situations home with them
58	Davis	I'm Holding You Responsible	Suppressing emotion takes a toll
60	Davis	Opening the Door	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System
61	Taylor	The Relief Came Later	Emotion as a motivator

62	Taylor	Why Does He Have to Do This To Me?	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
63	Taylor	His Inactivity Would Stress Me Out	Staff regulate emotion to empower students

Researcher Bias

Although I strived to avoid biases, this subjectivity statement is provided to be as transparent as possible and name any potential biases that might influence my work as a researcher. I have life experiences that have shaped my view of emotion work and disability education. The context of my research is incredibly important to me as I consider myself a disability advocate and a proponent of inclusive education models for learners with a disability. Past experience working with intellectually disabled adults in an institutional setting and sheltered workshop setting have influenced my beliefs about inclusion and disability normalization. I attended college at one of the locations my data is being collected, earning several degrees while also being employed at the university. I have worked closely with faculty members in my last two jobs at the university. In my first job, I worked directly with undergraduate students in an advisor and mentor role. This work provided hands-on experiences with students some of which were emotional for me to deal with. Emotional situations students shared with me ranged from failing a course, to sharing fears about mounting debt, relationship problems with their spouse or even the illness of their child. My work as an advisor impacted me profoundly and sparked my interest in emotion work and emotional labor.

Educational research hits home for me, as I am the wife of a teacher and have numerous family members employed in primary education. Over the years, I have witnessed each of them bringing home the emotional baggage of the job. Be it an emotional toll associated with a death in a student's family or an emotional high caused by a student being accepted to their number

one college pick or winning an extracurricular contest. I know how much personal energy and emotion teachers invest in their students and these experiences could influence the subjectivity of my research.

Methodological Limitations

Qualitative research is well suited to provide detailed descriptions of individual experiences represented in a research study. Qualitative inquiry is the only method by which we could truly understand the detailed stories of emotion in IPSE work. However, the generalizability of qualitative research is a methodological limitation worth mentioning (Wolcott, 2001).

Chapter Summary

This study used a qualitative case study approach to explore critical incidents of emotion work in IPSE staff on three college campuses across the Southeastern United States. Interviewees were recruited through a purposeful sampling approach in an effort to have the majority of each university's IPSE staff participate in the study to provide a holistic picture of emotion work in the program. The universities included in the case study offer IPSE programs similar in size and type and are located in the same region of the United States.

Twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with program directors, staff, former staff, former graduate assistants and undergraduate peer mentors yielding a sample of 64 critical incident narratives, 39 of which were included analyzed in this study. After audio recordings of interviews were transcribed, critical incidents were restoryed and assertions were developed about emotion in IPSE work. Restoryed incidents were shared with interviewees for a member check to confirm reliability prior to data analysis.

CHAPTER 4

Participants and Critical Incident Narratives

The purpose of this study was to understand emotion work experiences of individuals teaching, working or mentoring in Inclusive Postsecondary Education Programs IPSE for adult students with intellectual disabilities in higher education. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with twelve participants that work or have previously worked in IPSE programs at colleges across the region. Participants work in variety of roles as volunteer mentors, staff, faculty and graduate assistants or have worked in a blend of these roles during their time in IPSE. A total of 64 critical incidents were recounted in the interviews and 39 incidents were selected for presentation and analysis here. Brief introductory backgrounds of participants are provided in this chapter along with selected critical incidents. While critical incident narratives have been constructed from raw data, exact phrases of participants are represented in italics.

Participants and Critical Incidents

The twelve participants in this study were faculty, staff, volunteer student mentors and graduate assistants working in IPSE work at three colleges. All participants were female and ranged in age from early 20s to 50s. While participant's training and professional background varied, they all had prior experience in disability work or special education. Participant's past roles included work in recreational therapy, occupational therapy, volunteer work at churches and the Special Olympics, work as a university resident assistant for students with a disability and work in special education at both public and private schools. Years of experience in IPSE

work ranged from under a year to eleven years among participants. Table 4.1 details more information about participants in this study.

Table 4.1
Demographic Profiles of Participants Supplying Critical Incidents

Pseudonym	Age Range	Role	Years in IPSE Work	Years in Current Role With IPSE	Years in Disability Work
UNIVERSITY ONE					
Howard	Mid 50s	Director	10	10	30+
Nettles	Mid 30s	Staff	7	7	10
Gowen	Mid 30s	Staff	4	4	20+
Berry	Mid 30s	Staff	1.5	1.5	11.5
UNIVERSITY TWO					
Wurst	Mid 40s	Staff	3	3	15
Jordan	Early 30s	Staff	3.4	3.4	5
Fouraker	Late 20s	Staff	3	1	7
Edwards	Late 20s	Staff	3	.5	3
Ryles	Early 20s	Student Mentor	4	4	8
UNIVRSITY THREE					
Lacy	Early 30s	Staff	4	4	5
Davis	Mid 20s	Graduate Assistant	4	2	4
Taylor	Early 20s	Student Mentor	4	4	8

University One

The first university included in this study is a public university in the Southeastern United States. The IPSE program at this site has been in operation a little over a decade and offers students an opportunity to develop life and career skills during the four-year program. Interviewees from this university included the program founder and current director, student support coordinators and a student mentor coordinator. Interviewees had diverse backgrounds in

special education, occupational therapy and recreational therapy with nearly twenty-three years of collective IPSE experience.

Howard

Howard is a female in her middle 50s with a decade of experience in IPSE. Howard's work as an IPSE program director was quite a shift from her previous experience in K-12 special education work. With a BS in special education and over twenty years of experience in disability work, Howard was excited to have the opportunity to plan and staff an IPSE program to serve students that were falling through the cracks after leaving public school. Initially hesitant to move into uncharted territory in a school without IPSE, Howard was persuaded to begin her career in IPSE work at the urging of friends in higher education and former students. When a former student reminded Howard of an earlier conversation about his desire to attend college, she knew she had to step up and make a difference. "You promised me that if you could make it possible for me to go to college- you would" he reminded Howard. So, with a ticking grant clock and no additional program staff, she began her journey into IPSE work.

Emotionally, Howard's work was full of challenges navigating campus culture, program structure, student support and work load, particularly during the early days of the program. She spoke to the shock of meeting rude faculty that opposed the program and anxiety about planning for the future of the program and securing funding. Howard recognizes the importance of bringing emotion to the forefront of conversations with the program staff and holding space for discussion and decompression. Howard's selected critical incident narratives are included here.

Incident 1: An Enormous Amount of Pressure

In the first cohort of students a new student was overwhelmed with the opportunity to go to college after 5 years of sitting home doing nothing after graduating from public school. [The

student] *was crying a lot* [happy tears]. *He kept saying, "I finally have a chance to live a life." His parents were crying and there were a lot of tears from everybody. The grant* [would last for] *three years* [not long enough to cover the planned four years of the program]. *I knew at that point I had two years left of funding.*

I was telling everybody that this is a four-year program. I just knew it would be. I didn't know how, but I knew it. People kept reminding me, you only have this much money left. So, there were a lot of tears from me. It was just very emotional that we're actually going to do this... And an enormous amount of pressure to be successful. There's a lot of pressure in that respect. But I mean, you're very driven by the people who are standing in front of you saying, "I have a chance to live a life."

Incident 4: That was Some Rough Stuff

Some professors were very passionate about their disability inclusion beliefs. They were not open to integrating IPSE students into their classrooms. I had someone go to the president to try to have me fired. [This was not a faculty member that was partnering with the IPSE program for classroom inclusion, just a faculty member that fundamentally opposed the program.] *No action* [was taken] *from the president because he supported the program.*

And all of that was.... I mean, I cried. That was -that was some rough stuff. I just never had anybody try to get me fired before. I think part of why that was so emotional is because I broke my contract with the school district and I knew I couldn't teach [in the state again for several years] *because I broke my* contract [moving to start this IPSE program]. *And so now it was my job* [on the line]. *That was one thing that was a little bit more emotional.*

Incident 6: The Elevator Ride

I was in an elevator with a woman [I'd never seen before] *and she's like, "are you that* [IPSE] *woman?" I said "I suppose so". She said "you should not even be here, you have no right to be on this campus." I just kind of looked at her shocked and then I got out of the elevator. I don't even know if it was my floor. I just got out. Yeah. I was SO shocked because usually people are mean in the email they're not as snarky to your face.*

Three or four years later. Some very, very wealthy person who had given a lot of money to her department wanted their student to come into the program. And she sent me an email. "I told them that I know you and I can setup some stuff". I guess she forgot about the elevator ride, but I remember.

Incident 7: Do They Realize What They're Doing?

A student had a toilet problem- her mom had done lots of fundraising for the program and felt like she should get quick service when her daughter wanted/needed something. I showed [the student] *how to plunge the toilet. Then it backed up again the next day. I showed her three or four times, but it kept backing up. I said, "I think we might be past the point where it's you". I said, "don't use the toilet, use this other toilet". She didn't use it and it still backed up. I said, this is a residence hall issue. I taught her how to put in a* [maintenance request] *ticket to have your toilet looked at.*

Her mother kept emailing me her toilet doesn't work. She has to go next door- her toilet doesn't work. I kept telling the girl, you need to tell your mom that you filed a ticket and you're going next door. Her mom called the provost's office. The second phone call from that same cohort [telling the provost] *that I refused to plunge this girl's toilet. The provost called me and I was like, "well, I'm not a plumber".* [The student] *was fine, she loved the people that lived next*

door. I think she really liked the excuse to go over there. [The neighbors said] *"you can absolutely use our* [toilet]*". It was a plumbing issue* [on that side of the residence hall] *there was nothing I can do about it. That was the second cohort we had on campus. I remember thinking do they realize what they're doing? Because any of these calls could shut our program down. We weren't a full-fledged program at that point. We were still on grant money.*

Nettles

Nettles is a female in her middle 30s with seven years of experience working in IPSE. Prior to entering her role as support coordinator for an IPSE program, she obtained a M.A.T. in special education and worked in special education at a public high school. Driven by a desire to better understand trajectories for individuals with a disability after leaving high school, Nettles began a career in IPSE work. While she finds the juxtaposition of special education in public school and IPSE programming refreshing, she spoke to the emotional significance of understanding what an impact you can make in IPSE work and how much students depend on you. Incidents recounted in the interview highlighted a frequent need to manage emotion in the moment when engaging with a student, and often to suppress initial feelings of emotions that arise in staff members. Nettles' selected critical incident narratives are included here.

Incident 9: Sliding Doors

[One of our new IPSE students] *did sorority recruitment,* [she] *was really nervous. Went back and forth with me over the summer about whether to do it, whether to stay on campus when she was doing it. She decided she wasn't going to stay on campus* [during recruitment week]. *A lot of times you meet a lot of these other freshmen by staying on campus because you are the only ones there essentially* [during recruitment]. [Me] *Convincing her to stay on campus during*

this recruitment week was really impactful for her because she developed this group of friends prior to even school starting.

She ended up really hanging out with her [new friend] *at dinner time and lunchtime because the dining halls were closed. They had to find places to eat together. So, she was in the same place as this girl* [new friend] *where they didn't know anybody and they didn't really know* [the city] *very well. So, had she gone home and eaten with her family every night. She never would have developed these relationships. She ended up getting to the last day* [of recruitment] *with was way more* [bids] *than any of the girls that she had become friends with throughout the recruitment.*

At the end of the year, she was like, "Thanks for the push that you gave me at the beginning of the year". "If I didn't do recruitment, I don't think I'd be where I'm at right now". She's living in the sorority house next year just like a typical student. Realizing that, just a simple text of, "you know, you're free to do what you want, but I really think that you should stay on campus" [made the difference].

What made it emotional is I didn't…my one sort of nonchalant of "you should stay on campus", really has changed her life, has changed everything for an entire year. Realizing that, texts that I don't necessarily always think a ton about, really can change... It's like the sliding doors where it's like you make one choice and your life changes this way and you do something different and your life is this way. Realizing, the actual impact that certain things that I say really do have on these students' lives... And how impactful it was for her when I said I really recommend you staying on campus.

Incident 10: I Had to Suppress My Emotions

We had a student who came from a very affluent family. [He] *used to borrow money from friends all the time then wouldn't pay it back. Actually, that was one of his big social issues is that he didn't realize the impact it had. Our grad assistant will randomly go to events and take a couple students. So, there was a Halloween event that was like $40 to go to. She planned to take some students, this student, was told prior to going "you can't go if you spend all of your money, it's $40". "Do you have the money?" He stated he had the money, got there his credit card was declined.*

He called his family [from the event] *he kind of put the phone in the* [grad student's] *ear. His dad was like, "can't you just pay for him?". So, she was put in a very difficult situation where she ended up paying for him, but then couldn't pay for her cell phone bill.* [Later] *I spoke to the grad assistant because she had informed me that, he had never paid her back. She was late on her cell phone bill. She was like, you can share with the student that I can't pay these bills.*

[Talking with the IPSE student later] *I had to suppress my emotions of, "I can't BELIEVE that your dad would put her in this situation". To teach him, this is what calling* [and] *having your dad talk to her- this is how you're gonna be perceived for the rest of [your] life.* [I told him] *just because somebody says that they'll do something,* [it] *could be because they're embarrassed to tell you that they don't have enough money.* [We talked about] *Understanding the situation you put people in. We departmentally handled it with family about why you can't ask the graduate assistant to pay for your student. Because we're trying to teach them if they don't have money, they can't do things. I kind of had to suppress my emotions* [when emailing the parents] *of how could you put another student in this situation?*

Incident 12: We've Never Seen You So Upset Before

It was a group of like three girls. Two girls were picking on [a third girl] [the bullies] *had been bullied themselves* [in high school]. *I can think of one student in general who would pick on* [the] *student because she had speech difficulties. When interacting with them and telling them why this is inappropriate, I wouldn't say that I lost my cool, but I usually am very, very even toned. Seeing how they tore this one individual down. Speaking with them about how they really have made it so this girl wanted to go home. Getting them to recognize- now you are the one that is causing the same pain that you felt years ago and you're causing this for another individual in your program. I would say that it all became a teachable moment.*

I told them, you guys are supposed to be, *air quotes* *"your safe zone" where you're not judged. Because at this point, you all know you have disabilities. You all know you're here for the same end goal, for the same reasons. You all have social deficits. You all are learning things. So, you're supposed to be the group where you can let your guard down a little. Now this person is feeling like they have no safe place when they're just sort of getting their feet wet with this college thing.*

It was difficult to modulate my emotions because I had seen the toll it had taken on her [bullied girl]. *My first inclination was like, "oh my gosh, what are you guys doing!?". They remarked, on, "we've never seen you upset before". For me, it was very emotional and why I got that way, because I knew this particular student's background and everything she had been through to get to where she was, at…It was a little bit more emotional to me because I'm like, oh, my gosh, if she leaves, you know, what is going to necessarily happen?*

Gowen

Gowen is a female in her middle 30s with four years of experience in IPSE. Her work as Mentor Coordinator involves student mentor training, and pairing mainstream student mentors with IPSE students. In prior professional roles she harnessed her BA in recreation, parks & tourism to focus on recreation therapy within disability education. Gowen has a history with disability inclusion, having attended a partially inclusive school where she was paired with a buddy for inclusive courses and social activities. Looking back, Gowen shared that she sees the program impacted her career trajectory. When asked about emotion in IPSE work, Gowen shared experiences about learning how to balance her desire for student success with student willingness to engage and grow. She spoke to the high highs of IPSE work and the joy of watching a student thrive. Emotionally, Gowen discussed the need to equip yourself for IPSE work and how an interdisciplinary staff in the program works to hold emotional space and support each other. Gowen's selected critical incident narratives are included here.

Incident 13: You Can't Want It More Than They Want It

I did a lot with the socialization and social skills training and instruction and things like that for any additional support that the students need. I had a student who was actively resistant to feedback, lying. And ultimately sabotaging relationship after relationship. They were being resistant to it [advice and feedback], *but then they were actively making choices that then ruined these relationships. Then they would be understandably upset because these relationships were never working.*

There has to be a level of them wanting it and being willing to hear that feedback, because if not, then why are they there? I remember feeling quite frustrated that not only was [my] *feedback being ignored. But having to suppress it because there is that level of, 1. that's*

their self-determined choice. They don't have to listen to my feedback if they don't want to. And then 2. that, you can't want it more than they want it.

So…having to, in a sense, suppress the level of frustration that I was feeling. But allowing myself to still professionally let them know that that was what was happening, that they had been given feedback, they had demonstrated an understanding of that feedback and that they were actively choosing to do something afterwards- which was self-determination. But that, that was leading to the results they were upset about. And that ultimately continued this process.

Incident 15: Its ok, I can See It, I'm Gonna Respect That

[In a one-on-one student meeting] *I could see them just shutting down and just feeling kind of attacked or beat up. It wasn't so much what I was saying, as much as I was like a third person to kind of hit a topic that they were just like "ugh" so I could see them becoming physically agitated.*

We just stopped. That's what I said. "I was like we're just gonna stop. Like, I'm not gonna say anything else. You tell me when you're ready." We sat there for about five minutes and they just kind of looked at the ground and took deep breaths. [He or she] *raised their voice a little bit. I could see that agitation they were feeling. I was like, you know, we're not going anywhere. The point that I was making was as important. I felt like that processing that emotion in the moment. It's OK, I can see it, I'm gonna respect that.*

[Prepping to navigate emotion in the moment] *Okay, let me take my deep breath and think about this before I go in there to make sure that I'm approaching it in the most appropriate. Because you want it to be effective when they walk out that they understood your message. There's definitely some prep time ahead of time. It's reading that emotion on someone's face and matching their words to the body language. It's all these different things and being able to pick*

up on it. It's anticipating the perspective that someone would have when you say or do something. It's so layered and complicated that yes, it's a lot of what we do and then you throw in the element of disability and where the person is in processing that, understanding it, accepting it, their family's acceptance [of it]. *All those layers that can come with it can make it even more complicated.*

Berry

Berry is a female in her 30s with a background in occupational therapy. She utilizes her MS in occupational therapy in her professional role as a student support coordinator where she works with students during their sophomore year in college. Berry joined the IPSE program a little over a year ago following a decade of experience working with high school students with disabilities in a hospital setting. Berry shared stories of emotional interactions with students as they grapple with challenges of growing up. She shared instances of emotional regulation in the moment and the decision to express authentic emotion with student when the moment and context felt right. She spoke to the unexpected challenges of disability inclusion and outreach on campus with faculty and staff that are sometimes unwilling to include IPSE students as students in their course. Berry's selected critical incident narratives are included here.

Incident 17: I Managed To Keep It Together

In our career class we were talking about.... Kind of how people perceive them. A lot of students were sharing what it was like in high school. The experiences they had being in special ed. or the experiences they had being isolated or in self-contained classrooms. There were some tears from some of the students. It was just this big moment where everyone was sharing.

I just kind of stepped back a little and let them share because you don't want to insert yourself too much when they're that cohesive as a group, they can encourage each other to

share. So, I just kind of stepped back in that aspect and let them continue to share. That was a really emotional moment. Not only the stories they were sharing, but how they were all connecting to each other and sharing because of someone else's story.

I managed to keep it together [emotionally]. *We were in a u shape* [in the classroom]. *So, I was on the side, I could kind of like look away if I had to. But I got that kind of little lump in my throat during that moment. I think because that was their story. I wanted to just honor that time that they were sharing. You know what I mean? Like it's not about me, it's about you. I'm going to try to hold this together and just be respectful and listen, and thank them for sharing.*

Incident 18: You Are That Person

I [could] *tell* [this student outside my office] *was waiting to have this meeting with me. She pulled her phone out and she had a list of things that she wanted to talk about. One of* [the things on the list] *was feeling really lonely. She kind of broke down in tears and was expressing that she didn't feel like she had anyone and she didn't know who to talk to.*

It made me feel like she was waiting right outside my office because she desperately needed to talk to someone. And that was a really hard moment because to know that you are that person when nobody else is there... You are the person, you are the one that she's waiting to talk to, that she's been writing down in her notes section on her phone that like I need to talk to [my coordinator] *about all these things, that… that's pretty significant.*

That was one of the situations where I really did kind of try to hold things back because she was so emotional. Typically, my response is when people come in and are [in a] *really, really high emotional state, I try to meet them at a much lower place. I try to keep it calm. I try to give them a much lower energy so that they can kind of sound off as they need to, to me. So that was one where I just was- just really listening and trying to take it in.*

Although inside it was heartbreaking because you can see how devastated she was and I didn't want her… There is a balance too where you don't want to, like, feed into those feelings, right? You don't want to just keep wallowing in this idea. So, I was trying to keep it, keep a clear head so I could give her concrete suggestions. So, in that moment, I kind of turned on my...my mode of let's make a plan. And that's what helps me get through it, too, is knowing if you walk out of my office with a plan, then you don't have to feel like you're always going to feel this way.

Incident 21: I Came from That Emotional Piece

A student was planning on meeting a match from an online dating site for the first time alone at the date's home. She had mentioned meeting a guy at his place for an online dating thing. They'd been talking and they were gonna meet for the first time at his place. In our official meeting, I was like, "OK. Yeah...." She's like, "I know, I know, maybe I shouldn't do that". We went through all the rules of, like, you know, online dating. And she kind of was like, sure, sure, I get it.

But then I called her like an hour later and I was like, "listen, I just I feel nervous". "I just want you to know that I feel really nervous and I don't want anything to happen." "I'd really like you to pick a neutral place." She was like, you know what? You're right. I think that got to her. I came from [authentic concern] *instead of coming from-the rules. You should do this, this and that. I came from that emotional piece of, hey, listen- I'm really worried and it makes me uncomfortable that you're gonna do this. I think that only comes with rapport and that comes with trust and knowing each other like, hey, I'm not saying this to get you in trouble. I'm genuinely worried about what choice you're making and I want you to be safe. I think she respected that a lot more.*

Incident 22: Do Not Cry, Do Not Let Him Think You Are Losing It

We meet with the professors to explain the students that are in their classes and what modifications they might need. This professor was probably the most rude anyone's ever been to me in my CAREER. He was annoyed that we had requested meetings. He thought that he had too many students. He said, "what's the point?" I [told him] *what the modifications* [were]-- *I suggested a modification. I said, "are you comfortable with that?" He said, "I mean, what do I care?" It was just it was very dismissive of the students. It was dismissive of their role in the college.*

It was one of my first professor meetings, so I didn't necessarily have the legs to stand on as far as [knowing] *all the aspects of the program and how we do things. I was so angry, I felt my eyes water- when I get frustrated, it almost looks like I'm crying but my eyes water. I was like, do not cry. Do not let him think that you are losing it. I just kind of had to keep going. I was very professional and like, overly professional where you kind of go into that like. "OK, sir, thank you so much. I appreciate that feedback" and blah, blah, blah. I went into that like customer-service-mode. I just had to take it and be professional and make sure that I was an appropriate representation of the program and shook his hand at the end and left. Then was so, so, so mad.*

I got out of that meeting and ran into a co-worker's office and just cursed for an extreme amount of time. *laughter* *I think finally when I went into her office, I actually started crying because I was so mad that there were people that- would have these* [dismissive] *opinions* [of individuals with a disability]. *He had these just very upsetting opinions. The way he interacted with me was SO dismissive, to be so disrespectful of someone. I'm used to at least having some sense of like professional respect… I think a lot of professors think that us coordinators are like*

moms that just are bored at home and want to help people. So, there's not a lot of professional respect.

I was so upset, I remember that day thinking, OK, maybe I can't do this. If people are going to be this terrible. I don't know if I can do this. That was [a time] *where I had to suppress emotion.* [Feelings now hearing the IPSE students comment positively on the professor] *I think knowing deep down that that's what he thinks of* [the IPSE students], *it's hard to let them.... They're like "oh he's not so bad!" I just --I hate that he gets to hold that opinion of them. I mean, it's frustrating, but I know he's not the only one. That's kind of heartbreaking that there are people that don't think programs like these should exist. That's really devastating to me to think that people are so dismissive just without knowing anything about what we do.*

University Two

The next university included in this study is a public land grant university in the Southeastern United States. This research-intensive university has welcomed several cohorts of students, this IPSE program has been in operation for around five years offering an immersive college experience for students during the two-year program. Interviewees from this university included academic staff, student support staff, former program staff and an undergraduate student mentor. Interviewees had professional training in special education, human development and family science, higher education administration, early childhood education and exercise and sports science. Collectively interviewees had nearly seventeen years of IPSE experience.

Wurst

Wurst is a female in her middle 40s with a PhD in special education. Prior to moving into her role as academic director of an IPSE program, she worked in special education in a public

high school. Wurst focused specifically on transitions in special education in her last role, working as students moved from middle to high school or assisting in high school student's move into the workforce. Her current role puts her in contact with faculty from across the university as she forges relationships with academic departments for course placement of IPSE students.

Wurst shared the triumphs and stresses of her work in our conversation. While she spoke to instances of suppressing emotion, guarding emotion and sometimes becoming frustrated in her role she felt that all these instances were just part of the job. She acknowledged that situations in her work can be tough but believes emotion is part of the nature of the work. "If this was easy, everybody would have an IPSE program." "You know, moving the needle is not easy…It's not easy work." While she acknowledges emotion work is just part of the job, Wurst also spoke to high burnout rates in disability work and questions about her longevity in the field. Wurst's selected critical incident narratives are included here.

Incident 23: I Had Tears In My Eyes

I worked at length with a student to prepare him for a group project in a wildlife course. It's a policy class. Our student was put in a group for the project. Basically, it's like a board hearing about a policy and his was about like the removal of a dam somewhere in South Georgia. I was going to modify it for him so that he only had a little piece to do but he wanted to do what he was assigned. So, his professors were like, absolutely, let him do it. We'll work with you. So, we've been on calls with them getting him ready. He's practiced all week. I made him cue cards. We came up with his policy statement. He was the Chattahoochee River Keeper. That was his role on the board hearing this morning. He had all his background information pulled

together, he had his questions pulled together. He also stutters. So, we had worked on fluency and breathing-the more he practices obviously, the less he stutters.

This morning, he presented his piece and I got to be on Zoom to watch it. I had tears in my eyes. I was like, this is such a beautiful thing, like [78 students] *all these students just working alongside them. There is a place for him here at the university in Wildlife and Fisheries, there will be a job and he won't need to have a four-year degree. He could make connections and have opportunities through our program that he never would have had sitting on the sofa after graduation. I mean, I felt like the student's mom. I was like, I'm so proud of you. I'm so proud of you for the way the growth that you've shown in the past two weeks, the amount of practice that you put in this. We had all these learning moments, we worked on a professional email like a follow up to his professors, thanking them for their time.*

There are just all these opportunities that you have in an IPSE program that you're not going to get if you were [job training at] *Goodwill. You're not going to get if you are job shadowing somewhere. That's the kind of stuff you know, no matter what kind of data collection we do, it's hard to capture those moments. Today was just one of those moments I have moments like that, like I can't imagine doing anything else. But then that's not the* [always the] *reality.*

Incident 24: Waterworks

In our first cohort, one of our students whose parents were more supportive around his independence than our other students. He came to our program very shy, very insecure, and had experienced a lot of bullying in his high school experience. One of his first classes he took, they had to do a problem solution project. I tried to make that really real for our students. We didn't just pick something [random] *we picked something they needed to work on. Then we really implemented the plan. For him it was driving, what he picked for his problem solution project.*

We went through this whole plan, he's going to log this many hours. We got the DMV manual. Long story short, semester ended in May. He did fantastic in that class, was always supported. He just finished the class, that was the culminating project and he presented it in class and was talking about how he was still logging his hours and how he had been practicing. We had been doing practice tests and going through the manual and stuff. Then that was it. They never told us that he was going to take his test.

Then he emailed us in July that he got his driver's license and was driving independently. So, he sent us an email. I don't have student's cell phone numbers, so I can't call them. I have them on remind101. I may still even have the remind101 message. So of course, I immediately sent him a message and was just like - I'm so proud of you. Of course, you got your driver's license. You've put in all the work and you know, that kind of thing. It was like waterworks [for me]. *I was just like, oh my gosh... It was something his mom said. Like she NEVER thought he would drive! He didn't have the want-to, the intelligence was there, his ability was there. But then you get on a college campus. You see the freedoms that brings getting yourself to and from. Then his parents got him a car then he just drove himself to college every day instead of his mom dropping him off.*

Jordan

Jordan is a female in her early 30s that worked in an IPSE program for a little over three years. Jordan holds a BSED in early childhood education and worked with individuals with a disability in informal and volunteer roles prior to being hired as program coordinator in an IPSE program. Joining the staff as the program began, offered an opportunity to build a multi-faceted program that served IPSE students as they prepared to enter the world post-graduation. However,

it also bombarded Jordan with stress as she worked to juggle the emotions of students, parents and mentors while blazing a trail in the program.

Ultimately, Jordan left her job for a myriad of reasons but the situation might be articulated as a stressful and unstainable work environment. When commenting on her decision to leave the IPSE world after repeatedly asking for additional support in her role, Jordan shared. “If we were to boil a very complex decision down to like one distilled reason that's it…I am really sad that I had to leave that job. But it wasn't going to get any better.” Jordan shared stories of intense emotion labor in her role and how it impacted her personal and professional life. Stories of negative emotions dampening the program’s victories, harassment from parents that kept her up at night and an endless workload with little support from program administrators were all discussed in our interview. Jordan’s selected critical incident narratives are included here.

Incident 26: It Was So Traumatic

A student rode a bus to the student center alone which... For many college students is not anything to write home about, but his mom had been very clear about her expectations that he not ride the bus alone. [Another staff member] texted me and said, will you go talk to this student about taking this bus by himself and why we can't do that and the reason it's not safe etc. When I arrived, he was at lunch and I asked him to step outside…We just went outside and had a conversation about staying with our mentors and that the expectation from his mom was that he not ever be by himself etc. I knew he wasn't pleased with the conversation because this is not a student who likes to feel like he is in trouble or has done something wrong. But it was a serious conversation because it was a serious matter- about his safety and on my end, knowing that I was going to get lit up by his mom.

Ten days after the conversation I was accused [by the student's mother] *of grabbing the student. An email was sent, I think, to the unit head and dean perhaps? That was reported to a supervisor, who talked to me about it. From what I could tell from the information that I was able to get from his mom, he said that I pulled his arm when he was in line for lunch. Which didn't happen, he was sitting at the table when I went to talk to him and he wasn't eating. I think that there was a little bit of imagination in the story, a little bit of frustration about that conversation that we had.*

It was probably a week before I heard anything else from the unit head who said that she was going to try to meet with this parent about her accusations…I had to go through the whole scenario of talking to that student specifically and then talking to his mom, who is accusing me of a lot of stuff that was untrue in very rude language. Then I had to talk to the unit head about it. I'm pretty sure it ended up on the dean's desk. It just dragged on and dragged on and I didn't ever hear anything. I ended up taking off the entire last week of the semester because I was... I don't want to talk in hyperbole or dramatically, but I was close enough to, like, really being about to have an emotional breakdown. A coworker was like "you need to take this last week off." I was like, "OK".

The parent ended up, I think, getting bored and/or realizing that her student wasn't being honest about what happened- so it ended. Poof. Done. She never spoke to me again. I saw her at graduation. She didn't look me in the eye. I've seen her son once in public since then. He tried to give me a hug and I said, "no, thank you" it was very awkward.

It was one of the more stressful scenarios-- kind of generally of life, but certainly of this job. It was a really emotional set of circumstances to be accused of something that was not true and that was very negatively affecting how well I was able to fulfill my role. Because it was a

thing that never happened that we were talking about. I was really put between a rock and a hard place to even be able to speak about this thing that didn't happen. The parent didn't believe me when I said "I obviously didn't"--She was like, "well, there's nothing obvious about it". It was so traumatic. The fact that it was so open ended and not too high on anybody's list to get resolved was really frustrating.

Nobody was really in there in my corner being like," no, no, I know her character, I know she didn't do that". It was not like that, it continued to drag out over weeks and weeks without me hearing anything, just knowing that these were things that were being said about me. It got to the point where I really couldn't-- I didn't really have anything else to give to other students because I was so concerned about this one really stressful thing that was happening. The other thing that was just disappointing about the whole thing was that we were coming to the end of our inaugural cohort. It was their fifth semester. By the time we got to graduation, it didn't even feel exciting, really. It was just like, oh, my God, I'm so glad this is over. I didn't feel like I had the chance to really celebrate with any of the parents or the students because this wasn't the only difficult parent, but specifically because this one parent and student were just like not a scenario that I could mend or make any better.

Incident 27: I Saw With My Own Eyes

In April of our first semester, a student planned his own birthday party and we went to a baseball game. His mom made goodie bags. A bunch of peer mentors came. The next week his mom emailed me and was like, that's the first birthday party fill-in-the-blank has ever wanted to have. It's the first time he's ever gone out of his way to do something. I remember her telling me we asked--his dad and I asked him if he wanted us to come and he said, "no, this is a birthday party for my friends".

I just remember being really proud and excited. That student had hit his stride enough to know not only this is what I want to do, but this is who I want to be involved in celebrating my birthday. These are the steps ABCDE that I need to take on to invite people and get them there. It was the first time that I can remember because we were so fresh in the program. I mean, we were….four months into things. It was the first moment of big booming social growth that I saw with my own eyes. That was so, so exciting.

It's a lot easier to be excited for people when they're nice to you and so are their parents. So, it didn't hurt that this was a student who showed up with respect and a willingness to work and was just a joy to be with anyway. Then he has the sweet, precious mom on top of it who goes out of her way to let people know how much she appreciates what they do. So, yeah, I mean, I've never thought about it this way, but if that had been a different student, I might not have had quite the emotional reaction that I did.

Incident 28: Capital P P***

Our independent living coordinator was in the athletic center with a student and it came out of nowhere. He just said the words "Jordan is a bitch". She was like, what? Based on this student and his mom, this is a difficult mom, same cohort, different mom [from the previous incident]. *I figured he was probably being a parrot and that he had heard that Jordan was a bitch from his mom. The staff member told me about it after her block with that student and said that she had addressed it a little bit, but had been so taken off guard that she didn't feel like he had really properly had to respond to saying that.*

I was pissed. Which like, that's hardly ever my initial reaction. That is honestly pretty hard for me to come by. I am much more likely to feel frustrated than mad. Nobody's ever called me a bitch, so I was capital P pissed. It was in a professional setting, I was communicating with

my students. So, I had to... keep it together and approach that in a way… I knew that if I led with anger, he wouldn't hear anything except how angry I was about it. But if that had been a friend of mine or a stranger on the street, if I had not been at work, that conversation would have gone much differently.

I waited two days to let myself simmer down a little bit. Then the next time we had seminar I pulled him out of that for a minute. I think I ended up keeping it together. I'm not a yeller. I did for the first time have the opportunity to say, "how dare you?" And I did mean it because honestly, how dare you. The student cried when confronted and never provided an explanation. I should say this was how he reacted every time he got in trouble, about anything. For him it was it was avoidance…. I think he apologized because I kind of made him. I told him, we're not going to go back into that classroom until you've said that you're sorry for calling me that word. That's an unacceptable word. I think I might have gotten an apology that I really worked for. But no, it wasn't like this is where I heard this or this is why I felt that way.

If this had been a different parent, I might have said something to the mom to shed a little bit of light on the scenario and about the conversation that we had. But it wasn't a mom who I was going to get support from. In fact, she was probably going to tell me all the reasons that he was right. I never brought it up. I ended up telling the director and she like feigned being offended about it…. It didn't matter to anybody who wasn't the one that got called a bitch.

Fouraker

Fouraker is a female in her late 20s that moved into IPSE work professionally ten months ago after completing an MED in higher education administration. Her exposure to inclusive education came when she worked as a resident assistant for her dorm during undergraduate

study. Some of her residents were IPSE students and Fouraker quickly learned how much she enjoyed working with them. She shared that she felt a "strong emotional connection to [the IPSE residents] it never felt like work". During her graduate study she volunteered as an IPSE mentor before later working as an intern in the program. Her love of higher education coupled with the connection she felt with IPSE students resonated and helped her define her career path in IPSE work. "It's [IPSE work] very fulfilling because you're actually doing something for the good of other people."

In her current role, Fouraker offers professional advice to IPSE students and works to match them with career internships that fit their interests and strengths. This role requires she be savvy with companies as well as student-focused while she scouts internships, tutors students as they prepare to interview, and maintains employer relations.

Emotionally, Fouraker spoke to the pride of watching a student succeed professionally and the extreme stress that plagues her when things go awry during a placing. Expectations from student's families and mixed interest from students are common gaps she must bridge in her daily work. Fouraker' s selected critical incident narratives are included here.

Incident 30: A Different Level of Stress

A student with a niche interest in an internship struggled to find placement but Fouraker worked to land him the perfect internship. *Finding a specific amount of hours a week and whatnot* [for student internships] *are really hard. Parents want what's best for their child. They want them to be successful. They want them to have any opportunity that their other children have had. When we finally found the internship, it ended up being like two months into the semester because of communication. That student was really emotional* [when he was placed] *his*

mom started crying. And he was like, "thank you for making my dreams come true, because I never thought I would have this opportunity".

This is pre-Covid. So, it was face to face. I was with the student [at the interview], *when we left, the supervisor was like, we're going to offer you 10 hours a week. I was like* *shocked expression* *freaking out. Then we called his mom together. His mom was really emotional because it was just everything that he wanted. I was very lucky that* [experience] *was in-person. It was us together, which was really awesome because, you know, you get to see their facial expressions, you get to see their raw emotion. It was awesome.*

It also is just such a relief because it's a new partnership for me. So that's a relationship that now the program has developed with that specific place in the community, its really great for us because now we're building our advocacy outreach even more. In the moment... I was very emotional because you have not only the student but the parent looking at you to support them and succeed. I was not expecting to get as emotional as I was when, the parent was like, thank you.

Even though you go through those tense periods of why aren't you finding this or why aren't you doing this? And that <u>really</u> relates to my role. When you see that individual so excited and happy that they get the opportunity that other students get. For me, it was the ultimate factor that- that student had achieved the goal they'd been wanting to reach for years now. I was so happy, but I also was... in a way, relieved because there's a different level of stress when a lot of stuff hangs on you and you're responsible in your role, and it's not like I have another co-person to say," hey, can you go find this internship" it's just me... So, relief is, I think, also the very biggest thing too.

Incident 31: I Felt Like I Failed

A student's family keep steering her toward a different career trajectory than she is interested in. Then a lot of her career shadowing explorations happened to be virtual because of the situation of the universities [due to COVID-19]. *That family was pissed because they wanted in-person* [internship hours]. *The parent constantly berated me saying things like "we pay X amount of money". "How come you can't do this?" "Do we even really need you?" He or she even once said, "You've ruined my life".*

Even in spring [pre-COVID-19] *we had issues when a student was doing something that his or her child wasn't doing, he or she felt as though the child was duped out of something when it's like no, that's just not their interest. So that was really difficult. The parent was very aggressive towards me and it was extremely rude. I felt as though we did a disservice when it was like- no, there's a lot of opportunities, it's just not traditional* [during COVID-19]. *I was verbatim stating what the university had said* [regarding the need for virtual learning]. *I was upset and I was frustrated, but I couldn't let her know that. Every student is facing it* [virtual learning and internships]*, not just our students. So that was a specific instance where it was very difficult for me not to feel personally like I did something wrong.* [The harassment from the parent] *started in June and it's just calmed down* [5 months later].

I felt like I failed because the student is affected by her family's emotions and when you talk to that student individually, it's one thing. Then when you talk to that student with their family it's a different emotion because they feed off of that energy. I had to be extremely empathetic because I don't know what they face in their lifetime. I'm still new. I haven't even been in this role a year. I don't know everything and I don't know what they've faced leading up to here or anything like that… It took everything in me, though, not to say, "have you even talked

to your child?" Because that was a completely different conversation [regarding the internship she wanted] *than the one I was having with the parent.*

Incident 32: You See the Ignorance

We visited the state capitol with IPSE students to advocate for disability education and disability rights. [Fouraker was struck by the ignorance among state leaders about IPSE work and disability rights.] *That was really difficult to see because it's something that I was so normalized with. Then you see yourself advocating on campus and in the community for them to have opportunities and then to see the state* [leaders]. *Some senators don't even understand or have not even heard of what these* [IPSE programs] *are, which is very difficult* [to hear] *considering the state has nine.* [We] *let* [the IPSE students] *talk about their experience and what they want and get out of it. Then for us, they* [senators] *look to staff to say," Ok, what do these programs mean?" "What are the findings?" And, you have the statistics. You can only tell the numbers so much. again, there's no empathy behind it or emotion. It's just facts.*

It was extremely emotional to see the lack of awareness that a lot of public officials in the state don't even understand about disability awareness and disability advocacy and disability studies as a whole. I was extremely emotional because these students are just like anybody else, in our state. The fact that their rights and these opportunities just aren't looked at.... was extremely... just not good. I was very upset, but I also, again, couldn't necessarily show my emotions because I was with our two students. To them, this was an incredible opportunity to talk about themselves. But to staff it was disheartening because you see the ignorance and the lack of education that certain officials have that have not even taken the time to look into what are the policies and what are the new initiatives that the state is even doing [in disability awareness and advocacy].

Incident 33: It Broke My Heart

In a career counseling session a student was discussing her goals for life and broke down crying when she disclosed her fears about never having a normal life. She was expressing how she wanted kids and a family and a house. She wanted to be married and she wanted all these things, that she didn't want to have to live with her parents for the rest of her life. I just sat and listened. It...it stays with you but it like ignites your passion, at least that's something that always for me, it makes me more passionate, more excited to want to make a change within the world and IPSE programs.

That broke my heart because to me, I don't see anything different, but, you know, the world, it's a different story. So that just oh- it broke my heart because she just didn't feel anything was different about her and there isn't anything different about her besides her disability. She said, "I just don't want people to look at that first". For me, I couldn't cry or I couldn't be a wreck. I had to just sit there and, you know, help her counsel through it and process what she was feeling. And personally, it broke my heart.

Edwards

Edwards is a female in her late 20s with a background in human development. Spurred by an interest in disability services during her undergraduate work pursuing a BSFCS in human development and family science, Edwards sought out internships that focused on disability education and inclusion. Prior to working in her current role while still in undergrad, Edwards worked as a mentor and later an intern in this program. Having worked full-time in IPSE work a little under a year, Edwards shared stories of triumph as students met their goals and grew to be more independent adults and stress when students and their families demanded so much of staff.

Emotionally, she spoke of taking work home with her and the constant struggle to maintain boundaries and enjoy work life balance while working in an all-consuming role. Waves of emotion arising during tough interactions with students, and worry over the pull of home and work responsibilities were discussed during our conversation. Edwards' selected critical incident narratives are included here.

Incident 35: What Did I Do to Deserve That?

I was driving a student from class to the student center to eat lunch with other students and mentors. During the drive the student said "I don't want to talk to you anymore." It caught me off guard. It really did. Sometimes I can be a sensitive-- I can get emotional. We went to lunch and then we're around all of our other peers. She started talking to everyone else. So, I [thought], *OK, you know, maybe she's good now. I asked her a question and she goes, "I'm done talking to you." So, I* [thought], *OK, I'm not going to try anymore. You have to suppress that emotion* [in the moment] *because you don't want to appear differently* [to the student]. *Obviously, I'm not going to cry right in front of her because I don't want her to know, like, oh, why is she crying? Did I do something wrong? I wanted to deal with myself.*

I ended up going home and it just kind of rubbed me the wrong way. It was one of those things where I was like, what did I do? Am I doing something wrong? I talked to my husband about it, I was like, what? Like, how did this happen? I even talked to my supervisor about it, I talked to another mentor. I was like, "has she ever been this way towards you?" [The mentor] *is like- "no that that's never happened." So, in my head, I'm like, OK, so what did I do wrong, if that's never happened with anyone else.*

I learned to not take things personally because I know I didn't do anything wrong. We all have bad days, whether or not you show that and some people hide it really, really well. [The

student] *maybe something happened between her and her parents, for example. I had to sit and kind of reflect on it myself and I said, you know, I don't think that was me, she could have just had a bad day.*

Incident 36: I Can't Be Here Right Now

There was just a bunch of back and forth miscommunication [with a student and her mom via email about the schedule for the day and some changes they wanted to make]. *When I finally saw the student, I said, "hey, I'm really sorry about, you know, all the miscommunication, everything about this morning." After all of that, coordinating and talking to my supervisor, the mentor* [scheduled to be with the IPSE student] *the mom, and then I see the student. I apologize because I said I know that was kind of a lot* [of communication]. *The student says to me, "yeah you owe me big."*

That rubbed me the wrong way. I took the student to her mentor and I started getting really emotional because after this whole morning that's not really the response I anticipated or even wanted to hear, which really threw me-- was a curveball for me. I just started crying [after dropping off the student] *I sat in my car and I said, why did that just happen? That response was rude, completely rude. It's not even 11 o'clock in the morning. -- it's raining. It's gloomy. I had personal stuff to deal with that morning then I have this to deal with. Then* [the student] *hit me with that comment…*

After the whole morning's shenanigans. I said to my coworker, "I've got to go. I can't be here right now." "I need to go work by myself." My coworker, she tried to calm me down. She was like, "I can go with you." And I said, "no, it's just one of those things I really need to be alone." I need to calm myself down. I have this [mantra] *where it's like if you're not going to remember it in five years, don't spend more than five minutes on it. It was one of those things*

that I kind of had to put back in my mind, like, hey, don't worry about this, which honestly-- I will think about this in five years time. I really will.

Incident 37: Leaving A Stamp

A student's grandmother asked that he receive extra support in math. He ended up bringing one of the [practice] books that his grandmother wanted him to work on. I opened it, it literally said first grade math. I just wanted to get a glimpse at it and everything. He made the comment of "you probably think this is embarrassing" and that really in the moment, I really wanted to just go please don't say that. I kind of did express how I felt, but it just really hit me. "No, this is not embarrassing", I said, "you are here to learn and I'm here to help you and we're going to do this together."

I couldn't [get overly emotional] *tell him, like, please don't even say that kind of stuff. It was just, you're a professional you have to remain in this role, like don't get into* [the emotional aspect] *or anything, because then you'll get into a rabbit hole of things. I'm just like, you know, we're all here to learn. It's better that you learn now than later down the line. That was just one of those times where I had to not show my emotion. If he takes this away at the end of the semester and I see that he's learned from it, then I'll know that I've done something right in my job.*

Ryles

Ryles is a female in her early 20s completing her undergraduate degree. She has served as an IPSE mentor for the last four semesters as a workout mentor, social mentor, academic mentor and close friend to several IPSE students. After learning more about the program during her first semester of class she jumped into mentorship the spring of her freshman year. Initially attracted to the role in part due to rewarding experiences volunteering with adults and children with

disabilities in high school, Ryles values her experiences in the program and believes it will be a foundation for her study of occupational therapy in the coming years.

Emotionally, Ryles spoke about the incredible friendships she has developed in the program and how she considers herself close friends with the students more than a mentor. She spoke to the trickiness of setting an example for students and being a good friend without taking on the role of authority figure. In our conversation, Ryles shared stories of emotion management in the moment to protect and empower students as well as tough situations she had to navigate with little warning. Ryles' selected critical incident narratives are included here.

Incident 39: Being a College Girl

So, [an IPSE student and friend] *Lucy can't drive. I don't think that's something that would really be possible in the future either. Just based off of some of her other physical limitations, which is fine. You can get around lots of other ways. But with Lucy, she's like "all the college girls drive". So, we had a conversation about that, she was clearly bothered and upset about it because all other college girls can drive and they don't have to have their mom drive them places. I think it's frustrating for her because at the time I think she was twenty-one. She's like, I'm twenty-one --none of my other twenty-one-year-old friends do this.*

I was like being a college girl isn't defined by your ability to drive yourself or anything like that. I told her, that's why it's great that you've made such good friends, because car rides are so much more fun with people anyway. I was, like, lucky for you- you're really good at making friends and you've made such good friends with people that they <u>want</u> to ride with you. I pick you up because I want to hang out with you. I'd rather be with you than not. So that's kind of how I tried to phrase it, because I didn't want to negate the fact that, like, that sucks. I wish Lucy could drive.

Whenever conversations like that come up, it's always tough because it's like. I mean, you're right... The way, I responded I was like, I understand that is—frustrating. I wanted to be real with her, like I feel for you, that must be really frustrating because I can drive and I know that it would bother me if I always had to ask someone for a ride. I'm a very empathetic person, so I mean just in the moment... That hurts my heart, I want that for her. I wish that were a possibility.

Incident 33: I Was in Helping Mode

We were at a spring picnic at a public park when my mentee and friend Ben passed out. I went into like [serious focus] *mode. We called his mom, got him in the car. He was fine after like a few seconds, but a male peer mentor went-- I drove them up to this bathroom. He helped him go to the bathroom. Later on, because Ben is, which-- I would do this too. He is a little bit of an anxious soul. We talked a lot about this because it scared him really bad. It really freaked him out. When he would bring it up I would just be like well. "I mean, you're safe now. We know that, we got to make sure you're hydrated and checking in to make sure there's a bathroom nearby, like, that's just something we've learned from this". But like ultimately, you're healthy and safe now, so we're good. He texts a lot, too. So, there would be times he's like, "do you remember that time that we were at the park and I fell down" and he described it. I'm like Ben, don't put yourself through this.* *Laughter*

He's good now. But for like a semester, that man just relived it. I hate that for him because it stinks- like your brain does that and you can't really help it…When that happened, I was just kind of in, like, helping mode, so I was just like, [panicked face] *you know…But obviously- I was really worried about it and it scared me or whatever, but Ben doesn't need any help in that realm* [worrying]. *So, I would be calm about it. When he brings this up to me, I know*

it's because he wants reassurance. So, in those instances I think I... Not like suppress an emotion, exactly, but I do try to make sure I don't show any kind of anxiety in my body language because I just know he was feeling that really hard and he doesn't need more… [If I'm nervous about something] *I want to hear. Everything's fine, you're going to be OK, which is true. Those things are true. I'm not fibbing. He was hot* [when he passed out], *but that came up a lot. Because obviously that was kind of traumatic. It really scared him. I was worried about him as my friend, so that was one* [time] *that I had to be...Yeah, careful, I guess.*

Incident 44: Internally in the Moment, I'm like, Oh Gosh

Ben does not use any kind of profanity which is fine. I don't really either, but when we're on the [campus] *bus people are allowed to. That's not something Ben really heard growing up in his town. So, when we first became friends, he was kind of shell-shocked by that. He would make comments about like, why are people saying that? And the person* [cursing] *is like standing beside him. I wouldn't want someone to misunderstand and think Ben is... Because he's not trying to be rude. He's just legitimately never been exposed to that.*

In the moment I would just have to be like, "hey, let's talk about this later" when like internally I'm like, "oh, God, oh, God". What if someone gets mad at Ben and doesn't understand that he's not trying to be rude? Internally in the moment, I'm like, oh gosh. What if they get mad at us for Ben being like, why are they saying this bad word? So, like those moments I guess I am kind of suppressing.

We've had to have conversations about that like, hey, I know that you refrain from using words like that, but as long as someone's not putting down someone else, people are going to say stuff like that and they're allowed to... You don't have to say it. You don't have to engage with it. But you know, it's going to be around. So, we did have conversations about that because Ben is a

Christian, I am as well. I was like, not everyone has the same beliefs as we do. So we can't expect them to follow the same rules. That's kind of a preservation thing, I just wouldn't want there to be a misunderstanding or someone not realize that [about Ben's curiosity and intentions]. *Also, I wouldn't want him to feel. Like, oh, I don't feel very smart right now, or like I wouldn't want them to feel* [mad] *that way, but yeah,* [in those situations] *I'll be like yeah, I'll explain when we get off* [the bus].

University Three

The final university included in this study is a public university in the Southeastern United States. University three's IPSE program has been in operation for almost five years and is nestled in the heart of a metropolitan area. This nearly three-year-long IPSE program fosters career development opportunities for students while teaching life skills and self-determination. Interviewees from this university included academic staff, a former graduate student that worked in the program and an undergraduate student mentor. Interviewees at this university had a collective twelve years of experience in IPSE work. Professional training of the program staff centered on clinical and rehabilitation counseling.

Lacy

Lacy is a female in her early 30s that has worked four years as academic inclusion advisor in IPSE. She has a background in special education having worked in K-12 special education prior to obtaining her MS in clinical rehabilitation counseling. Early exposure to disability through volunteer work at the Special Olympics as a high school student and interactions with a friend's parents that taught special education introduced Lacy to the world of disability inclusion and sparked her interest from a young age.

During our conversation, Lacy spoke to the intense emotion work that is part of the IPSE world. She shared numerous instances of emotion management in the moment as tough situations unfolded and some instances when revealing authentic emotion helped her connect with and support students. Personal adjustments to boundaries to deal with the emotional rollercoaster of this work and a dose of patience to wait out the bureaucracy that so often accompanies disability work are both things that Lacy shared she has grown into, over her time in IPSE work.

Incident 47: That Was A Shift for Me

One of the students had mobility challenges and needed a personal care attendant. His family did not hire one and sent his father to campus everyday instead. Dad pushed the boundaries and made people uncomfortable. Dad was pretty aggressive with making sure his son's needs were met. Convincing other people that his son is valuable, even though I didn't need to be convinced. Dad was consistently out on campus where he shouldn't be. He and I at that point had kind of created a little bit of an adversarial relationship *laughter* *where he would see me coming and kind of move along.*

At one point he was in the quad and I was walking. I think I was like on a lunch break or something, walking with a coffee. [I] *saw him and was like, alright, I'm going to go say something. Ask what he's doing here politely, kind of encourage him to go to a business or somewhere else where it would make sense that he would be. The student is in class, Dad is just kind of waiting. Lurking…We got to talking he was talking about how they've been discriminated against so many times, I'm trying to encourage him to kind of leave the scenario, walk with me. I'll show you where to go. You can wait. Your son is still in class for an hour, and he reads the Bible to me on his phone. He's got a Bible app and he says, "oh, let me tell you about this". He*

also put his hand on my leg. At that moment I kind of went into a fight or flight and I was like- this is inappropriate. I'm not having this conversation with you and got up and left.

So ultimately, my goal wasn't met of getting him to leave campus. Then I was kind of made to be uncomfortable. [After the incident I] *Debriefed with a team member and took it to my supervisors. It was kind of just like, I'm sorry that happened.* [The program leadership said] *We're going to meet with his dad again and then, you know rewrite some rules and boundaries.* [Changes she made after the incident] *I moved a bit away from kind of the presence on campus. I think it suited because at that time I was graduating. I had really started to move into a full-time academic position at the program. I think that I was very clear with other people working with the student about what is the expectation of your interaction with this parent because you are not expected to interact with this parent. You can literally just avoid this person and walk away. Our role and responsibility is to the student.*

That was a shift for me, for a lot of things. A shift for me in my relationship with that student and his family, particularly the father. That was a shift for me in my stating of boundaries of my position and role within the program itself. That was also a shift in my understanding of the support that I would or would not receive on this job, if that makes sense to you. I think I was very clear with upper management and supervisors about, hey, this is what happened. This is inappropriate. I am no longer interacting with this family member. If somebody else needs to, that can be somebody else's job.

Incident 48: I Felt Pretty Exhilarated and Confident

There was a student who during her first two semesters became very overwhelmed and [was] *frankly feeling suicidal. She was having panic attacks. She was really uncomfortable going into the classroom. Her anxiety was super high and at many points she expressed to me a desire*

to not be alive anymore. There were times when she was on campus, I knew I was going to get a call of, like, she's freaking out. She's sitting down in the middle of the student center. I'm not sure what to do. I'd kind of hustle over there and meet with her and calm her down.

That became a pattern and that was emotionally taxing, but also the first few times that happened. I wasn't necessarily sure what to do. I felt pretty exhilarated and pretty confident in my ability that I understood her and understood what was happening with her, what she needed in the moment, and how-to kind of help her co-regulate with me. I also felt a little unsupported again of like, OK, this seems like a big deal-and why am I the one handling it? I'm year one out of grad school. Like, this is nuts.

[As a result, the program] *came up with behavioral protocol. We came up with suicide plans. Our staff at that point was a little larger and knew more about it. Through that* [I] *learned lessons about, again, professional boundaries. Boundaries with students and my role, because I think I became very close and connected to that student in a way that was positive for our relationship and her growth. And also, not necessarily positive for our relationship and her growth. She came to rely on me or I would be the only person who could kind of get her to go and do. Ultimately, it ended up that she was maybe not a right fit for our program at the time.*

Incident 50: Mother Mode

We had a student who wanted to be a cool guy on campus, and instead of responsibly showing up for his internship would be chilling or be wandering around campus or talking to a girl or whatever. So, it became kind of a theme that our support staff would be like, OK, go check on him. He's not here. He's not where he needs to be. [I was called in constantly] *to reinforce positive behaviors, then to reiterate the expectations. It would kind of be one of those things where he would come into my office knowing that he was about to get in trouble. So, he'd want to*

play it off and joke with me or just be silly and sweet- kind of play his cards. Sometimes I would just be honest about how I was feeling, not necessarily show it, but just talk him through like, hey, look, I'm feeling a little disappointed. What's going on? Then sometimes I would just be like very direct, like hey man the expectation is this. This is what it is. I mean, there were several times that I was just annoyed and wanted to yell at him. Like, I turned into mother-mode and was just like, ughhhhh, but I intentionally suppressed that.

[Being direct and serious with the student] *actually, in some ways worked better than the consequences conversation. He was apologetic and understood the responsibility that he had and also kind of disclosed that it was too much responsibility and he didn't want it. The resolution was for us to gain a greater understanding of what his goals were and also to negotiate a bit with him about what we had to do because it was written into our program and because there were some expectations of what we needed to provide and that if he was OK with making those decisions, there would be consequences in both directions.*

So, you go to work, you show up, you work and make your money. You don't show up, you get fired. You don't get your paycheck. They stop giving you tasks to do, those kinds of things. I am a good co-regulator. That's what makes me good at my job. That is the knowledge that I can share with other people. It was a proud moment for me. That made me feel good because I'm like- my way is working. It made me feel good, especially because his interactions with some other staff people at the time, because they were so stuck in kind of their authority figure space, the student did not interact with them and was not- it became a very adversarial relationship.

Incident 52: I Could Be a Light for Him

So, my mom died in September of 2018 and then one of our students' mother died in March of 2019. Kind of back-to-back. That student had a rough time after that and several times came to my office and just wanted to kind of talk about missing mom or grief or things like that. There were several times that I was like crying and like me too, you know.

He knew that I had lost my mom and he knew that I had been up front about the fact that I was sad. I think I got overwhelmed in the moment with the idea that my grief could serve a purpose or could be a light for him in a way. Like, I went through this hard thing. Now you're going through this hard thing and I understand…Wow what a moment.

Davis

Davis is a female in her middle 20s that worked as a graduate assistant in an IPSE program for two years while pursuing her MS in clinical rehabilitation and counseling. Prior to her graduate assistantship she volunteered as an undergraduate peer mentor in another IPSE program. In her role as an IPSE graduate assistant, Davis worked to make internship connections for students and support them professionally as they learned to job search, interview, and work for the first time.

Davis described her role as incredibly rewarding, particularly when she looked back on how far students had come in the program especially during those full circle moments when they thrive in internships and career choices. On the opposite end of the emotional spectrum, Davis also reflected on interactions that made her question her abilities and high energy incidents in which she had to regulate and suppress emotion in the moment to empower and protect students and to remain professional in a trying situation.

Incident 54: So Full of Joy

A student landed a big internship opportunity with his dream company. I was actually seeing him get an introduction interview with CNN. At the official interview, we were waiting in the lobby and I said, "how do you want me to support you?" I gave him some options because he has a stutter. I said "if you begin to stutter, do you want me to give you some words of encouragement or do you want me to say anything at all?" He was like, I want you to say something. I said "ok, I'll say something". "Do you want me to support you with questions, if you feel like you don't know how to answer something and kind of help reframe the question?" He was like, yes. So, we prepped for that.

He was nervous, but he was so excited. I was nervous, real nervous. I think I only said like two things the entire time. I think one of them was like, he was stuttering and I said. "Hey, you got this." "Take a breath." I think there was one question, that I kind of reframed. Then after the fact, you could tell he was just so excited and we were taking selfies in front of the CNN sign. I mean, he did a great job in the interview, and I think he knew it, too.

[I felt] *proud, excited, joyful. Yeah, just like being there with him and feeling the excitement of my job and just being so proud of him. That was really emotional. I was actually in his official interview with him for CNN, I was there supporting him.* *smile* *Yeah, I was just so full of joy. . . .I had supported him in another internship. So, to see him be successful in his past internship and now, like moving forward, progressing, growing as an employee, as a working adult. That was really cool to support him through like a full circle moment.*

Incident 56: I was Devastated, it was Really Hurtful

This is probably the most emotional I've gotten about a student. We have these end of the year meetings. Person-centered-planning meetings. The student gets to choose who they want to

come. It can be teachers, it could be counselors, it could be peers. It was [this student's] *last meeting. He was graduating and it* [the meeting]*happened and I didn't know. I* [told my colleague], *I didn't get invited to his meeting. She said he didn't want you there. I was devastated. It was really hurtful. I didn't realize our relationship was that strained. I was sad and I was crying. That was a really emotional moment for me because who wants to feel like they're not welcome or liked?*

I talked about it with some people on the staff later on and apparently, he didn't invite a few other people as well. He wanted it to be small. He was going through family stuff, which I knew about, which we had talked about. I think he was just sort of feeling closed off. So, after some time, I was totally like, I understood. At this point we were like on Zoom and remote because of COVID-19. I was holding these online career counseling groups. He had really checked out of online classes. He was going through some things; he was not coming to my career groups which I really wasn't taking personally.

I was thinking about the fact that he kind of checked out. But yeah, he sometimes still wanted to meet with me one-on-one to do job applications. Maybe he really doesn't see me on a personal level, it's more just like here's how she can help me... I guess. Which I totally understand. We don't have to be best friends. It's not my job to be his best friend, it's my job to support him in ways that he wants to be supported. But, my mind went to the tension we've had in the past [heated conversations about him not attending work and internships] *and also the fact that he'd kind of been checked out for that semester. Maybe I should* [have] *done more, or reached out more, that sort of thing. What went through my mind was yeah... The way we had struggled about the internship over those previous semesters. So yeah, it was shock. It was a shock.*

Incident 58: I'm Holding You Responsible

I asked an IPSE student who didn't get out on campus much, to join me and a friend at a basketball game that evening. I said, I'm going to the basketball game tonight. Do you want to go? She lives on campus. I was like, I don't think you've ever been to a game and it's a fun experience in college. She lived with her sister on campus and I said make sure you tell your sister [you are going to the basketball game]. *She actually stayed at the office with me and we had Moe's* [for dinner] *and we walked into the basketball stadium. We were at the basketball game and she's getting all these texts from her sister. She was like, "oh, my gosh, my sister doesn't know where I am!" I was like, you need to tell her. You told me you texted her* [earlier that day]. *She's like, OK, I'll tell her. Her sister was like, well, I'm coming to get you right now. What was funny is this is the one student who lives on campus. Her apartment is literally like two blocks away. So, it was just kind of confusing.*

Her sister came in and got her and I walked her out to the car. Her sister said [in anger]. *I'm holding you responsible for taking her out tonight. I was like, OK, it's fine. We were just at a basketball game. It was just very strange. She was very mad. I was like we just walked over here from the IPSE office. I thought she had texted you. I'm sorry she hadn't, I promise she's OK. We were just inside watching the basketball game. What I was suppressing was, I wanted to say something like, hey, she's fine and you need to let her live her life. She's OK. We are sorry she forgot to tell you. But there's no reason for you to be angry at her or me because what has she done wrong? I wanted to say something like that, but I didn't know her* [the sister] *that well. I don't know the relationship. I didn't I... I think I was suppressing like a good amount of anger and frustration in that moment. I wish I said something kind of like, you know, why don't you trust me, or something along those lines.*

I mentioned it to my boss, and I was just like, this happened with her sister. She said, yeah, I totally understand that. I think one of the reasons I was like more frustrated with the sister and the student is because I know how protective the student's parents are and how they've acted before. So, I was probably feeling that from her sister. I also know that the student lives on campus, but is home all the time and has a sister who is mainstream [at the university] *that doesn't get her out of the house.*

Incident 60: Opening the Door

We'll call this IPSE student D. So, D and the mentor were in a room in one of the offices. I also taught some classes but this day I had an overlapping meeting. I just came back to make sure the class was going OK. This peer mentor, which was this guy named L, was helping me out [watching the class per the request of Davis' boss and the program director]. *I walk in there and no one's doing anything. and L and D are in this* [side] *room, just talking. I was like, what's going on, the door was closed. I went in there and I opened the door and said like "hey are you guys working?" They're like, yeah, we are. From what I knew, peer mentors and students were not supposed to be behind closed doors together. I opened the door and then walked around to everyone else, making sure everyone was ok, and the door closed again. I open the door. I didn't even say anything I just opened the door and continued walking around. Then that door closed again. I'm like, what is going on? It turned into this big deal that the peer mentor took as I was opening the door because I just wanted to interrupt them and I wasn't respecting their space.*

I thought the rules were you are not supposed to have the door closed. Also, L [the mentor] *is supposed to be teaching this class. I went to my boss and was like, what are the rules around doors and everything?* [The boss and director said] *no, it's fine. It was fine, they could have the door closed, it's fine and Davis- they were having a <u>really</u> serious conversation and you*

interrupted them. I just felt like that was a really frustrating moment for me. I heard in that [training room] *room. In that room* [months earlier], *my boss said- no closed doors. Then they* [boss and program director] *were like, you need to have a conversation with that peer mentor and work that out yourself. I was like great* *sarcasm* *that's how the leadership was.*

*L approached me unexpectedly. I talked to him and he was like, yeah, they told me it was fine to have the door closed. L was confrontational. He really felt I disrespected him by not trusting that he was having a serious conversation with the student. By keeping opening the door I was interrupting them and I was just like...*4 second pause* *It wasn't meant like that, I thought this was the rule.*

I wish I had stressed this more, but I really didn't stress the whole thing about, you were supposed to be teaching my class, because I'm not his boss. I think the conflict, my actions of opening the door, I was frustrated because I was like, this guy is not teaching the class. This guy is just with this one student. I was getting more frustrated. Although no words were shared between us me opening a door was kind of like me saying like, do your job, you know?

To be honest, a lot of the stress of IPSE, at least in this program, was the lack of communication between all parties, between the staff above me to the grad students, which is what I was and then like undergrad [peer mentors]. *I really wish there had been more streamlined communication. I think that leadership was lacking. I just felt like it I shouldn't say you were supposed to be doing this, because I'm not his boss. He is a black man, a black, queer man. He mentioned that he feels like the white women in the office act like they have this power and whether it's subliminal or not. I felt like I shouldn't say, you were supposed to be teaching this class, because I didn't know how he was going to take that.... So, there were a lot of factors*

going into it. I was really not settled. I didn't know how to communicate with him. Genuinely, because we didn't have the same information.

[Later] *I confronted my boss and said, hey, I really wish you guys had told me that he was going to talk to me about this, because then I could have cleared some of the things up with you two, before this conversation* [with L, the mentor]. *They were just like, we really wanted you to handle it.* *4 second pause* *Honestly, a lot of these moments, when you ask me about, emotional moments honestly came more between me and my boss.*

Taylor

Taylor is a female in her early 20s completing her undergraduate degree in art. She has served as an IPSE mentor for the last four years as part of an apprenticeship initiative through her school's honors program. Initially interested in disability thanks to volunteer experiences in high school, Taylor knew volunteering as an academic and social mentor in college was a great fit for her. During our conversation, she shared stories of personal growth spurred by what she had learned mentoring and some trying times that were panic inducing but that ultimately resulted in a teachable moment.

Emotionally, Taylor shared stories across the spectrum that range from moments of pride that induced tears of joy, to tough interactions with students and parents where she suppressed anger and strived to maintain a professional demeanor.

Incident 61: The Relief Came Later

We have a student who uses a wheelchair. He had a very interesting relationship with his father, [Dad] *would be a little controlling sometimes. That particular student had to rely on his father a lot simply because he didn't have an aide for his first year of the program. His father*

was also really protective of him and would not allow him to do a lot of activities with the other students. So that was like the context of their relationship.

I saw [the student] *leaving class with his dad. I saw them talking, I was watching through the window. I could tell they were arguing about something, because the student visibly looked upset. I was worried, thinking is everything OK? I go out there just to check on him...one of my coworkers also went out with me. Going in, I was very worried because I wasn't sure if everything was OK or not. The student just started crying out of nowhere. I asked both him and his dad if everything was OK. Me and his Dad were on good terms, so that was fine. Then dad got frustrated and walked away. I had never seen that student be visibly that upset. He was just like crying and bawling. Because of his condition it's always a little difficult to understand exactly what he is saying. But the more time you spend with him, the easier it is to figure it out. Since he was crying so much, it was difficult for him to express exactly what was going on. But we obviously got the gist that his dad upset him in some way, and he was just feeling incredibly overwhelmed.*

During the situation, I [was] *worried and a little scared because I wasn't sure what was happening. Then also, I felt sad for him just because, I could tell that he was visibly upset and hurting. I could just see his frustration. So that made me frustrated and upset for him because I understood the dynamics of their relationship. I assumed whatever it was that happened, it was something that, his dad had said or done that triggered him. I was trying to get the student to calm down and breathe. I was just trying to reassure him that, whatever happened, it's OK. We're here, everything's OK, and that he could talk to us about it. I kept, urging if he needed to, he could talk to us about it. After five or so minutes, he calmed down. I just sat with him there*

and once he stopped crying, he was able to explain that his dad was upsetting him. I actually sat with him for like an hour afterwards until I had to take another student to class.

*It made me sad to see him in that space and in that mindset. But also, a little bit like...*3 second pause* *I felt like at the same time it was progress because he had never expressed that much vulnerability with us. For him to openly feel like he could cry in front of us and say that he was frustrated with his dad. He had never really expressed that to us before, like my dad is upsetting me. He usually just kind of goes along with whatever his dad would say. So* [I was] *partially relieved that the outburst happened. Because I feel like it was good to have that emotional outburst instead of keeping it in. But I feel like that the relief probably came a little bit later.*

Incident 62: Why Does He Have to Do This To Me?

This was his first week of school. As a peer mentor, I'm supposed to go to class with them and just assist in any way that I can. [Its] *the first day of classes for this student, I was supposed to meet him in one of the areas on campus and we were supposed to walk to class together. I had his phone number to contact him. I'm calling him and I'm looking for him. He kept moving locations. He just had me chasing him all around campus because he kept moving locations. At one point, we were in the same space. I think we were in the library. Then I turned around for like a second and I turned back around and he's gone.*

I'm just like, oh, MY GOD! I'm freaking out because I'm like, did I lose him? Does he not want me to be his peer mentor? I was just feeling a lot of emotions. I was like, oh my God. Why does he keep running away? The way our campus is set up its very much city-based. It's not really a protected campus. So, like-- he could be anywhere around the city. I remember calling my supervisor. At this point we were late for class. I was like, "I don't know what to do". This

student is running from me like he is physically running from me. *laughter* *She was like, we can't force him to go to class. I'm sure he's OK. She calmed me down a little bit… I was panicky but also just kind of angry because I was like, why? Why? Why does he have to do this to me? I was expressing all that on the phone with her and she calmed me down a little bit and reassured me that he was probably fine and that she would contact him as well*

Eventually he called back. I think he was like in Starbucks or something. I met up with him. I was just like "Yo dude, what's wrong?" "Do you not want to go to class?" "Are you scared?" "Do you not like me?" Like what's going on? We actually ended up having a really good talk. He expressed, yes that he was nervous about class. He disclosed to me that he was really uncomfortable with the idea of being in a program specifically for people with disabilities because he personally didn't feel like he had a disability. He felt like because he was being labeled as that, that people would look at him weird or that he wouldn't fit in. He just didn't want that. I wasn't sure how to approach that question fully. I think at this point I was... I had been in the program for two full years. I had never at that time encountered a student who didn't want to claim their disability. So, yeah, I was a little nervous.

I felt like [I] *had to answer very carefully. I didn't want to in any way offend him, but I also didn't want to make him feel like I was babying him or anything like that. I wanted to be as real and authentic with him as possible about it. But still reassure him. I definitely took a pause. I was, proud of myself- how I answered it. But yeah, there was that like panic initial panic of how do I approach this, you know? I just remember having a good talk with him about it. How, it's OK that all of us really have abilities and disabilities. We all need help in some areas and we all may excel in some areas. That's OK and it's OK to want or need assistance for stuff and that's what I'm here for.*

I called his [program] *mentor afterwards. I was explaining to her I found him, and we had a really good talk. I remember....* *smile* *being kind of giddy when I was telling her, because I just felt that I had such a deep moment with him. I really felt like that was a good break through because literally just an hour or so before- I thought he hated me and that I had lost him.*

Incident 63: His Inactivity Would Stress Me Out

I took this drawing class with one of my students, this particular student is very shy, very closed off. Which I wasn't used to because usually most of the students would warm up to me pretty quickly, kind of become buddy-buddy after a week or so. But this specific student he was just very closed off. He is very talented but he didn't like being told what to draw, he would just want to draw his own stuff. So, whenever the teacher had some type of specific project for them, he would start working on it. But he would just kind of tap out, not want to do anything after that. So, me as a peer mentor, I'm like, well, I want to help you succeed in this class. I would like go up and be like, "Hey, do you need help?" "Do you understand the assignment" "Do you want me to do it with you?" "How can I help you, right now?" He wouldn't be responsive. He'd be like, no, I'm fine. Just closed off.

I wouldn't take that very well, it made me upset or just made me frustrated because I was just like, what am I doing wrong? Why isn't he being responsive to me? I had to learn over time that a student's level of engagement doesn't necessarily reflect on you. Because I would think, like, OK, if a student is doing poorly in class or if they're not, putting their best effort forward then that's my fault. Or it's something that I have done. That would just always be the connection I made. I had to unlearn that connection because- it's just not true.

His inactivity would stress me out in the class. I would get very frustrated but I wouldn't... I didn't want to express that to him because I didn't want to make the situation worse and I didn't know how he would react, if I expressed, any kind of anger to him. Plus, I just didn't feel like that would be the correct response. I remember I would hold back, I would step back. I would give him space because I was like, OK, I don't want to hover over him and try to make him work. That's not my purpose here. I would just doodle in a corner and let him do his own thing, which eventually I feel like worked out. He finished the class, I just felt like I shouldn't put pressure on a student because typically there's underlying issues going on as to why they're acting a certain way. I feel like it's not helpful to be nagging in their ear about an assignment.

It's not so much the grades that matter. It's the student's emotional and physical well-being that matters. I remember, talking to the program coordinator about it. [I learned] *that student at the time was going through depression. So that explained a lot of things like inactivity and lack of motivation. Once I understood that better, it helped me understand. OK, so this isn't because he hates me or because he hates the class or whatever. It's just simply what's going on in his mind. He doesn't want to work.*

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented select critical incidents from twelve IPSE staff members. These incidents were pulled from interview transcripts with the faculty, staff, peer mentors, and graduate assistant interviewed for the study. Each incident was selected via an evaluation process described in Chapter 3. The 39 incidents presented here were selected from a pool of 64 total incidents. Profiles of participants were also included in this chapter along with each participant's selected critical incidents.

CHAPTER 5

Findings

The purpose of this study was to understand emotion work experiences of individuals teaching, working or mentoring in Inclusive Postsecondary Education Programs IPSE for adult students with intellectual disabilities in higher education. The following research questions guided this study:

1. What does emotion work mean to individuals teaching, working or mentoring in an IPSE program?
2. What is the nature of the emotional engagement of faculty and staff when working with IPSE students?

This chapter presents a cross-incident analysis, identifying five themes related to how faculty and staff engage in their work with IPSE students how emotion manifests in IPSE work. In this chapter I will share themes and subthemes identified though critical incident interviews and examine them in light of Hochschild's theory of emotion labor (Hochschild, 1983).

Overview of Findings

A total of 39 incidents from a pool of 64 total incidents were included in the incident analysis. Incidents were selected for inclusion based on the depth of description in the story, context provided as part of the incident and the discussion of emotion at play in each story. Incidents were selected for inclusion based on After restorying incidents, assertions were developed for each incident in an effort to view the incident through the lens of the research questions. After tabulating all assertions, five prominent themes and eleven subthemes rose to

the forefront to give voice to the nature of emotion in IPSE work. Theme one and two demonstrated how IPSE staff recognized the emotion in their work and equipped themselves to manage it. Emotion work was unanimously cited as "part of the job" in disability work and attention was paid to regulating emotion appropriately in front of IPSE students and using emotion as a source of motivation. Themes three through five focus on the second research question exposing the intense emotional involvement IPSE professionals often engage in, in their work. Though some believed it to be "part of the job" all interviewees recounted incidents where they mentally took their work home with them, worrying about work or feeling discouraged about their work or interactions with students and IPSE parents. Table 5.1 included below, detail these themes and their relation to the research questions that guided this study. Findings are organized by research question. Words of participants are italicized in theme narratives throughout this chapter and individual profiles of each university is included here.

Case One: University One

University one worked to support IPSE staff emotionally and build a team that was well equipped to handle diverse student issues and work through emotion on the job. While the director and staff all shared stories of emotionally charged situations, each interviewee shared her satisfaction with the office culture and team mentality. Gowen described this multidisciplinary approach when discussing emotional and confusing work situations.

The team uses their collective strengths to help students, I think that's one piece that can change the level of positive emotional work settings.

The IPSE program director Howard, held space for colleagues to share stories and decompress in a judgement free zone.

When I hire people, [I say] "no one is judging you". If you don't know what to do, say, "I don't know what to do". We all have.

Howard continually checks in with staff members reminding them of the very real threat of burnout in caring work. In discussing emotion management in work Howard shared: *I purposely put a staff together of people with different credentials because we all have different strengths. And to feel safe going in and saying to a coworker, "I was mad when this happened" or "I was disappointed when this happened" so that those emotions have a place to go. Otherwise, people are just going to…become ineffective.*

Howard was no stranger to the toll of caring work, suffering through insomnia and severe stress during her first two years of IPSE work as she developed the program from the ground up, while also serving as the program's sole staff member. Howard urges her colleagues to practice work life balance and to mentally step away from work at the end of the day. Though each interviewee at university one admitted to struggling with the balance or work and home life, they each offered it as a strength of the program, saying they felt supported and encouraged by the director to take time away to decompress and recharge.

Early in each interview at university one, the interviewees tossed out the phrase *moment of the week* when recounting an exciting, heartwarming or amazing moment with an IPSE student. Howard instituted moment of the week as a way to maintain *emotional balance* and focus on one positive story or interaction from the week. At the Friday staff meeting she asks each colleague to share their positive moment of the week to kick off the meeting. What started as an exercise to help the team look on the bright side, evolved into an ongoing practice of searching for the moment of the week, throughout each week. Each interviewee visibly lit up in the interview when sharing examples of their moment of the week, broad smiles and relaxed

posture was the norm when staff shared these positive stories. Interviewees shared impactful stories during our conversation often quipping that during the happy interaction they knew instantly that it was going to be their moment of the week, Nettles shared that she often thought *"moment of the week!"* when something awesome happened at work, then by the time Friday came she has several other moments of the week to choose from in addition to her earlier selection.

Interviewees from this university made it clear that leveraging the team, focusing on the positive moments, practicing and reminding colleagues to practice sustainable work life balance were pivotal parts of navigating the emotion involved in IPSE work. Berry summed this sentiment up at the end of our interview:

I think there's a lot of heavy in what we do. And trying to find the light, I think is what we're all doing as colleagues and as coworkers.

Case Two: University Two

Staff and former staff members at university two recounted stories of triumphs challenges, student growth and tears during our interviews. Staff that worked with IPSE students from the application process through graduation shared stories of intense stress. Each interviewee acknowledged the pressure of balancing IPSE parent demands with realistic staff bandwidth to run the program in a sustainable and student-centered manner. When one-off examples of parents asking for special accommodations for their student or changes to a schedule arose, staff were met with little or no support from program administrators when they worked to follow the rules as written to scale back mentor support during later semesters of the program, or ask parents to discuss concerns with their student as is program protocol instead of contacting IPSE staff members.

When speaking about her responsibilities as coordinator of academic courses for IPSE students, Wurst spoke to the struggle to keep parents happy while staying afloat herself.

I can't call a mom every time a professor cancels class. This semester I'm working with twenty-one professors, I can't- they're [the students are] *safe. I mean, that's what I always try to tell my staff right. When we have these moments of anxiety and stress that come up because* [of the] *the parent demands,* [or] *the students demands. You need to stop. You always have to ask yourself… One, are we doing what's best for the student? Two, are they safe? If those two things are true, then we don't need to involve the parent at that moment.*

The stress involved in working to meet the needs of so many people was relayed repeatedly during interviews at this university. Staff shared stories of rearranging personal schedules to accommodate extra work hours at home, changing student schedules at the last minute when students and parents sought a spur of the moment change and working for months to find alternate internship arrangements when parents were not happy with their student's placement. The intensity of emotional labor staff engaged in was compounded by feelings of being unappreciated by the majority of IPSE parents and frustration with program leader's unwillingness to use feedback to solve problems. Even when things are going well confessed Fouraker: *there's a different level of stress when a lot of stuff hangs on you.*

Interviewees echoed sentiments about the importance of being able to rely on colleagues at university two, most spoke to using colleagues as touchpoints when no one else could really understand the stress of the job. Edwards shared:

It's really hard to kind of understand our job and like the day-to-day facilitation, operations, like whatever the case may be. [We]*empathize with each other and everything and relate to one another.*

However, several interviewees relayed they felt a lack of backing from program administrators. During the most anxiety inducing situation of Jordan's career, she felt disregarded by superiors as action on her situation was postponed.

The fact that it was so open ended and not too high on anybody's list to get resolved was really frustrating. Nobody was really in there in my corner being like," no, no, I know her character, I know she didn't do that". It was not like that, it continued to drag out over weeks and weeks without me hearing anything, just knowing that these were things that were being said about me.

Jordan shared several more examples of times she requested additional support from program administrators. Jordan left her job in the IPSE program after burning out. In reflecting on this decision to leave her job in the interview she shared:

I am really sad that I had to leave that job. But it wasn't going to get any better.

Staff working in academic coordination, internship placement and IPSE student support each spoke to the sustainability of caring work and acknowledged the need to self-sooth and engage in self-care to stay in control of emotions. Edwards spoke about reaching her limit and knowing when she needed to disconnect and take care of herself after an emotional interaction with a student, telling her colleague:

"I've got to go. I can't be here right now." "I need to go work by myself."

Though IPSE staff at university two have developed individual ways to cope with the emotional labor of their work they all spoke to the toll that caring work takes. They eluded to ways emotional labor might be reduced if changes to the program were undertaken and if program administration backed up the staff when tough situations arose with students and parents. Each interviewee lead with stories of student triumph and reinforced the truth that she

valued her work and knew the difference IPSE programs make in the lives of students. However, sustainability of the work was questioned. As Wurst phrased it:

I have moments like that, like I can't imagine doing anything else. But then that's not the [always the] *reality.*

Case Three: University Three

Staff and former staff members at university three echoed similar sentiments to that of university two regarding lack of support from administrators and the need to go it alone when tough situations arose on the job. Even when high emotion moments arose and a lot was at stake Lacy, then a first-year employee *fresh out of grad school*, was shocked at the situations she was asked to manage. When a student's mental health was in jeopardy and Lacy was called on to handle public breakdowns and panic attacks she felt the gravity of the situation and questioned why supervisors and program administrators were not stepping in.

I also felt a little unsupported again of like, OK, this seems like a big deal-and why am I the one handling it? I'm year one out of grad school. Like, this is nuts.

Lacy's story of a turning point her career when she realized she would have to make her own boundaries at work was an important part of her professional journey.

That was a shift for me in my stating of boundaries of my position and role within the program itself. That was also a shift in my understanding of the support that I would or would not receive on this job.

Former IPSE staff member Davis, described an irritating interaction with an undergraduate mentor and IPSE student that evolved into a more complex situation when she did not receive support from her superiors. Even when Davis asked questions about a

misunderstanding of the rules and worked to clarify her actions, the program director and her supervisor delegated the responsibility of conflict resolution to Davis.

Then they [boss and program director] *were like, you need to have a conversation with that peer mentor and work that out yourself. I was like great* *sarcasm* *that's how the leadership was.*

Having moved into another job and having had time to reflect on her experiences in IPSE work Davis disclosed that yes, IPSE work was emotional but that honestly most of the emotionally laborious situations she remembered, spurred from or were compounded by interactions with the program administrators and not IPSE parents or students.

To be honest, a lot of the stress of IPSE, at least in this program, was the lack of communication between all parties, between the staff above me to the grad students, which is what I was and then like undergrad [peer mentors]. *I really wish there had been more streamlined communication. I think that leadership was lacking. Honestly, a lot of these moments, when you ask me about, emotional moments honestly came more between me and my boss.*

Table 5.1
Themes and Subthemes

Research Questions	**Themes and Subthemes**
RQ1: What does emotion work mean to individuals teaching, working or mentoring in an IPSE program?	**Theme 1**: Learning is Important to Navigate and Regulate Emotion • Learning Through Emotional Situations • "Calling Out" Emotion and Leveraging the Team • Navigating Hard Moments
	Theme 2: Emotional Labor is Used as a Motivator by IPSE Staff • Invigoration from the Hard Truth • The Power of Growth • Full Circle Moment
RQ2:What is the nature of the emotional engagement of faculty and staff when working with IPSE students?	**Theme 3**: IPSE Staff take Emotional Situations Home with Them • Struggle to Separate

	• Reliving It
	Theme 4: Emotional Labor Stems from Beef with the Boss • Unsupported By Superiors • Wake Up Call
	Theme 5: Problems with the Larger Disability and Educational System Manifest in Emotional Labor in IPSE Staff • System Failure

Research Findings

Theme 1: Learning is Important to Navigate and Regulate Emotion

Learning Through Emotional Situations

The most prominent theme across the incidents was the importance of learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work and stories of emotion work in the moment as interviewees worked to regulate emotion. Interviewees conveyed the understanding that divorcing emotion from IPSE work or caring work is not realistic. Instead, they reinforced the importance of learning to recognize emotion as part of the job and to use it, regulate it, or share it based on what is appropriate at the time and most importantly what is in the student's best interests. Themes of learning through emotional situations was reoccurring.

Nettles for example, spoke to an incident of a student leaving the IPSE program against his will, when staff felt like they had *failed* him. Program staff were upset as they handled this emotionally charged situation as best they could by equipping the student for life outside the program and reworking program scaffolding to prevent a similar situation from ever arising again:

It was emotional, essentially it felt a little bit like you failed him. But then on the flip side, OK. What are we going to put in place from here on out so that we make sure no other student comes to this situation?

Embracing emotion as part of disability work and making space for the weight it carries was a strategy for IPSE staff like Gowen. She acknowledges the need to bring emotion into learning as it is an *important component* for students learning independence and practicing socialization:

I don't think it's like you have to fake it and say, I'm happy all the time or I'm never frustrated. But already having the ability to understand it, because you're teaching that to these students who are ultimately about to be independent in the world.

"Calling Out" Emotion and Leveraging the Team

Speaking to the emotion that impacts interactions with the parents of IPSE students is another tricky situation. Berry shared stories of walking through a disability diagnosis with frustrated parents while making space for their hurt because *there's really no way to avoid the emotional piece of that.* Berry's strategy of working through challenges and providing students a plan to move through the challenges strikes a delicate balance with making the space to honor the emotion of the situation:

The fact of it all, because it is- it's emotional. I mean, there's no getting around the fact that we're talking about what your child can or can't do.

Leveraging the support of a team is an excellent way to learn through difficult situations. When reflecting on the emotional high points of IPSE work, respondents at two of the three colleges in this study repeatedly spoke to the importance of peer support from other staff members. Gowen's college built a team of staff with varied skill sets that works together:

When you have someone that has a different perspective and different skill sets, it can be so satisfactory. Having someone that you work closely with that you trust to have a relationship with is so valuable. The team uses their collective strengths to help students. By building a team

of staff with different background and skill sets, the team feels supported and equipped to handle a wide array of challenges.

I think that that's one piece that can change the level of positive emotional work settings. Having the professionalism to recognize that and being able to ask a coworker or someone to say. "OK, how could I approach this?" "How do I put this in the appropriate way?" You have to already have your own process and understanding of how you [navigate emotion]. *That's how you can adapt it to ultimately be productive with someone. I know how I present and I know that someone's sensitive to that. Then I know I need to change my presentation of how I'm presenting my emotion or my words, my language so that I can ultimately still be effective.*

Building a staff that felt supported emotionally as well as professionally was always an important part of the plan for IPSE Program Director Howard:

When I hire people, [I say] *"no one is judging you". If you don't know what to do, say, "I don't know what to do". We all have. I purposely put a staff together of people with different credentials because we all have different strengths. And to feel safe going in and saying to a coworker, "I was mad when this happened" or "I was disappointed when this happened" so that those emotions have a place to go. Otherwise, people are just going to.... become ineffective.*

Twenty years of experience in disability education and the knowledge that this caring work so often leads to exhaustion and burnout put Howard on alert to proactively engage with emotion work with her staff:

I think it's really important that the team work together; it's very important for me that my team all sort of lean on each other. And then there's an open dialogue, so there's some place for these emotions to go. I don't think people should suppress their emotions because it'll eat away at you and you'll burn out.

Howard recognizes that in addition to making space to discuss difficult emotions, it is also important to celebrate the wins and highs of IPSE work to maintain an *emotional balance*. She turned this focus on positive emotion into an ongoing exercise for her staff called *moment of the week:*

I start every staff meeting with moments of the week. So, we're always going back and concentrating on the positive things because as our job, we're supposed to figure out where the students are struggling, what can we teach them and how can we help them navigate this when they graduate. So, we're always looking for what needs to be learned. Where are the problems; where are the holes? I always like to start the staff meetings with the positive. What's the greatest thing that happened this week with students? So, we sort of, you know, stay on an emotional balance. During the week, people say, "Oh, this is my moment of the week!". And then by the time we get to the meeting, it's something else. But I think it really helped people to pull out all of those positive [feelings]*and hang onto those. When you're doing something that's really, really tough, because it's-- I mean, it's a roller coaster ride, and you've got to sort of stabilize yourself because it's not about you. It's about the student.*

Navigating Hard Moments

Interviewees recounted some of the rougher emotional moments of IPSE work, instances when they had to navigate through emotion during spur of the moment interactions with students, mainstream college faculty, and IPSE parents. Heavy moments on the job resonated with staff, often resulting in the staff member making a choice to conceal or regulate an expression of emotion for the student's sake. Berry shared a story of unexpected vulnerability as students began a raw discussion about disability perception in a class as she struggled to maintain composure:

In our career class we were talking about.... Kind of how people perceive them. A lot of students were sharing what it was like in high school. So… the experiences they had being in special ed. or the experiences they had being isolated or in self-contained classrooms. There were some tears from some of the students. And it was just this big moment where everyone was kind of sharing. That was a really emotional moment. Not only the stories they were sharing, but how they were all connecting to each other and sharing because of someone else... Someone else's story.

I managed to keep it together [emotionally]. *We were in a u shape* [in the classroom]. *So, I was on the side, I could kind of like look away if I had to. But I got that kind of little lump in my throat during that moment. I think because that was their story. I wanted to just honor that time that they were sharing. You know what I mean? Like it's not about me, it's about you. I'm going to try to hold this together and just be respectful and listen, and thank them for sharing.*

Separating professional and personal life is a struggle in an all-consuming field. Edwards shared a story of a snide remark from a student that Edwards *"owed her big"*. This comment hit especially hard after an exhausting morning of working to rearrange the student's schedule per her request as a special favor, on top of stress from a tough situation that was unfolding in Edwards' personal life. The last-minute scheduling request from the student put the accommodating staff member in a bind as she worked to quickly rearrange the schedule early one morning before the workday began. Edwards hurried to communicate with a dozen or more faculty instructors and student mentors that were affected by the student' schedule change. During this manic reschedule there was a miscommunication with the student that led to a hiccup in arrival to one of her classes. The staff member resolved the issue and drove the student to her class at the student center. When the staff member apologized for the scheduling snag the student

reacted not with thanks for the time spent accommodating the changes she requested- but disgust at the one miscommunication:

Whenever she said that to me, we had just gotten to the third floor of [the student center], *the elevator doors opened and she had said it. I said..."OK." That's all I said. I start walking off and I said* [thought], *do not cry, do not cry. When I got to my colleague, I said, "I've got to go." I just started bawling and I said, "I've got to go." I grabbed my stuff. And I was just like, I'm not going to engage in that. I'm really not. Because I know it's not... I'm not going to say it's not worth it, but it just really wasn't worth it at the time to engage in that.*

Edwards engaged in emotion labor during her interaction with the student, resisting the urge to display her felt emotions by bursting into tears and calling out the student for her rude comment. When asked about her decision to control emotion in the moment Edwards said that she wanted to remain a professional representation of the program and did not feel crying was appropriate. This felt job requirement coincides with Hochschild's (1983 p.7) definition of emotion labor as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" for a wage. Edwards' interaction with the student and the drive to maintain composure juxtaposed to her emotional outburst back at the office with her colleague, illustrates Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical notion of front and backstage worlds. During the morning confusion of phone calls and extra work, Edwards engaged in deep acting as she remained upbeat and accommodating to the IPSE student, despite her personal worries that day. Even through the miscommunication and car ride she engaged in deep acting in an effort to convince the student all was well in an effort to secure the veil between the performance and real life.

The need to keep a guard up and play a *role* was also shared by Wurst as she described the care with which she feels the need to navigate interactions with IPSE students and parents. After over a decade in disability education she shared her feelings matter-of-factly:

It's very much it's like I, I'm like in a role like an actress during the day with the students and I'm very, very guarded, very guarded about what I say about [my colleagues]*, very guarded about what I say about other students to students when they're frustrated with one of their peers, very guarded about peer mentors.*

When asked about the strain of remaining in this role throughout the workday Wurst relayed the desire to remain professional in her interactions but also the knowledge that IPSE parents were watching and that a small slip could have big professional consequences:

I just feel like it's kind of just the role I play. I mean, I've done that in special ed. I did that in education, my whole educational career. I've been very guarded about what I say to students, even about like my home life trying to connect with them. I rarely say things about like what we did for Halloween or even stuff like that. I've just I've seen it so many times. Where just a slip of the tongue. It's been the demise of somebody's career. And parents will also use it as ammunition, like it was so unprofessional it was so inappropriate, things like that. So, yeah, I've always really been like that [guarded] *with students.*

Undergraduate student mentors Taylor and Ryles sometimes feel the need to regulate emotion in IPSE volunteer work. Peer mentors take their role of *friend, not authority* seriously. This shapes the way they manage emotion with IPSE students, remaining cognizant of the need to remain a friend, and not to push unwanted assistance on the student. Taylor shared a story of struggling to maintain a professional demeanor and not hover over a student during a class she shadowed. During an art class that Taylor was mentoring in, an IPSE student she was paired with

put in very little effort despite his excellent artistic abilities. After the student repeatedly deflected help, suggestions and support from Taylor, she fought the urge to keep stepping in:

His inactivity would stress me out…I just remember in those classes with him that, I would get very frustrated but I wouldn't... I didn't want to express that to him because I didn't want to make the situation worse and I didn't know how he would react if I expressed any kind of anger to him. Plus, I just didn't feel like that would be the correct response.

Helping IPSE students blend in while developing independence and social skills is a focus for IPSE programs. Ryles' story of a cringeworthy campus bus ride when an IPSE student loudly asked why others on the bus were using profanity, tops the list as a time she suppressed emotion during an interaction in IPSE work:

Ben does not use any kind of profanity which is fine. I don't really either, but when we're on the [campus] *bus people are allowed to. That's not something Ben really heard growing up in his town. So, when we first became friends, he was kind of shell-shocked by that. He would make comments about like, why are people saying that? And the person* [cursing] *is like standing beside him. I wouldn't want someone to misunderstand and think Ben is... Because he's not trying to be rude. He's just legitimately never been exposed to that.*

In the moment I would just have to be like, "hey, let's talk about this later" when like internally I'm like, "oh, God, oh, God". What if someone gets mad at Ben and doesn't understand that he's not trying to be rude? So, like those moments I guess I am kind of suppressing. That's kind of a preservation thing, I just wouldn't want there to be a misunderstanding or someone not realize that [about Ben's curiosity and intentions]. *Also, I wouldn't want him to feel. Like, oh, I don't feel very smart right now, or like I wouldn't want them to feel* [mad] *that way, but yeah,* [in those situations] *I'll be like yeah, I'll explain when we get off* [the bus].

Ryles' need to smooth things over on the bus ride, produce a quick and diplomatic answer that satisfied Ben and change the subject is an example of surface acting. Much like Hochschild's (1983) flight attendants meeting irate customers with a smile on his or her face, Ryles worked to maintain a calm and nonchalant tone with Ben as she internally panicked at his loud questions.

Theme 2: Emotional Labor is Used as a Motivator by IPSE Staff

Invigoration from the Hard Truth

Interviewees were passionate about the fact that they worked in emotional roles as IPSE professionals but were also resolute about the satisfaction that comes from their work. The next theme that emerged in the data was the phenomenon of emotion as motivator. Even when the emotional situation that spurred change was not a positive one, interviewees spoke to the way emotion moved programs forward. Nettles' story of the IPSE student leaving the program against his will was a tough situation for the staff to navigate. However, the staff moved forward to update program bylaws to prevent a similar situation from arising in the future:

You can look at it emotionally as a motivator to fix those systems that were not in place to help the students.

Berry was *heartbroken* for a lonely and overwhelmed student that broke down crying in her office but spoke of *compartmentalizing* her emotion and moving into planning mode to help the student:

It's heartbreaking but then you kind of have to compartmentalize that and you're like, OK, that's the thing that happens in the world. So then when you hear those stories, you kind of put it in that box. Like, yep- that's the bad thing that I know about that. And you just use that to

help. OK, so how am I going to help you? So, I know these sad and terrible things, but how am I going to help you?

Howard's journey in IPSE work was motivated largely by emotion. After decades working in special education she was approached about starting an IPSE program at a nearby college. After the urging of numerous colleagues and university staff she hesitated to apply, until a former student appealed to her emotions in a plea for her to take on this new role. Howard shared that the former student said:

"You promised me that if you could make it possible for me to go to college- you would." So that sort of got me. So that's the emotional component.

The Power of Growth

Watching students grow during their time in the program is an incredible highlight of the job. When reflecting on her IPSE work Jordan recounted the story of a previously shy student initiating and planning his own birthday party after four months in the program. An individual that barely spoke upon entrance to the IPSE program was excited to socialize with friends at a university baseball game and coordinate the details of the party:

I just remember being really proud and excited. That student had hit his stride enough to know not only this is what I want to do, but this is who I want to be involved in celebrating my birthday...It was the first moment of like big like booming social growth that I saw with my own eyes. That was so, so exciting.

Edwards also shared the story of the birthday part as a story of huge student growth and a huge motivator for staff. She was working as a peer mentor and program intern at the time and marveled at the student's growth, even sharing the triumph with her husband:

It's awesome. It really is. Seeing a student thrive in their element, something he's so passionate about, it's really amazing to see. I go home and I talk about it to my husband. I talk about it to my brother.

Watching students grow academically is a huge motivator for Wurst. The day of our interview she had just come from a student presentation that made her so proud that she *felt like the student's mom*. After weeks of preparation the student perfectly executed his part of a group project in a university forestry class. Gushing over her conversation with the student and their plans for project follow-up she said:

He presented his piece and I got to be on Zoom to watch it. I had tears in my eyes. I was like, this is such a beautiful thing, all these students just working alongside him…today was just one of those moments. I was like, I'm so proud of you. I'm so proud of you for growth that you've shown in the past two weeks, the amount of practice that you put in this. And we had all these learning moments like we worked on a professional email like a follow up to his professors, thanking them for their time. There're just all these opportunities that you have in an IPSE program that you're not going to get if you were at Goodwill. You're not going to get if you are job shadowing somewhere, you know, at the high school and a CBI trip or something. That's the kind of stuff you know, no matter what kind of data collection we do, it's hard to capture those moments.

Reflecting on another academic success that motivates her work, Wurst shared a story of a student that got his driver's license after completing a university class on planned change. After completing the project and leaving for the summer he never mentioned his intention to take the driver's exam. In July she was surprised by an email from the student announcing that he was a licensed driver that would be driving himself to campus when fall classes began:

Then it was like water works. I was just like, oh my gosh. It was something his mom said. Like she NEVER thought he would drive! He didn't have the want-to the intelligence was there like his ability was there.

Full Circle Moment

Full circle moments are big motivators in IPSE work. Prior to working as a career transition coordinator in her IPSE program, Fouraker served as a student mentor during her graduate study. Fouraker saw firsthand the growth as students learned from internships, developed professional skills and landed jobs. Still, she was surprised at her reaction as students were recognized at graduation:

When they finally graduated from the university, I didn't anticipate being so emotional. I particularly grew really close to one of those students who just to see her succeed and become independent and to truly learn to live by herself and not have to really rely on her family was extremely emotional. Because you see them as peers. I was a student with them and then when I became staff, you see them, they were learning from me and we were working together on career assessments and all this other stuff. You just see them reach that potential and you see the growth.

These moments of realization and growth are the motivation for Fouraker to keep going:

It stays with you. It ignites your passion. At least that's something that it's always for me, it makes me more passionate, more excited to want to make a change within the world and IPSE programs.

When discussing motivation to continue IPSE work, Howard smiled as she admitted that no, her staff does not manage all emotion, they do *cry a lot of happy tears*:

We never show our upset emotions to the students ever. It's sort of our rule, but happy emotions. I mean, graduation is amazing when they get jobs, especially if they get their job before they graduate. We get to see them in person or we sort of watch them on that journey. We check in with our alumni every November 1st. We send out a request to see where they are and usually they'll call back. To hear what they're doing, all of that is- it's just overwhelming.

Nearly all interviewees spoke to the satisfaction of knowing their work makes an impact on others. Though incredibly difficult at the time, Berry mused:

I said to my boss after starting this job, I was like, this is one of those jobs where I feel like if I wasn't here or if I was sick, you know, it would make a big difference. And you don't always feel that way in your job. If you call out, everything's going to work as it was. But in this job, I feel like me being there every day is really important. Which is amazing in terms of like self-efficacy and all of that. But it's also really it's a lot of pressure. It's a lot of responsibility and pressure, but it's a lot of huge opportunity that not everybody gets to say about their job.

It's funny to see people do other jobs that don't have this component to it. I'm like, well, how do you do that? How do you know that you made a difference in your day? How do you know what you did was worthwhile? It's kind of funny, even though it's hard. You know, you can't really imagine doing something else.

I mean, I've literally been so burned out before that I've looked at like.... I'm going to go work in a flower shop or I'm going to go do something completely unrelated.... But when the idea actually comes through, it's like, no I can't do that.... I think I'd be okay for like a week. Then I'd be like, no, this isn't fulfilling.

Theme 3: IPSE Staff take Emotional Situations Home with Them

Struggle to Separate

One of the hallmarks of emotion labor is the feeler's struggle to separate from the role they play when the act is over. When Hochschild (1983) studied emotion labor of Delta flight attendants she was shocked to find that in some cases interviewees got emotional recounting incidents that happened years prior. In addition to demonstrating just how deeply the flight attendants engaged in deep acting on the job, it also spoke to how they processed the trauma of emotion labor, in some cases still being disoriented by upsetting experiences after much time had passed. This pattern came to mind during Edwards' interview as she recounted the emotional story of the IPSE student that snapped back that she "*owed her big*" after a morning of high emotions. When reflecting on the gloomy rainy Friday morning of the incident in our interview a year later Edwards teared up remembering the shock and hurt she felt as she left the student center that morning. In the interview, Edwards shared her outlook for handling emotional situations and applied it to her story:

I have this [mantra] *where it's like if you're not going to remember it in five years, don't spend more than five minutes on it. It was one of those things that I kind of had to put back in my mind, like, hey, don't worry about this, which honestly-- I will think about this in five- years-time. I really will.*

The realization that emotion labor will remain in memory even after an interaction has ended, permeated interviews. The theme of staff taking emotional situations home with them was reoccurring. Edwards spoke several times about mentioning troubling situations to her husband when recounting her day. She shared an ongoing struggle to maintain work life balance and the

knowledge that though her spouse was supportive of her work, no one outside the disability field really “gets it”:

I know my husband is there to listen but obviously he can't… he doesn't understand. This is something me [my colleagues and I] *have all talked about. It's really hard to kind of understand our job and like the day-to-day facilitation, operations, like whatever the case may be.* [We]*empathize with each other and everything and relate to one another. But if I go tell, you know, my husband, he's like, well, why did you feel that way?*

Edwards is cognizant of the fact that bringing home her work may have a negative affect on her health and family, and actively works to move toward a sustainable work life balance:

Trying to balance work and my personal life has been not a struggle, but it's been very interesting to do. Not only does it affect me, but it affects my husband, too, which has started to affect me. It's one of those things where I kind of step back and I look and I'm like, you know, he's really being affected by this. There's something that's got to change. And I've just kind of transitioned into, nope, I'm sorry [in response to drawing more strict lines around work life balance and personal time].

Having worked the disability realm in her previous role as an occupational therapist, Berry was candid about her struggles with work life balance:

They even asked me in my interview for this position. They said, "how do you do separating, work and personal life?" I was like, "I don't... Do you have any tips?" Like, I was honest, I don't- I don't know. It's not easy. Like, I try- I physically try to move things to a different place or to check out when I go home.

Gowen, a recreation therapist by training, admits she does not always take her own advice but understands how critical it is for staff to distance themselves from work and recharge:

I do think that you have to be able to check out, again, recreation therapist, practice what you preach. Recreation and leisure time is therapeutic. And if you're not giving it to yourself, then it will hurt your ability to perform as a professional as well. Sometimes I'm better at that than others, some problems seem to be bigger.

Reliving It

Even after working through difficult emotional situations, staff sometimes engage in impression management to move through the situation. Staff often find themselves rehashing conversations with students, tough questions and missed opportunities as they replay interactions in their mind. Student mentor Ryles described an internal struggle as she mentally planned how to work through a tough situation with a mentee, Lucy, that had arisen multiple times. Anticipating that Lucy would once again lie about her college major when meeting other university students, Ryles thought through the most honest and diplomatic way to move through a sticky situation without calling Lucy out:

I personally had just been thinking about it a lot. So, like, man, like I want to do right by her friendship wise. But I also don't want to hurt her. Because Lucy is a very like she's very what's the word? Emotionally intelligent, like more than most people I know, like that girl can read body language, like I have to make sure that I'm not. I don't have any like weird... I know that if I have, like an accidental weird reaction to something, she would think about it and mull over it and overthink it. I knew I was like, OK, with Lucy especially. I need to be extra intentional...

For Davis, working in a career counseling role as a graduate student in IPSE work, being unexpectedly excluded from a student's final person-centered-planning meeting dealt a hard blow that left her in tears with her mind racing:

My mind went to the tension we've had in the past and also the fact that he'd kind of been checked out for that semester. Maybe I should [have] done more, or reached out more, that sort of thing...I was devastated. It was really hurtful. I didn't realize our relationship was that strained. I was sad and I was crying. That was a really emotional moment for me because who wants to feel like they're not welcome or liked.... What went through my mind was yeah... The way we had struggled about the internship over those previous semesters...So yeah, it was shock... It was a shock. I was like, oh...

Jordan experienced such intense emotional distress from her all-consuming job that she frequently came home in tears. Lack of support in her role, coupled with harassment from IPSE parents made the job all the more unsustainable. When describing the gnawing drudgery of waiting to hear more from a false accusation of roughly grabbing a student's arm, Jordan described the waiting for next steps from administrators as *paralyzing*. The situation dragged on for weeks, as Jordan worried about the slanderous accusation and the impact it might have on her job:

It was a thing that never happened [grabbing the student's arm] *that we were talking about. I was really put in a rock and a hard place to even be able to speak about this thing that didn't happen. And the parent didn't believe me when I said "I obviously didn't—" She was like, "well, there's nothing obvious about it." It was… it was so traumatic….I was close enough to, like, really being about to have an emotional breakdown...Nobody is really there in my corner* [during this process]*...by the time we got to graduation, it wasn't even- it didn't even feel exciting, really. It was just like, oh, my God, I'm so glad this is over. I didn't feel like I had the chance to really celebrate with any of the parents or the students.*

IPSE work is high emotion by nature, but building a program from scratch, as Howard was tasked with, came with added stress. After being hired as IPSE program director, Howard worked tirelessly to play each role in the program until staff were hired to join the team. Teaching classes, recruiting and vetting new students, winning over mainstream university faculty, answering middle of the night phone calls, fundraising and plunging student's toilets were just a few of the tasks Howard was immersed in during the early days of the program:

There's so much stress. I was also the only person available to the students because nobody else worked there at the time. So, if they had an emergency after hours. I was the person - I was so afraid of the phone ringing and I was there for them all during the day. Then I had to do all the administrative stuff at night. It was just really stressful. I think it's just when you're setting up a program, it's stressful. I don't usually tell people this, but since you're talking about emotions, that's when I really got insomnia and I couldn't sleep for about two years.

The emotion was upped when Howard learned in the early days of the program, that a faculty member went to the university president to have her fired. Frazzled from lack of sleep and doing several jobs at once and worried about the future of the program and job security Howard broke down:

I had someone go to the president to try to have me fired. And all of that was.... I mean, I cried. That was- that was some rough stuff. I just never had anybody try to get me fired before. I think part of why that was so emotional is because I broke my contract with the school district and I knew I couldn't teach in [the state] *for three years because I broke my contract. So now it was my job. That was one thing that was a little bit more emotional.*

Theme 4: Emotional Labor Stems from Beef with the Boss

Unsupported by Superiors

Feeling unsupported or alone in their role in IPSE work was an emotional theme that emerged from a subset of interviewees. Two of the three colleges included in the study had interviewees that shared emotional incidents where the most isolating and hurtful part of the incident, was the lack of support they felt from administration. Breakdown in communication, lack of clarity and follow through on policies and ignoring or delegating complex problems instead of attending to them were all IPSE leadership pitfalls mentioned by interviewees.

When Davis was reprimanded by her boss and the program director after gently enforcing what she believed to be a program policy on no closed doors, she felt blindsided and unsupported.

I thought the rules were you are not supposed to have the door closed…I went to my boss and was like, what are the rules around doors and everything? [The boss and director said] *no, it's fine. It was fine, they could have the door closed, it's fine and Davis- they were having a <u>really</u> serious conversation and you interrupted them. I just felt like that was like a really frustrating moment for me.*

To be honest, a lot of the stress of IPSE, at least in this program, was the lack of communication between all parties, between the staff above me to the grad students, which is what I was and then like undergrad [peer mentors]. *I really wish there had been more streamlined communication. I think that leadership was lacking. I just felt like I shouldn't say you were supposed to be doing this, because I'm not his boss…I was really not settled. I didn't know how to communicate with him. Genuinely, because we didn't have the same information.*

[Later] *I confronted my boss and said, hey, I really wish you guys had told me that* [L, the mentor] *was going to talk to me about this, because then I could have cleared some of the things up with you two, before this conversation* [with L, the mentor]. *They were just like, we really wanted you to handle it.* *4 second pause* *Honestly, a lot of these moments, when you ask me about, emotional moments honestly came more between me and my boss.*

Jordan spoke about a time she felt unsupported by her boss when a student insulted her for no reason. The student told another staff member *"Jordan is a bitch"* with no explanation. Jordan took the time to *simmer down* a few days before speaking to the student about how inappropriate his comment was and requesting an apology. Jordan reported the situation to supervisors and was unsurprised but irritated when nothing else came from the situation:

I ended up telling the director and she like feigned being offended about it…. It didn't matter to anybody who wasn't the one that got called a bitch.

Learning how to handle the support she was or was not going to receive in IPSE work was pivotal to Lacy's professional journey. Early on in her career Lacy witnessed a distressing interaction between an IPSE student and parent after school hours, off campus. When she reported the interaction she witnessed to her superiors, she was dismayed with the lack of follow-up:

I didn't know what to do, I didn't know what my role was...I think I was scared. I think I also felt a little bit just like this is-- I have never experienced something like this before. I have never kind of witnessed something so blatant, so uncomfortable.

The theme of going it alone continued as Lacy stepped up to handle high stakes situations at work with no oversight from superiors. In the same student cohort, Lacy forged a bond with a

student that struggled with depression and anxiety. The student frequently experienced panic attacks on campus, necessitating immediate staff attention.

Her anxiety was super high and at many points she expressed to me a desire to not be alive anymore. There were times when she was on campus, I knew I was going to get a call of, like, she's freaking out. She's sitting down in the middle of the student center. I'm not sure what to do. I'd kind of hustle over there and meet with her and calm her down.

That became a pattern and that was emotionally taxing, but also the first few times that happens. I wasn't necessarily sure what to do. I felt pretty exhilarated and pretty confident in my ability that I understood her and understood what was happening with her, what she needed in the moment, and how-to kind of help her co-regulate with me. I also felt a little unsupported again of like, OK, this seems like a big deal-and why am I the one handling it? I'm year one out of grad school. Like, this is nuts…

Wake Up Call

Lacy thrived in her role, being alternatively invigorated by her ability to connect with this student and worn down by how that responsibility manifested. Despite being emotionally taxed by her work she dove headfirst into any program needs. That mentality *shifted* after an alarming interaction with an IPSE parent and the lack of support from program administration that followed the incident. When a student's father that was acting as a personal care attendant on campus crossed the line by touching Lacy's leg during a conversation she ended the interaction and reported the incident to supervisors:

He's got a Bible app and he says, "oh, let me let me tell you about this". He also put his hand on my leg. At that moment I kind of went into a fight or flight and I was like- this is inappropriate. I'm not having this conversation with you and got up and left.

[After the incident I] *Debriefed with a team member and took it to my supervisors. It was kind of just like, I'm sorry that happened.* [The program leadership said] *We're going to meet with his dad again and then, you know rewrite some rules and boundaries.*

Lacy describes the time waiting for administrative action following the incident as a pivotal time when she underwent a change. She quickly understood that she had to step back and create boundaries to protect herself from the all-encompassing nature of disability work:

That was a shift for me, for a lot of things. A shift for me in my relationship with that student and his family, particularly the father. That was a shift for me in my stating of boundaries of my position and role within the program itself. That was also a shift in my understanding of the support that I would or would not receive on this job, if that makes sense to you. I think I was very clear with upper management and supervisors about, hey, this is what happened. This is inappropriate. I am no longer interacting with this family member. If somebody else needs to, that can be somebody else's job.

Lacy is not the only interviewee that described a change in her behavior or beliefs over her time working in IPSE. When asked how she changed during her time in IPSE work Jordan readily offered:

I became more jaded… I remember having a conversation with the department head one time. Like, if you were paying me six figures to do this work, this would be a different conversation. But I am not getting paid enough money to get the crap beat out of me like this.

After repeated requests for backup from program administrators during tough interactions with parents and students, Jordan ultimately made the decision to leave her job:

If we were to boil a very complex decision [to leave] *down to like one distilled reason that's it. That's why I had to leave. After several months of saying to the unit head, I am not*

happy, I'm not supported, and I need to know who is going to take this stuff off my plate. I said that end of July and by the middle of the semester, I still hadn't gotten an answer. It wasn't fun. I am really sad that I had to leave that job. But it wasn't going to get any better.

Wurst echoed Jordan's sentiment about change during her time in IPSE work sharing: *Oh, I've gotten just way more calloused.* Stressful demands from IPSE parents often make Wurst feel the need to refocus on the task at hand when schedules get crazy:

I can't call a mom every time a professor cancels class. This semester I'm working with twenty-one professors, I can't- they're [the students are] *safe. I mean, that's what I always try to tell my staff right. When we have these moments of anxiety and stress that come up because* [of the] *the parent demands,* [or] *the students demands. You need to stop. You always have to ask yourself… One, are we doing what's best for the student? Two, are they safe? If those two things are true, then we don't need to involve the parent at that moment.*

Theme 5: Problems with the Larger Disability and Educational System Manifest in Emotional Labor in IPSE Staff

System Failure

For many staff members incredible distress came from the realization of how much farther the world still needs to come. Interviewees relayed emotional stories about interactions with mainstream college faculty, college administrators and even elected officials that were ignorant, rude or nonchalant about disability inclusion and IPSE growth. Howard will never forget a shocking elevator ride with a faculty member during her first weeks on campus building the IPSE program she now directs:

I was in an elevator with a woman [I'd never seen before] *and she's like, "are you that* [IPSE] *woman?" I said "I suppose so". She said "you should not even be here, you have no right*

to be on this campus." I just kind of looked at her shocked and then I got out of the elevator. I don't even know if it was my floor. I just got out. Yeah. I was SO shocked because usually people are mean in the email they're not as snarky to your face.

Berry reflected on the offense and frustration felt during one of her first faculty meetings when she entered IPSE work. The dismissive faculty member shrugged off Berry's questions about adapting course curriculum for IPSE students then flippantly responded *"what do I care?"* when she suggested specific modifications that could work. When the professor's attitude was too much to handle, Berry described her transition to deep acting (Goffman, 1959) went into *customer-service-mode* thanking him for his time and responding in an *overly professional* manner:

I think a lot of professors think that us coordinators are like moms that just are bored at home and want to help people. So, there's not a lot of like professional respect and..... I just was so upset, like I remember that day thinking, OK, maybe I can't do this. If people are going to be this terrible. I don't know if I can do this.

I just --I hate that he gets to hold that opinion of them [IPSE students]. *I mean, it's frustrating, but I know he's not the only one. That's kind of heartbreaking that there are people that don't think programs like these should exist. That's really devastating to me to think that people are so dismissive just without knowing anything about what we do.*

IPSE programs are still fairly recent additions to college campuses so people less involved in higher education or disability advocacy may not have not heard of these programs. However, most people would expect disability awareness from political leaders that make important budget decisions regarding higher education funding and disability inclusion and advocacy policies. Unfortunately, Fouraker found that to be untrue on a visit to the state capitol

with IPSE students. She was shocked by the ignorance of politicians they spoke with and left discouraged about the lack of awareness:

That was really difficult to see because it's something that I was so normalized with. Then you see yourself advocating on campus and in the community for them to have opportunities and then to see the state [leaders]. *Some senators don't even understand or have not even heard of what these* [IPSE programs] *are, which is very difficult* [to hear] *considering the state has nine.*

It was extremely emotional to see the lack of awareness that a lot of public officials in the state don't even understand about disability awareness and disability advocacy and disability studies as a whole. I was extremely emotional because these students are just like anybody else, in our state. The fact that their rights and these opportunities just aren't looked at.... was extremely... just not good.

As the day unfolded, Fouraker was called on by political leaders to represent the facts of IPSE on her campus. She was careful to engage in surface acting all the while in an effort to support the IPSE students by her side:

[We] *let* [the IPSE students] *talk about their experience and what they want and get out of it* [the program]. *I was very upset, but I also, again, couldn't necessarily show my emotions because I was with our two students. To them, this was an incredible opportunity to talk about themselves. But to staff it was disheartening because you see the ignorance and the lack of education that certain officials have that have not even taken the time to look into what are the policies and what are the new initiatives that the state is even doing* [in disability awareness and advocacy].

Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented findings and conclusions of critical incident narratives analyzed in this study. Analytic induction of critical incidents collected using Flanagan's (1954) critical incident technique were analyzed for themes and subthemes in this study. Prominent themes that arose in this study were that IPSE professionals had an expectation to engage in emotion work as part of their job, that type of emotional labor varied by professional role and that lower administrative support lead to higher levels of emotional labor among IPSE staff.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to understand emotion work experiences of individuals teaching, working or mentoring in Inclusive Postsecondary Education Programs IPSE for adult students with intellectual disabilities in higher education. This study used critical incident technique to examine incidents gathered via semi-structured interview. The following research questions guided this study:

1. What does emotion work mean to individuals teaching, working or mentoring in an IPSE program?
2. What is the nature of the emotional engagement of faculty and staff when working with IPSE students?

Cross-Incident Analysis

IPSE staff from each university represented in this study spoke to emotional highs and lows of IPSE work and agreed that yes- caring work often crossed the line from emotion management and work (Goffman, 1959) to emotional labor. When trying situations at work resulted in emotional labor and staff felt the pull to manage feeling to create an observable facial and bodily display as part of the job, they felt emotionally taxed sometimes to the point of emotional dissonance or burnout (Hochschild, 1983 p.7). Staff at university one were not saved the toll of emotional labor entirely. However, the scaffolding the program director built did shelter staff from preventable emotional labor (eliminating interactions with IPSE parents, steering clear of unsupportive mainstream faculty etc.) and provided a safe place for staff to go

to deal with their feelings. In addition to expressing their feelings and feeling validated in the *judgement-free zone* the director created, staff were able to create a plan to avoid similar situations moving forward.

University two and three did share examples of learning from emotional situations and acting to prevent similar situations from arising in the future. Still, the interventions described were more programmatic in nature, focusing on changing rules, class sequencing or admission requirements as a result of a fallout. Even when programmatic action occurred, staff did not feel seen by program administrators. Though staff were given the opportunity to vent stress and air grievances they were often left even more discouraged by the lack of action taken after a conversation with administrators. When these situations arose, emotional labor felt by staff was not addressed leaving staff alone to cope with feelings from not only the tough student situation but feelings of emotional dissonance as a result of being ignored by supervisors.

Table 6.1
Cross-Incident Analysis of Emotional Labor

University One	**University Two**	**University Three**
Staff Felt Emotionally Supported by Administration	Staff Engaged in Emotional Labor Without Support of Administration	Staff Engaged in Emotional Labor Without Support of Administration
Colleagues Supported Each Other	Colleagues Supported Each Other in the Absence of Administrative Support	Staff Felt They Were "Going It Alone"
Program Director Modeled Sustainable Work Rhythms and Boundaries	Staff Struggle to Create Personal Boundaries in the Absence of Administrative Support	Staff Felt the Push to Create Personal Boundaries in the Absence of Administrative Support

Learning Mediates Emotion Labor

Interviewees in this study were honest about the emotional toll that caring work takes. Traditionally, a variety of roles within disability services and education have been classified as jobs with high emotional touch rates. This history of emotion in caring work has permeated

culture or career training programs enough that IPSE workers shared statements that eluded to an expectation to engage in emotion work. Emotion work is born from the belief that an individual may need to convey different feelings than he or she is actually feeling. Emotion work often manifests in an individual putting on a "front" for others to display an emotion different from the felt emotion actually being experienced, or to exaggerate emotions to influence the feelings of others. The primary types of emotion work are emotion suppression and emotion evocation (Hochschild, 1983). The focus on evocation of emotion is about conjuring "a desired feeling which is initially absent"(Hochschild, 1979, p. 561).

Interviewees shared comments about the emotional reality of the work and meeting the gravity of high stakes situations knowing that emotion work will be involved through the practice of impression management and surface acting. Interviewees, even undergraduate student mentors volunteering in IPSE work each relayed an understanding that they "represented the program" and took care that their emotions acted in concert with this role.

In a profession that abounds with emotional labor, interviewees spoke to leaning into emotion and learning through the tough times. Recognizing situations, even tough ones as a learning opportunity and moving forward with a plan to learn through the situation is a choice that interviewees consistently mentioned. When speaking about managing emotion with a crying student and fighting back tears herself, Berry moved into helping and learning mode and worked to develop a solution for the student and equip herself with a way to prevent similar patterns from arising in the future.

It's heartbreaking but then you kind of have to compartmentalize that and you're like, OK, that's the thing that happens in the world. So then when you hear those stories, you kind of put it in that box. Like, yep- that's the bad thing that I know about that. And you just use that to

help. OK, so how am I going to help you? So, I know these sad and terrible things, but how am I going to help you?

Adult learning often happens in untraditional ways through interpersonal exchanges, life experiences or on the job. Malcolm Knowles forever influenced the field of adult education by popularizing the concept of andragogy, the science of adult learning. Knowles (1968) described the process as art meeting science. "Andragogy is the art and science of helping adults learn based on certain crucial assumptions about the differences between children and adults as learners" (p. 351). Knowles' theory held that adult learners learned best under different circumstances than children and needed different motivators, instruction methods and climate in which to learn. Knowles compiled a set of assumptions to provide insight into the needs of adult learners. The first assumption states that as adult learners move toward independence in educational studies he or she can eventually direct his or her own learning. The second assumption is that the compiled life experiences of adults will affect their learning experience. Next, adult learners are motivated to learn when a new life role or career necessitates the learning. Because of this, adult learners wish to immediately apply learning in real life experiences. Finally, adult learners tend to be intrinsically motivated to learn as opposed to the extrinsic factors that are often learning motivators for children. (Knowles, 1980).

In an examination of the role of emotional labor in the learning process for community college faculty, Larson tapped into the feelings of faculty that believed emotional labor was "an integral part of teaching and course content" (2008 p.48). Faculty in Larson's study described a transition of understanding about the role of emotional labor in their work as they gained experience teaching undergraduate students at a community college. Their understanding of the role of faculty member and co-adult learner in the college classroom evolved as they grasped

how empathy and emotional investment in students so often set the backdrop for valuable interactions and academic breakthroughs. This is similar to interviewee's comments about stepping into emotion, calling out emotion or welcoming emotion as a valuable part of the learning process in IPSE work.

A pattern of embracing emotion as a way to further informal and incidental learning with IPSE students or in IPSE mentor trainings was evident in the critical incidents in this study. Not unlike Brenes-Dawsey' s (2018) teacher education faculty that used emotion as a spearhead to help concepts resonate with preservice teachers; IPSE staff in this study mobilized emotion labor to teach students independence, social emotional skills and aid students in the classroom. These instances are described by Marsick and Watkins (1990) as incidental learning, when situations arise as a byproduct of an interpersonal interaction, task accomplishment or as a byproduct of a formal learning experience. Incidental learning can be incredibly helpful as students work to learn patterns to enhance the effectiveness of their learning.

While incidental learning may prove beneficial for students and IPSE student mentors that learn from these impactful moments, these same emotional peaks are often tough for IPSE staff to move through. Nettle's suppression of rage as she taught an IPSE student about socioeconomic differences and implications of borrowing money following a conflict provided a great backdrop for incidental learning to occur for the IPSE student and for the supervising graduate student involved in the conflict. However, the situation was of noteworthy frustration to Nettles resulting in the stress emotional labor. The data in this study and the literature demonstrates that learning mediates emotion labor.

Emotional Labor Varied Based on Roles Where Interviewees Worked

When interviews began at university two I was surprised not only to hear similar stories of emotional labor recounted by interviewees but also similar rhythms to which staff members more often had emotional situations arise with administrators, parents, mentors or mainstream university faculty. It quickly became clear that the type of emotional labor a staff member experiences in IPSE work varies based on his or her role in the program. Howard, the program director and founder of university one's IPSE program received pushback from mainstream university faculty when building the program that made her feel attacked and vulnerable. She described the emotional labor of fearing for her job during the early days of the program because she knew anti-IPSE faculty were complaining to the university president about the program. Comments about her panic at the situation matched information reflected in the literature. Goleman (1995) asserted that when the team is tasked with being out front and playing their part within the context of a larger group, the leader is constantly involved in self-focused emotional labor (Pugliesi, 1999) in which he or she is asked to interact on behalf of the team or group they represent. Regardless of the insecurity, confidence or panic the leader may feel; the need to convey strong and steady leadership ability and to retain the team's faith in the goal must remain the primary concern of the leader (Humphrey, 2012) when engaging in emotional labor in a team or when representing the team in a broader context.

Berry, the student coordinator for a cohort at university one, described struggling not to cry in a meeting with a rude and dismissive faculty member that grudgingly added IPSE students to his course. Student and parent-facing staff described more common struggles with emotional interactions with students and stress from parents. Edwards described working to shuffle student schedules regularly to make parents and students happy. Gowen's story of helping a student

coregulate emotion during a tough moment, Fouraker's relief upon finding the perfect internship placement for a student after she has worried about letting him down and Davis' story of taking the brunt of an IPSE family member's anger at a basketball game are all examples of the similar types of emotion that student-facing IPSE staff members engage in most often. Incidents of high emotion were often followed by a debrief "vent session" with an IPSE colleague. The web of support among staff that surfaced in these interviews were similar to those described by Oliver (2017) in her study of emotion labor in hospice care professionals. Informal learning through reflection and support from colleagues were hugely important for the hospice care professionals in Oliver's study. Similarly, the ties that bind IPSE colleagues were consistently mentioned as an important touchpoint in professional life and a robust source of emotional support for IPSE staff.

Undergraduate peer mentors engaged in student-facing emotional labor during their time working in IPSE programs. Ryles described numerous instances of working through the right response to IPSE students mentally to ensure she did *right by them friendship wise* while also being truthful and realistic. Reassuring Ben that another fainting spell would likely not happen and being honest with him about the road to graduate school were just two examples of Ryles taking significant time to weigh options before responding and consider the possible implications of her response.

It was important to mentors that they were friends with IPSE students first. Both Ryles and Taylor said that it was important that they not act like an authority figure, they are friends of their IPSE mentees not there to boss them around. Taylor described an emotional struggle maintaining this relationship when she fought the urge not to hover over a mentee in an art class. When the student became withdrawn and uninterested in his paintings she had to step back to gather her emotions because his inactivity really stressed her out. During the shuffle of the first

week of class Taylor struggled not to come off as bossy and angry when she finally found an IPSE student that had been running away from her on campus to avoid class.

Research shows that more inclusive IPSE programs like the programs at the universities represented in this study, positively impact mainstream student's perceptions of disability in addition to positively impacting IPSE students (Uditsky & Hughson, 2012) (Harrison et. al., 2019). Normalizing disability inclusion was very important to mentors and they took their role seriously, looking for opportunities to help IPSE students join the gang of mainstream students at the university and to engage in student life, church and academic courses as any mainstream student would. Even when potentially embarrassing situations arose like when Lucy fibbed about her major to friends and they asked questions, or when Ben loudly inquired about why a student was curing on the campus bus, Ryles described swallowing down initial panic and looking for a diplomatic and kind way to get through the moment without embarrassing her friends or offending other students.

A cross-incident analysis of these universities made it clear that emotional labor occurs across the board in IPSE work but the frequency with which staff members engage in certain types of emotional labor does vary by role. A program director's defense of IPSE work to a rude university council member, an IPSE staff member gritting her teeth while being cursed out by an angry parent and an undergraduate mentor struggling to help an IPSE student fit in while questioning their own tactics, are all examples of very diverse streams of emotional labor in IPSE work.

Table 6.2
Sources of Emotional Labor by Role

	Director	**Academic Staff**	**Program Staff**	**Mentors**
Emotional Labor Driven By:	University Bureaucracy	Mainstream University Faculty	IPSE Administration	Striking a Balance Between Mentor and Friend
	Mainstream University Faculty	IPSE Administration	IPSE Parents	Normalizing Inclusion on Campus
	Government Stipulations	Internship Employers	IPSE Students	

Lower Institutional Support Manifests in Higher Emotional Labor Levels of IPSE Staff.

Even with the expectation to engage in impression management to remain professional and helpful for students, the interactions described by interviewees frequently veered into the territory of emotional labor. Hochschild's (1983 p.7) definition of emotional labor "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" for a wage, fits the mold that was recounted in incidents. When IPSE staff received low or no support from supervisors or program administrators during a tough situation, negative emotions were compounded and emotion labor levels of staff rose. The empirical literature supports this conclusion as Pugliesi's (1999) study of the consequences of emotional labor in the workplace concluded that lower levels of control over situations at work resulted in higher levels of both self-focused and other-focused emotional labor. In pursuit of more information about the role of emotional labor in job satisfaction or job stress, Pugliesi (1999) learned that emotional labor was indeed associated with lower levels of job satisfaction and higher levels of distress and reported stress on the job. Oliver (2007) also found that lack of leadership infrastructure resulted in an unsupportive environment for hospice care professionals resulting in compounded emotional labor on the job. In this study Berry, Jordan, Fouraker, and Davis all shared stories of pushing through an upsetting interaction in which they did not receive support from an administrator or

supervisor as they fought back tears, and later breaking down when they had left the situation. This pattern fits Hochschild's definition "this labor requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (Hochschild, 1983 p.8) and empirical literature supports the conclusion that lower institutional support manifests in higher emotional labor of IPSE staff.

Because IPSE work is so all-encompassing, it seemed interviewees were always "on". Engaging in frequent emotion labor poses a risk to the authentic self, as workers can eventually become so wrapped up in deep acting on the job that they have problems disengaging when the "act" is over, this is known as emotional dissonance. In cases where emotional dissonance occurs, employees can lose touch with a sense of authentic self (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993) as a result of routinely falling into deep acting. Even with an expectation to engage in emotion work on the job, the IPSE professionals in this study far surpassed the normal expectation of acting professionally and collegially to students and colleagues. Edwards exhibited indications of emotional dissonance and acted in concert with Pugliesi's (1999) theory of performance of other-focused emotional labor, as she relayed her struggle to step away from work and put on her non-work face enough to enjoy a night of movies with her husband instead of constantly watching her email for the next student request. Interviewees consistently suppressed emotion in high stress situations, mentally carried work home with them and struggled to strike a balance between their personal and professional lives.

When IPSE staff sought out support from administrators to work through a problem or garner support on the heels of an emotional situation they often felt ignored. As we discussed in the previous conclusion, IPSE staff experience emotion labor differently base on the role they are working in. This means that what student-facing IPSE staff might see as a snub by an

administrator may actually be that administrator's attempt to move through his or her own emotional situation as smoothly as possible. When considering the limited federal funding for IPSE work, coupled with the pull of university and state pressures, it is likely that programs are falling prey to the strive to survive rhythm as Constanti and Gibb's (2004) describe in their study of emotional labor in higher education. They discuss the implications of a business approach to higher education that situates students as customers to the emotional detriment of faculty and staff that are required to perform emotional labor as a means of customer satisfaction. Transparency among staff and program administrators is an important step toward combatting this the problem of institutional support. While some issues of federal funding or university policy will remain in the realm of program administrators only, honest exchanges between IPSE staff and program administrators is a first step in understanding the unique emotional labor load each party is managing and seeing the bigger picture.

Implications for Theory

Stories of emotional labor on the job spanned each university, staff role and length of time working in disability education in this study. Even staff that were only a year into their IPSE professional journey, shared a plethora for incidents of emotion in her interview. I began this study looking to examine instances of emotion work in IPSE programs. While I believed the high stress atmosphere of disability education at any level would result in emotional labor inputs on the part of program staff, research questions were formulated in response to Brenes-Dawsey's (2018) findings on how faculty in higher education perceived emotional labor in teacher preparation programs. When setting out to study emotional labor of faculty working in teacher preparation programs, he was surprised to find that faculty considered their ability to navigate moments of intense emotion in a deliberate and controlled manner, a professional strength.

Building on this research, I examined incidents of emotion work instead of making assumptions about the presence of emotional labor. This allowed space for interviewees to tell their story to see if patterns of emotion they shared fell in line with the emotional intelligence highlighted in Brenes-Dawsey' s (2018) study or Hochschild's (1983) definition of emotional labor.

Interviewees in this study articulated their expectation to engage in emotion work as part of their job in disability work. Similar to the educators in Brenes-Dawsey' s (2018) study, IPSE staff shared proud stories of helping a student through a difficult situation and engaging in surface acting to protect or empower a student during a tough moment. While disability work is indeed emotionally charged, staff relayed overwhelming work load, controlling IPSE parents and lack of support from administrators as top factors contributing to emotional labor on the job. Some IPSE parents and students described in the incidents in this study were reminiscent of the customer service focused model to education described in Constanti & Gibbs' (2004) study where educators were dually tasked with turning a profit for the program while maintaining customer service relations with students.

Callahan (2000) spoke to the importance of revealing hidden pathologies that might develop from emotion work within organizations early on, to prevent hidden streams of emotion from upending organizational development down the road. She described this extension of theory as pivotal to human resource development of organizations. This extension of theory is pertinent to my research as IPSE programs plan for expansion and changes in the coming years. A collaborative approach involving all team players of IPSE staff and mentors will be needed to move the program forward. Threads of discord from subgroups of IPSE programs that feel unheard or ignored by program administration can quickly fray and inhibit organization success.

Critical incident narratives of many interviewees told an individual story of personal growth within the narrative ark of an interviewee's time in disability work. In addition to incidents showing isolated snapshots of emotional labor, surface acting or impression management in the moment, IPSE staff were also contributing to their comprehensive narrative as an adult learner, IPSE professional and an individual. Digging into felt, expressed or managed emotion of interviewees, sets the stage to learn more about transformative learning through emotional labor.

The push to transform often arrives by way of a disorienting dilemma in which an individual finds himself or herself. This push into the transformative learning process might be a false accusation on the job or a conformation with a customer that verbally beredes you. While the disorienting dilemmas from critical incidents recounted most readily come to mind for stories shared by Lacy, Davis, Jordan and Taylor, each interviewee shared at least one incident that presented a problem necessitating the staff member engage in reflection, question assumptions and equip herself to move forward to learn and transform through the situation.

Mezirow outlines transformative learning in ten stages moving from a disorienting dilemma, to self-examination accompanied by feelings of anger or shame and into an assessment of assumptions. From there the learner recognizes discontent and explores new opportunities for action, a plan is developed and the learner acquires the necessary skills to implement this plan. Next the learner tries out these new roles and eventually works to build self-confidence in the new role. Finally, the learner incorporates the new knowledge back into life and uses this way of knowing to navigate through situations (Mezirow, 1991).

Implications for Practice

Throughout these conversations with IPSE professionals I was repeatedly struck by the stories of incredible student outcomes and the joy interviewees felt when they watched a student succeed. IPSE program staff believe so deeply in the mission of disability inclusion and feel a calling to disability work. That said, the high emotional input required of IPSE staff is incredibly challenging and will eventually become unstable. Wrobel's (2013) study of the mediating role of emotional labor in the classroom found that the role of empathy is highly correlated with teacher burnout. This study found that working to invoke a particular emotion to match or counter the emotional states of students, frequently feeling empathy toward students and falling into deep or surface acting on a more frequent basis lead to increased emotional exhaustion and higher levels of burnout and staff turnover in the classroom (Wrobel, 2013). More comprehensive IPSE Program staffing in programs would spread out and reduce the work load on IPSE professionals allowing them more space to use time away from work for personal pursuits and decompression instead of continuing the workday into each night and weekend.

IPSE program administrators must take responsibility for program level problems and commit to follow through on issues that flow up to the administrative level. The emergent themes of *Beef with the Boss* and *Problems with the Larger System* was composed of stories from IPSE staff that were hurt, stressed and some pushed to the breaking point by their supervisor's inaction. Providing the space for honest and constructive dialogue in the office and the commitment to follow through and handle problems while supporting IPSE staff is an important way IPSE administrators can work to reduce emotional labor on the shoulders of staff.

Emotion management strategies similar to those at institution one in this study would be helpful across IPSE programs. Regularly scheduled staff meetings to debrief about the emotional

toll of specific situations and the opportunity to facilitate an exercise like "moment of the week" that turns focus to the positive aspects of the program and the triumphs of staff and students would be helpful. Berry described this exercise as incredibly uplifting, sharing that it was pivotal *to find those little bits of light that make it all worthwhile* in IPSE work. Institution one had staff that had been involved in IPSE work longer than the other two institutions in this study. Taking steps to attend to the emotional needs of IPSE faculty and staff must be an important focus moving forward, to reduce burnout and ensure staff retention and thus program quality.

This is of particularly important in the interest of maintaining the integrity of IPSE programs, and growing IPSE program numbers while building program quality. Throughout interviews the vast majority of paid staff members candidly shared that they questioned the long-term viability of remining in IPSE work. The amount of emotional labor they are dealt each day seems insurmountable to staff when viewed over a long term. Several mentioned the reality that they could not manage the emotionally consuming role forever. Others posed questions about the viability of their role when taking care of family in the coming years. Still others questioned their abilities in their job, wondering if another person would be more effective in her job. Some interviewees even spoke plainly about currently job searching for a more sustainable professional fit. The fact that staff from each university working in a variety of roles all seemed to question the viability of their work means that tackling the practical side of this problem of emotional labor and easing the burden on IPSE staff is an immediate need.

Limitations

It is important to address a few limiting factors in this study. A purposeful sampling approach was used in collecting data for this study in an effort to group institutions with similar IPSE program structure within the Southeastern United States. Only one IPSE program director

was included in this study. The sample would have benefited from more program director interviews, as IPSE leaders have a unique perspective on the role of emotion in programs. A larger sample size from institutions across the country would provide a more generalizable sample. Due to the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, interviews that were previously scheduled to be held in-person were moved online. While the incidents recounted in these interviews were incredibly rich and descriptive, an in-person interview format would have been ideal perhaps generating additional data richness.

Recommendations for Future Research

This research is an early step in the study of emotion in IPSE programs. This growing facet of higher education could benefit from further research around the specific emotional tolls (administrative stress, overwork, pressure from IPSE parents, frustration with students etc.) burdening IPSE program staff. Better understanding the stressors in IPSE work could help higher education administrators take a proactive approach to reducing the burden on staff members, thus increasing employee satisfaction and decreasing turnover. Even more importantly, an understanding of the specific emotional issues faced by staff would lay the groundwork for professional education programs, staff onboarding changes or ongoing emotional support resources that might be helpful to IPSE staff as they work in such an emotionally laden role.

Further research tapping into IPSE program directors as a data source would be particularly helpful as we seek to better understand IPSE program needs and perceived areas for improvement. Program directors would offer a unique perspective as we work to better understand human resource development challenges in IPSE work and if/how emotion labor in IPSE programs is linked to the stress to retain students and bolster the program standing to retain federal TPSID funding.

Undergraduate student mentors offered a unique point of view in this study speaking to their impression management and emotion work of volunteering with IPSE students while functioning as friend and peer. Further research on emotional inputs of peer mentors would be helpful in understanding mentor training and support needs in the future. Of specific interest may be a study of the emotional implications of mentoring and how mentors feel affected by disability stigma on campus when working with IPSE students.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a discussion of study conclusions and their relation to the research questions. Case profiles of each ISPE program were presented alongside a cross-incident analysis of the themes. Three major conclusions surfaced from this study. First, that learning mediates emotion labor. Next, we learned that emotional labor roles varied based on capacity in which an interviewee worked. Lastly, this study concluded that lower institutional support manifests in higher emotional labor levels of IPSE staff. Implications for theory, practice and recommendations for further research were discussed in relation to the continued improvement of human resource development in IPSE programs and the continued development of this new arena of adult learning.

This study contributed to the empirical literature on emotional labor and to the body of knowledge surrounding IPSE programs, emotional labor in disability education and the impact of emotional labor in higher education professionals. Hochschild's (1983) theory of emotion labor was confirmed as a fit for the emotional toll IPSE staff shoulder in their work. Emotional labor mediates learning by initiating informal learning and setting the stage for andragogical development in IPSE staff. However, the toll of emotion labor is cause for serious concern. Reducing the burden of emotional labor in IPSE programs by increasing program staffing,

encouraging collaborative discussion on the uniqueness of emotional labor in each professional role in IPSE work and equipping IPSE professionals with emotion management tactics are important next steps in supporting staff in this important work.

Final Thoughts: Moving the Needle

The IPSE professionals that were kind enough to share their stories with me drove home what a difference IPSE programs make in the lives of students, the contributions they bring to university campuses and to mainstream students that have an opportunity to mentor, teach and support IPSE students. It is my hope IPSE programs can work to implement strategies for emotional support of staff to increase the sustainability of IPSE work and reduce job turnover. Life trajectory of IPSE students are drastically impacted by these programs. As Wurst shared when speaking about emotion motivating her work: *There are just all these opportunities that you have in an IPSE program that you're not going to get if you were… job shadowing somewhere... That's the kind of stuff, no matter what kind of data collection we do, it's hard to capture those moments… If this was easy, everybody would have an IPSE program. You know, moving the needle is not easy. It wasn't easy for women getting the right to vote for minorities being-- it's not easy. It's not easy work.*

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APPENDIX A

COMPLETE LIST OF CRITICAL INCIDENTS

Incident #	Participant	Title	Assertion
1	Howard	An Enormous Amount of Pressure	Emotional labor is reoccurring in IPSE work
2	Howard	It's Not Up To Me	Emotion work is sometimes a liability
3	Howard	I Was Mad…I Didn't Express That to Anyone	Emotional labor is reoccurring in IPSE work
4	Howard	That was Some Rough Stuff	Emotional labor is reoccurring in IPSE work
5	Howard	I Took It VERY Personally	Emotion work is sometimes a liability
6	Howard	The Elevator Ride	Emotion work is sometimes a liability
7	Howard	Do They Realize What They're Doing?	Emotion work is sometimes a liability
8	Nettles	What Else Could We Have Done?	Emotion as a motivator
9	Nettles	Sliding Doors	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
10	Nettles	I Had To Suppress My Emotions	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
11	Nettles	Check Your Face	Emotional labor is reoccurring in IPSE work
12	Nettles	We've Never Seen You So Upset Before	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
13	Gowen	You Can't Want It More Than They Want It	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
14	Gowen	You Can't Help It	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
15	Gowen	Its ok, I can See It, I'm Gonna Respect That	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
16	Gowen	Outside of My Lane	Emotional labor is reoccurring in IPSE work
17	Berry	I Managed to Keep It Together	Staff regulate emotion to empower students
18	Berry	You Are That Person	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
19	Berry	Showing All My Cards	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
20	Berry	Your Whole Week Seems Worth It	Emotion work is an investment
21	Berry	I Came From That Emotional Piece	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
22	Berry	Do Not Cry, Do Not Let Him Think You Are Losing It	Emotion in IPSE work makes staff question their abilities
23	Wurst	I Had Tears In My Eyes	Emotion as a motivator
24	Wurst	Waterworks	Emotion work is an investment
25	Wurst	An Inside Thought	Emotion work is sometimes a liability
26	Jordan	It Was So Traumatic	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System

27	Jordan	I Saw With my Own Eyes	Emotion as a motivator
28	Jordan	Capital P P*****	Staff take emotional situations home with them
29	Jordan	I Burst Into Tears	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System
30	Fouraker	A Different Level of Stress	Staff take emotional situations home with them
31	Fouraker	I Felt Like I Failed	Staff regulate emotion to protect students
32	Fouraker	You See the Ignorance	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System
33	Fouraker	It Broke My Heart	Emotion as a motivator
34	Fouraker	What Are You Saying?	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
35	Edwards	What Did I Do to Deserve That?	Staff take emotional situations home with them
36	Edwards	I Can't Be Here Right Now	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
37	Edwards	Leaving a Stamp	Staff regulate emotion to empower students
38	Edwards	Don't Say That About Him	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
39	Ryles	Being a College Girl	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
40	Ryles	Extra Intentional	Staff regulate emotion to empower students
41	Ryles	Living the College Girl Life	Staff regulate emotion to empower students
42	Ryles	I'm Their Friend. I'm Not Their Superior	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
43	Ryles	I Was In Helping Mode	Staff regulate emotion to protect students
44	Ryles	Internally in the Moment, I'm like, Oh Gosh	Staff regulate emotion to protect students
45	Ryles	That's Real…It's a Heavy Moment	Staff take emotional situations home with them
46	Lacy	I Didn't Know What My Role Was	Staff take emotional situations home with them
47	Lacy	That Was A Shift for Me	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System
48	Lacy	I Felt Pretty Exhilarated and Confident	The emotional significance and responsibility of knowing what a difference you make
49	Lacy	The Wrong Fit	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System
50	Lacy	Mother Mode	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
51	Lacy	We Were Just…People	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students
52	Lacy	I Could Be a Light for Him	Authentic emotion helps staff connect with students

53	Lacy	Don’t Yell At Me	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
54	Davis	So Full of Joy	Emotion as a motivator
55	Davis	Maybe I Wasn't The Person	Emotion in IPSE work makes staff question their abilities
56	Davis	I was Devastated, It was Really Hurtful	Staff take emotional situations home with them
57	Davis	I Didn’t Mean to Hurt You	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
58	Davis	I’m Holding You Responsible	Suppressing emotion takes a toll
59	Davis	I’m A Tea Kettle	Suppressing emotion takes a toll
60	Davis	Opening the Door	Beef with the Boss/Problems with the System
61	Taylor	The Relief Came Later	Emotion as a motivator
62	Taylor	Why Does He Have to Do This To Me?	Learning how to navigate emotion in IPSE work is key/Emotional Regulation to Navigate Through a Tough Situation
63	Taylor	His Inactivity Would Stress Me Out	Staff regulate emotion to empower students
64	Taylor	I Remember Having to Suppress My Need to Control	Staff regulate emotion to empower students