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The Emotional Labour of Academics: The Rational and the Relational

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A Thesis
in
the Faculty
of
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Abstract

The Emotional Labour of Academics:
The Rational and the Relational

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Concordia University, 1996

Q methodology and unstructured interviews were used to develop a thick description and typology of academics' views of emotional labour. An archetypal factor described an ideal of emotional labour. After it was rotated, a three-factor, polythetic typology emerged, confirmed by content analysis of the interviews. Factors A, B, and C represented "rational," "relational," and "reflective" orientations respectively.

Academics who load on Factor A—i.e., hold the "rational" view—are task-oriented, energetic, comfortable with their authority, and seek opportunities to share their enthusiasm for their subjects. They are inner-directed; their primary audience is the internalized "generalized other." Faculty who load on B are "relational": student-oriented, conscious users of emotions, who deliberately involve their feelings in their teaching and student relations. They project an approachability they feel to be central to their praxis and personalities. C represents the approach of "reflective" academics who have blended the rational and the relational, and have a critical perspective on their profession. They acquiesce in institutional demands that faculty form close relationships with students, without feeling inauthenticity.

Thirteen Q sorts loaded on two factors, raising questions about the evolution and stability of the types, the meaning of a dual type, and the

phenomenological implications.

A secondary purpose of the study was to explore the effect of their emotional labour on women academics' career outcomes. The literature suggested that women's experiences would predispose them to perform emotional labour in a different way and to a higher degree than male counterparts. It was anticipated that this would cause gender differences in factor loadings. These proved less marked than expected.

More men than women loaded on A; almost twice as many women as men dual-loaded; twice as many women dual-loaded as loaded on any single factor. The gender difference on A approached significance (α=.05). For both sexes, more academics loaded on A than B, and B than C. The idea that institutions control women through demands for emotional labour received anecdotal confirmation.

Further work will benefit from development of a metric for emotional labour and application of act frequency methodology.

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Norma Hazelton managed my calendar and greatly facilitated the interviewing. Every investigator should be so lucky. Sally Pruszenski applied her considerable abilities to beautifying my text. I thank her for her patience and judgment.

My husband Neil provided the logistical and emotional support for the writing of the thesis. No thanks are enough.

Dedication

F. M. L.
1923—1995

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis reports on an investigation of the emotional labour of academics in two northern New England private colleges, and its possible relationship to career outcomes.

Emotional labour was defined by Hochschild (1983b, p. 7) as the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display on the job. Emotional labour is paid, i.e., has exchange value, unlike emotion work, the management of feeling in the domestic sector. Hochschild specified additional conditions for emotional labour: face-to-face contact with the clientele, production of an emotional state in the clientele, and a degree of employer/institutional control over the way work is conducted ("the emotional activities of employees," p. 147). The degree to which these conditions characterize academic work was investigated.

There were several reasons to study emotional labour in academia, where it has never been investigated before.

- First, academia is an important service industry in the US. *Service*, because what is produced is intangible (changes in knowledge, skills, etc.) and delivered through interaction, the nature of which is as important as the degree to which information is exchanged or created. *Industry*, because academia does not exist apart from its institutional settings (Light, 1977). The elaboration and expense of these is growing. *Important*, because its success contributes the future prosperity of the country, and it consumes 2.7% of GNP. This share is increasing (US Department of Commerce, Economics, and Statistics, 1995).

- Second, colleges and universities may demand more emotional labour of their faculty in coming decades, in response to market pressures arising from changing demographics. For example, as the supply of conventionally prepared and solvent white baccalaureate students diminishes, institutions will have to do more to attract and retain them. Faculty's emotional labour could act as a "free" enhancement of schools' offerings, providing the basis for a distinctive market positioning (Ries & Trout, 1981).

  The proportion of nontraditional students is growing. They are less able to access student support services (TERI, 1996, pp. 17, 60), and generally have more external (competing) responsibilities (op. cit., pp. 61-62). They tend to pursue their education more slowly than the 18-22 year old student, and being employed, they gravitate to distance learning opportunities. If they are to succeed, they require more and/or a different type of faculty investment of time and self.

  The tuition-driven increase in students' expectations could act as another stimulus to emotional labour. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993, p. 103) speculate that when clients' expectations are high, service organizations will make greater efforts to control providers' emotion expression, and specifically, will try to align providers' expression of emotions with their *actual* emotions. If this were to happen in academia, the incongruity with academic values would entrain even more emotional labour.

- Third, the academic setting is one in which the issue of gender intersects with emotional labour. Though the situation of women academics is confounded by their overall minority status and uneven distribution across the components of the system, in many instances,

differences in men's and women's emotion-related work experience and overall prospects can fairly be ascribed—directly or through the mediation of a phenomenon such as emotional labour—to gender (see, for example, Carter & Carter, 1981; Hearn, 1982; Hochschild, 1983b; Kanter, 1977).

The issue of emotional labour is a difficult one to investigate. Western culture does not necessarily endorse the discussion of emotion, typically placing it in opposition to rationality (Putnam & Mumby, 1993). Our emotional vocabularies are culturally patterned and gendered (Berscheid, 1990; Tannen, 1994a, b; Whissell, 1989). The term "labour" itself is problematic, loaded with negative connotations. Even where these semiotic and value problems do not occur, we know that what is "laborious" for one academic may be a spontaneous expression for another (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). For still others, the labour has been performed for so long, and is so intimately coupled to identity and other factors, that it is inaccessible to ordinary, unprompted introspection. These barriers suggested the critical importance of an investigative methodology able to capture subjectivity, that is, the academics' *personal* perspectives on emotional labour.

Q (Stephenson, 1953) is such a methodology. Q provides an instrumental basis (the Q sort) for investigating subjectivity. At this stage of our knowledge of emotional labour, Q is a more appropriate investigative methodology than alternatives such as survey research. While the researcher's frame of reference is still brought into the study, in the form of the Q sample, the participants have freedom to structure this stimulus set as they choose. Q lends itself to combination with other qualitative methods, in a triangulating approach (Jick, 1979).

This study used Q methodology, complemented by unstructured interviews, to find out how a group of academics regarded the emotional aspects of their work. The primary encounter consisted of an introductory, scene-setting question, followed by the Q sort, then by an unstructured interview. Participants were fully informed of the purpose and methods of the study, and their questions answered as they arose.

The scene-setting question was intended to bring examples of their emotional labour to participants' minds, in order to overcome the problems associated with recollection of routine/expert behavior (Schon, 1983; Thomas & Diener, 1990). Participants were asked to recall and describe an emotional incident with a student. The phrasing of this question, and the phrasing of the follow-up used with participants who experienced difficulty in bringing an instance to mind, was taken from Hochschild (1983b).

The Q sort task was to arrange 36 statements about academic work in the 36 squares of a template in the form of a flattened, normal distribution, whose extremes were labelled with values ranging from -5 (strongly disagree) to +5 (strongly agree). The sorting instruction was to position the statements on the template according to the degree of personal agreement/disagreement with the meaning of the statement. Participants were advised that they could take as long as they wished, ask questions, and move items repeatedly. At the conclusion of the task, they were asked whether they felt that the layout of the items corresponded with their views of academic work, and reminded that they could continue to reposition items until they were satisfied. The sorts were later analysed using PCQ3, a proprietary software package which incorporates the statistical preferences of Q methodology.

The sort was followed by a 20-30 minute unstructured interview which assessed participants' reactions to the methodology and secured demographic

information and details of each participant's career attainments/progression. The interviews were subsequently analysed using Nud*Ist, a type of "theorizing software." The information was used to monitor the unfolding study, as prescribed by grounded theory methods.

The primary purpose the study was to describe and interpret the academics' emotional labour. The factor analysis of the Q sorts yielded a single factor describing an ideal of emotional labour. After rotation, a three-factor, polythetic[1] typology (see Bailey, 1994) emerged, confirmed by the Nud*Ist-based content analysis of the interviews. Factors A, B, and C represented "rational," "relational," and "reflective" orientations respectively to emotional labour.

Factor A describes a "rational" type, the most common type of academic emotional labour. Academics who load on Factor A—i.e., who hold the "rational" view—are task-oriented, energetic, comfortable with their authority, and seek out opportunities to share their enthusiasm for their subject. Their behavior is inner-directed, and their audience is the internalized "generalized other." Factor B describes a "relational" type, a more student-centred approach. Faculty who load on Factor B are oriented to other people to a high degree: They make conscious use of emotions, deliberately involve their feelings in their teaching and student relations, and project an approachability they feel to be a core part of their praxis and personalities. Factor C seems to represent the approach of "reflective" academics who have blended the rational and the relational, and have a critical perspective on their profession. They acquiesce in the institutional demand that faculty form close relationships with students, without seeming to feel inauthenticity.

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[1] A polythetic typology consists of classes whose cases are not identical on all variables, but instead, grouped according to similarity on the leading characteristic.

Thirteen Q sorts loaded on more than one factor, surfacing questions about the evolution and stability of the types, the meaning of a dual type, and the phenomenological implications of the types.

The secondary purpose of the study was exploration of a paradoxical aspect of the careers of women academics. Emotional labour has been considered to be an integral part of service professions, such as teaching. Women are frequently stereotyped as being "good" at "emotional" work[2]. Why, then, do so many women have disconfirming experiences in academia (see, e.g., Bannerji, Carty, Delhi, Heald, & McKenna, 1991; Caplan, 1992; Sandler, 1986)? Why are they persistently underrepresented in academia, a service industry[3]? The study addressed the proposition that their experiences with emotional labour are an important explanation for the underrepresented and otherwise disadvantaged position of women in academia.

Gender differences in approach to emotional labour did not emerge, though the literature had suggested they would. There is no reason to expect *inherent* differences in men's and women's approach to emotional labour, but it was thought that women academics' training and early experience would predispose them to perform emotional labour in a different way, or to a different degree, than their male counterparts. The lack of results is probably a reflection of the methods used. Q and qualitative methods cannot establish what proportion of a population loads on what factor, nor what amount of emotional labour participants perform. The question of the effects of

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[2] See, for example, Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkrantz, 1972, who identified "warmth-expressiveness" as feminine, and Williams and Best, 1982, who found evidence for pancultural generality of the feminine stereotype.

[3] Women have not gained overall proportional representation, pay parity, or produced the same volume of publications in refereed journals. See, e.g., American Association of Colleges, 1986; Bem, 1994; Sandler, 1986; Schultz, 1993; Tancred-Sheriff, 1988.

emotional labour on women academics' careers requires the application of quantitative methodologies such as act frequency (Cooper, Dyke, & Kay, 1990).

Methodological and substantive suggestions for further study are offered. The methodological suggestions are for the use of brief, simply structured sorts, unforced distribution, and integration of Q investigation with quantitative methodologies (particularly act frequency). Substantive suggestions are to secure support for a baseline longitudinal study of emotional labour in academia, to carry out intensive studies of dual-loading sorts, to integrate quantitative methods in further study of women academics' emotional labour, and to investigate the emotional labour of minority faculty. Ultimately, crosscultural and comparative studies will suggest refinements of the Q approach to emotional labour.

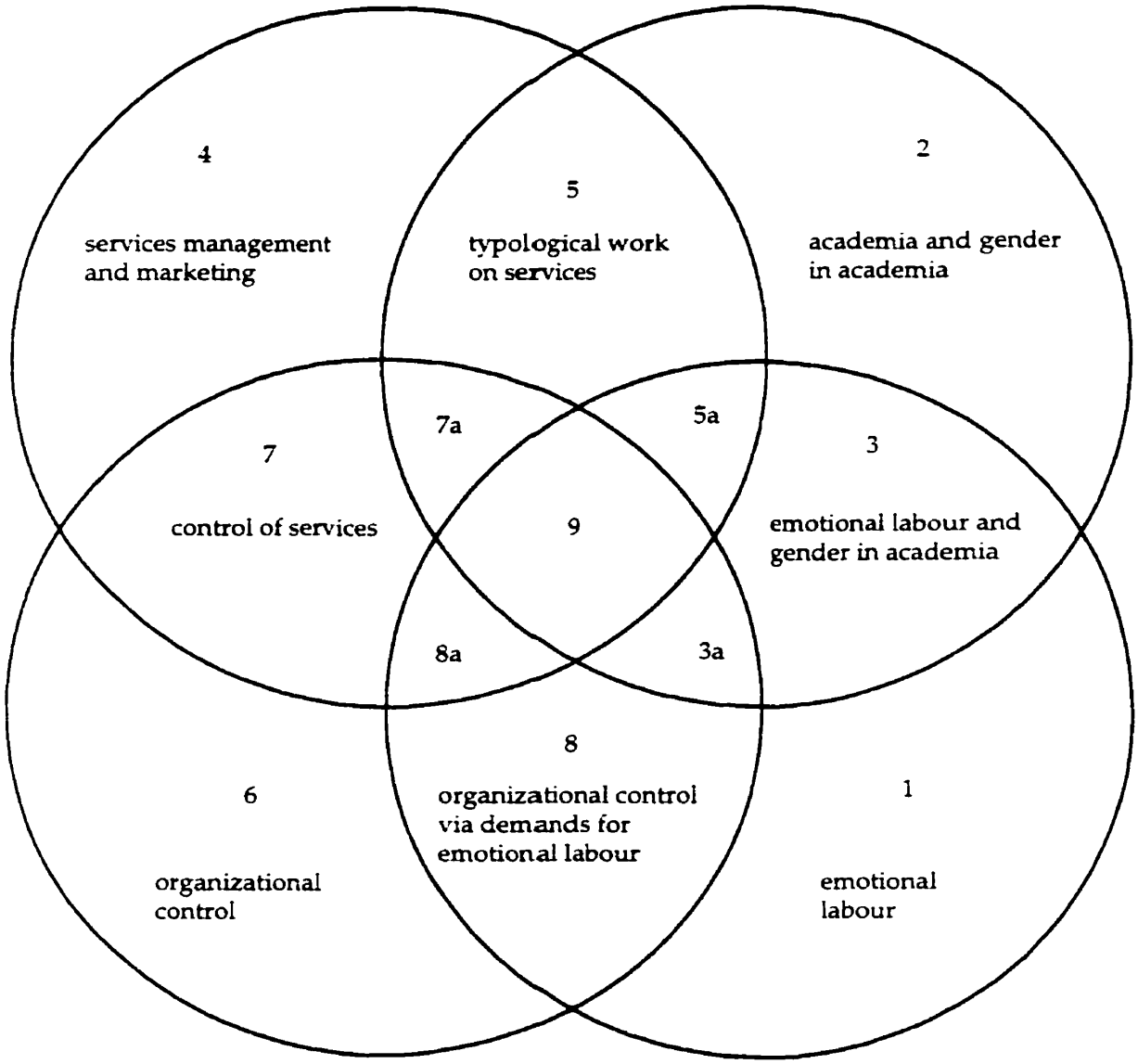
CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

The subject of this thesis, emotional labour in academia, has been approached using ideas drawn from four subject-matter areas: emotional labour, academia and women's place in academia, services management and marketing, and organizational control. They are numbered 1, 2, 4, and 6 respectively in Figure 1, and will be discussed in this order. In addition to these substantive literatures, there are others associated with the methodologies employed by the study—Q and qualitative methodologies (grounded theory methods and computer-assisted qualitative data analysis, or CAQDAS). Methodological references will be introduced in the *Analysis* chapter, as each choice or procedure is explained.

The review will focus primarily on those works in the subject-matter and methodological areas which initially suggested the importance of the topic and governed the selection and implementation of the research methodologies. Emotional labour itself will receive an extended treatment. Organizational control is addressed because of the close connection between organizational demands and emotional labour (Morris, 1995). Some background on academia is introduced to make the thesis more intelligible to nonacademic readers, as well as to support the typological proposals in the *Directions* chapter.

This review chapter constitutes a departure from grounded theory methods, which encourage investigators to delay the literature review, and use it primarily to test and extend emerging theory (Charmaz, 1993). Using the literature in the design phase helped to focus a potentially unwieldy study, however, and enabled good use to be made of fairly short interviews.

Figure 1. Guide to the Literature Review



3a Control via emotional labour among academic women
5a Gender interaction with control typologies in services
7a Control typologies and services
8a Organizational control via emotional labour, in services

This thesis addresses, in part, women's gendered emotional labour in academia, used as a control mechanism (9)

The implications of the compromise will be further explored in the *Discussion* chapter, where—in an effort to observe the spirit of grounded methods—additional material will be introduced to interpret and evaluate the emerging results. This material addresses the overlaps between the primary subject-matter literatures, i.e., the areas suffixed (a) in Figure 1. These areas of overlap include: control via emotional labour among academic women (3a), the interaction of gender with typologies of professional services (5a), control typologies and services (7a), and organizational control in service industries through demands for emotional labour (8a).

Research on Emotional Labour

Emotional labour was first described in a study of flight attendants (Hochschild, 1983b). Since that time, the study of emotion in the workplace has become steadily more important. This is due not only to the explosive growth of the service sector (Zeithaml, Parasuraman, & Berry, 1990) and the collapse of the distinction between goods and services (Gronroos, 1990), but also to researchers' recognition of the importance of the area.

Hochschild defines emotional labour as "the management of feeling [by which she means emotion] to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display," in the context of a paid job (Hochschild, 1983b, p. 7), possibly with the help of colleagues (cf. the concept of relational work). The purpose of emotional labour is management of others' emotions—e.g., to ensure cooperation in a service transaction, to buttress a certain definition of reality, to make things flow smoothly. Framing, feeling, and display rules help the individual to generate the right displays, by guiding emotional interpretation and suggesting the appropriate outward form of expression. These are not

on/off, yes/no rules, but elaborated standards for style, duration, locus, and intensity of feeling. When felt emotion does not match the relevant feeling rule, the individual is conscious of this anomalous state, and likely to have powerful feelings about it ("to manage feeling is to actively try to change a preexisting emotional state," Hochschild, op. cit., p. 219). The feelings and feeling rules themselves may require management—sorting out, testing, interpretation, etc.—before display rules can be satisfactorily engaged.

Hochschild conceptualizes emotion as culture-specific. In arguing that framing rules define situations, feeling rules shape the corresponding emotions, and display rules structure the outward show, she is dismissing the organismic—universalist position. Her formulation draws heavily on Goffman's (1959, pp. 216-217) analysis of dramaturgical discipline and incorporates Darwin's idea of feeling as a kind of physical index or partial representation of preempted action (Hochschild, 1983b, Appendix 1, passim).

She argued originally that emotional labour is gendered (as well as classist and racialized). By gendered she means that the performance of emotional labour is different for men and women: Men, for example, may be required to project authority and energy, women to project warmth and concern. The very occupation she investigated—flight attendants—exemplifies this phenomenon. She also made a distinction between emotion work and emotional labour.[4] The former, defined as being carried out in the private sphere, for "love," is stereotypically the task of women.

Emotional labour is carried out using a variety of cognitive, expressive, and behavioral strategies (Hochschild, 1975, p. 562), including surface acting and deep acting. Hochschild (1983b, pp. 37-38) virtually equates the former to

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[4] Neither emotion work nor emotional labour is the same as "shadow labour," the unpaid work involved in supporting others employed in the *wage* economy (Illich, 1981).

expressive tricks—"the movement of muscles." Deep acting can be accomplished by exhorted feeling (working up one's feelings), calling on emotion memory (Stanislavski, 1936), or using a trained imagination (Hochschild, 1983b, pp. 38-43). Ashforth and Humphrey's (1993, p. 94) contention that spontaneous emotion is a way of accomplishing emotional labour may be true only of organizational veterans and novices.

The veterans have brought about an alignment of feeling and role demands through past emotional labour, and are no longer conscious of the effort involved. The emotion feels spontaneous, though it conforms to organizational display norms and may actually be part of a script. When they profess to be unaware of performing emotional labour, the veterans are not engaging in denial.

The novices have not yet mastered surface and deep acting, and therefore over-rely on spontaneous emotion, which is very tiring. They are also likely to fatigue themselves by expressing emotions which are situationally appropriate (and functional in terms of social norms) but are unrelated to organizational requirements/prescriptions. The novices have not internalized organizational feeling and display norms.

Reasons to study emotional labour include the following.

(i) Recognizing the role of emotion in the workplace enhances our ability to analyse organizational life. Much of the organizational behavior literature refers to phenomena that have their basis in emotion, but paradoxically, emotion itself is marginalized. There is emotional labour implicit in the very fact of organizational membership, the more so because the dismissal and disapproval of emotion in most Western organizations forces members to manage both their emotions and their reactions to the organizational proscription of emotions—i.e., to perform emotional labour in

responding to the organization's stance on emotionality in the workplace (Putnam & Mumby, 1993, pp. 36-37). Viewing emotions as omnipresent, and needing/receiving skillful management, focuses attention on the relevance of emotions in the workplace, their underlying orderliness, the implications of organizational involvement in the emotional sphere, and the possibility of considering emotional labour as a compensable skill. What was largely dismissed as uncontrollable, unconscious, and perturbing, prior to Hochschild's formulation (see, for example, Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Lutz & White, 1986), is increasingly seen to be a functional part of all organizational roles, and as such, amenable to analysis.

In her introduction to Fineman (1993), Hochschild makes the point that emotional labour is systematically related to the division of labour. Managers, in particular, are responsible for detailed knowledge of the emotional underpinnings of the entire organization (i.e., its framing, feeling, and display rules) and must oversee subordinates' capacity to perform emotional labour. Her proposal that we regard the workforce as so many internal customers for managers' emotional labour (p. xi) puts managerial work in an entirely new light.

Organizational behavior has examined aspects of self-presentational and manipulative behavior before, under such rubrics as affective neutrality (Parsons, 1951; taken up by Lief & Fox, 1963), display rules (Ekman, 1973), impression management (Giacolone & Rosenfeld, 1991), dramaturgical loyalty (Goffman, 1959), work feelings (Sandelands, 1988), control moves (Whyte, 1948, 1973), and faking it (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). There is undoubted overlap between emotional labour and these concepts, but they differ in the ways in which they incorporate personal and organizational purposes.

The advantage of the concept of emotional labour is that it offers a more comprehensive framework for analysis. It allows a broader approach to impression management, for example, by recognizing the novel way—novel because indirect—techniques such as deep acting affect behavior (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 93) and offering an interpretation of seemingly dysfunctional emotional displays such as hostility to friendly debtors (Sutton, 1991). The concept of emotional labour enlarges the rationale for affect neutrality and expands the repertoire of control moves. It links emotion to cognition, by highlighting the relation of framing to feeling rules.

(ii) The service sector has grown absolutely, and at the expense of manufacturing. Gronroos (1990) suggests that the transformation of Western economies is so fundamental and pervasive that we should speak of "service elements," or "services," rather than "the service sector." The number of jobs requiring regulation of emotions has experienced particularly rapid growth (Albrecht, 1988; Wharton, 1993). If we recognize that components of larger organizations treat one another as internal customers (as Hochschild has proposed), there is a further extension of service, and with it, the applicability of the concept of emotional labour.

As the service sector grows, emotional labour affects the work life of progressively more people (predominantly women). Some investigators claim to detect an increasing polarization in the quality of life associated with emotional labour, and the possibilities of satisfying outcomes seem to be neither equitably distributed nor sufficiently present in the majority of the new service jobs (see, for example, Adelmann, 1989; Erickson, 1991; Garson, 1988; Hochschild, 1983b, 1989a,b). In high-volume, personal services, the use of scripts and stringent performance measures, for example, coupled with poor pay and conditions and limited security, contrasts unfavorably with the

high wages and relatively long time-span of discretion commonly found in technically based services.

In academia, this growth of the service sector has been reflected not only in the increased number of tertiary institutions, but also in the growth of academic support services within institutions, the development of independent service entities within institutions (such as college catering and travel offices), and the creation of allied industries, such as student loan servicing. Indeed, lifelong involvement of alumni with their institution has become commonplace, ranging from learning experiences reserved expressly for alumni to affinity credit cards and semi-educational holidays marketed to them. These trends underline the relevance of academia as an appropriate setting in which to examine emotional labour.

(iii) Changes in the patterns of delivery and consumption of services are an important source of broad cultural and social developments (Erickson, 1991; Wharton, 1993). Professional services are currently undergoing such changes, with the concomitant possibility of increased emotional labour on the part of professionals. There has been a rapid growth in professional temporary agencies, and contract employment of professionals. The nature of "temp" work requires temps to do more "blending in" and self-marketing (both of which involve emotional labour). Contract employment, on the other hand, often involves trouble-shooting and crisis resolution, which draw on the contractor's capacity to manage disorder with appropriate emotional displays, as well as rapid adaptation to employing organizations' emotional cultures. The absolute amount of emotional labour performed by professionals may also be increasing with the growth in the numbers of salaried professionals working in organizational settings. There, the emotional component of the work is subject to supervision.

Technological developments in higher education, such as the expansion of distance learning[5], have profoundly altered the patterns of delivery and consumption of academic services, including their emotional patterning (see, e.g., Barber, 1995, p. 74). For example, with the lessened face-to-face contact implicit in distance learning, a different pattern of communication arises. Faculty of one distance learning program report that reliance on the impersonal medium of email communication necessitates "fluffing up" students, i.e., softening feedback to protect their feelings, and ultimately, maintain the program's enrollment levels. The rapidity with which complex, reciprocal changes are occurring in the context/content of the professor-student relationship underscores the importance of understanding academics' emotional labour.

(iv) Another reason to study emotional labour is to enable us to evaluate the widespread view that a service orientation is a panacea for corporate ills (e.g., Albrecht & Zemke, 1985; Schneider & Bowen, 1995). We know very little about the long-term consequences of emotional labour. Hochschild's initial analysis anticipated largely negative consequences. In particular, she feared that prolonged emotional labour would lead to inauthenticity and self-estrangement. Her position was unchanged with the publication of *The Second Shift* (1989b). It has subsequently been argued (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Gordon, 1989; Wharton, 1993; Wouters, 1989) that the effects of emotional labour, mediated by identity and culture, may be functional—even essential—for individuals as well as organizations, facilitating performance and affording scope for self-expression.

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[5] Governors of 14 western American states, for example, are discussing the creation (scheduled for 1997) of a full-service "virtual" university (see their web page, at www.western.org/smart/vu/vu.html).

(v) Competitive advantage lies in being among the first to understand how to achieve and leverage diversity (Riddle, 1992)—that is, to build on it, rather than assimilate it away. Achieving diversity goals (as described in Johnston & Packer, 1987, for example) will require us to understand the incidence and patterning of emotional labour and its interrelationship with ethnicity and race, because there are cultural differences in the experience and expression of emotion, as numerous ethnographies attest (see, for example, Kunda, 1992).

It is probable that we read most easily the organizational demands resembling those familiar to us from our early socialization (Collins, 1982, p. 121; Deaux, 1984, 1985; Hochschild, 1975). Thus, the sex-typed division of emotional work found in the home (Hochschild, 1989b) may be brought into the workplace via sex role spillover (Gutek & Morasch, 1982). Sex role spillover makes it easy for women to perceive demands for emotional labour, and identity-confirming to comply. The results may be performances which are not directed at appropriate organizational objectives, or "cost" the women too much to produce.

This pattern may also hold for minorities: As there is a gendered division of labour between white men and women, so there may be a race-typed division of labour, which calls on people of colour (particularly women of colour) to perform more emotional labour (Nkomo & Cox, 1996). Opportunities can only be realized through highly specific action strategies (Wellman, Warner, & Weitzman, 1977). This is a subtraction from energy available for organizationally valued performances, as well as for necessary self-care and extra-organizational activities.

Some professions appear to be increasing their usage of paraprofessionals, frequently women, who tend to be assigned to the

emotional labour aspects of the work (Pierce, 1991). Other professions are being downgraded to semiprofessions, coincident with feminization (Hearn, 1982; Reskin & Roos, 1990; Roos & Jones, 1995; Strober, 1984). Feminization appears linked to increased demand for emotional labour (compare, for example, the situation of predominantly female lecturers in community colleges, relative to the situation of predominantly male faculty in four-year colleges) and to lowered pay levels (see Pfeffer & Davis-Blake, 1987; Strober, 1984). Feminized semiprofessions in general may be growing at the expense of the traditional professions, as the latter price themselves out of the market while at the same time failing to provide adequate and predictable financial returns for a sufficient proportion of practitioners.

Studies of Emotional Labour

Most of the work to date has been descriptive, but several models of emotional labour have been proposed. Hochschild's model is suggestive rather than testable. Its essence is the unspecified "transmutation" process, i.e., the conversion of private emotional acts/feeling into public emotional acts/feeling, under the guidance of feeling and display rules. Rafaeli and Sutton's (1987) model is sparse in its identification of sources for role expectations, characteristics of expressed emotion, and outcomes. Though offered as a framework for theory development, it appears too restrictive to inspire the exploratory type of research needed at this time. Morris (1995) follows Ashforth and Humphrey in focusing on the *expression* of organizationally sanctioned emotions.

The low level of paradigm development has not impeded empirical study. Since publication of *The Managed Heart* (Hochschild, 1983b), social

scientists' examination of line employees' emotional labour has been extended from the airline industry to many others: banking (Erickson, 1991; Wharton, 1993), retail sales (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990), police work (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991; Stenross & Kleinman, 1989), bill collection (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991), recreational services (Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989; Van Maanen, 1991) and the fast food industry (Leidner, 1988, 1993; Paules, 1991). Licensed occupations such as hairdressing (Cohen & Sutton, 1994), semiprofessions such as nursing (James, 1989), and the experiences of medical students (Smith & Kleinman, 1989) have also been studied. The emotional labour of attorneys and paralegals was the subject of a doctoral thesis by one of Hochschild's students (Pierce, 1991). Most of these studies focus on the display rules and emotional labour techniques of their subjects/settings. A review of this work indicates that researchers' working definitions of emotional labour vary, sometimes in important respects (see Table 1). This appears to explain, in part, why empirical work is inconclusive.

Among the theoretical pieces, there have been few which have confronted Hochschild's claims directly and in detail: Wouters (1989), Gordon (1989), and Ashforth and Humphrey (1993). Wouters rejected Hochschild's fundamental premise, that emotional expression is becoming more standardized (Hochschild, 1983b, p. 186), claiming that in fact a process of "informalization" has occurred in the last century, allowing a relaxation of the rules governing emotional exchanges. A direct consequence of this, Wouters argued, is that people are better able to bridge the gap Hochschild sees between "real" and "false" selves, the public and the private realms of feeling. Gordon, working within the same interpretive framework as Hochschild, argued that the effects of emotional labour were mediated by the orientation of the person's culture to emotion, and the person's orientation to

Table 1 *Definitions of Emotional Labour*

Hochschild (1983b, 1989)
- *Definition.* "management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (1983b, p. 7) "feel the appropriate feeling for the job" (1989, p. 440) in context of *paid* work
- *Mechanisms.* surface acting, deep acting
- *Focus.* effects of emotional labour on worker

Gordon (1989)
- *Definition.* alignment of emotion with norms governing that particular context
- *Mechanisms.* differs with institutional or expressive orientation
- *Focus.* ways in which institutional emotional culture cues identity

James (1989 et seq.)
- *Definition.* work of dealing with other people's feelings (p. 15)—no distinction between emotion work and emotional labour)
- *Mechanisms.* regulation of [own] emotion
- *Focus.* emotional labour as central to social reproduction

Van Maanen and Kunda (1989)
- *Definition.* "learning and maintaining the proper affective tone" (p. 54)
- *Mechanisms.* self-investment
- *Focus.* display of emotion as culturally shaped and prescribed

Ashforth & Humphrey (1993)
- *Definition.* "act of expressing socially desired emotions during service transactions" (pp. 88-89)
- *Mechanisms.* surface acting, deep acting, spontaneous emotion
- *Focus.* effects of emotional labour on worker and organization

Morris (1995)
- *Definition.* same as Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993.
- *Mechanisms.* not elaborated—"conform[ity] to organizational display rules"
- *Focus.* predictors and consequences of emotional labour

his emotional culture, among other factors. Unfortunately, Gordon does not develop this idea in any detail. Ashforth and Humphrey drew attention to the significance of emotional labour as a "neglected form of role demand" (p. 110) and pointed to the influence of social identity in determining the effects of emotional labour.

Empirical work by Adelmann (1989), Erickson (1991), Wharton (1993), and Morris (1995) attempted to measure the effects of emotional labour. Adelmann (1989) implemented Hochschild's full definition of emotional labour. She divided her sample into high and low emotional labour groups, and found some negative consequences where the emotional labour was a permanent job feature. Transience buffered the effects, which in any case showed considerable sensitivity to the measures used. Erickson (1991), in an exploration of the development and implications of the concept of inauthenticity, hypothesized that performance of emotional labour increases the likelihood of feeling inauthentic. Her results showed mixed support for Hochschild's position: Perceived inauthenticity (resulting from lack of autonomy) had detrimental effects on individual well-being. Wharton's (1993) study was the first to measure positive outcomes of emotional labour, but she called for the integration of qualitative approaches to resolve the question of the modes and scale of the effects of emotional labour. Morris (1995) argued that the inadequate operationalization of emotional labour used in these earlier studies limited their findings, and proposed a three-component conceptualization: frequency and duration of interaction, and emotional dissonance. He found negative relationships between emotional labour and psychological well-being only in the case where emotional dissonance was experienced. Duration and frequency of interaction actually promoted well-being.

Apart from these studies, all based on questionnaires and rating scales, insights have to be accumulated piecemeal from perusal of the sociology of emotions and organizational behavior literatures. There is very little work on the *epidemiology* of emotions (Gordon, cited in Thoits, 1989), along the lines developed by Clark (1987).

This study tried to elicit participants' conceptualizations of emotional labour. The underlying thinking was clearly influenced by the literature, however, particularly by Hochschild's "root" definition, which seemed to direct attention toward two key mechanisms and the fundamentally instrumental purpose of emotional labour. Table 2 gives the *working* definition of emotional labour underlying this study. Its focus is the sources and outcomes of emotional labour.

Other Literature Touching on Emotional Labour

Glaser and Strauss (1967) enjoin the qualitative researcher to engage in a process of constant comparison between aspects of the subject of study and possible parallels, i.e., to look at the phenomenon in different settings. An obvious source, already mined by Hochschild, is the performing artists' autobiographical and advice literature. Another source is the burgeoning literature on physicians, lawyers, and other professionals, such as sex work professionals. The pop side of this literature is rich with anecdotes about emotional labour (e.g., Pekkanen, 1990). Yet another area was suggested by one of the participants in this research, who spoke about her early days as a faculty member, when she was told to think of herself as an animal trainer. In fact, the process of becoming an animal trainer involves learning effective

Table 2 *Investigator's Working Definition of Emotional Labour*

Emotional labour is

Individuals' (the who) **management of their own feelings** (the what), **in public or private, at any time during the duration of their organizational affiliation** (the when), **via surface and deep acting** (the how), **to create desired feelings and then appropriate displays** (another what), **in commercial settings/for a wage** (the where). The **aim is to affect others' feelings (including their lack of feeling,** e.g., toleration, dismissal) (the why).

The guidance of emotional labour may come from

organizational sources
explicit rules
organizational rules, as internalized

social sources
generalized other
professional or occupational generalized other.

The form of guidance is framing, feeling, and display rules.
Emotional labour is directed toward individual and organizational outcomes.

regulation of emotion: The animal can be controlled only by a trainer who is in control of his or her own feelings (cf. Monks of New Skete, 1991).

Performing artists' autobiographies, the writings of Konstantin Stanislavski (1936, 1978), and the *Applause* series provide rich accounts of emotional labour. Many elements of Hochschild's and the working definition can be verified. These sources suggest that the particular techniques used to perform emotional labour are important in mediating its outcomes.

The opera singer Janet Baker (1982) acknowledges the draining effect of a public performance fueled by emotional labour—the "tremendous struggle between written notes, the mathematical values, and those of heart and soul" (p. 24). After work, she recounts, she would try to get into the mood to join her family and friends to celebrate, but would find herself "stunned" because she had used up so much emotion *to create* the performance. With respect to the technique of building up and delivering the performance, she offers a commentary on the interplay of surface and deep acting when she says "it is useless for me to try and 'do' anything for myself to make each performance fresh. It is fatal to get out there and think 'try.' The harder one does this, the less effective the end result is. But there is a sort of trick in relying on ability and technique, letting the rest 'be done' through the medium of the body and personality. The more successful this process is, the less the performance is 'mine' " (p. 52). Like the other performing artists consulted, she endorses the superiority of deep over surface acting in meeting the exacting demands of public performance.

In the following advice, she seems to be speaking of what Stanislavksi terms emotion memory. "If one listens to what other people are saying, *without anticipating by a fraction of a moment* [emphasis added], the body will react automatically to the emotion of the mind. It is a hard discipline

waiting for the 'trigger' word. Many singers don't do this, and acting for them is a prepared reaction, robbed of its spontaneity and therefore of its reality.... If the emotion one is playing is sincerely felt in the heart and mind, the body cannot do anything other than obey; a physical movement or a gesture doesn't need any calculated help from us.... It is my job to steep myself so deeply into the attitude and state of mind of those I play that I see a score totally from that specific angle" (p. 72). Stanislavski (1936) expresses it thus: "You can understand a part, sympathize with the person portrayed, and put yourself in his place, so that you will act as he would. That will arouse feelings in the actor that are analogous to those required for the part. Those feelings will belong, not to the person created by the author of the play, but to the actor himself" (p.16). "The work of an actor is not to create feelings but only to produce the given circumstances in which true feelings will spontaneously be engendered" (p. 20).

Michael Caine's (1990) remarks confirm that this advice is still the norm, despite a change of medium: "Screen acting today is much more a matter of 'being' than 'performing' " (p. 6). The emphasis on spontaneity is unchanged—neophytes are urged to learn "the art of new-minting thoughts and dialogue," which comes from listening and reacting "as if for the first time" (p. 68). It is a more difficult goal for the film actor, Caine tells us, because screen acting is typically shot out of sequence, in short bursts which do not allow for the buildup of emotional momentum. Like the rest of the *Applause* series, his book goes on to discuss detailed techniques for relaxation and deep/surface acting.

Assessment of Emotional Labour Literature

There are problems with the emotional labour literature. It seems likely that emotional labour is a genuine phenomenon: People show immediate recognition, and often considerable feeling, when *you* describe the concept. However, when you ask them to *volunteer instances*, they use the term synonymously with coping, face work (Goffman, 1959), burnout, shadow work (Illich, 1981), relational work, etc. This looseness not only suggests the poverty of our emotional vocabularies (Berscheid, 1990; Gordon, 1990), but more important, it also implies that accepted definitions have failed to capture the range of meanings of emotional labour. This could be due in part to the prevalence of researcher-referential language in the work to date. That is, the meaning of emotional labour is specified by the researcher rather than being constructed in an interactive process. Although important conclusions can be drawn from such analysis—particularly in more scripted types of service jobs, such as fast food service—some of the most critical elements of emotional labour are a matter of internal and subjective identification. Tolich (1993) makes this argument about the emotional labour of supermarket checkout staff.

A second problem with many of these studies is their focus on description of display rules and other observable aspects of behavior. Compliance with display rules could result from faking it, in good or bad faith, or from emotional labour as defined by Hochschild. Furthermore, Hochschild identified several techniques for performing emotional labour, including surface acting, deep acting achieved through bodily deep acting, or narrowing and/or change of focus, and cognitive strategizing. The sources, techniques, and processes of emotional labour have theoretical and practical

significance for individual academics and their institutions, because there are so many ways to generate an observable performance. Some yield much more convincing results than others, and each has different psychic (and eventually, organizational) costs and benefits. They are of practical importance, and the decision to focus on observables (cf. Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 90) forecloses on interesting possibilities—such as analysis of feeling rules, explication of social engineering, the dynamics of emotional dissonance, and the interior lives of professionals—and sacrifices much of the utility of the concept of emotional labour. Their argument, that it is the *display* which is of organizational significance, does not jibe with the frequent scrutiny feelings receive in organizational and social settings: Organizational demands can include deep allegiance as well as outward show, as artists' and popular business accounts show (e.g., Baker, 1982; Stewart, 1991). Another reason for including feelings and feeling rules (as opposed to display rules) in the approach to emotional labour is that encounters involving emotional labour are interactive, and of some duration. The underlying feelings/feeling rules of the participants may be important in guiding the unfolding encounter, as suggested by the dramaturgical perspective in general, and Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) in particular.

Another important argument for being concerned with feelings and interior processes is a moral one. Emotional labour, which investigators admit can be oppressive, is inherent in virtually all jobs (Morris, 1995), but is particularly characteristic of service jobs. Disadvantaged segments of the workforce disproportionately hold service jobs. These employees have little discretion about complying with organizational demands for emotional labour (e.g., Van Maanen, 1991), yet at the same time that they have limited skill in dealing with them. For example, it is not necessarily possible for them

to figure out how to decouple their inner and outer lives. This is a sophisticated skill (Hochschild, 1983b), not part of the on-the-job training for low-priced employees, and one which senior workers cannot necessarily make time to pass on, particularly if turnover is high. We must act as if expression and feeling mutually imply one another, and plan for the implications of experienced emotion as part of the job.

An important gap in the literature is the absence of work on professionals' emotional labour, apart from Pierce's (1991) unpublished doctoral thesis on attorneys and paralegals. This absence may reflect authors' agreement with specific elements of Hochschild's (1983b) definition, or may reflect nothing more than the easier access to nonprofessional occupations (see Rafaeli and Sutton's discussion in Frost & Stablein, 1992).

Hochschild (1983b, p. 147) considered that emotional labour was characterized by organizational supervision of employees' emotions—via selection, training, supervision, and other aspects of the organizational control system. Professionals' emotion management she considered to be free from supervision, and therefore not emotional labour (a distinction noted by Wouters, 1989, p. 100). Her criteria of selection, supervision, etc., are clearly compatible with professional socialization and work, however, and she has apparently expanded her definition of emotional labour in recent writings (see introduction to Fineman, 1993). It is possible to disagree with another of her criteria, direct contact with a live client. It is possible for a "generalized other" (Mead, 1934) to be the client, i.e., to do emotional labour for an internalized audience, following standards springing from familial and professional or occupational socialization. The present study is predicated on the view that professionals *do* perform emotional labour. Hochschild's

distinction may be moot, however, if professionals continue to be brought into organizational settings as salaried employees.

Another aspect of interest which is not adequately addressed in the studies mentioned above is the dynamic effect of emotional labour on career progression. In the context of professional work, the investment of energy in emotional labour may be seen as competing with or complementing instrumental activities, as depleting energy or generating it, as evidence of identification or lack of commitment. The widespread perception that different constituencies in the corporate environment evaluate emotional labour differently (see, e.g., Crawford, Kippax, Onyx, Gault, & Benton, 1992; Ghiloni, 1984; Harragan, 1981) necessitates further emotional labour, as employees struggle to preserve their professional and personal autonomy while being seen to adjust to corporate emotional cultures. The interplay between professional and social expectations and guidelines for emotional labour and career progress has not been fully investigated, although it has important implications for career theory and for workforce diversity.

No long-term studies of emotional labour exist, in any setting. These would be important in resolving the question about the effects of emotional labour. Hochschild anticipated uniformly negative consequences—self-estrangement and inauthenticity, and eventually disenchantment of clients. Others, including Ashforth and Humphrey, Morris, Wharton, and Wouters, make a variety of claims for the functionality of emotional labour, all tending to discount Hochschild's gloomy prognostications, and arguing for a more complex picture.

The emotional labour literature in its present form is unable to provide an answer. Most studies are descriptive, and focus is on externals such as display rules and their implementation, without addressing the

internal processes and their self-significance. There is a need for exploratory studies to determine the nature and organizational patterning of emotional labour, including identification of the task elements which require emotional labour. Emotional labour is not confined to customer contact (Morris, 1995): A reasonable and necessary extension of Hochschild's formulation of the concept includes the role of emotional labour in the management of individuals' feelings about issues and relationships in the workplace—both negative feelings, e.g., about discrimination, nepotism, or unsafe job conditions, and positive feelings—e.g., about loved coworkers, customers' rights, and cultural rituals.

The model outlined in Figure 2 would provide a framework for such studies. In the context of emotional labour with students, the underlying focus of this study, the model would work in the following way. In stage one, the academics experience external (institutional[6]) and internal (self-imposed) demands for emotional labour. These demands may be role-based and situational, springing on the one hand from prescriptions embodied in the institutional culture (e.g., "faculty should observe an open door policy") and on the other from the individual's salient identities (e.g., I am "Mr. Chips," after Hilton's famous teacher). Since academics typically derive valued elements of their identity from work, demands for emotional labour, whatever their source, are likely to be experienced as compelling.

Upon perceiving the demands for emotional labour, the academics construct interpretations for the situation which allow/lead to identification of the appropriate feeling and display rules. The interpretation and

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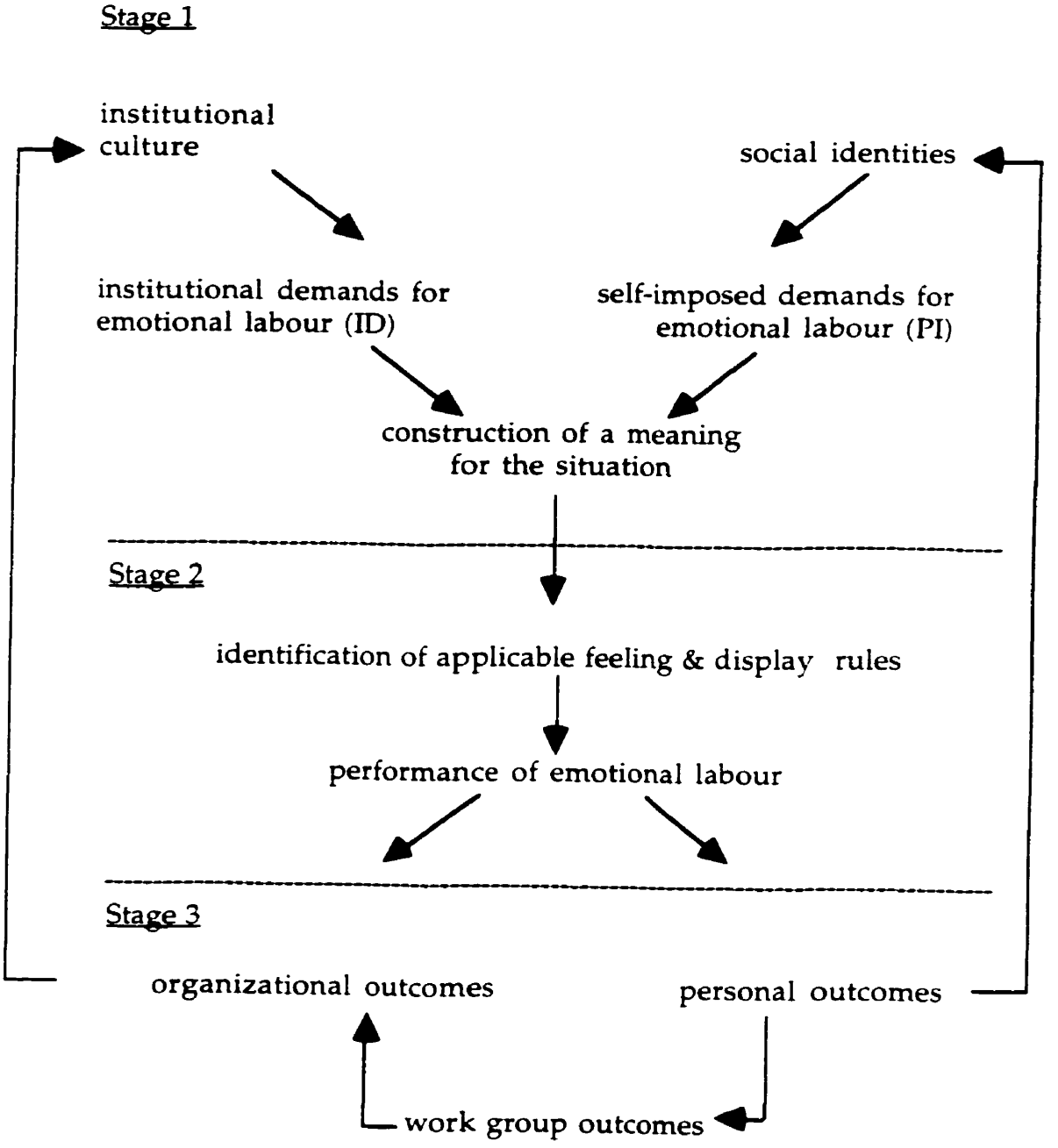
[6] "Institutional" may include a range of sources, e.g., the department, an interdisciplinary program, a centre of excellence, etc. This preliminary model lumps all these sources together, while acknowledging that this sacrifices important details relating to the execution and outcomes of emotional labour.

Figure 2. **Model for the Study of Emotional Labour in Academia**



assessment of the combined demands is affected by the institutional milieu and personal social identity. The process is very much an iterative one, with gradual convergence on certainty, and later, on confident performance. Note that the complexity of identity and its interaction with situational demands (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 101) may be reflected in day-to-day, moment-to-moment changes in the salience of demands for emotional labour (as well as their effects on individuals) and the salience of different sets of feeling and display rules. The constructed meaning and subsequent selection of feeling and display rules will reflect the person-organization fit, the congruence between the internal and external sources of demands for emotional labour, as well as the societal context and intrapsychic factors.

In addition to pressures for emotional labour arising from institutional demands or social identity, there may be personal history at work: for example, an inclination to use emotional labour consciously, based on its successful past use to smooth interactions[7]. The use of emotional labour may reflect the academic's accommodation of gender and race stereotypes, separately or interactively. This would be the mechanism through which women academics' performance of emotional labour affects their career outcomes, as proposed in this study.

Against the backdrop of this fluid interpretation, the emotional labour is actually performed, guided by feeling and display rules (stage 2). Examples of emotional labour vis-à-vis students range from proffering a box of Kleenex to a weeping student, while avoiding eye contact, to companioning an injured student in a hospital emergency room for six hours, all the while making conversation about her upcoming examinations. The *process* of

[7] It would be interesting to know the relationship between emotional labour and so-called relational work. Does relational work segue into emotional labour?

performing emotional labour requires the partners in emotional labour (the students, in this case) to take their expected roles. Students are expected to reciprocate and validate faculty's emotional labour.

The performance has outcomes, stage 3, which affect individuals, their work group, and their organization, i.e., there are outcomes on micro, meso, and macro levels. The outcomes can be specified in terms of their time frame, metric, mechanisms, and instrumental vs. emotional characteristics. Table 3 summarizes possible outcomes which have already been identified in the literature. There is some agreement that these outcomes are much more mixed, and more functional, than was originally anticipated (see Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Stenross & Kleinman, 1989; Wharton, 1993; Wouters, 1989). It is primarily where recruitment and socialization is such that the social identities of the workforce are not involved in their emotional labour, and the defences against absorption into the work role fail, will the results be as negative as Hochschild anticipated.

Outcomes feed back into the organizational and internal demands for emotional labour, which affects the organizational systems, particularly the control system.

Academia and Gender in Academia

Works of literature, reports, and papers have for many years pointed out the disadvantaged status of women in academia (e.g., Bernard, 1964; Chamberlain, 1991; Cross, 1981[8]; Rossi & Calderwood, 1973; Sayers, 1936;

[8] Carolyn Heilbrun, writing as Amanda Cross (1981), describes the position of a woman faculty member, a position which demands emotional labour in both execution and self-management: "[S]he was overwhelmed by the women students, who, however unraised their consciousness,

Table 3 *Advantages and Disadvantages of Emotional Labour*

Level Of Impact	Benefit	Cost
Individual	• task accomplishment facilitated • interactions regulated, embarrassment avoided • allows cognitive distancing • allows scope for personal expression	• tasks deskilled • risks over-dependence on work role & burnout • risks self-estrangement & inauthenticity • may suffer damage to signal function of emotion • may suffer role conflict & strain • may perform gender-related "shadow labour" • risks emotional dissonance
Institutional	• task accomplishment facilitated • social maintenance	• long term unsustainability? • profligate usage of human resources

Note. Adapted from Ashforth and Humphrey (1993), who propose conceptual relationships between some of the elements listed. For example, task accomplishment as a benefit to the individual is affected because emotional labour provides a means of regulating interactions between strangers, thereby enhancing self-efficacy, avoiding potential embarrassments, allowing cognitive distancing and other forms of expressive leeway in task performance. These mechanisms are themselves costs and benefits, and are entered independently in the table for that reason.

The possibility of long-term unsustainability is tied to such outcomes as turnover and absenteeism resulting from employees' reluctance to perform required emotional labour. Morris (1995, p. 81) suggests that a lack of autonomy in the performance of emotional labour may lead to emotional dissonance and thence to diminished psychological well-being: It is a reasonable extension of this argument to anticipate evasion and withdrawal when organizationally required performances conflict with genuine emotions.

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wanted a woman to talk to. It was a strain. They would get angry if she didn't make time for them, assuming her attention as their right, even though they wouldn't dream of making the same assumptions about a male teacher" (p. 104).

Schultz, 1993) and pointed to evidence of pervasive sexism (e.g., Bannerji, Carty, Delhi, Heald, & McKenna, 1991; Bem, 1994; Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995; DeSole & Hoffman, 1981; Flam, 1991; Kritek, 1984). The work has largely been descriptive, however. While it establishes the scale and persistence of aspects of the problem, such as differential recruitment and attrition, explanations have been related primarily to extra-institutional factors, notably outside roles (Acker, 1983; Crosby, 1987; Fowlkes, cited in Crosby, 1987) and gender socialization (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Clark & Corcoran, 1986). Smith (1978) and Vickers (1977) are exceptions, in ascribing women's exclusion to institutional processes.

Though they contribute to women's underrepresentation in academia, role conflict and socialization are less significant than academia's institutional characteristics and processes, particularly the control system. The literature suggests that a key mechanism in the academic control system—namely, demands for emotional labour—contributes largely to the disadvantaged position of academic women. Emotional labour is felt by many observers to be deeply gendered in academia—i.e., differentially performed by women, at all levels (see, for example, Bennet, 1979; Caplan, 1992; Hu-DeHart, 1983).

The greater susceptibility of women academics to institutional demands for emotional labour has its roots in childhood as well as professional socialization, which make emotional labour personally satisfying and in some respects functional for women. If some aspects are beneficial, however, others are compensatory in nature and perpetuate suboptimal individual—and eventually, institutional—outcomes. The task, then, is not merely to "count" academic women's emotional labour for tenure, which

would be to buy into the gender stereotype of "woman-as-teacher," but to understand the effects of emotional labour on women and academia.

The following sections provide some background on those aspects of the organization of academia in the US which define the context of faculty emotional labour and socialization for emotional labour. Emotional labour occurs in a nested set of contexts (called the "conditional matrix" by Strauss & Corbin, 1990, pp. 158-175) which stretches from the international community to the classroom. The discussion will follow Figure 3.

Background on the Organization, Culture, and Workforce of Academia

Universities are among the oldest institutions in Western society, and may be considered to form a loose supranational culture (the international level of the conditional matrix) which influences the overall culture of academia in specific countries. Until recently, universities were very static institutions (Blackburn & Lawrence, 1995; Clark, 1987; Van De Graaff, Clark, Furth, Goldschmidt, & Wheeler, 1978)[9], and the overall influence of the international academic community was a conservative one. Some of the oldest and most prestigious institutions showed a lack of interest in diversity, and enjoyed a degree of immunity from external demands for the inclusion of women and minorities.

The growth in the numbers of institutions, and the advent of affirmative action, has changed this picture in the US (the setting of this study, and the national level of the matrix). There are 3600 accredited, degree-granting colleges and universities. Their wide range of missions, locations,

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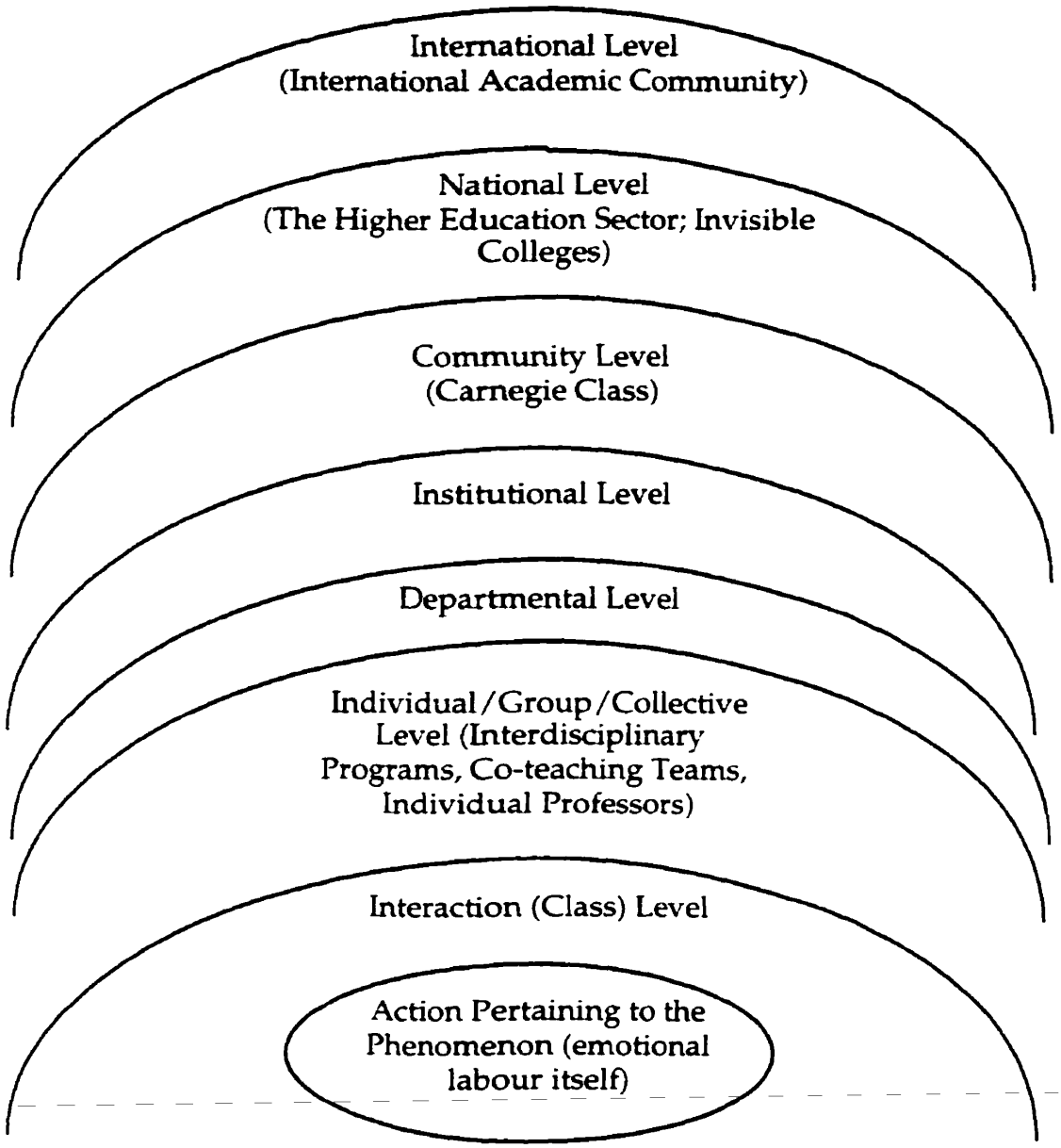
[9] "Universities...have been remarkable in their historic continuity...and have [survived] less changed than almost any other segment of their societies" (see Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1980, p. 9).

Figure 3. Contexts ("Conditional Matrix") of the Study



operational approaches, and accreditation bodies implies a corresponding variety in the contexts for faculty emotional labour (Austin, 1990).

In order to plan the present study and evaluate its findings, it was necessary to group these institutions in some way. The Carnegie Classification was selected, because it has wide recognition and captures some of the institutional differences which affect faculty's emotional workload. The classification is described fully in Appendix 1. Carnegie classes may be said to constitute the community level of the matrix, representing groups of institutions facing similar challenges and opportunities. This study proposes that the nature and conditions of academic employment, including emotional labour, may be broadly connected to the Carnegie class.

The department, collective, and class levels set the feeling and display rules which guide the execution of emotional labour, and otherwise pattern its day-to-day enactment. Chapter 5 offers a thick description of emotional labour in these contexts.

Culture of Academia

This study follows Burton Clark (1984, 1987) in considering that faculty function in a complex cultural matrix. This culture functions both as the international/national level of the conditional matrix, and as the ground of action in each succeeding level. It is helpful, in this context, to distinguish four primary subcultures: the profession, the discipline, the institution, and department. Faculty's approach to emotional labour reflects their synthesis of subcultural values and priorities.

The core functions of academia—to create and disseminate knowledge—are held to justify the extension of a high degree of job security

to academics. This is operationalized by the tenure system. Tenure is granted by the employing institution, commonly on the basis of scholarship, teaching, and service. The discipline defines scholarship, and the institution defines the other two (generally subsidiary) criteria, all within the framework of the profession's values. Barzun, in a memorable phrase, pointed out the "radical ambiguity" attaching to a profession in which one is "hired for one purpose, expected to carry out another, and prized for achieving a third" (Caplow & McGee, 1958, p. vi).

The professional culture of academia is relatively weak, primarily because the profession includes such a diversity of substantive areas that academics are increasingly unable to evaluate one another's scholarship, i.e., to define membership and legitimacy. There are core professional values, some of which were elicited in this study, but they seem to be motherhood statements which offer limited operational guidance. Several participants in the present study noted that these core professional values were no longer sufficient to ensure mutual civility and respect. This suggests the extent to which the trend toward specialization has balkanized the profession.

Academic culture as a whole is developed and transmitted by the discipline, acting at a national level through the peer review network and the "invisible colleges." The discipline provides the primary identity (Clark, 1987, p. 7). The department operationalizes the discipline, so to speak, giving a local form to the research maxims and overall values of the discipline, and integrating faculty research programs into something of a departmental identity (and probably an institutional distinctive competence).

There are a number of classifications through which the effects of the many disciplinary cultures can be focused. Lohdahl and Gordon's (1972) classification, based on the level of development of the underlying paradigm,

has not been revised, although the concept is widely applied. Biglan's (1973) classification takes the form of a three-dimensional matrix of hard/soft, pure/applied, and life/matter. The small size of the present study, and its confinement to the faculty of arts and sciences, seemed to justify the use of a simple and atheoretical classification: humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences.

The institutional culture tempers and potentially crosscuts the influence of the discipline and department. One of its central concerns is governance. Baldridge (1971) dismissed two early organizational paradigms, bureaucracy and collegiality, in favor of a political model which is a better fit with the decentralized and "extravagantly indeterminate structure" of academic institutions (Caplow & McGee, 1958, p. vi). Baldridge's (1971) political model of the university draws from conflict theory, community power theory, and interest group theory.

One effect of the multiple cultures of academia is to make some latitude in careers possible. In a good employment market, faculty may choose the settings in which to pursue careers that are primarily institutional or disciplinary (corresponding roughly to a continuum of emphasis on teaching/service vs. research) (Light, Marsden, & Corl, 1972). A less happy effect occurs when employment opportunities are contracting: Graduate socialization to one pattern of values may impede successful transition to an institution characterized by markedly different values. Light, Marsden, and Corl termed the process of arriving at a compromise between the values of the four subcultures the "moral career" of the academic professional.

The present research assumes that American colleges and universities strive to integrate the competing institutional models, but have not

necessarily succeeded. This is particularly true of Camden[10], one of the sites in this study. Camden is a Doctoral II institution. Under its newest president, Camden is identifying itself as a small liberal arts university, rather than the liberal arts college it is in name and some cultural respects. In the present study, Camden faculty perceived the institutional culture as responding to disciplinary cultures, by redefining tenure criteria around scholarship, to the particular distress of women and minorities. The change of identity will be discussed in more detail in the following pages. Falkirk, the second site, has a negligible endowment and faces continual financial pressures. Nevertheless, Falkirk aspires to national leadership in progressive education and proposes to achieve this by expanding its offerings to include doctoral education. Falkirk's cultural strains are of a different nature, concerned with the displacement of collegial and democratic values by conservative, fiscally oriented ones. In both cases, faculty experienced moral dilemmas. The emotional labour of faculty is embedded in the context of this ambiguity about institutional values and mission.

Gender in Academia: Sex-linked Recruitment and Sex Structuring

Sex-linked recruitment, and its correlate, sex structuring based on differential retention and advancement, form the basis for gendered systems of control. The evidence offered for sex-linked recruitment in academia is simply the persistent underrepresentation of women, despite their availability. Caucasian males are still 66% of the profession, 79% of the tenured senior faculty (NCES, 1992). They dominate the top five Carnegie

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[10] Pseudonym. Names of the two institutions have been disguised, to extend additional privacy to participants.

categories of institutions. Nearly half of the small percentage of women at these institutions (from 15% to 25%, typically) are in pretenure status. It is not until the category of Baccalaureate Colleges I is reached that women's representation rises to equal their availability in the doctoral pool[11]. Over a third of junior faculty, predominantly women, are in non-tenure track positions, often piecework contracts.

The operation of academia's internal labour market complements differential recruitment, and supports sex structuring (Exum, Menges, Watkins, & Berglund, 1984), as does institutions' monopsonistic power (Blau, 1986, p. 247). Monopsony power means that an institution is a large employer in a particular market. Academic institutions are frequently the biggest employers in their area, and have practices which disadvantage academic women (e.g., nepotism rules). In this "quasi-open market," many if not most faculty jobs are filled by current employees or their nominees (Exum et al., op. cit.), and women are not adequately represented in these ranks, particularly at levels with hiring influence (Speizer, 1983). The vague criteria for hiring include "collegiality," which is both more difficult for women to show, since it is, after all, a masculine version, and inherently less feasible for them, given the tensions currently focused around women in academia. The result is that academia is sex-structured at professional and institutional levels.

Sex-structured organizations and professions tend to be deeply conscious of gender, particularly when evaluating competence. Epstein (1970) was the first to note that when a professional organization or profession is sex-stereotyped, the minority's gender becomes salient. Kanter (1977) further developed the implications of the ratio of men to women for institutional

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[11] The term "sex structured" (Acker & Van Houten, 1974) is applied to professions which show this type of pattern. Men and women perform different work, and job level can often be inferred from sex.

processes. She contended that at low representations, women encounter more discrimination, resistance, etc.

Gutek and Morasch (1982) argued that it is in sex-structured organizations that the phenomenon of sex role spillover is most pronounced. Sex role spillover has many harmful effects, principally because it serves as a mechanism to translate gender-based expectations about behavior into restrictive identities. For example, it can cause working women to be perceived as nurturers, regardless of institutional role, or as emotionally needy, capable of draining colleagues' energy. Academic examples of sex role spillover include the association of women with "caring" positions, their relegation to role-modeling, and the assumption that they appropriately represent "soft" viewpoints on committees.

Sex role spillover occurs even in short-lived transactions: Rafaeli and Sutton (1989) found it in transactions between clerks and customers in convenience stores. Spillover allows observers to substitute assumptions for evidence in evaluating performance (cf. Feldberg & Glenn, 1979).

The ways in which academia is sex-structured in the US have been reviewed by the American Association of Colleges (Report, 1986, p. 2 et seq.), Caplan (1992), Jacobs (1985), and Spencer and Bradford (1982), among others:

- women occupy lower ranks, and have less likelihood of gaining tenure
- women frequently occupy non-tenure-track, low-status positions
- women are over-represented in the ranks of part-timers/ adjuncts, often because they bear the brunt of nepotism policies which forbid the employment of relatives in the same faculty or even institution
- women are segregated by discipline/field, and frequently isolated within their settings, restricting full professional development
- traditional women's fields—nursing, home economics, education, social work—have low prestige and receive less funding than male-dominated fields

- the proportion of women students is growing, but the proportion of women faculty and administrators is not.

Affirmative action has signally failed to change these structural characteristics. Sex segregation by occupation—a persisting feature of the American economy as a whole (Powell, 1988, p. 73)—is still a marked characteristic of academia, though there are small and persistent fluctuations in the overall percentage of women.

Services Management and Marketing

The literature on services management and marketing contributes to our understanding of emotional labour and its significance by

- proposing new paradigms for service marketing, which emphasize the role of emotionally charged interactions in creating customer satisfaction,
- specifying conditions of competitive success, which include "obsessive" concern with customers' perceptions and feelings, and
- offering a selection of tools for improvement of service delivery, often via standardization and refinement of employees' emotional labour.

The bearing of each of these on emotional labour of service employees will be discussed, but the primary focus of this section will be on the connection between emotional labour in services and the work of Grove, Fisk and their associates (see, e.g., Grove, Fisk, & Bitner, 1992). Their oeuvre proposes a dramaturgical approach to services management.

New paradigms. The displacement of the statistical control model of continual quality improvement (CQI) by a market-driven model (Gronroos,

1993; Liljander & Strandvik, 1995; Zeithaml, Parasuraman, & Berry, 1992) puts more emphasis on the customer interface. Five dimensions of service quality, including empathy, are proposed as the basis for service "positioning"[12] (Ries & Trout, 1981). Managers are advised to develop employees' capacity for empathy, or treating the customer like a special individual, on a programmatic basis such as relationship marketing (relationship customization) (Berry & Gresham, 1986), but to supplement this by prescribing emotional labour by the employees charged with liaison roles. The term emotional labour is not used in this literature, but the behaviors described clearly fit Hochschild's definitions (e.g., "to induce and maintain positive moods throughout the service process," Manrai, 1993, p. 170). Manrai also suggested that employee selection be based in part on prospective employees' skill in managing customers' moods, as well as their willingness to engage in prosocial behavior, which influences the customer's post-encounter mood. "Considering the high costs involved in recruiting and training employees, it will be worthwhile to assess a priori their potential for such adjustments required in their behavior" (p. 170).

Conditions of competitive success. Chase and Hayes (1992) discuss the overarching values which should drive service companies' choice of strategy. They emphasize the need for "customer obsession—an unending passion for fully satisfying the explicit and latent requirements of current and potential customers" (Swaim, 1993), at all levels in the company. World class companies desire to exceed—to stimulate—customer needs, and to learn from customers (and by extension, from *non*customers). Their proactive focus on the customer, although they do not say so, suggests a need for

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[12] Positioning refers to the customer's mental image of your service: The goal is to tie the mental image to the customer's existing needs and expectations, to capitalize on connections that already exist.

emotional labour directed toward replacing the "usual" manipulative attitude to customers with a learning, almost servile, desire to study and please customers. As Gronroos (1993) points out, customers' perceptions of service quality are dynamic and image must be continuously managed.

Tools for improvement of service delivery. One way that these expectations can be managed is through enactment of the psychological contract between company and customer. This can be done on a straightforward physical level, through dress and behavior (Rafaeli, 1993), or it can be achieved by choreographing customer/server interactions. Grove, Fiske, and Bitner (1992) lay out such a dramaturgical approach to service, drawing on the work of Goffman (1959) and Booms and Bitner (1981). The latter argued for an expansion of the traditional marketing mix (product, price, place (distribution), and promotion, or "the 4Ps") to include three additional Ps: *participants, physical evidence,* and *process of service assembly.*[13] Grove et al. suggest that these additional Ps define what has to be managed, and suggest how it may be done, using the dramaturgical metaphor: auditioning employees (actors), using scripts (Humphrey & Ashforth, 1994), training and rehearsing employees, and—very important—training the consumer (audience), in part through employees' emotional labour[14] (cf. Bowen and Schneider's (1988) concept of customers as "partial employees"). They have additional suggestions for managing the other two Ps, including training employees in the use of dramaturgical defensive practices to fix flawed performances.

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[13] Cumby & Barnes (1995) suggest a 3R marketing mix—relationships, retention, and recovery—focusing on ends rather than means.

[14] The implication—that employees' emotional labour can be used to offset customers' power of choice—is taken up by Morris (1995), who argues that the power of the role receivers predicts the frequency of emotional labour (p. 81).

This approach is connected to emotional labour through its focus on acting, its concern with sincerity, its attention to the work involved in maintaining a mutually constructed performance, and its recognition of the institutional control of performance.

Other advice for fostering employee behavior runs the gamut from recipes for micromanaging the "right" attitudes into the culture (Luthans & Waldersee, 1992) to CQI loops (Swaim, 1993) to suggestions for a more programmatic approach to performance measurement (Roth, 1993), based on the premise that "what gets measured, gets done." Humphrey and Ashforth (1994) advocate script mapping and prototype analysis to train new employees and keep existing employees attuned to environmental changes.

Typological work in services. There is basic agreement that service providers' manner of interacting with customers (clients, student body, patients, prisoners, etc.) is bundled with the service itself, and is part of the job. As such, it is regulated by the employer. Service employees are expected to manage client relationships through their emotional labour as much as through their service technology. A number of typologies of services attempt to make the range of services more amenable to analysis and improvement. There has been a progression from simple typologies (e.g., Berry, Shostack, & Upah, 1983) to 2 x 2 tables (e.g., Goodwin & Radford, 1993; Grove & Fiske, 1983) to more complex typologies which go beyond the inherent characteristics of services—their intangibility, perishability, interactive nature, and so forth—to examine institutional context, selected variables such as information symmetry, and the purpose of the service encounter (e.g., Mills & Margulies, 1980).

As Goodwin and Radford point out, it is difficult to map professional service arenas like academia to the older, more monolithic typologies. Points

of less-than-perfect fit include the duration of education, the polymorphous nature of the service, and the complexity of the educational sector. Typological development in academia would be advanced by adoption and modification of a widely accepted system such as the Carnegie classification.

Organizational Control

The primary focus of this study is the description of faculty's emotional labour vis-à-vis students. Stage 1 of Figure 2 asserts that this occurs partly in response to institutional demands. This is consistent with the perspectives of Morris (1995) and Tolich (1993), who consider that its basis in organizational demands is what distinguishes emotional labour from any other form of emotion management on the job. Accordingly, this section reviews some general theories of control.

There is a secondary emphasis on the gendered aspects of control in academia. "Gendered control" has been used to describe the situation in which organizational demands apply differently to men and women, with significant implications for career and personal outcomes. This study postulates that by encouraging women academics to perform more emotional labour with students—which undercuts their ability to produce institutionally valued outcomes such as publications—institutions maintain their ability to keep women's representation lower than their availability warrants and low enough to preserve the status quo.

Control is a central notion in organizational behavior (e.g., Gibbs, 1989; Hill, 1981; Simons, 1995; Trice & Beyer, 1993). Organizations have even been conceptualized as "structures of control" (Salaman, 1979, p. 107). Yet in practice we disguise and downplay control and the underlying power

disparity which enables it. This is unfortunate, as control has been a central issue in academia and may become even more important in the coming decade. Many articles in the trade press have anticipated a substantial shrinkage in the number of institutions, a redistribution of resources, and changes in the positioning of the survivors (see, e.g., the special report in *The Chronicle*, 6/14/96). Control systems will change in response to these mergers and realignments.

Etzioni (1976, p. 399) defined an organizational control system is "the distribution of means used [by the organization]...to elicit the performances it needs and to check whether the quantities and qualities of such performances are in accord with organizational specifications." Classical thinking about control is about reducing variation in performance, using physical supervision, direct and indirect (Edwards, 1979), work design allied to pay (Taylorism), and machine pacing. Classical thinking focuses on the physical and material aspects of control, less on the symbolic. It is predicated on the notion that employees are not necessarily motivated and able to perform, and implements a detailed division of labour in order to insulate the company against such a possibility. Simon (1957, pp. 20-21) put the classical position very succinctly when he argued that control is achieved through elaboration of specialization by task. Administrative efficiency would be increased by subdividing the workforce on the basis of process, work goals, clientele, or location. The small, disempowered groups could then be treated identically and used interchangeably, like any other resource. While these types of control would not generally be applied to professionals, and particularly not to academics, the recent struggles between Yale and its graduate students (to take one widely publicised example) show that coercive control is not out of the question when the stakes are sufficiently high.

More current thinking reflects a contingent approach (see Simpson, 1985, pp. 416-417, for a succinct review of contingency theory). Technology and environment are important determinants of control systems, but so are secular trends such as the spread of thinking inspired by concepts from cybernetics (e.g., Miller, Galanter, & Pribram, 1960; Simons, 1995) and the integration of more realistic images of the worker in management thinking. The philosophy of control has changed accordingly, from compulsion to seduction, i.e., the employee is assumed to be capable of responding to symbolic control. The current objective of many CQI initiatives is that freely given allegiance to organizational purposes should guide the employee in applying cybernetic controls to his/her behavior and participation in the core production processes.

Much of the pre-1980 literature on control is about behavioral control, in a production situation. As Averill (1973) points out, there are also cognitive and decisional domains of control. If you do not equate emotional labour to a sequence of actions ("people processing"), these domains need to be addressed. There is also a basic question to be resolved: Do people actively seek control of their situation? Yes, they do (cf. deCharms, 1968), even if gaining control sometimes involves accepting more (i.e., internalized) control. This makes them amenable to the whole range of higher-order controls which are used in services management.

Higher order controls can be external/internal, behavioral/output, inspiring/constraining. They are generally used in combination, to keep any one control from becoming intolerable. Their complexity allows higher order controls to structure social relations on the job, as well as govern a work process (Hill, 1981). They are generally supported by explicitly stated legitimating ideologies, which also serve to pattern and integrate the

allocation of control between the institution and other sources of control (in the case of academia, the discipline, the teaching profession, the invisible college). Simons (1995) suggests that institutional ideologies and the assumptions underlying human resources philosophies do this by shaping the belief and boundary systems which fix the academic's world view (as Simons puts it, "inform the search for opportunities"), and thereby prioritize the often conflicting sources of standards.

The desired state of affairs for control of professionals, given the centrality of autonomy in the professional identity (H.E.R.I., 1996), is internalized control via professional and cultural standards and desire for acceptance into the practice/profession/department, supported by a fully developed legitimating ideology.

The broad categories of control mechanisms include the capacity to define what is work, to specify the methods to be used to control quantity/quality of output, and to specify acceptable work practices (Salaman, 1979; Salaman & Thompson, 1980). Gibbs (1989) has pointed out that these controls may start at the level of correcting substandard performance, but quickly change their nature to normative prescriptions. All of the methods mentioned by Salaman are used in academic settings, on various aspects of faculty work.

In general, control changes its character as faculty ascend the institutional prestige ladder and the academic hierarchy, becoming progressively less visible and alienating. Senior academics attract partial and tentative supervision. In contrast, at the less prestigious institutions, and in less prestigious fields, faculty are akin to "employees," and therefore subject to an almost industrial discipline (Carter & Carter, 1981; Sergiovanni & Corbally, 1984). Teaching fellows and adjuncts, for example, particularly in community

colleges and former normal schools, receive detailed directions and are held to specific outcome criteria (such as final grade distributions), as are faculty in some professional schools. Since women are disproportionately represented at the lower ranks and less prestigious institutions, *all* aspects of academic control systems bear more heavily on them (Clark, 1987, pp. 184-185).

Etzioni (1976) emphasized the interchangeability of selection and control. A small increase in selectivity preempts a great deal of control (p. 655). Academia is a highly "pervasive" organization, i.e., affects academics' entire life spaces, and therefore there is a premium on "good" selection. This may mean "selection of people amenable to existing control systems," with obvious implications for stasis and sexism.

Though collegial control is idealized in academia—cf. the concept of community of scholars—it is a romanticised and self-contradictory concept (see, for example, Exum et al. [1984] on the internal academic labour market and Hochschild's [1975] analysis of academic competition). It is more effective, perhaps, in maintaining the status quo than rooting out professional misconduct (Broad & Wade, 1982). Collegial control operates principally through the mechanisms of differential hiring and the promotion, retention, and tenure (PRT) "evaluation technology," which is supported by commitment to peer review.

At its simplest, the PRT criterion is a prestige-adjusted publications count; at a more sophisticated level, formulae balancing elements of teaching, research, and "service" are employed. Allied to this, and merging imperceptibly into a cultural control mechanism, is the definition of "acceptable" teaching, research, and service. Campus activism, for example, is seldom well-regarded, and women, obviously, have issues to be active about in a way that the male majority does not. There have been many suits

disputing the gender-blind application of criteria (Caplan, 1992, pp. 40-45; see Farley, 1982, for a compendium). There is emotional labour for women in exhibiting a calm exterior while conforming to measures of work quality and quantity which seem clearly to disadvantage them as a group.

Peer review has been demonstrated to work against the advancement of women, overall, because—though a formally "blind" process in most instances—its actual operation is affected by institutional prestige considerations, faculty members' knowledge of the mechanics and one another's work, and mainstream journals' resistance to publishing on women's issues (Spender, 1983). The disparity in the size of male and female peer groups is such that women may find themselves receiving more university-level reviews, without departmental backing, because of their academic interests and the organizational patterning of their appointments (Hu-DeHart, 1983, p. 154). Such campus-wide reviews do not necessarily have the same rules and weights as departmental ones. Further, Ker Conway (1994) has noted that

> those, almost exclusively women, who wanted to study women's experience [were] driven out of the core disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, segregated in a separate, unfunded department without sponsors in the expense allocation process of the university, and so swamped with students that their research output often could not be competitive with more traditional faculty (p. 142)

It has been argued that women's "accumulative disadvantages" (Clark & Corcoran, 1986) largely frustrate the ideal of collegial control. Emotional labour may be needed to manage the dissonance, to maintain appearances—particularly, the appearance of fitting in (while being contained or even rejected)—for the "audience" of largely white male academics.

The collegial culture also sensitizes academia to the demands of external male constituencies, not female constituencies (Speizer, 1983). The probable result in women academics is a sense of exclusion and devaluation, complicated by dissonant feelings about the sensation. Dealing with the emotional (as well as cognitive) dissonance requires that women academics perform emotional labour to maintain the appearance of emotional detachment which is demanded by professional norms.

Informal social control seems to be allied to collegial control. Informal social controls, reported by many women students and faculty, enforce exclusion and distancing (Caplan, 1992; Maitland, 1990; Rossi & Calderwood, 1973; Scott, 1984; Vickers, 1977). Academia, and prestigious institutions in particular, are full of masculine cultural icons and symbols, and conspicuously lacking in most instances in feminine ones. Senatorial courtesy (Weisskin, 1977), a hybrid social-collegial control, frequently operates to delegitimate women's concerns in the process of academic self-governance (cf. Harris, 1992: "courteous behaviors may serve to perpetuate gender role stereotypes and to regulate interactions between the sexes"). Again, managing complaisant social interaction with colleagues who appear to hold such a gender-based negative stereotype requires emotional labour.

The bureaucratic structure of academia "represents a mobilization of bias that gives certain groups primacy in determining what will be done" (Schattschneider, 1960, p. 71). There is a great deal of insider knowledge of institutional procedures and operation, which must be gained during socialization. This can be withheld from unworthy aspirants, and treated as "privileged information" by administrators and established academics. The most important information concerns the way in which career chances are

improved. Organizational control can be effectively achieved through "the manipulation of career chances" (Salaman, 1979, p. 140).

The bureaucratic structures marginalize women by sexist language, emphases, and procedures. The affirmative action office is itself a "velvet ghetto" (Ghiloni, 1984) in some institutions (Chertos, 1983), its effectiveness circumscribed by the assignment of women to discrete stages of the analysis and solution of problems, e.g., the problem of implementing affirmative action (Tancred-Sheriff, 1988). The organization's inattention to women's multiple roles often converts multiple role occupancy into a perpetual crisis (Hewlett, 1986). The scope for emotional labour is evident.

The gendered aspects of academia's control system have been recognized as a pervasive characteristic of the system, but the accompanying need for sustained emotional labour, which itself acts as a powerful control mechanism, has not. Emotional labour is the most insidious form of gendered control, because it creates the circumstances under which the objects of control—women academics—can fail legitimately and be replaced with new, naive recruits. While this clearly serves some interests, and provides a mechanism for adjusting numbers to an increasingly numerically imbalanced hierarchical structure, it has some substantial and unrecognized costs.

Aims of the Study

This study examined academics' emotional labour, with three aims:

- description and interpretation of academics' viewpoints on emotional labour, and the implications of these for academics' work lives,
- thick description of the experience of enacting emotional labour, and

- assessment of the role of emotional labour in explaining women's position in academia.

These exploratory, descriptive aims call for methodologies that provide abundant, rich data that preserve the participants' formulations of the issues. The choices, Q methodology and unstructured interviews analysed using grounded theory methods, met this criterion. Used together, they enhance the veridicality of participants' information, counteracting the potential limitations imposed by the stability of participants' views and their capacity to articulate them.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Rafaeli and Sutton (1989, p. 34) pose the question, "Can emotional labour be studied rigorously?" If by rigorously, they mean quantitatively, then at this stage of the development of the field, the answer should be "no," for several reasons.

- The concept of emotional labour is hard to operationalize in a way which does not preempt enquiry. As Chapter 1 made clear, there is little agreement on the nature of emotion and the value of various approaches (cf. the Kemper—Hunsaker—Hochschild discussion in the *American Journal of Sociology*, in which Kemper describes feeling rules as epiphenomenal; cf. also Hochschild, 1989a). The qualifications added by narrowing the subject to emotional *labour* make the debate even more polemical (cf. the Wouters—Hochschild exchanges, in *Theory, Culture, and Society*, 1989).
- The principal source of data is self-report about an area which respondents may remember inaccurately (Thomas & Diener, 1990), or never have articulated to themselves. Retrospective self-report measures may not be very useful, unless they incorporate such precautions as provision for the respondents to search their memory, various types of prompts, and safeguards against fabricated memories.
- Experimental study is problematic, in terms of design and institutional review[15]. The information about possible outcomes which is conveyed during the process of gaining informed consent affects the behavior of participants, particularly those who want to be "good subjects."

[15] Though deception is permissible, its use in this setting is infeasible and distasteful.

Experimental study raises ethical questions, e.g., about participants' rights to privacy and safety (see Rafaeli and Sutton's discussion in Frost & Stablein, 1992). Accordingly, most institutions require that studies involving human subjects go through a review process. Studies focused around *emotion* may appear risky to reviewers.

- Unobtrusive measures (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Secrest, 1973) are too crude to capture the nuances of emotional labour, which has intrapsychic sources and layers of meaning that are crucially important to the investigation. It is possible to say, even at this stage in the development of the area, that life experiences shape individuals' emotional ideologies (Hochschild, 1990, pp. 127-128), i.e., shape the ways people feel about feeling rules themselves.

Methodologies specifically devised for the study of human subjectivity, able to elicit tacit knowledge, are needed. An additional requirement for this study is compatibility with the underlying constructivist paradigm. Q methodology and unstructured interviews analysed with grounded theory methods are examples of such. This study used them in a complementary way to delineate the emotional labour of academics.

Why Q? The alternatives to Q, such as survey methods, have important drawbacks which discourage their application to an area as incompletely developed as emotional labour.

- They discount the importance of differences in *respondents'* construction of the phenomenon of emotional labour. It is the individual who experiences something as emotional labour, and this is likely to mean substantive differences in definition, rather than differing degrees of possession of a unitary construct.

- They impose stringent sampling requirements, which are unnecessary at this exploratory stage of investigation, and potentially crippling, due to nonresponse and expense.

The active, iterative nature of Q enables it to capture important aspects of a complex phenomenon such as emotional labour more successfully than competing methodologies. Missing and inconclusive data are less problematical, and it is possible to penetrate attitudes better. Social desirability and response set are minimized. The basis in self-reference facilitates interpersonal and interorganizational comparisons (Dennis, 1985, p. 103).

Summary of Study Methodology

This study used Q methodology, complemented by unstructured interviews, to find out how a volunteer sample of academics in two private colleges (the P sample) regarded the emotional aspects of their work (i.e., their emotional labour). The set of statements to which the participants reacted, the Q sample, is reproduced in Appendix 2.

In order better to surface the participant's view of emotional labour, before administration of the Q sort, s/he was asked to recall an emotional incident with a student, using wording taken from Hochschild (1983b). The sort was followed by an unstructured interview (see schedule in Appendix 3). These interviews (Appendix 3) were intended to assess participants' reactions to the methodology, as well as to secure demographic information and details of each participant's career attainments and progression. They were transcribed by professional secretaries, cleaned up at the mechanical level, and introduced to the project software's database. The information obtained

during the interview was used to monitor the unfolding study, as prescribed by grounded theory methodology.

The analysis of the interview transcripts followed the principles laid down by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) for generating grounded theory. Nud*Ist software (Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing, Searching and Theorizing), release 3.0.5, was employed. So-called "theorising software" like Nud*Ist transforms the work of data analysis by the degree to which it facilitates higher-order coding, memoing, and system closure (Weaver & Atkinson, 1995) and prevents "cherry picking." All evidence must be confronted when using theorising software.

Q Methodology

Q is a methodology, not merely a statistical technique. Its philosophy is compatible with the qualitative approach, revolving as it does around the issue of making subjectivity accessible. A 4/5/96 e-mail from Professor Robert Mrtek expresses the aims of Q:

> With Q, we do not generalize. We listen to what respondents tell us, try hard to understand their points of view, induce hypotheses for later studies, and suspend judgment on that which we cannot accurately/fully interpret in terms of the messages the respondent is knowingly or unknowingly conveying via the constructed sort.

The Philosophy of Q Methodology

Q was originated by William Stephenson (1935, et seq.). Q is so named to distinguish it from *R*, or correlational, study of people's objective

characteristics (Kerlinger, 1986, p. 508). Where R studies variables, scales, tests, etc., Q explores people's internal frames of reference. Anything which can be discussed with oneself or colleagues, Stephenson argued, is amenable to objective study, provided that you employ a consistent and appropriate logic of inquiry. Q is implemented by Q technique, i.e., by the analysis of individuals' Q sorts. The sort is the operational medium for eliciting people's views (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, p. 12).

Q constitutes a distinct logic of inquiry with an integral philosophy and a unique psychometric basis. It is important to recognize that although Q concerns itself with subjectivity, it is conducted objectively, in the sense Darwin advocated when he said that all observation had to be made with respect to an implicit theory, if it was to be of use. "Objectivity is not an unobtainable emptying of the mind, but a willingness to abandon a set of preferences...when the world seems to work in a contrary way" (Gould, 1995, p. 149). One of Q's central features is its use of "abductory" principles and reasoning to generate novel insights.

Abductory reasoning (Pierce, 1958, pp. 89-164; Stephenson, 1961a) is an alternative to hypothetico-deductive reasoning, uniquely suited to single case studies. Pierce called it "inference to the best explanation," by which he meant inference to explanation rather than description. Abductory reasoning accepts conclusions that can explain the available evidence. In Q, the term has a particular meaning—the rotation of factors to reveal "unexpected but not unsuspected results." Stephenson viewed abduction as a creative process—factors were "abduced," rather than found "like marbles in a bag."

Q and R are further differentiated by the variable(s) of interest, their definitions (e.g., of populations and samples), and the basis of measurement in each case. Specifically,

- Q holds that subjective points of view are communicable and based on a common metric of *self-reference* (Niemi, p. 5, McKeown & Thomas, 1988), whereas R is concerned with "objective" phenomena such as population-wide traits or attributes.
- The quality of an R study depends greatly on the sample of respondents, with simple random sampling the ideal in all respects. Q is less dependent on sampling. If necessary, the sample may be gradually accumulated.
- Q uses the term population to mean "concourse," or "things people say or could say," not sampling frame. Concourse is subjective, potentially infinite, and contestable. Statements don't have to meet a cutoff for quality to be part of the discourse. Stupid, reprehensible, and incomprehensible remarks are part of concourse.
- Q normally structures the sample of the concourse theoretically, with respect to a possible explanation of the data of interest. A widely known example is Lipset's (1963) study of political values in the English-speaking democracies. He applied Parson's work on value patterns to structure the sample of 33 Q statement along four dimensions of ascription—achievement, egalitarianism—elitism, universalism—particularism, and specificity—diffuseness (see Brown 1980, p. 133ff).
- Q is concerned with differences in the importance people attach to the subject, i.e., with intraindividual differences in significance. The psychometric basis of Q includes the use of distensive[16] rather than extensive measurements and a distinctive interpretation of factor

16 Distensive measurements imply only difference in magnitude, not equality of interval. Although Brown (1986) reports a methodological debate about the applicability of interval measurements to Q studies, it is important to note that Stephenson wished to focus on "psychological significance," rather than statistical significance (Stephenson, 1950a).

analysis: "*R* and *Q* always involve *two* quite different, and singly centered, tables of correlations, each subserved by its own distinctive qualitative and quantitative principles" (Stephenson, 1952, p. 484).

The Mechanics of Q

In Q sorting, participants convey their views by rank ordering a set of statements ("deck") along a continuum defined by a specific *"condition of instruction"*—e.g., from "strongly disagree," "highly uncharacteristic of my job," or some other negative pole, to "strongly agree," "highly characteristic of my job," etc. The condition of instruction may be as simple as that, or it may embody a hypothesis. In the latter case, theory testing occurs when the deck is sorted.

As they rank order the deck, participants lay out the statements in the form of a distribution. Although there is an ongoing discussion about the optimum form of distribution, for ordinary purposes a flattened normal distribution (FND) is appropriate. Brown (1971, 1985) provided detailed analyses which showed that the exact form of distribution into which participants sort the deck is unimportant (see Appendix 4). McKeown and Thomas (1988), in discussing objections to Q, emphasize that the objections are on the whole trifling: The sorter alone develops the overall meaning of the sort. The anchor is not an average, but the "distensive zero," or point of no subjective significance. Dispersion around the zero point is entirely a function of self-reference.

Participants typically are instructed to sort from positive and negative toward zero. The conditions of instruction may be varied, and the same deck sorted multiple times, to elicit the person's views on how the phenomenon is

perceived by others. The numerical values of the columns are a function of the size of the deck, with five the usual maximum. Values are transformed to positive numbers for analysis.

In the present study, the "base case" of a forced normal distribution was used, in the absence of a compelling reason to allow unforced distribution. "Forced" means every sort has the same distribution of items, "unforced" that each sort may have a unique distribution. All sorts must have the same number of piles. This choice eventually involved losses and compromises: Three subjects would not complete their sorts, feeling that the FND did violence to their views. Others demurred but sorted anyway[17].

Participants were informed about the sorting task at several points during the encounter. First, they read about it, in the paragraph dealing with the elements of participation in the consent form. The elements of participation were recapped briefly at the outset of the encounter, and participants were asked whether they were willing to go ahead. When the sorting stage of the encounter was reached, participants were asked to sort the 36 statements on to a large plastic mat which was backed with a reproduction of the FND shown in Appendix 2. To secure the most uniform results, they were given a plastic sleeve they were told contained time-saving instructions for sorting, and then asked to sort these 36 statements on to the mat. After they read the instructions, if they showed any sign of concern, they were invited to ask questions.

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[17] The rationale supplied to sorters who were uncomfortable with the forced distribution is one which is frequently used by Q practitioners. The participants are told to consider that when a statement they agree with is forced over into the negative pile, it means simply that they agree with it less than they agree with all the others that preempted the positive rankings. This issue appears regularly in Q Method and receives a similar answer (see, e.g., Brown 5/22/95).

While Q is removed from R's nomothetic concerns with reliability and validity, the ordinary validity checks assumed by good qualitative research practice are applied to the emerging conclusions.

The first context in which reliability and validity issues arise is the compilation of the Q sample. Q offers a "self check" with respect to this concern, in that a badly constructed Q sample will consist of statements that actually *appear* homogeneous. The sorter will have difficulty discriminating among them, and typically become irritated, refuse to continue, or resort to random judgments. Multiple (unreliable) factors will emerge—a dead giveaway. If this does not happen, the investigator can apply more searching conventional tests, such as reliability coefficients.

Dennis (1985) reports high (0.8ish) test-retest reliability coefficients from a number of personality studies using Q. Brown (1980) claims that "0.80 may be considered as an estimate of the average test-retest for all individuals on a factor, which may still be conservative under some conditions" (p. 292). Reliability was assessed in this study in several ways. First, the interpretability of the factors was considered. Second, the numbers espousing the viewpoints were assessed absolutely and in light of the number of sorts administered (the more people who define a factor, the more reliable the factor is considered to be—Brown, 1980). Finally, PCQ3 computed reliabilities and SEs.

Q is considered a methodology for small numbers. Larger numbers may be handled in Q studies by second-order factor analysis. Interested readers can follow the thread in Q Method, the electronic discussion list of regular Q users (see "Combining multiple case studies," 2/5/96).

The Q sample. Q methodology aspires to the statistical strength of nomothetic research (Dennis, 1985) without incurring design constraints such as simple random sampling of subjects. It can do so because the variables in Q are the statements, rather than the sample of respondents, and because it does not attempt to generalize about the proportions in a given population who espouse the viewpoints identified. The Q sample can consist of statements, cartoons, pictures, musical exerpts, single words, or anything else which can represent people's views and to which they can react.

The Q sample (or stimulus set, also called population in Q) is a representation of the "concourse," or possible discussion of the phenomenon; it may or may not reflect a theory of the phenomenon. Although the investigator's limitations may affect the final Q sample, it is *not* usually a deliberate representation of the investigator's personal viewpoint on the subject. In the present case, this is evidenced by the fact that the investigator's viewpoint was represented by Factor D.

Q samples can be unstructured or structured. An unstructured sample is a set of items from the same concourse, *un*differentiated, probably not theory-based. Many of the psychotherapeutic studies involving Q used unstructured samples. Kerlinger cites the example of the Rogerian studies of self perception (Kerlinger, 1986, p. 512), which included items such as "I am a failure," "I just can't seem to make up my mind," etc. Such a Q sample can describe and differentiate viewpoints and support suggestive correlational studies. Structured or factorial Q samples, in contrast, have the potential to build and test theory. At a minimum, they incorporate the dimensions of the debate. More commonly, they operationalize the variables of a more or less developed theory of the phenomenon under study.

How does the developer know that s/he has represented (sampled) the concourse adequately? There is very little practical advice on this in the Q literature. Stephenson merely enjoined investigators to try for adequate representation of the phenomenon without significant exclusions.

Dan Thomas has made a useful suggestion (personal communication, 1995). He considers that the statement set is the answer to the question, "How do we know X [the phenomenon] exists?" We know that emotional labour exists because there is a scholarly literature on the subject, college documents exist which bear on emotional aspects of the job, there is a public discussion of aspects of the academic job which potentially involve emotional labour, etc. Hence, the initial Q sample was drawn from those sources.

A large pool of quotations was assembled, based on annual reports, governance documents, faculty handbooks, catalogues, self-studies, accreditation reports, mission statements, and other important documents from both institutions. These sources were combed for phrases relating to sources, guidance, and outcomes of faculty workload—specifically, faculty emotional labour. Materials used to market programs, as well as student handbooks, were checked to see what representations were made to prospective students about faculty attitudes and availability. The trade press was monitored for discussion in this area, particularly opinion pieces and letters to *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Books considered by the faculty to embody core values of their respective institutions—e.g., bell hook's (1994) *Teaching to Transgress*—were mined for succinct statements bearing on faculty workload/emotional labour issues.

Items selected for trial were those which appeared repeatedly, in a variety of forms, and related to central tasks of the institutions. There was a premium on brevity. Many revealing statements were too long to include in

a Q sort intended to last 30 minutes, addressed to faculty unfamiliar with Q method. As it was, some of the original items were perceived as "double barreled questions."

Accordingly, the original intention to use a factorial (theory-testing) Q sample to explore faculty's views of emotional labour and simultaneously test Figure 2 had to be modified. The advice of experienced Q practitioners was sought, and adjustments were made (see Appendix 5). The items were simplified grammatically, and some of the idiosyncratic phrasing was replaced by more generally understandable language. The simplified items were supplemented with additional items developed from 14 loosely structured interviews with academics who participated in the preliminary phase of the study. The final sample did not attempt to balance representation of the positive—negative dimension. Participants supplied that themselves, in their sorting process. Many senior Q Method contributors also consider that "concourse, Q sample, and P set go hand-in-hand, and within their context, such considerations as pro and anti usually take care of themselves" (Brown, Q Method, 7/10/95).

The final Q sample included 36 statements pertaining to the sources and outcomes of emotional labour. This number is considered sufficient (Brown, 1980; Waltz, Strickland, & Lenz, 1984), although Kerlinger (1986, p. 509) suggests that Q samples of this size should consist entirely of pretested items. Brown, in an email of 10/6/95, noted that there are many examples of Q samples comprised of fewer than 40 items. The standard error for a zero-order factor loading (correlation)—1/[sqrt(N)], where N is the number of statements—provides an estimate of error no matter how many or few statements are used. With fewer statements, factor loadings have to be correspondingly higher before they become significant.

It proved extraordinarily difficult for factorial statements, and statements taken from natural sources, to meet widely accepted criteria—conventional ones like clarity, specificity, and conciseness, and others mandated by Q, such as wide applicability to participants, absence of qualifiers, and use of participants' language (Gorham, 1962). By the time you have removed ambiguity, and made them short, they have lost much of their colour, and with it their ability to evoke the desired subjective responses. The advice of the Q community was to rely on Q's ability to determine statistically which statements are defining and differentiating (Gallivan, 3/22/96), to go with simple structure (Mrtek, various, 4/96), and to remember that the sort was intended to deal with sometimes-vague feelings and that participants would make their own judgments about statements (Popovich, 4/5/96).

It could be asked, "How can you defend a given Q sample, when there are so many other statements, claimed by observers to be more obvious or relevant, which haven't been included?" The first answer to this comes from Brown (1980, pp. 187-189), who argues that "Q samples drawn from the same concourse will produce essentially the same structure." Another defense is to adopt the piloting process used by Mrtek (Q Method, 7/1/96).

After the concourse is developed and sampled, Mrtek has his students conduct a two-stage pilot. The student first does a few sorts using the prospective items, to represent the range of views likely to be found in the P sample. This allows the distribution and diversity of the Q statements to be assessed. In the next stage, a handful of respondents sort under different conditions of instruction, and the student examines the same issues. The pilot sorters are asked whether there were problems, and the time needed to do the sort is estimated. The sorter is always asked if there were redundancies or any other items that should have been among the stimuli, if the sorting

instructions were clear, the condition of instruction, etc. The student then analyses these sorts. The student and the supervisor do not attempt to interpret any of the factor structure at this time: This procedure is intended to focus on the "performance" of the Q statements. Redundant items, or items which are not discriminating, are pruned. Consensus items and items which seem to gravitate to the middle of the Q-sort are scrutinized for irrelevance. Mrtek's experience has been that some "items of obvious relevance" in an initial Q sample are dropped, because they just don't perform well.

The P sample. The P sample included men and women, tenured and untenured faculty, faculty and administrators, and personnel from two institutions, Camden and Falkirk. The rationale for selecting these categories is that they are all theoretically relevant[18] to the investigation of emotional labour. The male/female and tenured/untenured categories were necessary to allow information to emerge concerning the propositions that (i) performance of emotional labour is gendered, and (ii) performing emotional labour has an adverse effect on career progress. Administrators were important because they are the source of some of the institutional demands for emotional labour, and they frequently move back and forth into the teaching faculty (even in unionized institutions). As administrators, they also have many opportunities to perform emotional labour.

Brown (1980) says that 40-60 people are usually adequate, but that "[w]hat is of interest ultimately are the factors with at least four or five persons defining each; beyond that, additional subjects add very little" (p. 260). No more than five factors normally emerge from a Q study, so an $n \geq 25$

[18] Inclusion of these categories allows explanations and insights to emerge. However, "part of the value of Q is that it doesn't assume that people's subjectivities are limited by their demographics, an assumption which is often made in studies that automatically divide people into the "male" and "female" groups for the sake of comparison," as Jonathan Douglas stated on a posting to Q Method (12/12/96).

would potentially be sufficient. It was anticipated that two to four factors would emerge from this study. In the event, three emerged, so the actual sample size of 43 was more than adequate. The emergent factors were defined by ≥5 people each.

Qualitative Methodology

Unstructured interviews were used in conjunction with the Q analysis to elicit participants' understanding of their emotional labour. The interviews were analysed using grounded theory methods. The basis of grounded theory is structured coding of transcripts—first line-by-line coding, then axial coding (as categories emerge), followed by theoretical coding, in a testing (confirmatory) step. All three types of coding are supported and made more thorough by CAQDAS (computer-assisted qualitative data analysis), which in this case, meant the use of Nud*Ist, an indexing and theorizing software package. For example, the principle of "accounting for negative instances" is supported because negative instances appear automatically alongside positive ones in computer-assisted search results. All data are preserved in the data management subsystem, and are addressed when the database is searched. The history of code development is also preserved (in the indexing system) and, if desired, the results of all interrogations of the data are added to the database (i.e., Nud*Ist offers the possibility of system closure).

Unstructured Interviews

The unstructured, quasi-ethnographic interviews were guided by the approach of Marshall and Rossman (1989), which draws on Spradley (1979). Marshall and Rossman direct the interviewer's attention to three concerns: explicit purpose, ethnographic explanation, and ethnographic questions. This study took cognizance of these elements, changing the specific approach as the work progressed. Grounded theory methods prescribe the same reflexive approach of using unfolding findings to guide the later stages of a study.

Explicit purpose. The initial request for participation was deliberately vague—not to mislead, but to prevent the findings being affected by the investigator's views or preempted by private discussions. In the preliminary interviews, it became clear that this had caused some doubts/confusion among prospective participants, so the purpose was made more explicit, and the reasoning behind the phrasing of the initial letter was disclosed. This was done in the opening minutes of the interview, in the process of asking for written consent. No participant changed his or her mind about participation, although a few participants could not comply with the forced-distribution requirement for the Q sort.

Ethnographic explanation. From explicit purpose, the interview segued naturally into explanation. A basic explanation was given to all participants, in which the goals for the interview were shared, and the fact disclosed that the work was exploratory and had as its goal the development of a preliminary typology and program of research. The second level of explanation was offered to selected participants, depending on how "well" the interview was proceeding. The second level of explanation clarified the

study's subgoals of learning about the emotional labour of women and minorities. These were mentioned later in the interview, after minimal levels of fluency and confidence were reached.

Ethnographic questions. Ethnographic questions are supposed to gather specific information about the culture. In this case, questions were asked where feasible to gather information on three areas: emotional vocabularies, sources of demands for emotional labour, and the meaning of the emotionally charged activities which came up in the conversation. It soon became clear that better information resulted if participants were encouraged to monopolize the conversation.

The interview typically covered some of the extreme statements, positive and negative, and always addressed statements which seemed to have special significance for a participant. If a participant agonized over a particular statement, or moved it around more than once, s/he was asked about it, regardless of the statement's final placement. The reason for this interest, in addition to wishing to know about the statement's significance for *that* participant, is that the statements which will distinguish the factors cannot be identified before the factor analysis is done. Statements with low absolute scores may be differentiating.

Some of the Falkirk faculty were not New England residents, and had to be interviewed over the phone. An 800 number was set up for the purpose. The toll-free line proved very helpful, and should become a standard feature of studies which have to use phone interviews. It gives some control to the participants, allowing a choice of timing and giving them the means to call up if questions arise afterwards. The latter feature truly adds to the value of the consent, and the former increases the likelihood of participation. These calls cost no more than investigator-originated calls of the same duration.

Interview Procedure

It was important to help participants begin thinking along the lines of the study, for two reasons. First, it seemed probable that experienced faculty devote little time to thinking about their emotional labour. The work of Argyris (1982), Schon (1983), and others suggests that the mechanics of their performance are inaccessible to experts. If this was the case, faculty would be slow to bring relevant instances to mind, and become frustrated. Second, it was important to avoid telegraphing the researcher's views and thereby closing off areas for discussion. Accordingly, each interview was begun by asking the participant to describe a real situation with a student that had been important to him or her, and in which s/he had experienced a strong emotion (after Hochschild, 1983b, p. 13). If this question failed to elicit an example, or the participant spoke in generalities, the faculty member was asked for a description, as real and concrete as possible, of a situation that had been important to the participant, in which s/he changed the situation to fit his/her feelings, or his/her feeling to fit the situation (also from p. 13). With a few exceptions, this question proved effective in eliciting examples of emotional labour, although participants did not use the term.

After the preliminary recounting of the emotional incident, participants did the Q sort. Then the interview resumed. Participants were asked if the sort had captured their views, and whether specific items had been problematic. The preliminary interviews had indicated that directiveness tended to produce socially desirable answers, so participants were allowed a high degree of freedom. The interview lasted as long as the participant wished to talk. Most drew to a close after one hour.

Transcription

The interviews were recorded on a high-quality portable micro cassette recorder, using an omnidirectional microphone. Participants' offices were usually very adequate interview sites. The tapes were transcribed on the same day and the transcripts edited for mechanics, with the aid of the original tape. They were introduced to the Nud*Ist database as they became ready and figured in the developing analysis. The loose structure of the interview was shifted to reflect emerging themes and sensitive areas.

The Settings and the Participants

The study was conducted in two institutions, Camden College and Falkirk College, whose faculty differences implied a range of views on emotional labour. The reason for this was to capture a wide variety of perspectives. Camden served as the primary site. Its archive, size, and superb communication system greatly facilitated the study. The proposal was approved through Camden, by the Dean of the Faculty and the College's internal review board.

The Settings

Camden and Falkirk are located within a one-hour drive of one another, on the border between two New England states. They share some cultural traits, which proved both a convenience, in terms of easing the investigator's self-presentation to faculty, and a limitation, in that they are more self-contained than most institutions. The respective cultures are both

strong, but Falkirk pays more attention to candidates' teaching and social philosophies during the hiring process. Falkirk also has a very deliberate institutional approach to socializing new hires. At Camden, this is delegated to departments and is much less uniform in its reach and results. Faculty rotate in and out of administrative positions at both institutions. The New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC) is the regional accrediting body for both.

Camden College

Camden is perceived as a rather brutish member of the Ivy League. It is remote from the leading academic centres[19], located in a rural community which can charitably be described as unsophisticated. It passed its first two centuries without visible minorities, international students, or women, despite its foundation as an "Indian" school.

Until the mid eighties, its espoused self-image was "the Camden family." In the process of trying to become more diverse, as part of a change of identity from liberal arts college to small university, Camden is trying to replace this family image with the image of a community. The effort is handicapped by a lack of adequate student dorm spaces and a historic artifact called the "C-plan," which dates from the college's conversion to year-round operation (coincident with going coeducational). The C-plan is based on a quarter system, and allows students a high degree of flexibility in planning their programs. Unfortunately, the discontinuous residence that usually results exacerbates the already strained accommodation situation in the town.

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19 *The Scientist* (1993), cited in Lawrence & Blackburn (1995, p. 118), shows that 15 cities produce a disproportionate share of scientific output. The centre nearest to Camden and Falkirk is 2 1/2 hours' drive away.

The effect is to force upperclass students to look for new housing frequently, sometimes every ten-week term. This has a disruptive effect on the development of social ties. The makeover is also being pursued somewhat heavy-handedly: For example, college handbooks and other official material are prefaced with a Statement of Community[20] backed up by disciplinary threats.

Women and minority students are ambivalent about their participation in Camden's social life, distanced as they are by the role of fraternities and by a general belief that the college reacts slowly—if not reluctantly—to their concerns. The culture is still perceived by students as monolithic and too often focused around alcohol. When the Dean of the College recently examined this situation, students asked for actions signaling that the college really wanted to support an integrated social and intellectual life (Pelton, 1995).

Camden as an institution is oriented toward undergraduate teaching (although it is classified Doctoral II, and has several graduate programs). The admissions process sets the stage for emotional labour: Students are recruited with a promise of access to faculty. Indeed, they arrive "thinking that every faculty member will be limitlessly available to them," complained participant #1. "Students are in constantly," said participant #3. "Students pay no attention to your office hours. They'll knock on your door at any time of the

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[20] In June of 1980, the Board of Trustees endorsed the following "Principle of Community" for Camden College:

> The life and work of a Camden student should be based on integrity, responsibility and consideration. In all activities each student is expected to be sensitive to and respectful of the rights and interests of others and to be personally honest. He or she should be appreciative of the diversity of the community as providing an opportunity for learning and moral growth.

This statement provides a basis for interaction between and among all members of the College, and each of us is expected to be mindful of it in pursuing our own interests as members of this community. (The Committee on Standards has ruled that the Principle of Community can be the basis of a disciplinary hearing.)

day.... When I think back to my own undergraduate days, I think I went in to see a professor maybe twice, the whole four years I was in college. These kids are in all the time."

"They have been told that they...should be [aggressive], because in fact that is what they are here for," said participant #1. They show no hesitation about banging on doors or e-mailing professors. Some faculty perceive them as "spoiled," as having been "coddled" by parents and their prep school teachers. Not only that, but "students expect [faculty] to all the time be flapping around. Sort of upbeat and very closely engaged, showing a lot of feeling. There are certain people who get teaching awards that fit that description," according to participant #28. This has its advantages, however: "This [student body] is a group of people I think who have a much more open understanding of the complexities of what it means to be human and to work in societies and for that reason they don't hold science in quite the same esteem that we did earlier" (participant #21).

Camden's push to become a liberal arts university takes other forms which affect faculty work. There is an ongoing effort to promote graduate education and graduate research programs, and to create centers and institutes to enhance the faculty research and teaching environment. Another faculty concern was addressed by the 1988 reaccreditation study committee, which found faculty—particularly junior faculty—concerned about criteria for tenure. New hires were thought to be oriented toward research, and more absorbed in their scholarship than in their teaching. The redefinition of Camden as a university was considered to imply a shift in the criteria applied to faculty appointments. The perception of changed emphasis and uncertainty about criteria for tenure was strongest among women and minority faculty.

Junior faculty who participated in this study expressed a conviction that they were expected by the college to take on additional tasks in service, committee membership, and counseling with students—demands which go unrecognized by seniors with tenuring responsibilities. They wondered whether the college sets unreasonable standards in its requirements for dedicated teaching, quality research and extensive participation in committee and other activities, in the context of an undergraduate institution.

Women and minority faculty concerns are intensified in relation to other problems arising from the environment of the college. The problems include effective isolation, a perception of being unwelcome in the community, attribution to the college of reactivity rather than initiative, and decreasing numbers of minority faculty.

Falkirk College

Falkirk is a small liberal arts college with a "progressive" philosophy of education, nationally known for its nonresident BA completion and individualized MA programs. It is currently a Master's II institution. The faculty of 61 and student body of about 500 are small by comparison with the national average and similar colleges in the region, minute next to Camden. The college is proud of its reputation for "plain living and high thinking," but characteristically, this is mentioned on the *last* page of the view book. The Falkirk vision is of a "learning community" concerned about the planet, in touch with and solicitous of the ecosystem, and respectful and attentive to members of other cultures. It is a vision of people trying to learn holistically, humbly, and empathetically. Education is conceptualized as continuing development of the self in relation to the world.

Falkirk's mission is two-fold. The first element is national leadership in innovative and experimental progressive education. To achieve this, the college is willing to explore the possibility of expansion—offering doctoral programs in selected fields, a national writing institute, new master's degree programs, or an undergraduate degree in fine arts. Falkirk's limited financial resources (e.g., its negligible endowment) are likely to frustrate the attainment of this aim, however.

The second element of the mission is academic excellence. Every member of the community expects to be intellectually challenged beyond anything s/he has previously encountered. Part of the challenge is for everyone to learn to value his or her own ongoing experience, in whatever capacity gained, and to integrate that experience with the formal program of study and the experiences of other members of the community. In short, Falkirk looks for synergy between academics and residential life.

The residential program is considered the heart of the Falkirk experience, and bases its curriculum on students' individual interests and needs, with attention to the social problems of the day. The residential program also reinforces the principles of community life, self-governance, diversity issues, friendship, and intellectual exploration.

Falkirk strives for the same qualities in its low-residency academic programs (the Falkirk faculty who participated in this study happen to be connected primarily with the low-residency programs). Low-residency programs bring students to the campus for an eight-day residency (the "rez"), and complete the work through e-mail and surface mail exchanges, supplemented with the occasional phone call. This requires a confident, egalitarian faculty who see learning as a collaborative process, leading to qualitative changes in students and quite possibly in themselves.

In both cases, the Falkirk faculty member must be able to function in a college which comes close to being a total institution. This is true even for the faculty associated with the low-residency programs, during the rez.

Just as the study got underway, Falkirk experienced a major community disruption. The new (tenure ~15 months) president fired 16 faculty, including many who had been expected to participate in the study, in a procedure which was considered within the college community to be unfair and autocratic. The drama has been widely reported since the beginning of the year, in regional papers and the *Chronicle*. He has resigned effective January 1, 1997, but the lingering effects on the college are not yet clear.

The Participants

Enlisting Participation

In a Q study, the people who do the sorts are called the "P sample." The P sample should include representation from all the theoretically relevant groups, i.e., all the "persons who, on a priori grounds, are expected to define the factor [viewpoint]" (Brown, 1980, p. 194). Since Q does not attempt to define the population proportions holding specific views, absolute sample size and random selection are not important and an idiographic approach to person-sampling (Bailey, 1992, cited in Rudestam & Newton, 1992) can be adopted. Brown (Q Method, 7/14/96) calls the P set structure a map or guide designed to ensure the inclusion of all the categories that are expected to have an impact on the outcome. "You needn't be terribly concerned about balance," he says, "Since the Q factors which you ultimately obtain will supplant these arbitrary categories." A sample of ≤40 is generally adequate (Brown, 1980, p.

92) and its demographic makeup is not inherently critical, since the demographic variables do not explain the factors.

At Camden, Arts and Sciences faculty and college administrators' names were made available in the form of computer files, giving a practical means of approaching everyone eligible to participate. With the assistance of a printing and mailing service, a sealed, individually addressed letter (see Appendix 6) was sent through the institutional mail system to each eligible person. The characteristics of the Camden P sample are given in Table 4, together with the faculty characteristics for the college as a whole.

Falkirk's faculty is tiny by comparison to Camden's, so names were taken from the school's current catalogue, and individually addressed letters were sent to faculty at their homes. Table 5 gives the Falkirk faculty and P sample characteristics.

In all, 62 volunteers participated in the study, faculty and administrators. Forty-three completed both Q sort and interview; fourteen served as the preliminary sample; five others provided an interview but would not or could not complete the sort[21].

Protection of Participants

IRB review. Most research institutions subject proposals for research involving human subjects to the scrutiny of a committee, frequently termed the Internal Review Board (IRB). An expedited process exists for studies like the present, in which the inherent risks to participants seem low. A complete set of study materials was submitted to the Camden IRB's Committee for the

[21] Three faculty from another institution, not included in the study, completed both an interview and sort, which provided some comparisons.

Protection of Human Subjects (CPHS) before contact was made with prospective participants. Their decision exempted the study from further CPHS review, judging that the study would not place the participants at risk.

Confidentiality. The data consisted of transcribed tapes and single sheets of paper containing Q sorts and faculty demographic data. Confidentiality was maintained by keeping identities off the tapes to be transcribed, and holding transcripts on a laptop which traveled with the investigator and was backed up on a personal Bernoulli drive. The Q analysis was performed on a private PC. All records were kept locked until entered, then shredded.

Camden College Faculty
Composition by Race and Sex

Arts and Sciences Faculty*
Summary

	Composition§		Terminations		Appointments#		Promotions**			Tenure			Composition	
							Number Reviewed for Promotion	Number of Candidates Promoted	Total Number Tenured	Percent of Faculty	Number Reviewed for Tenure	Number of Candidates Tenured		
1994-95	7-2-94		6-30-95		7-1-95		7-1-95	7-1-95	7-1-95	7-1-95	7-1-95	7-1-95	7-1-95	
Non-Minority Men	215	(63.4%)	6	(60.0%)	11	(55.0%)	9 (75.0%)	8 (72.7%)	163	74.1%	11	7	220	(63.0%)
Non-Minority Women	88	(26.0%)	4	(40.0%)	5	(25.0%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (9.1%)	54	60.7%	1	1	89	(25.5%)
Minority Men	23	(6.8%)	0	(0.0%)	3	(15.0%)	2 (16.7%)	2 (18.2%)	9	34.6%	1	0	26	(7.4%)
Minority Women	13	(3.8%)	0	(0.0%)	1	(5.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	6	42.9%	1	1	14	(4.0%)
Total	339	(100.0%)	10	(100.0%)	20	(100.0%)	12 (100.0%)	11 (100.0%)	232	66.5%	14	9	349	(100.0%)
1993-94	7-2-93		6-30-94		7-1-94		7-1-94	7-1-94	7-1-94	7-1-94	7-1-94	7-1-94	7-1-94	
Non-Minority Men	220	(65.5%)	15	(75.0%)	8	(34.8%)	13 (65.0%)	12 (66.7%)	160	75.1%	10	8	213	(62.8%)
Non-Minority Women	81	(24.1%)	1	(5.0%)	8	(34.8%)	7 (35.0%)	6 (33.3%)	53	60.2%	5	4	88	(26.0%)
Minority Men	23	(6.8%)	3	(15.0%)	5	(21.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	9	36.0%	0	0	25	(7.4%)
Minority Women	12	(3.6%)	1	(5.0%)	2	(8.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	5	38.5%	0	0	13	(3.8%)
Total	336	(100.0%)	20	(100.0%)	23	(100.0%)	20 (100.0%)	18 (100.0%)	227	67.0%	15	12	339	(100.0%)
1975-76†	7-1-75		6-30-76		7-1-76		7-1-76	7-1-76	7-1-76	7-1-76	7-1-76	7-1-76	7-1-76	
Non-Minority Men	261	(81.3%)	17	(73.9%)	15	(42.9%)			154	60.6%			254	(77.9%)
Non-Minority Women	38	(11.8%)	3	(13.0%)	14	(40.0%)			3	6.4%			47	(14.4%)
Minority Men	16	(5.0%)	2	(8.7%)	4	(11.4%)	NR††	NR††	2	11.8%	NR	NR	17	(5.2%)
Minority Women	6	(1.9%)	1	(4.3%)	2	(5.7%)			2	25.0%			8	(2.5%)
Total	321	(100.0%)	23	(100.0%)	35	(100.0%)			161	49.4%	8	8	326	(100.0%)

* All tenure-track faculty employed 50% or more by Dartmouth and not serving primarily as administrators.

** The term promotion includes all changes in faculty rank.

† First appointment, termination, and composition data reported by the Office of EO/AA (includes Thayer School of Engineering Faculty). Terminations do not include retirements or deaths. First composition data available 7-01-71; 300 total; 12 (4.0%) women, 4 (1.3%) minorities.

†† NR = data not reported.

\# Includes administrators returning to active faculty status.

§ Differences in the minority figures from previous years are due to changes in the federal guidelines for reporting minorities.

Camden College P Sample

	Male	Female	Total
Number	20	14	34
Average Age	52	45	49
Marital Status			
married	15	8	23
partnered	0	1	1
single	5	5	10
Children			
yes	18	9	27
no	2	5	7
Disciplines (faculty only)			
natural sciences	12	3	15
social sciences	4	1	5
humanities	1	5	6
Rank (faculty only)			
assistant	1	3	4
associate	3	2	5
full	13	3	16
senior instructor		1	1
Tenured in 1st TT appt	12	4	16
Administrators	5	3	8
Ethnicity			
African American	1	1	2
Latino/a		1	1
Caucasian	19	12	31

Note. In all, 63 volunteers participated in the study, faculty and administrators. Forty-four completed both Q sort and interview; fourteen served as the preliminary sample; and five others provided an interview but would not or could not complete the sort.

Table 5 *Characteristics of the Falkirk Faculty and P Sample*

Falkirk College Faculty
Composition by Race and Sex

Category	Total	Gender		Asian		African American	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
Teaching Faculty	**61**	25	36	1			2
Administrative Faculty	**9**	6	3				
Total	**70**	31	39	1			2

Falkirk College P Sample

	Male	Female	Total
Number	3	7	10
Average Age	47	47	47
Marital Status			
married	1	4	5
partnered	1	2	3
single	1	1	2
Children			
yes	2	2	4
no	1	5	6
Disciplines			
natural sciences	2	1	3
social sciences	1	3	4
humanities	0	3	3

Note. In all, 63 volunteers participated in the study, faculty and administrators. Forty-four completed both Q sort and interview; fourteen served as the preliminary sample; and five others provided an interview but would not or could not complete the sort.
Sample entirely Caucasian, never tenured, faculty. Rank distinctions do not apply.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS

The object of the analysis was (i) to generate a polythetic typology (Bailey, 1994, p. 7) of views of emotional labour, using Q methodology, then (ii) to use grounded theory methods to examine the quasi-ethnographic interview data, and finally (iii) to integrate the two and identify themes and gaps. The Q sorts were analysed using PCQ3 (beta release 8). Nud*Ist (release 3.0.5) was used to facilitate the qualitative analysis.

A semi-technical discussion of the procedures follows. Readers can consult a substantial literature on the use of Nud*Ist (see Appendix 7), but there is next to no technical documentation about PCQ3. Copies of the proprietary Q software packages may be downloaded at no charge from the Q archive at the University of Wisconsin, Whitewater (ftp://uwwvax.uww.edu/qarchive/). Versions are finally available for the Mac and for Windows95. Technical help is available through Q Method and the developers themselves.

Q Analysis

The variables in a Q study are the Q sorts. These are correlated, and the correlation matrix is subjected to factor analysis[22]. Factor scores are then computed. Interpretations in Q methodology are based on these factor scores, rather than loadings (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, p. 53). The factor scores, when arranged in a factor array, may sometimes be interpreted directly. Note

[22] Stephenson preferred the indeterminate solution of the centroid method (see, e.g., Stephenson, 1961b). PCQ3, PQMethod, and other proprietary Q analysis software packages incorporate the centroid method and other statistical preferences of Q.

that factor analysis plays a descriptive role in Q, rather than supporting statistical inference, as it does in R (Dennis, 1985, p. 102).

Procedure Using PCQ3 Software

PCQ3 generates a study file and log. Results at different steps of the analysis are saved automatically in the .LOG file. It optionally creates other files, e.g., for saving the correlation matrix. All PCQ3 files are ASCII files that may be imported into word processing programs. The following paragraphs discuss the specific choices made in the course of the present study.

Capacity and flexibility. PCQ3 requires four parameters: number of sorts, number of items, number of piles, and distribution of items. In this study, there were 43 sorts, of 36 items each, in 11 piles, distributed 1 2 3 4 5 6 5 4 3 2 1. A conventional file name (EMOLABR in this case) is used to identify a study and serves as the root name for files created during the analysis. PCQ3 can handle as many as 60 or as few as 5 Q sorts. The number of sorts may be increased gradually, as you judge whether you have sampled viewpoints widely enough. From 5 to 100 Q statements (up to 300 characters in length) may be input, in 3 to 18 piles.

Distribution. PCQ3 allows for forced or unforced distribution, although this study used a conventional approach, a forced normal distribution.

Factoring procedure. The correlations were calculated, then the factors were reflected automatically. The user may choose to reflect the matrix manually. Up to nine centroids can be extracted; the present study initially extracted and examined seven. Brown (1980, p. 223) recommends trying this many in the first instance. His rationale is to squeeze out every drop of variance, for redistribution over a smaller number of factors during the

rotation process. The final selection of factors represents a number of criteria. For example, Humphrey's Rule states that a factor is significant if the cross-product of its two highest loadings, irrespective of sign, exceeds $2(SE_r)$ (see Fruchter, 1954, pp. 79-80). Eigenvalues are another, commonly used criterion: Factors with eigenvalues of less than one are generally discarded. In this case, based on the application of Humphrey's Rule and the fall-off of eigenvalues, only four of the seven initial factors were retained.

After the centroids have been extracted, PCQ3 displays a summary of the analysis. The significance level can be varied at this stage. Factor loadings ≥2.58 SE are customarily understood in Q studies to indicate significance at the .01 level (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, pp. 50-51; loadings ≥3.29 SE indicate people who define a factor). The default setting in PCQ3 follows this convention, and $p < .01$, based upon the number and distribution of items, is calculated as 2.58[SD * 1 / SQRT(# items)] (.43 in this case). This study was a preliminary effort, so the significance level could defensibly have been reduced to $p<.10$. It was not necessary to do so to obtain some interpretable factors, however, so the default setting was used. The factors were then rotated to enhance their interpretability.

Varimax and judgmental rotations are supported by PCQ3, and the user must select the approach—there is no default. After each trial rotation is finished, the user evaluates the results, and may either accept it or switch to the alternative rotation strategy. This study used varimax rotation, after Dennis (1985). The clearest picture, i.e., strongest loadings, emerged when three of the four factors were rotated using varimax.

Wrap-up. PCQ3 prints out a summary of factors, factors and sorts with their significant loadings, item scores, rotation history, rotated factor loadings, z-scores, factor correlations, consensus and distinguishing items, factor

reliabilities and standard error of determination. Each factor is described by a listing of the sorts "contributing" to the factor, i.e., having a loading greater than the chosen significance level. Loadings indicate the degree of association of each sort with the emergent factors (viewpoints).

Q studies designate any sorts with significant loadings on more than one factor "confounded." The term simply means "loading on more than one factor." In subsequent chapters, "dual-loading" will be used instead, to avoid invoking the methodological meaning of confounding.

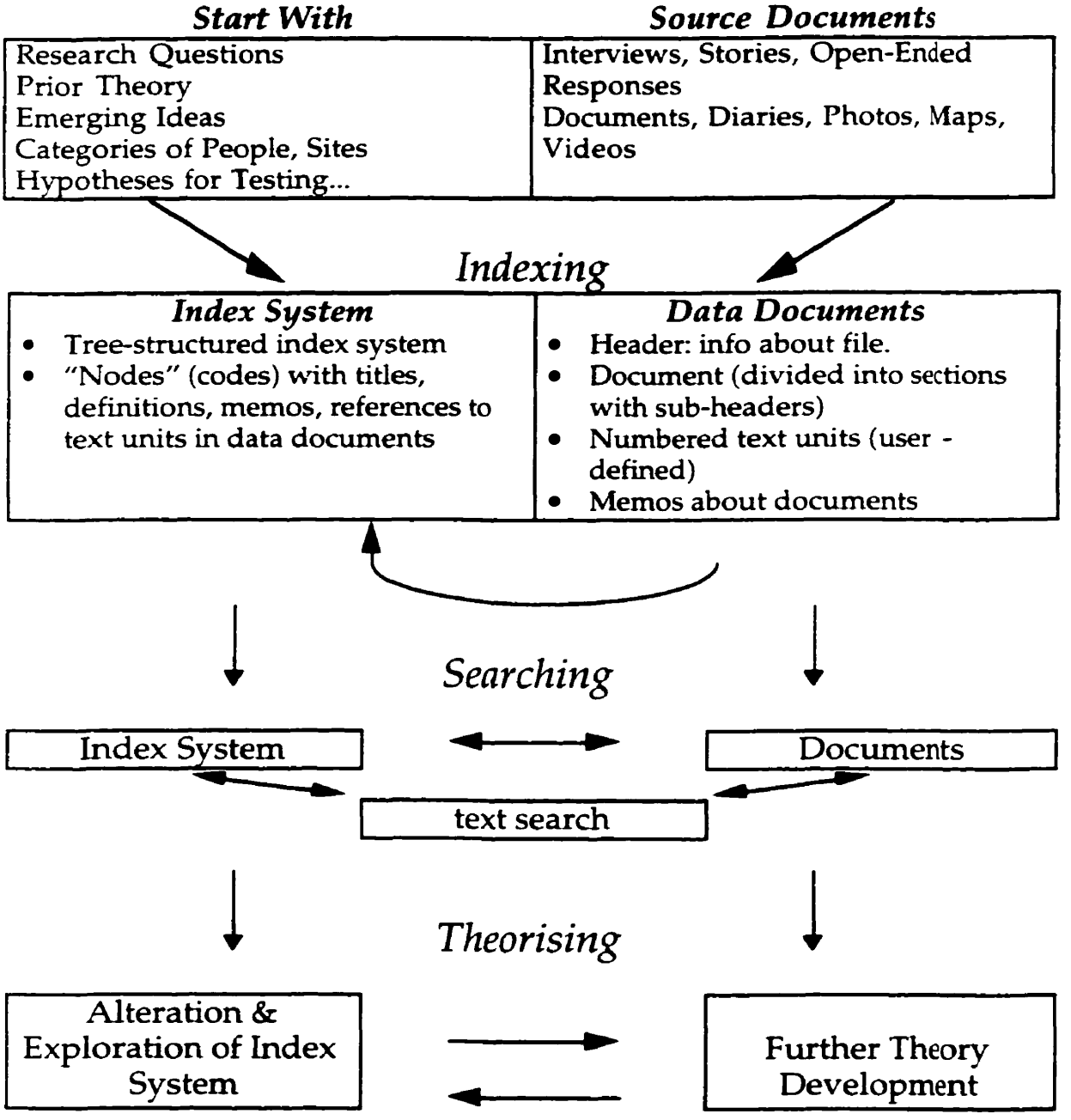
Qualitative Analysis

The tasks of any qualitative analysis are data reduction and description, followed by support of theorizing. This necessitates a data management system (often referred to as a document management system), together with a system for recording the assignment and meaning of codes, the development of ideas about the study, questions, etc., and a search system with the ability to incorporate the results of theorizing activity. These features are combined in Nud*Ist, the software package selected to support this study. Readers who are not interested in following the Nud*Ist terminology should skip to Chapter 4.

*Nud*Ist Analysis*

The Nud*Ist analysis involved two activities: coding (called indexing in Nud*Ist), complemented by interrogation of the indexing system as a way to test and support coding. Figure 4 summarizes graphically the analytical process described in this subsection.

Figure 4. Using Nud*Ist to Analyse Unstructured Data



In order to code, the "text unit" has to be selected by the user. Choices include lines, sentences, paragraphs, or whole documents. The sentence was used in this instance, because single words/lines by themselves were not intelligible. Selecting the sentence as the text unit avoided having to take time routinely to "spread" (enlarge) the finds to a meaningful excerpt. It captured a fair amount of redundant text—not surprising, given the discursive, stream-of-consciousness quality of the interviews, but an acceptable trade-off, given the nature of this data.

Text searches can be done to ensure that codes are inclusive. Index system (coding system) searches are most applicable to the axial and selective coding phases, when they can provide a testing and comparison facility. Searching interacts with coding, prompting the user to fix oversights and reassess the codes. Appendix 8 is a raw transcript, as entered in Nud*Ist, ready for coding.

Coding Procedures

Open coding. First, essential codes were created—codes for participants' demographics (e.g., M/F, age groups), for the potentially relevant characteristics of the two institutions (e.g., "values," faculty ranks), and for terms found in the process of the literature review (e.g., emotional labour, workload). Definitions were not kept in a code book, but in Nud*Ist itself, which has a field where the user can enter definitions of nodes. The codes (index system) are automatically displayed as a tree-structured network.

The transcripts were then open-coded by the investigator, in several passes. All transcripts were printed out and examined line-by-line for repeated labels, motifs, and concepts. Transcripts were compared (using the

document management capabilities of Nud*Ist) and the process repeated. Working nodes (codes) were created to hold in vivo and theory-related codes. As is apparently a common occurrence with theorizing software (Lyn Richards, personal communication, 8/8/96), there were far too many of these low-level codes created initially. They were later reduced to a representative and more easily managed group, using Nud*Ist's "collect" feature. This gathers up references in a subtree for attachment at a higher level node. For example, there were 19 categories of emotional labour at an early stage in the study. This was later reduced to a single category, because the entire pool of material relating to emotional labour could be taken into consideration in "vector" (a single category x subcategories) and "matrix" (subcategories x subcategories) searches (e.g., what do *women faculty* say about *institutional values*? what do *women faculty broken out by age* say about *values*?)

Axial coding. In contrast to open coding, which is a breakdown process, axial coding is a conceptually driven recombination process. A central task of the axial coding phrase was to reassemble the definitions of emotional labour and workload. The process was recorded by Nud*Ist, in the form of automatic memoranda made whenever codes were manipulated, and further memos were written to support important decisions in the process.

Selective coding. This is the process of selecting the core category, connecting it to others, validating it, and assessing the direction for further research. The core category here is the emotional labour of faculty. The interviews yielded a larger mass of theoretical material; some of the implications are addressed in Chapter 5.

How does the user know when to stop coding? Richards (1995, p. 130; personal communication, 8/15/96) says that index construction should be

stopped when you have the categories (nodes, in her terminology) to ask your questions, or build them.

Searching the Index System

A number of searches—text and index system searches—were run as soon as coding was completed, to ensure that nothing had been overlooked, and to pull theoretically significant pieces of data together so that they could be axially coded (recombined). All responses relating to important words (e.g., enthusiasm, frustration, emotion) and all responses to codes (e.g., "reaction to Q sort," "initial question," "final question," and individual Q items) were found and the search results added to the database. Table 6 describes the mechanics of the text search process in Nud*Ist and shows the flexibility and power of this software. The report of item-by-item responses was used to interpret and illustrate the factors described in the following chapter.

As themes emerged, the list of nodes came to embody an axial coding structure. The refined list suggested further vector and matrix searches which facilitated examination of emerging ideas about the patterning of emotional labour. "Emergence," in this context, means thrown up by the data itself, rather than set as a search parameter by the user.

Table 6 *Text Search using Nud*Ist*

Choice in NUDIST	*Researcher's Goals*
Search for —	
String	Specific characters
Pattern	All grammatical forms, synonyms, a range of indicators, etc.
Whole word or phrase?	
Yes	Eliminate 'internal' retrievals ("emotion" otherwise gets "emotional labour")
No	Retrieves roots ("work" gets "worker," "working," but also "dwork")
Case sensitive?	
Yes	Useful for proper names
No	Broadens search
All finds?	
Yes	The default
Only 1st in each document.	Typically locates keywords
Search which documents?	
All documents	Entire database
Include certain ones	Restrict to, say, women respondents
Exclude certain ones	Exclude, say, women respondents
	Using together for comparative analysis.
View how?	
Show all finds	Does pattern/string occur? In what contexts? Assess importance, see retrieval statistics.
Query each find	Same, but you can throw away spurious finds (not saved at node, see below).
Don't show any	Faster; applicable when saving finds at a node without examination.
Spread at node clipboard?	
To whole document	Indexes entire document
To the section	Indexes material under that section header
To some text units either side	Specify enough context to make sense of the finds
Just the find's text unit	Text unit ID alone may be enough in some contexts
Attach/merge to node?	
Yes or no	To study further, to explore, make report, to index
Make report?	
Yes or no	Allows review of finds, or examination in context of other indexing already in the node
FINISH	

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This research looked for the basis of a typology of emotional labour, a thick description of what it is like to be an academic, performing emotional labour, and evidence bearing on the question of whether emotional labour is gendered in academia.

The Polythetic Typology: Q Analysis Results

Factor analysis of the 43 Q sorts initially produced a single factor. This is often the case where there is a well-defined ideal of behavior.

> It is quite common to obtain a single factor when the condition of instruction invokes an ideal -- unless, of course, the ideal itself is a matter of contention. If you ask for a Q-sort rendition of the ideal friend, for instance, a single factor will normally appear since we all would like friends who are kind, understanding, thoughtful, etc. If you ask for a person's ideal self, likewise will a general factor emerge. This was a common outcome in Carl Rogers' studies -- that people could have different self concepts but tended to converge on what they would like to be ideally. I would expect that "the ideal clinical teacher" would be the same, i.e., a single factor. (Brown, Q Method, 4/19/96)

There has been a thread on Q method about how to treat such "archetypal" factors (see 8/9/95 posting). In this case, leaving the factor unrotated would have rendered the study meaningless. Varimax rotation was selected and applied, yielding three factors (Table 7).

Factors A—C represent viewpoints on emotional labour which are held by at least five people each, enough to define a factor (Brown, 1980, p. 92). There were 13 Q sorts which loaded on more than one factor, surfacing

Table 7 *Factor Loadings, by Participant*

Participant	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
P28	***87**	-13	-14
P17	***80**	-16	-26
P29	***79**	4	-30
P15	***70**	-21	-36
P2	***67**	-19	-15
P27	***67**	-38	-17
P9	***65**	-23	-28
P5	***63**	-15	-26
P8	***61**	-8	4
P20	***55**	-5	-23
P10	***53**	-41	-10
P36	***47**	-39	-27
P4	***44**	-10	-14
P26	38	***77**	-6
P32	33	***75**	4
P46	-23	***74**	-12
P33	-1	***71**	-39
P41	36	***64**	-31
P38	2	***64**	-38
P7	23	***56**	-40
P39	10	***55**	-30
P44	16	***54**	-41
P11	14	***51**	-22
P6	16	-12	***68**
P12	36	-16	***67**
P21	35	-25	***54**
P43	12	-34	***52**
P45	26	-5	***52**
P23	*53	-25	*55
P42	11	*59	*53
P30	33	*52	*48
P34	32	*53	*46
P22	*59	-37	*46
P31	*54	-15	*45
P19	*63	-15	*44
P37	28	*54	*44
P1	*44	*58	-19
P14	*48	*55	-6
P35	*53	*59	1
P3	*44	*49	3
P24	*44	*55	11

questions about the evolution and stability of the types, the meaning of a dual type, and the phenomenological implications of the types.

Factor A describes a "rational" type, the prototype of academic emotional labour. Factor B describes a "relational" type, a more student-centred approach, while Factor C represents the approach of "reflective" academics who have blended the rational and the relational, and have a critical perspective on their profession.

In the following pages, the 43 participants will be identified as "P#," to avoid constantly repeating the word participant. The 14 members of the pilot group will be identified with a subscript p—"P#$_p$."

Emotional Labour Viewpoints

Factor A: The "Rational," the Prototype of Academic Emotional Labour

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
13	9	19	32	22	2	6	35	5	10	28
	11	3	30	33	26	4	8	20	7	
		12	14	18	1	24	21	16		
			27	25	29	17	15			
				34	31	23				
					36					

Sorts with significant loadings (definers bolded):

label	load	label	load
p2	**67**	**p17**	**80**
p4	44	**p20**	**55**
p5	**63**	**p27**	**67**
p8	**61**	**p28**	**87**
p9	**65**	**p29**	**79**
p10	53	p36	47
p15	**70**		

Factor A, the rational, incorporates much of the generic "ideal."

Discussion of the factors will work from the strongly positive statements, ranked +5, to the strongly negative statements, -5, back toward the centre, or point of no significance. Not every statement will be discussed: Interpretation will focus on those which attracted comment from one or more participants.

Academics who load on Factor A—i.e., who held the "rational" view—are task-oriented, energetic, and quietly proud of their professionalism, "centred in the sphere of common duties, [yet] decent not to fail in offices of tenderness" as Tennyson put it. They placed statement 28

A college is people and resources organized to help students develop, express, and refine their values, feelings, and talents.	+5	+2	0

at the top of their list, but it attracted surprisingly little comment. The identity of the college as a place of balanced personal development, organized around its educational mission, appeared to be part of the ground of these respondents' beings. P37 did say that the college community needed to be filled with people, including faculty, developing at all levels, tempering the focus on students.

Role modeling for these academics has a strongly intellectual content. It is part of the job, not an inherently attractive task element. Objectivity, in the sense of being able to examine critically one's own reasoning, is highly valued, as is respect. Opportunities to model academic values are sought out.

Item 10 signals the emergence of a theme as persistent as the bass note

I try to be energetic and positive when dealing with students, regardless of how I feel.	+4	0	+2

in a fugue—"enthusiasm." In explaining their placement of #10, rationals conveyed an evident belief that enthusiasm (being "up," showing love for the subject, sharing intellectual excitement) sustains teaching and makes one less susceptible to burnout. They exhibited no sense of having to strive to be enthusiastic. Instead, they focused on behaviors that displayed their genuinely felt enthusiasm for their subject. In contrast, P40 (who did not load on any factor) discloses the dark side of enthusiasm:

> There is the genuine enthusiasm that comes from teaching and being in a place like Falkirk that allows you to teach in a very different way. There is also the enthusiasm that is just a part of the culture...the enthusiasm that is just a part of always kind of having to be a little bit up for your students. There is genuine enthusiasm and then there is the enthusiasm that is part of the job.

The rationals strongly rejected #13. "The 'flakiest' I thought was

I try to find my flakiest self for the students, to diffuse my latent authority.	-5	-2	-4

bizarre. I have no sense whatever of being flaky or thinking of being flaky" (P1). "Oh, gosh, that seems like a real flaky statement, actually. I suppose it's interesting. There probably are [people] who do things that way" (P27). Clearly, they were comfortable with their authority, found it necessary to use it in their work, and considered it a part of their professional status. P37 (dual-loading) cautioned against "false authority," however—by which she meant positional authority not backed up by profound disciplinary knowledge.

Despite rejecting #9 strongly, the rationals had no comments to make.

When interacting with students, I deliberately involve my feelings. This is what academic work entails.	-4	+3	-2

Two explanations suggest themselves. It is possible that the double-barreled nature of the statement confused some respondents, causing them to rank it -4. A colleague from a graduate student email discussion list said

> While I would wholeheartedly agree with the first statement ("I have a special persona for the classroom."), I wouldn't agree with the 2nd ("I have to manage ambivalent feelings about the impact of student evaluations on my career prospects."). I involve my feelings because I feel it makes ME a better teacher and I get more out of it. But I am not sure that I personally subscribe to the idea that academic work ENTAILS involving feelings. So I don't know how I would respond to a closed answer scale, and I don't know how you would interpret my answer. I wouldn't want you to conclude that I did not involve my feelings, just because I couldn't agree wholeheartedly to the statement as it stands.

A more plausible explanation, in light of the overall pattern of rationals' responses, would be that they do not define academic work as including deliberate involvement of "feeling." Feeling to this group seems to have a somewhat negative connotation[23], reminiscent of Victorian "sensibility." They consider that professionalism involves careful management of emotion, with due attention to institutional values (8, 21, 15, 35 were ranked +2). What they mean when they speak of the satisfaction of giving, setting the tone of classes, and responding to students is behaving as a thorough professional. There is a sense of propriety in some of their responses: "there are certain emotions that can be really helpful to share with students...I will get my emotions involved because I feel that the students can *learn* [emphasis supplied] from it" (P30).

Rationals, by rejecting #12 and #19 indicate that they perceive the

---

[23] One respondent, who refused to do a sort, got no further than a diatribe against feeling. For almost two hours, he harangued the investigator about the uselessness and repugnant quality of the term "feeling." "Why don't you do a study of anger?" he said. "That would be *useful*." Anger seems easy to view instrumentally, particularly by male academics.

[12]	Faculty who want to be successful here are expected to develop close relationships with students.	-3	-1	+4
[19]	The norms here encourage me to overlook students' "academic" misbehaviors, like being unprepared for class.	-3	-4	-2

institution supports their views about hard work and the need for a professional distance from students. Item 12 attracted no comments; #19 was considered to be a contextual thing. P37 felt badly about students' academic misbehaviors, and coped by dwelling on the magnitude of challenges students had to face. She thought students were fundamentally "naive" in their ability to anticipate and manage college life.

Rationals' rejection of #3, #27, and #32 seems to reflect their distaste

[3]	Emotions are resources which I consciously draw upon to achieve my instructional goals.	-3	+3	-3
[27]	To the extent that teaching calls on me to simulate feelings, I experience stress.	-2	-2	0
[32]	The way I use my emotions serves to reinforce my control of the classroom.	-2	0	-3

for emotionality, whether as a tool or prop. As P5 said, "emotions are things that you should really try to get beyond and think more about the facts and stuff...I may use emotions or the emotion of a newspaper headline as a way to make a point, but...I try not to use my emotions in the classroom." In contrast, faculty who loaded on Factor B saw emotion *as* the point.

In rejecting #14, it may be that the operative word is "any," and that

Any shortcoming in the quality of my teaching violates my contract with my students.	-2	0	+3

rationals are saying that they operate on a "best efforts" principle. Alternatively, they may be rejecting the concept of the teaching relationship as contractual. This statement originated in the preface to the Camden annual report, and it is clear that this document was considered something of a joke and misdirected effort by most respondents.

The statements in the zero column reflected, among other factors, the tenured status of these faculty. They no longer have any incentive to dissemble, avoid controversy, or worry about student evaluations. Their behavior is inner-directed, and their audience is the internalized "generalized other." There is a calmness, allied with a certain callousness. They have seen so many students come and go.

"I've gotten a lot more selfish about the extent to which I let other people's troubles become my troubles...I can sympathise very much with other people and their difficulties and try and be helpful, but maybe I inoculate myself by deciding I'm not going to empathise" (P4). "Sometimes it's a lot of grief and pain along the way for students. Not a lot for me. I've seen it so many times it doesn't bother me too much that a student is going through some turmoil" (P17).

Four people who are of particular interest load on this factor. Two are the African-Americans in the sample. The others are women academics who indicated consciousness of professional slights routinely handed out by the administration and the students. This loading is, on the face of it, puzzling. Why would any of these people, who have been disadvantaged by prevailing attitudes, identify with the rational prototypical approach to emotional labour? Some reasons for their attitudes could be reaction formation, overintellectualizing as a defense against hurt, a determination to succeed at

all costs, distancing themselves from feminine and minority stereotypes (Larwood, 1991). Specific findings of interest:

- P9, an African-American woman, loads more highly on this factor than her African-American male colleague, although she has a disciplinary background which suggests that she should load on Factor B. The reason she loads on Factor A may be that as a woman of colour, she has less of a "status shield," and therefore the factors noted above are more cogent in her case than her colleague's.
- if the explanation for P9's loading is viable, how are the two lowest loadings (P4 and P36) explained? Both participants are Caucasian women. Possible answers are to be found in idiosyncratic interpretations of their scores; it is also likely that their ethnicity gives them more of a status shield than P9, and thereby lessens the tendency to reaction formation, etc.
- the next lowest is P10, a male nearing retirement, who explicitly identified his attitude to the faculty role as differing from colleagues' attitudes (therefore likely to load lower).
- although there is no statistical association, it is interesting that the three highest loadings are full professors with high seniority (though not necessarily high chronological age). Does this imply that conforming to the ideal has career payoffs?
- P28 loads highest of anyone on this factor. Could this be due to P28's being outside the norms in many ways? She is unique in the sample in having a dual emotional labour-intensive identity. She is an artist, in addition to her faculty role.

These complex findings suggest that first of all, the interpretation of individual scores is complex. The commonalities with the group as a whole

need to be assessed, as do the secondary factor loadings. Detailed knowledge of participants' circumstances would enrich factor interpretation. The prototypical factor conceals as much as it reveals.

Factor B: The Relational, or Student-Centred Academic

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
34	8	2	33	26	14	6	31	4	16	20
	19	30	13	12	11	15	28	3	7	
		25	27	29	32	18	5	9		
			1	22	10	36	17			
				24	35	21				
					23					

Sorts with significant loadings (definers bolded):

label	load	label	load
p7	**56**	**p38**	**64**
p11	51	**p39**	**55**
p26	**77**	**p41**	**64**
p32	**75**	p44	54
p33	**71**	**p46**	**74**

Faculty who load on Factor B are drawn from disciplines which encourage introspection, and often from particular theoretical perspectives within disciplines which are associated with attention to diversity and social justice issues (e.g., women's and third world studies, education, health care). They are oriented to other people to a greater degree than many of those who loaded on Factor A, as indicated by their high ranking of #7, #16, and #20,

[7] Being a role model for my students is part of the job.	+4	+4	+2

[16]	"Giving of myself" in my academic work is tremendously satisfying.	+3	+4	+1
[20]	I respond to students on many levels—as a friend, tutor, critic, co-learner, and professional.	+3	+5	+3

relatively high ranking of #3 and #9 and equally strong rejection of #8, #19, and #34. Most of the Falkirk faculty members, and those Camden faculty who had student services responsibilities loaded on this factor.

[3]	Emotions are resources which I consciously draw upon to achieve my instructional goals.	-3	+3	-3
[8]	I think it would be unprofessional to show emotions which didn't contribute to the learning process.	+2	-4	+1
[9]	When interacting with students, I deliberately involve my feelings. This is what academic work entails.	-4	+3	-2
[19]	The norms here encourage me to overlook students' "academic" misbehaviors, like being unprepared for class.	-3	-4	-2
[34]	It's not my job to supply students with social support.	-1	-5	-1

Role modeling (statement #7) was conceptualized as depending to a large extent on authenticity, "being a person true to who you are" (P11). He goes on to say,

> I let students know when I'm frustrated with what they do or what they don't do and I ask them to tell me that as well because I really feel like that feeling is an important process. Too often we're in standard operating procedure or we're checking off boxes on a form, and that's not very emotionally involved. Again, getting your beliefs and value system to coincide with your actions is a big part of what I try to help students do.

Item #16 attracted little comment. Again, it may be that this is

"Giving of myself" in my academic work is tremendously satisfying.	+3	+4	+1

such a fundamental assumption that it goes unexamined. There is also a possibility of some reaction formation occurring here, as the faculty who loaded on Factor B have relatively unremunerative opportunities for consulting and other forms of outside work (where they have them at all), and are employed largely at Falkirk, where salary levels are roughly 30% of those prevailing at Camden.

Item #20 was rated tops by these academics and in conversation

I respond to students on many levels—as a friend, tutor, critic, co-learner, and professional.	+3	+5	+3

it was clearly important. Faculty who loaded on B held more joint appointments and taught in more interdisciplinary courses than faculty who loaded on A or C. They were willing to allow students freedom to choose the level on which they would engage the material and the instructor:

> I respond to students on many levels and it ended up being my most agreed thing that I have many roles that I am in with students. Not all students, because [there are] those students come into your classroom and all they want to do is read their books and answer their questions and leave, and that is fine. I don't push them to become my friends, but other students have other needs or just are different people (P26).

> There's only room in a course like that [a large lecture course] to establish really good relations with 8 or 9 students and only about that many want to. They take that course for a reason (P7).

The moderately endorsed statements, #3, #4, and #9 form one of the clearest indications of emotional labour found in the study. Conscious use of

emotions and deliberate involvement of feelings are complemented by an effort to project an approachability these academics feel to be a core part of their praxis and personalities.

[3]	Emotions are resources which I consciously draw upon to achieve my instructional goals.	-3	+3	-3
[4]	Having the knowledge base is important, but equally important is the right kind of personality, being open and approachable.	+1	+3	+5
[9]	When interacting with students, I deliberately involve my feelings. This is what academic work entails.	-4	+3	-2

The rejected statements form something of a theme. In rejecting them, these academics seem to be saying that they feel a positive obligation to show "tough love" and also to present themselves as vulnerable, fallible people. P32 said of her approach, "you have to approach [students] with a sense of empathy, a sense of compassion."

> I often tell them at the beginning of the course that my pedagogical inclinations are best expressed by somebody other than myself, namely e. e. cummings, perhaps as an antidote to something from the old testament. cummings says, 'I should rather teach one bird how to sing than teach 10,000 stars not to dance.' I often warn them too, if they need somebody to beat them in order to do their work they had better quickly drop my course, I am not good at beating. Then I tell them, some people imagine that this means that I give them all an A and I will be stiff in my demands for excellence and so I quote from the old testament, "whom the lord loveth, the lord chasteneth" and I try very hard to remember this myself. I don't feel I can teach them well unless I can feel for them, unless I recognize them as sympathetic, well intentioned. Even if they aren't well intentioned, to regard them as complex people and not to simply put them in some category.

The mildly rejected statements indicate indifference to external evaluation, student or college, and related to this, a degree of resistance to the

professional orientation to emotion. The relaxed attitude arises in part from the tenure status of some of these academics, but more of it probably springs from a consciousness that they are doing a good job. Some of the faculty who loaded on Factor B have consciously (and publicly) opposed institutional values and accepted material penalties for so doing.

Factor C: The Reflective Academic

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
1	2	3	19	30	33	8	10	20	17	4
	13	11	9	26	18	23	22	6	12	
		32	29	25	27	21	31	14		
			35	34	28	15	7			
				24	36	16				
					5					

Sorts with significant loadings (definers bolded):

label	load	label	load
p6	**68**	p43	52
p12	**67**	p45	52
p21	54		

Faculty who loaded on Factor C exhibit seamless spontaneity. They strongly endorse #4, #12, and #17, i.e., they choose to project their inherent

[4]	Having the knowledge base is important, but equally important is the right kind of personality, being open and approachable.	+1	+3	+5
[12]	Faculty who want to be successful here are expected to develop close relationships with students.	-3	-1	+4
[17]	Because of who I am, I mentor a range of students, not merely some from my classes.	+1	+2	+4

approachability, and respond to a wide range of student requests. The disciplinary identification appears to be weaker with faculty who load on C. They acquiesce in the institutional demand that faculty form close relationships with students, without seeming to feel inauthenticity, as evidenced by their strong rejection of #1, #2, #13.

[1]	I have a special persona for the classroom.	0	-2	-5
[2]	I have to manage ambivalent feelings about the impact of student evaluations on my career prospects.	0	-3	-4
[13]	I try to find my flakiest self for the students, to diffuse my latent authority.	-5	-2	-4

The individuals who loaded on Factor C form a distinctive group in terms of professional development. Three of the five had senior administrative responsibilities for students. In two cases, these were discharged in an unusually thorough way and for a longer period than normal. Another individual had a major role in diversity programming at Camden. Three had pursued all or at least a part of their training abroad. These faculty members were among the most articulate in analyzing their personalities and philosophical development. They had deliberately redesigned themselves in midlife, and projected a paradoxical steely quality allied to intense personal warmth.

Where academics loading on factor A seemed to want to restrict their emotional labour to their own students, and felt free to do so, faculty loading on C evidently felt institutional pressure to respond to students for whom they had no direct responsibility. This was reflected in their high placement of item 12, which distinguished Factor C from Factors A and B. That is,

Faculty who want to be successful here are expected to develop close relationships with students.	-3	-1	+4

only these five academics felt a strong consciousness of an *institutional pressure* to form relationships with students (which happened to align with their professional values). In contrast, faculty who loaded on Factor B, and also formed strong relationships with students, reported that they did so in spite of their deans and colleagues.

Table 8 is useful in comparing and contrasting the three groups of academics. Academics loading on factor A give primacy to their work, with their student-related responsibilities fulfilled almost as a byproduct of their research. They do not see their work as appropriately involving emotion (#9, -4) and they manage their self-presentation so that "book" learning is facilitated (#10, +4). In contrast to faculty loading on B or C, they do not even consider whether they might have a "special persona" for the classroom, much less worry about it (#1, 0; #2, 0), because the classroom is where they are most authentically themselves. Emotional concerns affecting the other two groups of faculty are simply not on the screen for faculty loading on A. These faculty members renew themselves through disciplinary achievements: Publications, presentations, and successful mentoring of doctoral candidates. They are unique in seeing the college as a place of hard work (#28, +5), coupled with some concern for accomplishment on schedule (#22, +2). Their conception of "service" to students is an academically focused one (#35, +2).

Academics loading on B focus more on active intervention in students' learning, and view emotions as both a tool (#3, +3) and mode of learning. They want to "be there" for students, in a variety of roles (#20, +5), including that of providing social support (#34, -5). This group is responsive, giving, and unique in being explicitly concerned with authenticity (#8, -4; #10, 0) but

Table 8 *Factor Loadings of Statements*

	Statements	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
[1]	I have a special persona for the classroom.	0	-2	-5
[2]	I have to manage ambivalent feelings about the impact of student evaluations on my career prospects.	0	-3	-4
[3]	Emotions are resources which I consciously draw upon to achieve my instructional goals.	-3	+3	-3
[4]	Having the knowledge base is important, but equally important is the right kind of personality, being open and approachable.	+1	+3	+5
[5]	Part of my job is to set the atmosphere for my classes.	+3	+2	0
[6]	I see a relationship between good teaching and good parenting.	+1	+1	+3
[7]	Being a role model for my students is part of the job.	+4	+4	+2
[8]	I think it would be unprofessional to show emotions which didn't contribute to the learning process.	+2	-4	+1
[9]	When interacting with students, I deliberately involve my feelings. This is what academic work entails.	-4	+3	-2
[10]	I try to be energetic and positive when dealing with students, regardless of how I feel.	+4	0	+2
[11]	I think that "student services" has grown because we as faculty don't do our job with students.	-4	0	-3
[12]	Faculty who want to be successful here are expected to develop close relationships with students.	-3	-1	+4
[13]	I try to find my flakiest self for the students, to diffuse my latent authority.	-5	-2	-4
[14]	Any shortcoming in the quality of my teaching violates my contract with my students.	-2	0	+3
[15]	The college wants me to help create a sense of community between faculty and students.	+2	+1	+1
[16]	"Giving of myself" in my academic work is tremendously satisfying.	+3	+4	+1
[17]	Because of who I am, I mentor a range of students, not merely some from my classes.	+1	+2	+4
[18]	The need for an institutional investment in students means that sometimes we have to hear about students' private lives.	-1	+1	0

	Statements	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
[19]	The norms here encourage me to overlook students' "academic" misbehaviors, like being unprepared for class.	-3	-4	-2
[20]	I respond to students on many levels—as a friend, tutor, critic, co-learner, and professional.	+3	+5	+3
[21]	The college wants me to convey by my example the humane values that inform the academic process.	+2	+1	+1
[22]	The institutional norms for being a good academic include maximizing student satisfaction.	-1	-1	+2
[23]	The college wants me to approach students with the will and desire to respond to them as individuals.	+1	0	+1
[24]	I feel a responsibility for retaining students and helping them to graduate on schedule.	+1	-1	-1
[25]	My socialization as an academic prepared me to separate my emotions from my professional self.	-1	-3	-1
[26]	My views can be controversial, but I present them in a way which minimizes strong reactions.	0	-1	-1
[27]	To the extent that teaching calls on me to simulate feelings, I experience stress.	-2	-2	0
[28]	A college is people and resources organized to help students develop, express, and refine their values, feelings, and talents.	+5	+2	0
[29]	I accept as normal a degree of tension between my real self and the "on stage" self I show students.	0	-1	-2
[30]	At this college, it's necessary for faculty to deny stress and ambiguity in their work lives.	-2	-3	-1
[31]	The college has a culture which shapes faculty interactions with students.	0	+2	+2
[32]	The way I use my emotions serves to reinforce my control of the classroom.	-2	0	-3
[33]	Success goes to academics who get control over their emotions.	-1	-2	0
[34]	It's not my job to supply students with social support.	-1	-5	-1
[35]	At some point, you can become so empathetic that you're no longer serving the student.	+2	0	-2
[36]	In choosing among prospective thesis advisees, I choose to work with people as well as topics.	0	+1	0

at the same time willing to use emotion instrumentally (#3, +3; #9, +3). They renew themselves through the reciprocal relationship with students.

Academics loading on C value approachability (#4, +5), balanced with the right knowledge base. They are more proactive in tackling student learning than faculty who load on A, and are unique in seeing this as an institutional and *contractual* responsibility (#14, +3). They are characteristically willing to mentor widely (#17, +4). Curiously, they see themselves more easily as parental figures than the other groups (#6, +3), yet are unsentimental about their relationships (#5, 0; #16, +1; #18, 0). They resemble faculty loading on A in that they refuse to work up feelings (#9, -2) and they accentuate the positive in their interactions (#10, +2). There is an additional element of seamlessness in the approach of faculty loading on C (#1, -5; #29, -2; #33, 0). They are distinguished by their awareness and deliberate compliance with institutional demands/needs for relationships with students (#12, +4; #22, +2; #31, +2). Faculty who load on C probably have a marked institutional presence.

Dual-loading Sorts: The Conundrum

Thirteen participants (8 women, 5 men) were associated with more than one "type" of emotional labour, i.e., their sorts loaded ≥.43 on more than one factor. See Table 9. The salient characteristic of this group is the complexity of their values and their commitment to self-examination. These 13 participants had made very deliberate choices (trade-offs) in their careers, and were articulate about the ways in which they were prepared to live with the results. Fully 8 of the 13 were retiring or extremely senior, or had pulled

Table 9 *Patterns of Dual-loading*

Pattern	A>>C	B>>A	B>>C	C>>A
Number of dual-loading sorts	P19 P22 P31	P1 P3 P14 P24 P35	P30 P34 P37 P42	P23
Number of strongly dominated loadings	P19 P22	P1 P24	P37	—

Note. The double caret symbol (>>) means that the first factor dominates (has a higher loading) than the second factor. "Strongly dominates" means "exceeds by a minimum of ten percent."

together atypical careers. They expressed satisfaction with their life and career choices explicitly (e.g., P24, P37, P20) or implicitly (e.g., P39, P16).

In this context, a dual-loading sort would seem to indicate one or more of several possibilities, elaboration of which could constitute another Q study. The dual loading could indicate movement from one concept of emotional labour to another, with traces of an earlier orientation remaining to be picked up in the sort. There could be sustained high levels of both orientations, a mixed-type hypothesis. There could be a discrepancy between an ideal and a personal approach, perhaps caused by deliberate "toughening up." The two faculty who loaded much more strongly on Factor A than on Factor C were very conscious of the amount of unmerited suffering in the world, and may have adopted the Factor A orientation as a defence against over involvement in others' lives. The predominance of women in this group could indicate a tension in the way some women perform emotional labour. Q does not allow generalization about proportions in a population, however, and the follow-up of this idea would involve "intensive" work with dual-loading women faculty (i.e., repeated sorts supplemented with longer interviews).

Patterning in the Factor Loadings

Tables 10-12 suggest a number of patterns in academics' approaches to emotional labour. These patterns appear consistent with the interview data, suggesting that the participants' views of emotional labour are enacted as well as espoused (Argyris, 1982).

Table 10 shows factor loadings by institution and rank. Perhaps the most striking single result is that no Falkirk faculty member loaded on Factor A. Even the two faculty members with dual-loading sorts loaded highly on

Table 10 *Q Factor x Institution/Rank*

Institution & rank	Q Factor A	B	C	Dual-loading
Camden				
Assistant	P15 P27 P36	—	—	P24 P30
Associate	P2 P5	P7	—	P31
Full	P8 P10 P17 P20 P28 P29	P39 P46	P6 P12 P45	P1 P3 P14 P19 P35
Sr. Lecturer	—	P32	—	—
Administrator	P4 P9	P11 P26	P21	P22 P23 P34
Falkirk		P33 P38 P41 P44	P43	P37 P42

Note. P40 did not load on any factor.

student-centred Factor B. This convergence on one type of emotional labour (which emerges only after factor rotation) is attributed to faculty self-selection and the college's student-centred progressive philosophy of education. Faculty at Falkirk meet as a whole much more frequently than is the case at Camden, and there is much more discussion of values and teaching approach. This evidently has a homogenizing effect on faculty's already similar approach to their emotional labour, aligning it with institutional philosophy.

Factor A, the rational prototypical approach to emotional labour, might seem to imply less time devoted to students' needs, and a definition of student needs in terms of intellectual role modeling and its concomitants. If so, then we would expect that at hierarchically structured Camden, which has a tenure system based on research, faculty—particularly untenured faculty—would load on Factor A. Table 11, relating tenure experience to factor loading, shows that this is the case. A suggestion of further confirmation is supplied by P2, a previously tenured faculty member who is seeking tenure in the Camden environment. He also loads on Factor A.

It so happens that all the "never tenured" participants in this study expect to remain in nontenurable jobs or positions. Each loaded on B or C. The exception is P30, who is in a tenure-track job at Camden. She has worked at a number of quality institutions, and brings with her a strong sympathy for her students, as evidenced by her secondary loading on Factor B. She hopes for tenure, but feels stressed by the effort of meeting her own prescriptions for emotional labour and performing research at the level and volume demanded by Camden.

Overall, there is a wide range of factor loadings and levels of loading at Camden, including several instances of tenured faculty loading on Factor

Table 11 *Q Factor x Tenure Experience*

Tenure status	Q Factor			
	A	B	C	Dual-loading
Untenured	P2*	—	—	—
	P15			
	P27			
	P36			
Tenured	P17	P39	P6	P1
	P5	P7	P12	P19
	P8	P46	P45	P35
	P10			P14
	P20			P3
	P29			P31
	P28			
Never tenured	—	P32	P43	P24
		P33		P30
		P38		P37
		P41		P42
		P44		
Previously tenured	P2	—	—	—
Administrators	P4	P11	P21	P22
	P9	P26		P23
				P34

Note. P40 did not load on any factor.
* P2 was the only untenured participant who had previously been tenured.

A, and a high overall proportion of dual-loading sorts. This supports the idea of a multiplicity of interpretations of emotional labour.

Table 12, factor loading by discipline, is not very useful, because the simple threefold classification of the disciplines used in this study does not take into account critical variables, such as the orientation of the department in which the faculty member holds an appointment. The large proportion of dual-loading sorts among faculty in the social sciences, for example, reflects in part the orientation of some of those departments at Camden. To establish the true disciplinary patterning of emotional labour, a more sophisticated approach would be needed, taking into account not only the faculty member's current appointment, but also details of training and past appointments which influence present epistemological orientation. It seems possible that faculty from the natural sciences will load more heavily on A, and humanities faculty on B, but this is a subject for further research.

Similar considerations prevent firm conclusions about gender and emotional labour (Table 13). One might try to weave together a series of individual explanations for the distribution of factor loadings, but it is probably more important to accept that faculty's approach to emotional labour is not a function of gender, and that systems which assign this work on that basis create stresses and increase the probability of early turnover. The differences in the proportions of men and women loading on each of the three factors, or dual-loading, is just short of significance at α=.05.

The pattern of consensus and differentiating items (Table 14) highlights the importance of attention to the underlying subjective meaning of emotional labour. Faculty loading on A and B agree strongly on item #7, for example (role modeling), placing it at +4, but the meaning of the placement and the action strategies differ for the two groups. "A" faculty

Table 12 *Q Factor x Discipline*

	Q Factor			
Discipline	A	B	C	Dual-loading
Natural sciences	P15 P17 P2 P27 P4 P5 P8	P41 P46 P39	P12 P6 P21	P1 P19 P24 P35
Social sciences	P10 P20 P29 P9	P11 P33 P38	—	P14 P22 P23 P3 P31 P34 P42
Humanities	P28 P36	P26 P32 P44 P7	P43 P45	P30 P37

Note. Administrators were characterised according to disciplinary background. P40 was not significant.

Table 13 *Q Factor x Gender*

	Q Factor			
Gender	A	B	C	Dual-loading
Male	P2	P7	P6	P1
	P5	P11	P12	P3
	P8	P33	P21	P14
	P10	P38		P19
	P15	P39		P23
	P17	P46		
	P20			
	P29			
Female	P4	P26	P43	P22
	P9	P32	P45	P24
	P27	P41		P30
	P28	P44		P31
	P36			P34
				P35
				P37
				P42

Note. P40 did not load on any factor.

Table 14 *Consensus and Differentiating Statements*

(a) Consensus* statements

Factors	A	B	C
Item 15	+2	+1	+1
Item 21	+2	+1	+1
Item 23	+1	0	+1
Item 26	0	-1	-1
Item 36	0	+1	0

(b) Differentiating** statements

No items distinguished Factor A (but 2 and 28 came close)

4 items distinguished factor B from all other factors

Factors	A	B	C
Item 3	-3	+3	-3
Item 8	+2	-4	+1
Item 9	-4	+3	-2
Item 34	-1	-5	-1

1 item distinguished factor C from all other factors

Factors	A	B	C
Item 12	+-3	-1	+4

* Adjacent piles.
** At least 3 piles apart.

interpret role modeling in a more intellectual sense than "B" faculty, who approach role modeling holistically. "A" faculty role model more passively than "B" faculty, who are inclined both to structure situations to afford opportunities for learning, and if necessary to allow them to drag on "until the penny drops." Similarly, "B" and "C" faculty agree mildly (+2) on statement #31 ("The college has a culture which shapes faculty interactions with students."), but "C" faculty are much more aware of institutional demands and regard the culture more critically. They claim to make more deliberate and idiosyncratic choices about complying with cultural demands.

Consensus items. There were five consensus items (adjacent ranks) for the study as a whole. All related to institutional expectations (see top portion of Table 14). These consensus items were rated low or zero, except by academics loading on Factor A, indicating that institutional demands are considered peripheral by most academics. This makes sense, given what the qualitative analysis revealed: At Camden, there is little or no perception of institutional demands. Everything comes through the department. At Falkirk, the faculty is self- and institutionally selected and socialized for emotional labour, and the "demand" is an internal one.

Distinguishing items. Factor A is not distinguished by any items (see lower panel of Table 14), though items #2 ("I have to manage ambivalent feelings about the impact of student evaluations on my career prospects.") and #28 ("A college is people and resources organized to help students develop, express, and refine their values, feelings, and talents.") come close (two piles apart). Evidently academics loading on Factor A (the rationals) are not concerned with the impact of student evaluations, but they do not welcome them or consider them as having informational value, as academics loading on B and C seem to do. Item 28 is the rationals' top-ranked statement.

This bears out the themes of instrumental orientation and deliberate turning away from research work in the service of students' development. Being objective, suppressing distracting displays of personality and individual emotionality, and trading off their research time are ways that rationals realize the values implied by #28.

Factor B is distinguished by four items, three of which deal explicitly with the management—particularly, the systematic disclosure—of emotion, as a tool for enhancing the educational process. The fourth item, disclaiming responsibility for social support to students, is strongly rejected (-5), as one would expect of academics loading on the relational, student-centred factor.

Item 12 ("Faculty who want to be successful here are expected to develop close relationships with students.") distinguished Factor C from the others. Academics who loaded on Factor C were not only aware of this pressure, but were willing to form these relationships, albeit selectively. They were effective mentors, not only of students, but also of junior faculty.

Lastly, the initial single factor, the similarity of averaged factor loadings on statements relating to personal identity, and the high intercorrelations of the rotated factors suggest that there is a well-understood ideal of how to be a good academic. See Table 15, Summary Statistics. The density of the scattergram, which persisted through the majority of the theoretical rotations, also supports this conclusion.

Table 15 *Summary Statistics*

Factor correlations (varimax):

Factors			
A	–	42	54
B	42	–	43
C	54	43	–
Reliabilities	98	98	95
SEs	33	38	53

The Qualitative Analysis Results: Thick Description of Academic Emotional Labour

The qualitative analysis was performed independently of the Q analysis, for the purpose of obtaining a thick description of the academics' experience of performing emotional labour. Only then was the qualitative data base examined to see the degree to which it related to the factors found in the Q study. Finally, it was examined for evidence bearing on the gendered emotional labour hypothesis.

Emotional Labour of Academics: The Interview Themes

The qualitative analysis looked for so-called "emergent themes," or motifs thrown up by the data, rather than looking for themes from the literature or elements of the theory in Figure 2. In this study, the emergent themes included admissible emotions, acceptable approaches to emotions, sources of emotional satisfaction, and the relationship of emotional labour to tenure. The limited evidence available suggests that the same themes would have emerged even if a larger sample of untenured woman had been obtained[24].

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[24] Untenured women are very difficult to enlist: Even the New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC) reaccreditation commission (1988) was unable to get a proportional response from them. Those who replied to the investigator cited pressure of work as their reason for refusal.

*Enthusiasm.*Some 35% of transcripts featured discussion of enthusiasm. Respondents spoke of enthusiasm with approval, much as the popular Sage™ faculty advice series does. "Enthusiasm...involves risk, vulnerability and a willingness to empower students. In addition, enthusiasm seems to sustain teaching in ways that make [teaching] less susceptible to burn out" (p. xx). Weinmer (1993, p. 86) cites Gaff (1978), which asked ~2,000 college students to describe how college teaching could be improved. "More enthusiasm" was the leading suggestion, evidently springing from a desire to see a veridical connection between faculty and their subjects. Students in the institutions in this study "expect[ed] organization, they expect[ed] expertise in the field, they expect[ed] *enthusiasm*" ($P3_p$).

Enthusiasm was generally experienced as spontaneous, and to be deliberately projected on those rare occasions when it failed. This was not perceived as an inauthentic action: Indeed, it was considered undisciplined and unprofessional not to cultivate enthusiasm even though "you walk into class and you got up out of the wrong side of bed or whatever, but you are going to be talking about work of literature, and it's bad pedagogy to present yourself as not being enthusiastic...." ($P1_p$). One smiling chemist (P17) provided this rationale for enthusiasm:

> It's a spontaneous condition but you learn to, even though balancing oxidation reduction equations may not be just the thing you'd as soon be doing on Wednesday morning at 10:00. You know that if you don't approach it enthusiastically, they aren't going to approach it enthusiastically, either, and you're never going to convey a whole lot of information in a lecture, but what you can do is stimulate them [to] get excited and learn something on their own.

It was felt that right-thinking academics would find it straightforward to be enthusiastic about trying to do their job in "the best possible way," and gradually master the art of projecting this feeling convincingly, as expressed by P14:

> I can still err, but I think I am a much more effective teacher because I am aware, from success and failure, of what kinds of emotional investments and what kinds of energy and enthusiasms really do have a good effect on students' learning and acquisition of knowledge than I was earlier.

Their discussion of emotion suggested that academics initially projected emotion spontaneously (as disclosure of an existing passion) or via surface acting (particularly injection of energy into bodily movement), leading eventually to deep acting. The target is the student, and the purpose of the emotional labour is often to get the student over the initial, unrewarding phase of learning, to the point where it becomes self-reinforcing. There can be no class-related tapering off of emotional labour at either institution. At Camden, classes are mixed and may contain freshman as well as upperclass students; at Falkirk, students are constantly struggling to complete their work under unfavourable conditions, and rely on faculty for support at a variety of levels.

There was a tendency to use enthusiasm as a rubric for feeling in general, exemplified by p1, who said that he thought about my questions, and guessed that the one characteristic that he knew he had was a sense of enthusiasm. He translated "emotion" into "enthusiasm" and cheerfully answered the questions that way. He expressed a general sense when he said that "displaying a contrived enthusiasm....is the wrong thing to do. We all should be enthusiastic about our discipline and in our department."

Why? The answer was expressed very well by P28, who said

> I think the students do respond to upbeatness...but I do think it comes down to the sort of veracity of the intellectual connection and the humaneness of that intellectual connection, to being able to develop more efficient and effective critical thinking. I think the students are on the right line on that, that it is not a false thing, teaching seemingly to be enthusiastic.

A less accepting view was expressed by P40, a former psychotherapist who did not load on any factor. She expressed a need not to be perennially "up," and noted how fatiguing emotional labour could be. She has since relinquished her Falkirk appointment.

> There is the genuine enthusiasm that comes from teaching and being in a place like Falkirk that allows you to teach in a very different way. There is also the enthusiasm that is just a part of the culture. The enthusiasm that is just a part of always kind of having to be "a little bit up" for your student. There is genuine enthusiasm, and then there is the enthusiasm that is part of the job.

Frustration. The other widely expressed (22% of transcripts) and generally tolerated emotion was frustration, a term misleadingly applied to a wide range of irritants. There appeared to be considerable emotion management at work in these incidents, including out-and-out incidents of emotional labour—"I'm feeling myself really frustrated at this point, I'm almost angry with the student, in having to tactfully manage my feelings" (P20); "an interview with *The [Camden] Review*, and I would say [that] that probably aroused two feelings—anger and frustration. Anger that people tramp around doing these things, and frustration that I had to be more tactful that I would have liked to have been" (P9).

The dictionary meaning (denotation) of frustration is very strong: "defeated," "thwarted," "nullified" are among the definitions. Faculty respondents used it in a catchall sense, to mean "discontented," "irritated," "unsupportive," and the like, and tried to represent it as a part of academic life, not worth diversion of energy. In his response to the initial question ("Describe an incident in which you felt strong emotion"), P11 described being literally frustrated by two subordinates, but also described at length how he tried to identify his feeling as "disappointment," rather than the anger he could have legitimately experienced.

Speaking of a painful dilemma he found himself in with respect to a nonperforming student, $P12_P$ expressed himself as "frustrated," and took the college to task, saying that "there should be a bit more emphasis placed on screening students for specific courses and knowing that there are some prerequisites on college level courses." In fact, he felt that the college had inflicted an injustice with its inattention to this area. His use of "frustrated" seems to embody a hope that the situation is temporary or soluble through the application of clear thinking. As a label, "frustrated" seems to disguise or palliate a number of troublesome situations which are, in fact, permanent features of academic work.

Approaches to Emotion

Suppression of emotion. A number (17%) of participants indicated that they tried to "keep emotions pretty well under control" (P17). This may also mean "directed toward my professional research." Several factors might lead faculty to suppress or refocus emotion.

Expression of warm feelings, particularly physical expression, evokes fear of being misunderstood in some faculty members—"[My student] gave me a great big hug and I started to hug back and I then I got all of these feelings about sexual harassment and instead I just went rigid and I just stood there with my hands at my side and felt awkward about it" (P3).

Academic socialization is often perceived as leading people to distance themselves from their feelings—to objectify situations. This was the viewpoint of several rationals, including P20.

> [Objectivity] reduces my anxiety and emotions because I'm back again in my role as a teacher and it puts me back in my role as a searcher of truth and it makes me fully aware of the need to keep feelings and emotions out of the equation in the search for an answer, the truth, whatever that is.... What I try to teach, what I try to exemplify as a role model, is objectivity, the search for truth, the demands on the analyst researcher how to maintain objectivity and to keep one's emotions in check. That the search for objectivity demands that personal views and all those things are sublimated to the theory, to the research, the numbers.

Several faculty expressed the corollary of this view, that dealings with students should follow a cognitive, somewhat affectless model. At its worst, this led faculty to distance themselves from students—to "keep the savage distance" of P32. At its best, it imbued faculty behavior with a grave and compassionate courtesy. "The way you can best be helpful is not to reflect the student's level of emotions but instead help them find some perspective" (P4). Perspective and stability are valued attributes, in part because they allow the focus on work to be regained. As P8 indicates,

> I feel in those situations [where students cry over inability to do coursework, impending bad grades, etc.] that it is my job to be stable and unemotional and at the same try not to make them feel any more embarrassed. Because usually what happens then

> is the student becomes embarrassed that they have exposed their own emotions to some old man. So I try to assure them that I understand, that I am compassionate because I have been there.... I try to share that with them and get them back to a point of stability.

Perspective is also valued by faculty, for themselves, but in this context feelings are being balanced over a larger life sphere. As $P1_P$ says:

> Perspective—meaning that very, very fortunately my life experience has included all kinds of other kinds of work and I know what we do is important and is vital, but it is not the end of the world. .... It is just not important in the great scheme of things. People are being murdered out there, people are starving. You have to keep perspective.

Objectivity in one sense or another was a theme in about 20% of transcripts, largely Camden transcripts.

Of this 20%, faculty who loaded on B, C, or whose sorts were dual loaded, spoke about objectivity in a different context. Objectivity and empathy formed the anchors of a continuum of patterns of response to interpersonal situations. Faculty "hunted," in the cybernetic sense, for the right setting on the continuum. Managing "double vision" was how P37 expressed the task of patterning one's responses sensitively, both overall and within a given encounter.

Participants who loaded on Factor B, the relational, or student-centred, devoted no energy at all to suppressing or shaping positive emotions, such as love, enthusiasm, and joy. They spoke about laughing and crying in class, took delight in extravagant language, hugged freely, and allowed students to be outrageous, too. Witness P32, who says of one class, "It was not only a feeling of love and celebration for the students, it was also an awareness of gratitude that I should have such a job." They also allowed themselves to feel

deep sadness where it was warranted. Speaking of a student/faculty love affair which he felt had harmed the student, and damaged his regard for a colleague, P7 remarked that it was "very, very sad," and that he experienced, "you know, this feeling that I call the rewind feeling." In contrast, this group monitored negative emotions carefully. They took major career and psychic risks to offer support to students. They dealt with and arranged the appropriate referrals for students suffering from frank psychosis, sexual assault, and oppression by colleagues, among other conditions[25].

The "reflective academics," who loaded on Factor C, were more cognizant of emotional games played in academia, and more attuned to verbal distinctions which were important in their lives—for example, resisting criticisms by reframing them in positive ways (P45: "I am authoritative, not authoritarian"). This was a small group, but its members were very careful about boundaries, about rendering to Caesar only what was Caesar's. There was a perception of emotion, and emotional energy, as a resource, to be used thoughtfully.

Participants whose sorts loaded on more than one factor exhibited a range of perspectives.

> If I find myself teaching, making a given point, and find myself getting emotional about what I am saying, I certainly don't try to hold back and be deadpan or pretend this is devoid of feeling. Let me just react that obviously feeling an emotion, like controlling more propositional and cognitive variables—making sure that I don't just say any thought that comes to my mind because I wish it were true, as opposed to having a good reason to say something. (P14)

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[25] Many of the details provided by this group cannot be reproduced, as they permit identification of faculty and students.

Feelings as political counters/aggression. Some participants attributed a strategic, even threatening, purpose to many of the expressions of emotion in academic life. "To me it seems that feelings are just a fact of life," thus p101, "Part of life in that I think some people are difficult to deal with, because they allow excessive expressions of feeling to intimidate people or just to make difficult the sort of standard negotiations that go on. In that regard, I think there is some sense of managing feelings." The other side of this is that emotion is often considered "eruptive, symptomatic behavior" (P14), the result of failures in interpersonal relations, which spill over into the classroom, causing students to look at the person with "puzzlement or even embarrassment" (P14). Exhibition of emotionality in this sense of "failure to control" may be a way of expressing hostility to students.

It is only to be expected that the study would pick up only attributions of such use of emotions. Over a longer term, trusting relationship, one could expect academics to disclose their *own* strategic use of emotion.

Awareness of this aggressive use of feelings makes P21 routinely question the degree to which the feelings that he brings to a situation are healthy. He feels that "genuinely strong people can be who they are...without feeling that they necessarily have to attack or dominate in order to be safe," yet he is

> very aware of the fact that sometimes students or the institution will bring up an emotional response which is basically some form of resistance or denial or something like that, as opposed to simply understanding that a healthy person can understand that somebody is angry with them or whatever without getting defensive.

Overcoming shyness. Only four faculty members spoke of this, but it is possible that it plays an important role in voluntary separations. People who are unable to overcome shyness may seek research appointments, or leave at the three-year point in the tenure process. In certain schools, shyness acts as a provocation to students, who savage the victim. As P18 put it,

> there is something about the classroom here. We have wonderful students, but if they gang up on you, they can be terrible. I don't know what it is, so some people just don't cut it in the classroom. They are considered not acceptable by students. They are very demanding, our students.

People who spoke of shyness characterized themselves as "profoundly shy" ($P3_P$), or shy to the point of being "sick to my stomach" before classes (P24). Surface acting may help in a number of ways. It helps them to create the conditions of student acceptance and mirroring back positive emotions, in which they can overcome their shyness. It appears to turn into deep acting if followed for long enough: The shy instructor becomes able to manipulate his or her metabolism to create the energy and positive force to perform well. It may provide another source of satisfaction, which reduces the causes of shyness.

Qualitative Support for the Q Typology

Broadly speaking, the qualitative analysis supported the interpretation of the Q factors, in that the participants' remarks were consistent with their factor loadings. There was a tendency for many elements of emotional labour to be perceived as core job demands, and identified by cognitive rather than

emotive labels, e.g., "mentoring" rather than emotional labour (P31). This was particularly true of faculty who loaded on Factor A.

Interviews with Participants Loading on Factor A

Rationals consider emotion a resource for the performance of academic work, at best; more commonly, they consider it an obstacle. The tone of the jokes about who uses the most tissue (a reference to the student/Kleenex native typology[26] that surfaced during this investigation) suggest that emotional display involves loss of face and is considered evidence of unsuitability for academic work. Rationals in this study identified emotion with loss of control, if not manipulation—"[W]hen they try to engage you on an emotional level...they want something. I don't mean that to sound quite as cynical as it does, but they are struggling with something" (P31).

Rationals are more likely to identify with the research mission of the institution, seeing their teaching duties as regrettably unprogrammable.

Interviews with Participants Loading on Factor B

Relational participants, who loaded on Factor B, faced the workload dilemma in its most stressful form, the false dichotomy of teaching vs. research. "I know the tenure-track women are very concerned about what does this message mean," said P26,

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[26] Some academics rate graduate students in terms of how much Kleenex they use during emotional outbursts—e.g., P31 spoke of a "half box" graduate student. Graduate student e-mail discussion lists (e.g., GRADTALK) frequently refer to competition between faculty to see who can stress graduate students most in the name of professional development.

> how available am I supposed to be to students, how much time am I supposed to spend with them. I could spend every day of the week talking with students on the one hand, on the other hand I don't want to sit around my office and have nobody coming to see me. Then there is this issue of I am supposed to be producing, producing, producing.

Relationals had to face an additional burden of adjusting their demeanor and utterances, either to match what they saw as the prevailing detachment from students, or to conceal their deviation from that norm. Witness P32's early experience:

> They used to tell me, "teach like an animal trainer." They used to tell me, "do not allow the students to get near you, keep a savage distance from the students." I really tried to do it when I first came here and I thought my job was contingent upon developing this sort of attitude. They told me, "write on this paper, 'this is the worst paper I ever read.' " I couldn't do it. I really tried to do it for a while. I couldn't do it. So, I would have to disguise things so they wouldn't know that in fact I was allowing students to revise papers or that I was reading every paper twice or I allowed them, encouraged them in fact, to write narrative essays at the beginning about themselves.

Relationals were aware that "standard protocols" could not cover everything, and they were relaxed if not positively anticipating situations that called for innovation. They were also pleased and challenged by what they perceived as a need to be self-monitors, as indicated by this remark of P7's.

> But for me to pay very close attention to the way my behavior is perceived by women, by other minorities, the way topics are raised, and the perceptions of how they are raised, I think it's extremely important. I also think it informs my work a great deal as well for the better. I appreciate people's sense that "all those are just sorts of things that I can't be bothered worrying about, it interferes with my study and my research and all that." I just simply strongly disagree with that. I think that understanding, paying attention to others' perception of oneself

> is an extremely important mode of analysis. Bringing it forward and programming it in certain classes is very, very useful. To ignore it is simply to wipe one whole aspect of what one is doing.

Interviews with Participants Loading on Factor C

Factor C turned up a connection between the literature on "women's ways of knowing" (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986) and academics' perceptions of emotional labour. Only one person made this connection, P21, but as far as could be ascertained, this was his own insight and not abstracted from reading Belenky et al. He was speaking of the general issue of authenticity, and the risks posed by absorption into a research career, when he made this observation about how women could be disadvantaged by a system that rewards normatively masculine behavior.

> It really has to do with establishing this sense of place through connection, and once that's done, it gets expressed later in life, as women begin to move in the direction of careers and all the rest of that sort of autonomous thing. And the women who are coming into the university system are having to play the masculine game. That is, they're being forced to move in the direction of being autonomous at a stage when I'm not sure from that perspective they've really developed the foundation of connection that they really need to succeed at that. And because there's a blurred message here, when they get into a system and they're given a choice between doing something for them[selves] and doing something that helps the community, they're much more likely to do something that helps the community, and they pay a price for that.

A theme surfaced by P6 was the general absence of advice to graduate students about their teaching. "You go to graduate school and stuff, you don't get courses on how to be a faculty member, you don't get courses on how to

teach, you don't get courses on anything." (Some allowance should be made here for P6's clear enjoyment of extravagant language. In a passage reminiscent of the Fanny—Lady Bertram exchange in *Mansfield Park*, he recounts how the only memorable piece of advice he received in his graduate training was to show films at the end of his lectures, "because people have been trained by going to the movies all their lives—when the film ends you stand up and leave, you don't sit down and take lecture notes for another twenty minutes.")

Interviews with Participants Whose Sorts Were Dual-loading

Eight of the thirteen participants in this group were women academics, who stated explicitly that they thought they performed more emotional labour than male colleagues. Students were the principal source of demands for emotional labour, according to these academics. Although the literature implies that there is emotional labour in relating to peers, there was little mention of this: The topic appears to invoke perceptual defences (P7). There was little sense of institutional or even departmental pressure to perform emotion labour ("They don't care how you get [good student evaluation numbers], whether it is by dynamism of lecturing or close interaction with students...whatever your personal style is, to arrive at that," P31).

> What I would say, though, is that the way students behaved with me abroad I think was very gender-related. I think they looked for me to solve certain kinds of problems for them emotionally that they would not look to a guy for. That they had expectations of me in all kinds of ways that they never would have dreamed of asking a male faculty member, young or old, to do. (p30)

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One of the few conversations which indicated the speaker's awareness of the institutional position on emotional labour was with P30.

> I think that I am very good in terms of interacting with students and that they respond to that. I think that is why I have been employed the way I have been in good schools and in good jobs. So, for me emotional labor, yes, it is part of what I do. I wouldn't say it is part of what I am necessarily paid for. Again, I do feel that Camden is more aware of the fact that is more valuable to them than a lot of other places are. So, in that sense, I feel acknowledged I guess on some level. I don't think they would have hired me if I were a cold fish.

This group also included representation from woman academics who saw themselves as victims of demographics. Thus, P24, "I think I always felt that my gender played a role in who I was in academics...I am of a cohort and types of experience that have discouraged me from every really trying very hard to be anything other than an adjunct or research assistant or whatever."

Gendered Character of Emotional Labour in Academia

The African American participants in the study both loaded on Factor A, and yet were emphatic about the differential incidence of emotional labour. Responding to the speculation that the emotional demands on

> [P]eople feel you can only deal with one population. When in fact you deal with all populations all the time, even though your job description and your reality is that you deal with all students. I have double sets of business cards[27], because people perceive me differently depending on what card I hand them.

P20 outlined another area of differential demands, committee service.

> [T]he college in the past has put Catch 22 on women and minorities..... [b]ut when you have a lower number of minorities it means that we are asked to serve on disproportionate number of committees, because the college wants minority and women representation over a variety of committees. So if you say no, you feel emotionally that you're kind of letting the group down, because if you don't do it, who else will? And then if you do, that it makes a zero-sum game: When you serve on committees you can't be in the library doing your scholarship. You can't be in the field doing your research. So it's that constant tension between those two.

P9 had experienced this, and had worked through it. "When you first come into [academia] you think, wow, it's so neat that people are asking me to be on these committees and asking for my input, and then you realize that you just checked female, you just checked black, and they get you in one person. I'm a little angry about that one."

The differential incidence of emotional labour was confirmed by P14 (whose sort loaded on A and B). He noted that

> With the diversification of the student body that has come in the last 20 years, [have come] more minorities, more women, more serious efforts to make the student population broadly reflective of the national population. A core area of that, and a correlate, has been the attempt to do likewise in the faculty. Now, unfortunately, the pace at which the faculty have been

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[27] P9 found that a card which referred to her connection with minority recruitment was perceived by whites as weaker than one which made *no* reference to minorities. She retained the minority card for use in dealing with representatives of minorities.

> diversified is slower than the pace at which the student body has been diversified. So, the kinds of support and help that these new kinds of students require to adjust to a very, very staid, conservative, and perhaps arrogant institution [has been in short supply]. It was felt that women and minorities could bring a lot of empathy, a lot of experience, a lot of rapport, a lot of credibility to helping particularly these newer students. So these people have been called on disproportionately to serve as mentors, to serve on committees, to be available for the interstitial responsibilities that the faculty variously feels it has towards students in their non-curricular, co-curricular, social life. The college definitely front loads women and minorities in terms of its requests for "committee service," "informal roles," and so forth, and it has been argued by many at this college that request, those entreaties have often come at a cost of the reduced amount of effort, energy, and time that people have available for the other things like scholarship which will be judged.

Crosby's (1984) hypothesis about "denial of personal disadvantage" received some confirmation from P14's transcripts. Crosby observed that by carefully selecting their reference group, academic women were able to perceive themselves as exempt from the problems of their group, and indeed, to see those problems as individually precipitated instead of grounded in structural processes and minority group status.

> It is as if women are completing a syllogism. The major premise states: "Women are discriminated against." The minor premise states: "I am a woman." But instead of the expected conclusion ("Therefore I am discriminated against"), women seem to say, "Phew, that was a close call." (p. 372)

P14 considered that women and minorities at Camden did not necessarily wish "to be identified as having special burdens, vis-à-vis special protected classes" and were divided with respect to the issue of taking special responsibility for entering black or female students.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This chapter will first of all examine the credibility of the typology. The limitations of the findings will then be explicitly considered. The chapter will close with a discussion of the bearing of the results on the overlap areas referred to in Figure 1.

Credibility of the Typology

A number of factors lend credibility to the results of the Q analysis: the distinctive averaged factor loadings of the Q statements; the sorter behavior; the number of persons per factor; and statistical considerations concerning the statements-to-participants ratio, the rotation employed, and the convergence on simple structure.

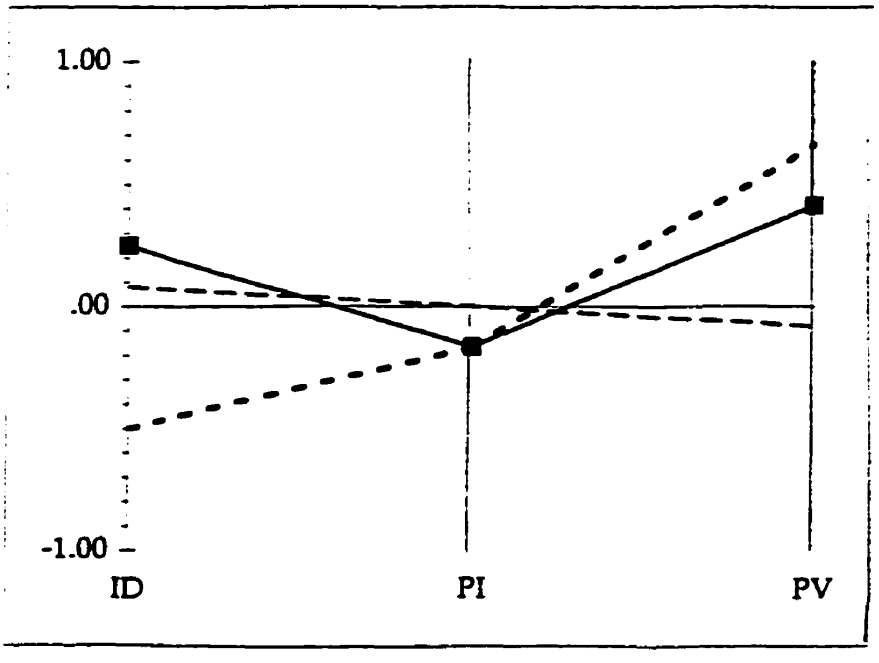
"Averaged factor loadings" are often used to interpret Q results (Brown, 1980). In Figure 5, the Q statements have been divided into three groups, reflecting sources of demands for emotional labour: institutional demands, demands arising from the influence of personal identity, and demands arising from professional values. The averaged score for that source (i.e., group of Q statements) has been computed for each of Factors A, B, and C, then plotted. The figure shows the three groups of faculty responding differently to sources of demands for emotional labour. Faculty loading on Factor A, as their descriptive term "rational" implies, respond evenly and temperately to all sources of demand. Faculty loading on Factor B are seen to be implementing professional values to a greater extent than other groups, reflecting the proportion in this group who have counseling and other

Figure 5. Factor Loadings, Averaged by Source of Demand for EL

Averaged Factor Scores

Institutional Demands				Personal Identity				Professional Values			
Statement #				Statement #				Statement #			
2	0	-3	-4	1	0	-2	-5	3	-3	3	-3
12	-3	-1	4	4	1	3	5	5	3	2	0
15	2	1	1	6	1	1	3	7	4	4	2
18	-1	1	0	13	-5	-2	-4	8	2	-4	1
19	-3	-4	-2	16	3	4	1	9	-4	3	-2
21	2	1	1	17	1	2	4	10	4	0	2
22	-1	-1	2	26	0	-1	-1	11	-4	0	3
23	1	0	1	27	-2	-2	0	14	-2	0	3
24	1	-1	-1	29	0	-1	-2	20	3	5	3
28	5	2	0	34	-1	-5	-1	25	-1	-3	-1
30	-2	-3	-1	35	2	0	-2	32	-2	0	-3
31	0	2	2	36	0	1	0	33	-1	-2	0
M =	.08	-.50	.25		0	-.17	-.17		-.08	.67	.42

ID	PI	PV
.08	0	-.08
-.50	-.17	.67
.25	-.17	.42



"human services" backgrounds. Academics loading on Factor C, the "reflectives," are the most responsive to institutional demands of the three groups, but are also implementing strongly held professional values when they perform emotional labour.

In the present study, the sorters took the task seriously, and worked efficiently, with no sign of confusion or frustration. There were no random placements, and respondents, when asked, identified themselves with a part, at least, of their sorts. Academics loading on factor A tended to be intrigued by Q's resemblance to a board game, and enjoyed the process more. Academics loading on B assimilated it more to their experience of psychometric instruments like the Myers Briggs. In no case were there grounds to discard an individual's completed sort.

It is reassuring that the factors are presented by adequate (≥5 per factor) numbers of academics, using a high ($p<.01$) level of significance (Brown, 1980; Dennis, 1985). The strength of factors is indicated more by the numbers of persons constituting them than by factor reliability and SE, although Q does not implicitly discount smaller segments of response. The groups loading on each factor made pragmatic sense, and the investigator was a separate factor. The factors explained a respectable amount of variance. The pattern of loadings was stable from sort 20 onwards, and actually emerged in the preliminary group of 14 sorts using the original Q sample. (N.B. These 14 sorts do not figure anywhere in this analysis.)

Third, there are a variety of statistical considerations which support the results. First, with respect to the low ratio of statements (36) to participants (43) in this study, Arrindell and Van Der Ende (1985) noted that the early Q sorts followed large-sample theory and were much larger than today's (Brown, 7/1/96). They went on to demonstrate the inapplicability of large N-

to-n (statements to persons) ratios for Q methodology, and recommended pegging the number of statements to the number of factors instead (using a 20:1 ratio of statements to factors). This is as infeasible as the old rules of thumb, however, since the solution is not known ahead of time. An anonymous note in *Operant Subjectivity* gives the characteristic Q response when it suggests that

> [t]he ultimate test of a factor in Q sort is not the number of statements, but whether the Q sorts (hence the factors which they produce) are *schematical*, i.e., whether each Q sort makes sense and is homologous with what the person wants to say. (p. 97)

In the present study, both schematic and homological requirements were fulfilled. Chapter 4 made the case for the schematical quality of the factors, and with respect to their homology, it was noted that during the interviews, the respondents professed varying degrees of satisfaction with their sorts. No one made random assignments or suggested additions to the deck.

Varimax and judgmental rotations were performed during the process of analysis. Judgmental rotation did not clarify the factor structure; it merely affected the shape of the point cloud. In the absence of a well-developed theoretical basis for rotation, varimax was selected. It provided an interpretable result, and its use in exploratory studies is in accordance with common Q practice (see, e.g., Stainton Rogers, 1995, p. 188).

Varimax rotation can be associated with unstable factors (see the "Q puzzle" thread in Q method, October, 1996). In the present study, there was a transient phase of instability around 10-14 participants. Instability might be a problem when the P sample was enlarged to include faculty from entirely

different types of institution. In that case, theoretical rotation could be used to clarify the factor structure.

The factor matrix moved toward simple structure after varimax rotation: 29 of the 43 sorts loaded significantly on only one of the three factors. Simple structure is defined as a high loading on one factor, coupled with non-significant, preferably negligible, loadings on others.

Limitations

Trust Issues

If earlier claims about the poverty of our emotional vocabularies (Berscheid 1990, Gordon, 1981, and cited in Thoits, 1989; Tannen, 1994 a,b) and the "undiscussability" of emotional topics in our culture are true, then clearly one limitation of this study arises from the brevity and comparative superficiality of the contact with the participants. There was no time to explore a mutually intelligible way of discussing the nuances of emotional labour. Similarly, there was no incentive and little security for making profound disclosures to a comparative stranger. It was noteworthy that the most useful information came from respondents who were protected in some way against the possibility of an embarrassing leak, or whose status resembled the investigator's and who therefore relied on her awareness of the need for confidentiality.

Limitations Stemming from Choice of Setting

The colleges studied in this investigation are well-established, with strong, idiosyncratic cultures. Clearly, the typology cannot be transported wholesale to other settings. There are factors which suggest that there will be at least some degree of transfer, however: disciplinary influence on academics' behavior, the prepotency of graduate socialization practices, the influence of accreditation bodies, etc. It is possible that generalizations may be made more securely within Carnegie classes of institutions. The degree to which this might be the case is a subject for further research.

Generalizability

Two arguments can be returned to criticisms of this study's generalizability. First, it is a study of qualitative differences among academics, so the test is category saturation, not numbers per se. The principle of finite diversity (Keynes, 1921) means that when the P sample responds to the Q sample, not chaos, but a *few* "ordered patterns of cultural understanding" emerge (Stainton-Rogers, 1995, p. 180).

Second, as Brunswick (1949) implies, no study is necessarily widely generalizable: Each compromises the "principle of representative design." Simplistically, Q can fail the principle if it does not secure a representative person sample; R, on the other hand, *typically* fails because it is insufficiently attentive to the stimulus sample. Q methodologists argue that situational differences affect behavior more than personal difference, and therefore the "stimulus sample" should be the focus.

The factors identified in this study do not exhaust the possibilities for future studies, other institutions. However, they set bounds for a closer examination of how three types of emotional labour are played out in the two settings under consideration.

Bearing of the Findings of the Study on the "Overlap" Areas of Figure 1

(3a) Control of Academic Women via Emotional Labour

Some of the impetus for this study came from a wish to know whether institutional control is exerted over women academics in a subtle and damaging way, through demands for emotional labour which compete with more career-enhancing activities. The limitations of the methodologies selected, however, mean that the question remains for future research. An answer will require a metric for the quantity of emotional labour performed, as well as specification of gender differences in the type or content. Q and qualitative methods can only speak to subjective viewpoints. They cannot establish what proportion of academics of each sex performs what type of emotional labour, or how individual emotional workloads are broken down. Act frequency (Cooper, Dyke & Kay, 1990) seems likely to generate the next element of the answer to this complex question.

What did the study reveal about academic women and emotional labour? The literature review had suggested that women's experiences—including the sex differences in training and early experience in academia, and women academics' underrepresentation and exposure to sex role

spillover[28] —would predispose them to perform emotional labour in a different way and to a different (higher) degree than their male counterparts. It seemed probable that this would be reflected in gender differences in factor loadings. In the event, the anticipated differences were less marked and less clear cut than some elements in the literature had suggested they would be.

Table 13 shows that more men than women load on Factor A, the rational; that almost twice as many women as men dual-load; and that twice as many women dual-load as load on any single factor. The gender difference on Factor A, when cast in the form of a directional hypothesis (more men than women will load on Factor A) almost reaches significance, at α=.05. None of the other differences in proportions is significant when tested. For both sexes, the same overall relationship exists between the absolute numbers loading on the factors: more academics load on A than B, and B than C.

There could be some suggestive associations hidden in this table, exemplified by subgroups of academics of the same age, similar training, or theoretical persuasion. However, the number involved is small (n=41), sufficient to support gross hypothesis testing with percentages, but not to follow up more complex patterns. The detailed biographical insights needed to identify meaningful subgroups could not be obtained in the short compass of the unstructured interview.

The idea that institutional control is exerted over women through demands for emotional labour received some anecdotal confirmation from the transcripts of P32, P9, P36, and P30. The experience of P32 is particularly important, because it was unusually explicit. P32 described how male

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[28] Some participants in the study claimed to see a growing incidence of emotional labour/quasi-parenting in academia. One Camden administrator put it vividly: "Students are increasingly paying for growing-up experience." Sex role spillover would cause the burden generated by this trend to fall more heavily on women academics.

colleagues and department chairs told her at the outset of her career to think of herself as an "animal trainer." She mentioned the emotional costs of her early efforts to distort her emotional style to meet male demands that she manage her feelings so that she could present herself as an "animal trainer."

In contrast, P9's critical remarks about service to the community could be interpreted as evidence for institutional cooptation of members with "disturbing" characteristics—colour, gender, sexual orientation, etc. P30 and P36 describe the ways in which institutional demands to respond to students as well as produce high quality research—literally, in this masculine world, demands to "be all things to all men"—keep them exhausted. They also note that they are required to suppress anger at their treatment by students and the administration, rather than invest energy in protest or change efforts.

Other explanations for the apparent lack of support for gender differences in factor loadings include the trust issue, limitations arising from the choice of site, and inadequate coverage of the concourse.

Trust. Chapter 1 reported that academia is perceived by many women as inhospitable—a place to guard one's utterances, toe the line, and otherwise manage one's image. Discussing workload and core work values with a comparative stranger may be seen as too much of a risk, both to hard-won psychic equilibrium and to the desired smooth progress toward tenure. Gender differences might have emerged to a greater extent, at least in the interviews, if contact had lasted longer and extended over several sessions.

Limitations...site. The women faculty in the participating institutions are those who have avoided the trap of self-handicapping, self-limiting behavior that would exclude them from serious consideration for academic employment (often referred to as women "cooling themselves out," after Hochschild, 1975, p. 54). They have given up a great deal to be where they are,

and cognitive dissonance theory suggests that they have adjusted their views and behavior to confirm the value of their choice. Gender differences might emerge with younger women faculty at "feeder" institutions, where the degree of commitment, and dissonance-adjustment process, may be variable.

Coverage of the concourse. Hochschild (1975) noted how competitive academics' utterances are. It is important to present oneself as a scholar, both in conversation and in print. This not only "sanitizes" much academic writing, particularly about controversial topics such as race and gender, but tends to keep scholars in the mainstream. The intensive search process which went into the development of the Q sample did not find much "suitable"[29] material which explicitly addressed the interplay of gender and workload. Institutions are loathe to admit that any differences might occur, far less be imposed. Individuals are similarly guarded: Frost and Taylor's (1996) monumental book on the academic career has only two short chapters on blending the personal and the professional, and both focus on making the personal life a resource to the professional life.

The preliminary interviews were an attempt to circumvent this problem. They were conducted with a representation of academics who knew the investigator somewhat, and could be expected to speak frankly and to the point of the inquiry. In the event, they were frank but not "on topic." Perhaps an even wider range of interviews would have elicited usable statements reflecting gender differences in emotional labour. There is a trade-off between this possibility and the trust issue alluded to above.

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[29] "Suitable" in this context means capable of being turned into a brief Q statement, fairly generally applicable to tertiary institutions, and neutral enough to work as a Q statement.

(5a) The Interaction of Gender with Typologies of Professional Services

This was not directly addressed in the study, but in the course of the "confirmatory" literature review prescribed by grounded theory methods, some ideas were developed about the interconnections between typologies of services, individual emotional styles, and institutional character. Suggestions for further research based on the proposed connections appear in Chapter 6.

(7a) Control Typologies and Services

An important insight that this study affords on the intersection of control typologies, services management, and academia is that the professional culture of academia does not support the application of any but the lightest forms of (internal) control. In its multiplicity, it provides a variety of competing sources of guidance. Most prescriptions seem hard to operationalize, as the NEASC team found in their site visit to Camden. Thus, the predictability of behavior which is the object of institutional control systems seems likely to require perpetual effort, and may be unattainable.

In a secular reversal, however, academia is increasingly being seen as controllable, and the investment of energy to control it as worthwhile. Education is perceived as an important policy mechanism to address declining national productivity and growing inequity in earnings (see, e.g., U.S. Council of Economic Advisors, 1996). This, together with the public perception of lowered quality accompanied by a dramatic increase in the cost of tertiary education, has resulted in demands for overt behavioral controls on academics. The traditional right to self-governance is being contested in a conspicuously heated public debate. Nine states initiated studies of faculty

workload in the public colleges in 1995/1996; 11 more instituted (for a total of 19) some form of performance-based budgeting (*Chronicle*, 9/2/96, p. 12).

In an electronic contribution to the Chronicle's "Colloquy" section (4/11/96), one faculty member complained bitterly:

> It is disgusting how much more is being demanded of us in terms of accountability, such as "being available" (i.e., being in your office for 40 hours or so each week), when much of a professor's job is more appropriately done outside of one's office (e.g., field research, library work, and so forth). There is simply a lack of understanding on the part of external forces (i.e., legislatures, some administrators, parents, students, and even the public) about what professors "do" for a living. It is so very frightening because we aren't going to be able to attract the top candidates any longer with the promise of autonomy, job security, and the traditional benefits of being a college professor.

The 1996 political platforms reflect the growth of lay aspirations to control, predicated on a view of academia as out of control and unresponsive to its constituents. This is one facet of a general call for a change of governance which would replace academic self-regulation with control systems modeled on industry.

(8a) Organizational Control via Emotional Labour, in Services

This study suggests that mobilizing employees' emotional labour can act as an effective form of control, *with limitations*. The sustainability and overall functionality of such a basis for control depends upon several factors—for example, whether external cultural forces crosscut the corporate culture, and where the organizational boundary is set. Service organizations which practice "partial inclusion" may be less able to enforce their own cultural practices. Disneyland is one such example. It has highly elaborated

control system which has its counterpart in an elaborated system of holding out, of beating the system (Fish & Jamerson, 1995).

Van Maanen and Kunda's (1989) and Van Maanen's (1991) work on the culture of Disneyland describes a managerial vision of a culturally based organizational control system focused on employees' emotional labour. Disney attempts to manage this by training employees to use an explicitly dramaturgical approach to customer service. Training is supported by careful selection, cultural immersion, and direct supervision backed up with a draconian disciplinary code. Like other culturally based approaches to control, however, the Disney model assumes a strong, *unitary* culture, which may well be virtually unattainable in real life. As Van Maanen and Kunda and Fish and Jamerson show, the company façade conceals the existence of subcultures, and importations from the "audience," i.e., the customers, delegates from the larger society, whose behavior leads to inconsistencies in cultural practice.

An emerging conceptual structure for addressing the scope for organizational control via emotional labour is the "three-perspective framework" (Martin & Frost, 1996, p. 610), which views culture as having integrated, differentiated, and fragmented aspects. The integrated aspect, the "espoused" culture, if you like, is the culture advocated by the management and most often documented and provided with an expensive set of physical embodiments and symbols. The differentiated aspect explains the plurality of cultures within the organization, their structural and material basis, and the implausibility of consensus. Lastly, the fragmented aspect accounts for the transience and issue-specificity of consensus, and the ambiguous context of performance. This perspective seems increasingly applicable to professional services, where turnover, cross-cutting sources of guidance (including

formerly inapplicable sources like financial guidelines), and occupational mobility are redefining how and what it is to be a professional. It is desirable to conceptualize it as a space in which different control systems may be related to one another, rather than a matrix defined by three dichotomies.

A three-perspective approach to control via emotional labour would explore, in the first instance, the organizationally sanctioned feeling and display rules, their reinterpretation in the subcultures, and the conflicted nature of organizational practices of emotional labour. These approaches could be operationalized as conditions of instruction in a Q study.

Changes in the Working Definition of Emotional Labour

Recollect that this study began with a working definition of emotional labour modeled closely on Hochschild (1983b) (Table 2). Over the course of the study, this definition was reshaped, principally by the comments of participants. Acting—positive transformative work in general—is not the only mechanism/focus of emotional labour. Suppression—denial and inhibition—is also employed. Paraphrasing Lazarus (1993, p. 16), emotional labour can be said to include coping with emotion itself, in settings which prescribe objectivity toward things capable of arousing strong feelings. For example, P30 transformed her emotional response to a mass infanticide committed by a Polish physician at the outset of World War II to a deliberate lesson about the propriety of tears, and then reflected on the effect this might have on her career.

The various elements of the working definition seem less essential now. It seems to be the case that emotional labour can occur during the process of anticipatory socialization, under the imagined eye of a generalized

other, before an affiliation is formed with an (employing) organization. The life of many graduate students is a protracted exercise in emotional labour, as suggested by Kerlin (see her home page, http://bolt.lakeheadu.ca/~facedwww/Kerlin/home.html), Pinson (GRADTALK posting, 1996), and Vickers (1977), among others. The "commercial setting" and wage here is a future condition. Indeed, Hochschild's terminological distinction between emotional work (in the private sphere) and emotional labour (in the economic sphere) seems conceptually untenable and without practical value.

The aim of emotional labour is to affect others' feelings, yes, but it may be to monitor or maintain their existing feelings...to avoid changing the impression they have of you, rather than actually changing their experienced feelings. In this sense, emotional labour subsumes impression management. Hochschild's (1993, p. x) preface to Fineman suggests that she has expanded her definition in this way: Emotional labour includes "knowing about, and assessing as well as managing emotions, other people's as well as one's own."

The last but also one of the most important changes in the investigator's assessment of emotional labour is attribution of a larger role to social milieu. Social shaping of emotion in general is more pervasive than she had previously accepted, and there need be no disparity between organizationally desired and "authentic" emotions. "The effect of commoditization of emotion is interactive; it differs depending on one's cultural orientation to emotion" (Gordon, 1989, p. 131).

CHAPTER 6: DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Prescriptions for further research are both methodological and substantive. Q methodology will continue to be appropriate for this topic. The questions which have been the focus of this study have not been fully answered, and have suggested others.

Methodological Recommendations for Further Research

Q is an underused technique which appears extremely well suited for investigating emotional labour, due to its central focus on subjectivity and the congruence of its methodological assumptions with this focus. The lingering controversy surrounding Q reflects its misconstruction rather than inherent limitations. See Stainton Rogers (1995).

The experience gained with this study suggests that for the foreseeable future, short, simply structured sorts should be employed, particularly with extensive designs. The 36-item sort used here seems on reflection to have been on the short side, yet gave a good return on the time invested. That is, it produced some suggestive factors and stimulated interest in the topic. The items are being used at two other sites at the time of writing.

Time is a definite consideration: Since the Q sort should be coupled with a confirmatory interview for the best results, large (and therefore time-consuming) Q sorts may have the unintended effects of reducing participation and fatiguing sorters. The ultimate determinant of the size of the Q sort, of course, is the nature and complexity of the concourse itself.

Simply structured sorts will be appropriate as long as our theory of emotional labour is preliminary. When time comes to test specific elements of the theory, it may be better to proceed by enlarging the Q sample, as suggested by Robert Mrtek (personal communication, 4/5/96), than by trying to develop factorial Q items. The conditions of instruction have a central role to play in the intermediate stage of the development of the field.

Future studies should allow unforced distribution, perhaps with a flattened normal distribution lightly shaded in on the sorting template. This will help participants to choose how to rank order the statements, without constraining—possibly losing—the minority who feel that only skewed or bipolar distributions reflect their views accurately. It is important to transcribe the numbers carefully, and review the unforced sort with the sorter at the time of completion. Errors are more easily made and less easily corrected from inspection of the context with unforced sorts. Brown (1980) has shown that the form of distribution employed does not affect the results.

It is a good idea to rotate the factors theoretically as well as through a computer-based process such as varimax, bearing in mind the aims of the study and the peculiarities of the phenomenon. Varimax rotation is often assumed to be somehow "unbiased," which it is, in the sense that the investigator cannot influence the outcome. Varimax will achieve a methodologically desirable result of minimizing the loadings of Q sorts on all but a single factor (i.e., will move the matrix toward simple structure) or maximizing the variability accounted for by successive factors. Most Q methodologists argue that those are statistical artifacts[30], however, and that

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[30] Brown, in a posting to Q method (10/23/96) said that "varimax is considered the 'house standard' in the British approach advocated by Rex Stainton Rogers (1995, p. 188), but this has always sounded too essentialist for my tastes, and even quasi-religious—as if there were a true structure that varimax or other standard would reveal."

what we should be trying to find out is how the phenomenon operates. There is no guarantee that factors in simple structure are necessarily *operant*.

Stephenson (1953, p. 265) said that "different rotations bring different facts to light, no one more true than another," implying that rotation is performed to obtain a new factor matrix that allows a novel or more useful interpretation of the issue. His insistence on abductory reasoning would seem to require this experimental, if not positively playful, approach to data. Successive rotations (judgmental or otherwise), like different conditions of instruction, reveal previously unseen factors.

The study of emotional labour would be better addressed in the context of a trusting, long-term relationship (cf. Martin & Frost, 1996, p. 107). The "extensive" methodology of the present study is primarily useful in establishing the general patterns of emotional labour within a homogeneous setting, and selecting people who exemplify different viewpoints for intensive study. In these intensive Q studies, participants should do several Q sorts, under different conditions of instruction. An adequate amount of time needs to be negotiated for interviewing each participant—ideally, something like 2-3 hours, 1-3 sessions per year for a minimum of 3 years. In particular, the years around going up for tenure and promotion would repay intensive study. There needs to be continual access to archival material about the development of the participant' s views and the culture of her or his department. Analysis of the impact of this research on the participant's style of emotional labour would need to be designed into the study.

A study of this scale would need institutional endorsement that could take many months to secure. There would be a continual conflict between institutional desires for detailed results and participants' need for

confidentiality. This comes back to the trust issue, but also suggests the need for a well-respected investigator.

In terms of the methodology for the development of the Q sample itself, there needs to be a choice made between Brown's (1980, p. 186-187) statistically based relaxed attitude and Mrtek's detailed piloting procedure (described earlier, in Chapter 2). The choice would depend on the application of the results, the importance of the issue, the availability of cooperative sorters, and other contextual factors. In general, future work on academics' emotional labour should reflect the Mrtek position, provided a sufficient number of interested academics can be recruited for the multiple rounds of sorting involved in refining the Q sample.

The long-term objective should be to combine quantitative approaches such as act frequency (Cooper, Dyke, & Kay, 1990) with Q and interview approaches to the study of emotional labour. Q is emphatically not to be regarded as a mere preliminary to quantitative study. For the present, each of the critical statements from the Q sample—and many statements from the interviews themselves—might be "exploded" to form a subsidiary Q study. The theory proposed here is still at the substantive rather than formal level (Glaser & Corbin, 1990), i.e., the proposed interrelationships require further qualitative study before instrumentation for hypothesis testing can be developed.

Substantive Recommendations for Further Research

A baseline longitudinal study of emotional labour in academia is needed. Doctoral students should be identified at the time of their acceptance to a program, and followed to tenure. As the cohort disperses, the study can

turn to telephone contacts using 800 numbers, and Q-by-mail/e-mail. Such a study could give insights into the development of academics' tacit knowledge of feeling and display rules, the relative contributions of discipline, graduate institution, employing institution, etc., to their approach to emotional labour, and the career and personal effects of various combinations of skill in performing emotional labour and person/environment fit. The research program should include fine-grained ("nuanced," to use Hochschild's term) contextual studies of different departments and disciplines.

Emotion, as a way of gaining insight into relations with others, complements the rational, "problem solving," scientific method approach, particularly under conditions of change and uncertainty[31]. There were instances of definite contrast between academic men's and academic women's approaches to emotion in their work, which some participants connected with suboptimal results for academia as a whole. The "rational" seemed to be placed in a false opposition to the "relational." A program of research is needed, leading to more effective ways of teaching academics to understand and make choices with respect to emotions.

Further extensions of research into emotional labour would be investigation of its applicability to the situation of minority faculty.

With respect to African American faculty, Gates and West (1996) suggest that emotional labour vis-à-vis many constituencies is demanded of all educated African Americans, and particularly of African American academics. Participants in this study variously felt or acknowledged this

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31 Vince and Broussine (1996, p. 4) make this point, when they suggest approaching change in organizations *through* emotion—by investigating the patterns of relationships and trying to inhibit the automatic engagement of defensive routines (cf. the unilaterally rational approach to defensive routines advocated in Argyris, 1985).

burden. Given the recent downward trend in numbers of African American academics, the question seems to be worth researchers' attention.

The minority faculty/emotional labour picture is complicated by the way in which race is often equated to "African American." African Americans are in fact a minority among minorities, and increasingly less proportionately significant. Non African American faculty of colour are often doubly burdened, first by discrimination and second by what they perceive as their invisibility in the struggle to reverse discrimination.

The interaction of gender with colour, and nationality with colour, has received very little attention in the workplace setting. More study of the racialized aspect of emotional labour is needed. It will clearly have to be interdisciplinary, and should include scholars of colour. This is not to say that only people of colour can study people of colour, merely to acknowledge their epistemological privilege.

Examination of professions in the process of changing status, up or down, would be particularly useful, since status transition is often signaled through changes in the patterning of emotional labour. Nursing is such a profession at the moment. Managed care in the US is devaluing bedside nursing, and substituting nurse practitioners for physicians in other areas. Nursing as a profession is serving as the scapegoat for corporate moves, which leads to individual nurses having to perform more emotional labour, particularly in their interactions with physicians and patients.

In parallel with the longitudinal studies, comparative and cross-cultural studies should be done. This will permit inferences to be drawn about the interactions of different emotional cultures with demands for emotional labour and the outcomes of performing emotional labour. One particularly important inter institutional comparison in academia would be

between the relatively prestigious, well-funded entities toward the top of the Carnegie classification and the community colleges. As more and more students attend community college to save money, and then transfer, the emotional quality of life there changes. We know very little about the subjective experience of working in the various branches of academia, yet we train people identically, and largely without attention to their ability to adjust to novel work contexts.

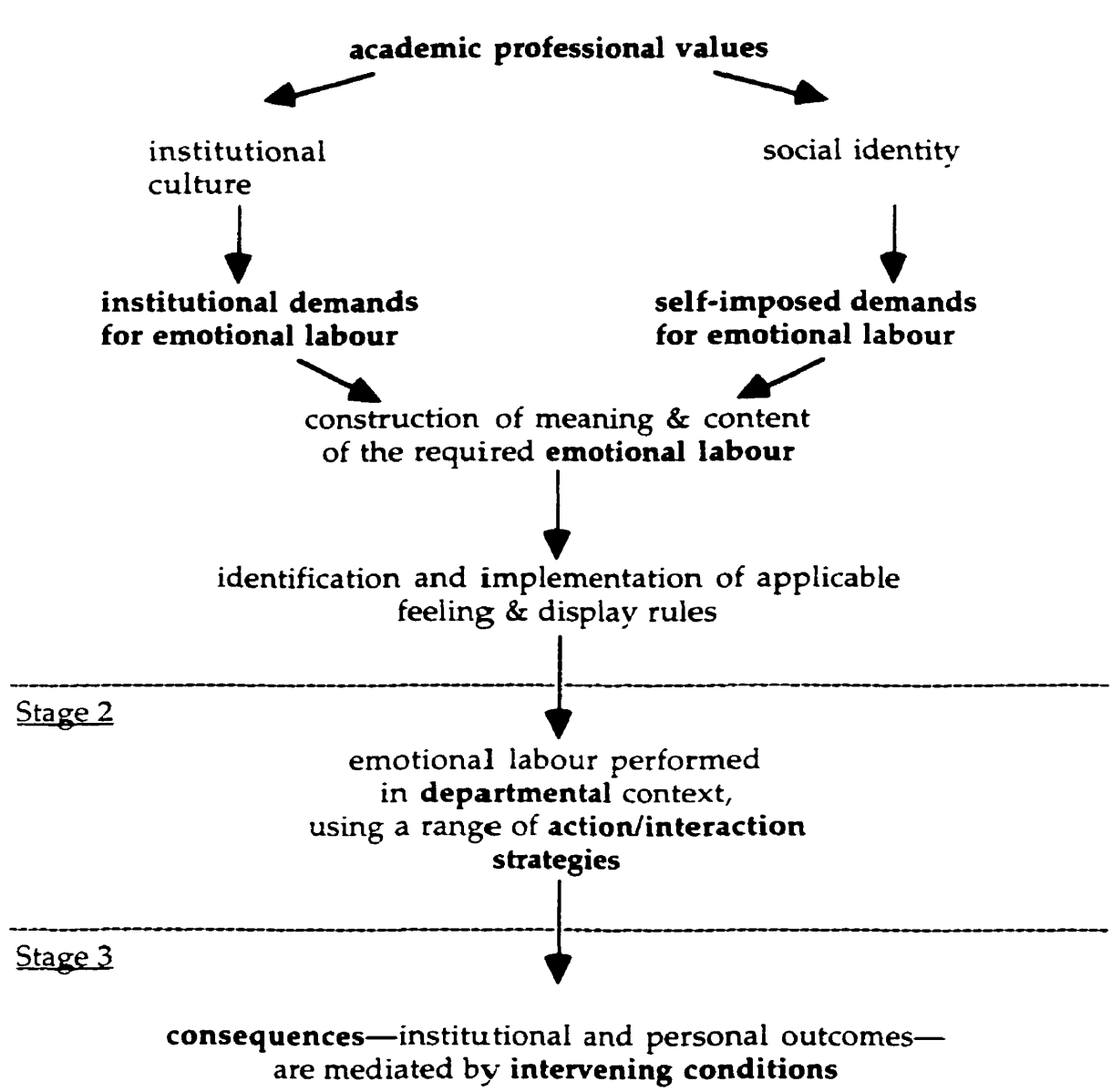
Second-order factoring should be applied to these comparative Q studies. This will not only give more structure to the field, but will establish broad foundations for quantitative study.

A Model for Further Research

As the analytical procedure detailed in Chapter 3 was pursued, the theoretical model evolved during the initial literature review was compared with the elements called for in the paradigm model (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, pp. 99-107). This sounds awkward, and *was* awkward: What it means is that grounded theory methods were being grafted on to an enquiry which had originally been conceptualized in a different way. The central concern of grounded theory methods, however, letting the data speak for itself, has been reflected in a refined model (Figure 6) of the causation and outcomes of emotional labour in academia.

In *stage one*, academics experience status- and role-based and situational demands ("causal conditions") for behaviors they construe as emotional labour ("phenomenon"). The demands spring from prescriptions embodied in the professional and institutional cultures, and from the individual's self-identity. The latter will probably be perceived more strongly,

Figure 6. Model to Guide Further Study of Emotional Labour in Academia



Note. Boldface indicates elements of the paradigm model (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, pp. 99-107).

if the findings of this study are generally applicable. The powerful nature of graduate socialization gives rise to a "strong, intact identity which predates employment" and may counter some aspects of institutional experience[32]. Since most academics derive deeply valued elements of their identity from their work—to the extent of being virtually unable to separate what they are from what they do—these demands ("causal conditions") for emotional labour are likely to be compelling.

The university may pose its demands explicitly or implicitly, through cultural (probably departmental) norms ("context"). There are certain to be multiple sources of guidance. How academics distinguish real demands from pro forma statements, and how they reconcile the multiple sources of information, would constitute a separate study.[33]

The methods of control employed in academia are very indirect—[You] "can't use authoritarian approaches, surveillance, positive and negative sanctions in anything but the most gentle way" (p14)—so generally the university can enforce its demands only by invoking academics' awareness of tenure criteria. There is generally no guidance on how to operationalize these criteria, which is itself a source of stress for junior faculty (NEASC Evaluation Team, 1988). This would be another reason why identity-based demands for emotional labour would be more salient than institutional demands.

It is probable that enforcement of the institution's demands reflects the overall orientation of its control system, behavioral or output (one element of the "intervening conditions"). Research I and II institutions will focus on

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[32] It is possible that degree of resistance to organizational socialization predicts likelihood to fail to secure tenure. "Mental reservations" about commitment are worth further investigation.

[33] An examination of the Spring 1996 Academy of Management Roster showed that relatively few schools asked for excellence in teaching; what seemed to emerge clearly from ads was emphasis on research, past and potential. It's quite possible that some of the most troublesome demands are undocumented. For example, the investigator was asked explicitly to form supportive relationships with freshmen in order to improve retention.

output, and lower prestige institutions will tend to apply more out-and-out behavioral controls (such as surveillance of office hours). Academic emotional labour is intrinsically very difficult to supervise and most academic evaluation systems treat this aspect of the job indirectly.

The role of student evaluations in academic control systems needs to be established. In some classes of institutions they proxy for administrative or peer management of faculty's emotional labour. This situation is likely to create tension in academics' relations with students, calling for more emotional labour, if not outright dissimulation. If the evaluation system is poor, e.g., if it reduces everything to a single number (such systems do exist), tension will also arise between administration and faculty.

After sorting out the cumulative demands for emotional labour, the academic constructs interpretations for the overall and specific situations, which allow/lead to identification of appropriate feeling and display rules, and the setting of priorities. (The order may be reversed here: It may be possible that the rules suggest the interpretation in certain situations—cf. the cognition/affect debate between Zajonc, 1984, and Lazarus, 1984.) The interpretation and assessment of the combined demands is affected by the institutional culture and the academic's identity and personal history. The process is likely to be a tentative and iterative one in the first year or two of employment, with gradual convergence on certainty, and later, confident performance, if all goes well for the junior academic.

The literature on expert knowledge (e.g., Collins, 1990; Schon, 1983) suggests why the process of performing emotional labour is difficult, particularly for women. In the first place, display rules and feelings fall into the category of tacit knowledge—literally, unspoken knowledge. Tacit knowledge is communicated in the idiom of the culture, in a wide range of

settings, and may be very difficult for the newcomer to pick up, particular if s/he is not able to access the full range of settings within which socialization occurs. The potential for deliberate and unintended selective communication is implicit, and likely to be greater the wider the cultural gap. Even where there is a high degree of similarity between supervisor and graduate trainee, or mentor and junior faculty member, the nature of expert knowledge is such that only those who are particularly skillful, and already partially informed, may elicit all they need to know.

"Eliciting expert knowledge" is not an intuitive skill and may call for a thick skin. The attitude conveyed by P3—"students are in constantly...[they] pay no attention to your office hours"—extends to graduate trainees, particularly early in their training, when they represent an investment of the supervisor's energy. It may even extend to junior faculty who have to be mentored. In the second place, there is seldom any official attention paid to the progress of graduate students' and junior faculty members' enculturation, or opportunities made to test and remediate their flexibility and insight into the context within which emotions are to be managed.

In addition to pressures for emotional labour arising from institutional demands or social identity, personal history factors may be at work. The relationship between emotional labour and so-called relational work is not known; relational work may segue into emotional labour. If it does, then women, who do more of life's relational work, are more exposed to the risk of performing excessive emotional labour, as implied by Hochschild (1983b). The use of emotional labour may also reflect an academic's gradual, even unconscious, accommodation to gender stereotypes.

The complexity of identity and its interaction with situational demands (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 101) may be reflected in frequent changes in

the salience of demands for emotional labour and the salience of different sets of feeling and display rules. The constructed meaning and subsequent selection of feeling and display rules will reflect the person-organization fit, and the congruence between the internal and external sources of demands for emotional labour, as well as intrapsychic factors.

Against this fluid interpretation, the emotional labour is actually performed, guided by display rules (*stage 2*; "action/interaction strategies"). There are interactions between the *process* of performing emotional labour, and the institutional culture, particularly the control system, and the collaboration of partners in emotional labour interchanges. Feeling and display rules function as behavioral prompts and guides in this process.

The performance has "consequences," *stage 3*, which affect faculty, their departments and programs, their university, and the higher education sector as a whole, i.e., there are outcomes on micro, meso, and macro levels. The outcomes can be specified in terms of their time frame, metric, mechanisms, and instrumental vs. emotional characteristics. Table 3 summarized possible outcomes which have already been identified in the literature. There is agreement that these outcomes are much more mixed, and more functional, than was originally anticipated by Hochschild (see Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris, 1995; Stenross & Kleinman, 1989; Wharton, 1993; Wouters, 1989). It is likely that the results are as negative as she anticipated only in settings where recruitment and socialization do not involve the social identities of the workforce in their emotional labour, and employees' defences against absorption into the work role fail, or are undermined.

Outcomes feed back into the institutional and internal demands for emotional labour. The feedback loops affect the institutional systems, particularly the control system. It is proposed that these loops act as

feedforward loops, i.e., potentiate the demand for emotional labour rather than hold it to a "preset" level, particularly for women and minority faculty.

A Context for Testing the Model

One would like to connect this micro work with system improvement, both for humane reasons and to generate the kinds of performance improvements which will allow the best elements of the university mission to be preserved. To this end, it would be productive to derive some general relationships bearing on the fit between academics and their institutions. Three candidate variables are type of service organization, academic institutional character, and academics' emotional orientations.

There is very little work done on typologies of service organizations. What is proposed here is a reconceptualization of Mills and Margulies's (1980) typology of service-, task-, and personal-interactive organizations. Mills and Margulies's typology seems particularly appropriate because its focus is the *service* organization's interface with clients, which is an important aspect of the subject this study (p. 260).

Mills and Margulies's typology is based on seven characteristics of the client/organization interface—type and confidentiality of information involved in the service, nature of the employee decision making, time horizon, locus of problem specification, balance of power, nature of employee identification with client, and substitutability of employees. They recognize that these characteristics ("interface variables") are difficult to separate in practice. All that is required in at this point, to apply their work, is recognition of the existence of broad and distinct differences between institutions, with respect to the majority of these seven variables.

Their first type of service organization is the maintenance-interactive (MI). The MI organization works to build a sustained relationship between client and organization, characterized by frequent interaction. There are few examples of this type of service in education, and none forms a part of academia, strictly defined. This type of service might be offered by professional accreditation bodies, e.g., in the form of CME (continuing medical education credits). The role of the service organization here is to subcontract for services, or approve them, and administer the license renewal process—not to deliver educational services.

The second type of organization, the task-interactive (TI), focuses on interactively solving the client's problems. The TI institution assumes the client knows what's needed, and focuses on means of satisfying his or her need. This is the situation with vocational and professional instruction, or credential-oriented education. Lower Carnegie categories contain this type of educational service institution; the community college is the prototype.

The third type of service organization, the personal-interactive (PI), assumes a different balance of power/knowledge between the client and the organization. PI institutions are repositories of knowledge about the end states the client should aspire to: Part of their task is to shape the client's demands. Institutions of this type would champion advanced curricular innovations, for example. The most prestigious colleges in the Carnegie classification, including Camden and Falkirk, are of this type.

Mills and Margulies's tripartite categorization might as well be reduced to its two most relevant categories, and redefined as a continuum (TI to PI). Thus simplified, it can be related to a typology of academic institutions.

Reference has been made, several times, to the Carnegie

classification[34]. This is an imperfect but useful classification of institutional characteristics, which has wide recognition. The assumption being made here is that the classification can proxy for emotional culture (Geertz, 1973). If Research I institutions are placed at one end of an axis, ranging down to two-year community colleges on the other, a rough hierarchy is formed, which proxies for conditions of employment and institutional value systems.

A third dimension to be added is academics' emotional orientations. Gordon (1989), drawing on Turner (1976), has distinguished two orientations to emotion—the impulsive and the institutional. The orientations are reflected in a "repertoire of emotional styles, symbols, skills, and habits that make one emotionally competent in a society" (1989, p. 116). The congruence of emotional orientation with institutional emotional culture must be a central element of P/E fit, particularly in a personal service such as education.

Orientation is postulated to interact with institutional service type and Carnegie class to define the career chances of academics. This study would predict differential prospects for women and men, reflected in a clustering of data points in Figure 7, the "success space." The axes have been drawn orthogonally, but this is merely a graphical convention. It has already been noted that the "Carnegie" axis must be assessed, to determine whether it is in any meaningful sense a continuum. The same is true of the Mills—Margulies typology and the institutional—impulsive continuum.

Q methodology could be applied very successfully as part of a research program to identify "successful" and "failing" combinations. Q's input to diversity planning would be highly beneficial, allowing affirmative action to

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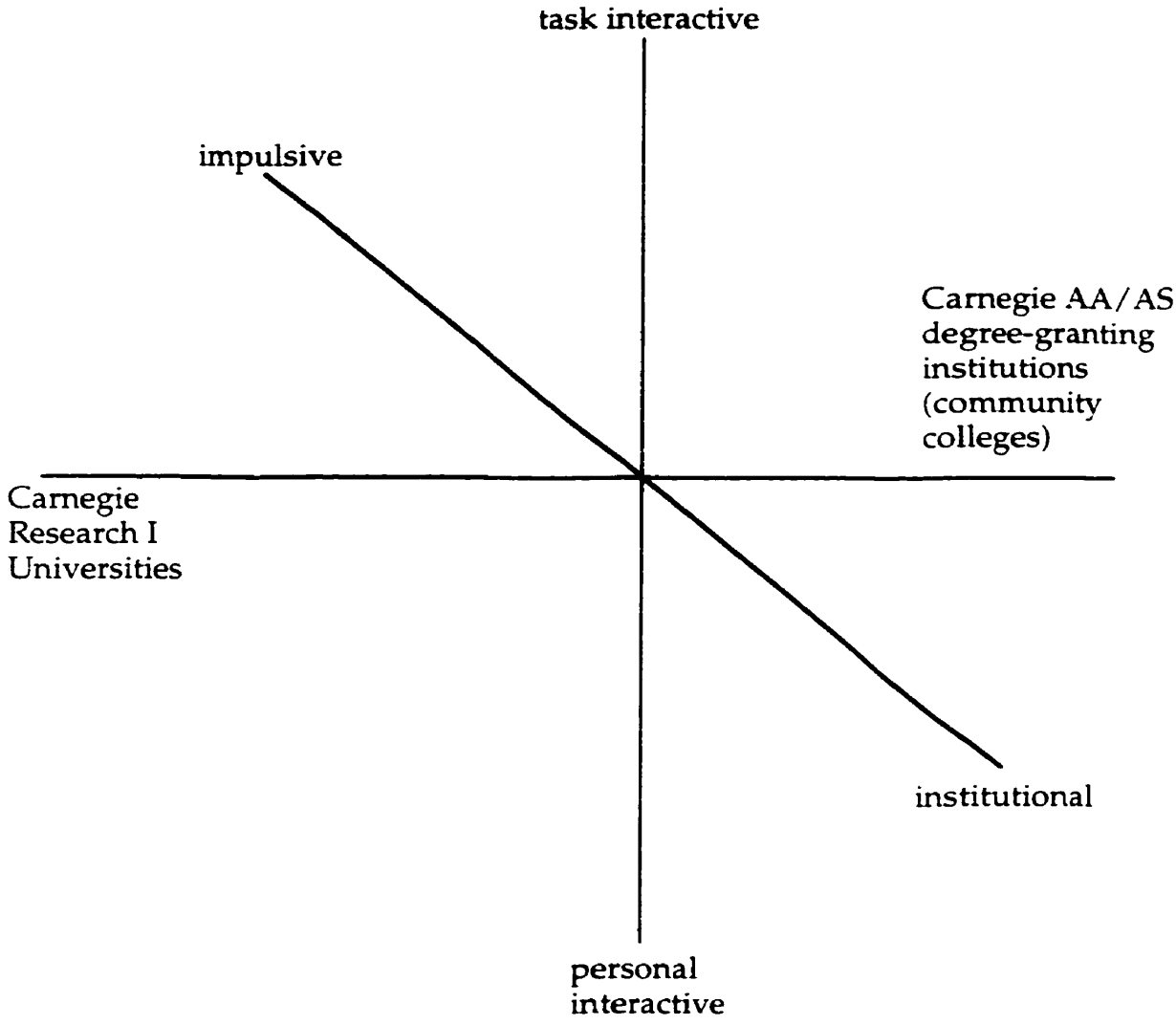
[34] This proposal assumes that detailed study will allow us to treat the Carnegie classification as continuous, in some meaningful sense. This possibility definitely requires further study. The Foundation lacks resources to support its classification with site visits, and with the explosive growth in numbers of institutions, it is possible that the classification may not support the proposed research.

Figure 7. The Success Space: Mills and Margulies's Typology of Service Organizations x Gordon's Emotional Orientation x Carnegie Classification



Note. Axes are orthogonal, per Cartesian convention.

be focused better, for example, and infrequently occurring opportunities—such as accreditation self-study teams—to be used to best advantage.

Connecting Services Typologies with Emotion Typologies

Within the space defined by service institutional type, emotional orientation, and Carnegie type, exemplary patterns of success and failure can be sought. A number of propositions come to mind.

Academics who fare well in their graduate socialization are or become institutionals in their orientation to emotion, and

(a) institutionals fare better than impulsives, generally, as well as in "person interactive" institutions

(b) impulsives succeed better in "task interactive" than "person interactive" institutions.

"Success" and "faring better" in this context would mean being effective academics and exhibiting a Factor A approach to emotional labour.

An extension of this effort could identify the correlates of loading on particular factors, to draw attention to potential research questions. Is there "best" fit between institution type and particular personality types? A "best" for administrators, another for faculty? Does the effective academic segue from one type (factor) to another? Is being a dual-loading type likely to make people more psychically robust, and therefore to be fostered?

It is possible to use Q as a diagnostic device. An academic's Q sort could be compared with factor arrays characteristic of a particular institution, for instance, to assess the likelihood of success in that setting. The same sort could be combined with factor arrays resulted from studies such as the present, and refactored to assess its loading on an "ideal" type.

Interesting Questions

The responses of the senior academics who made up a good part of the sample posed questions which could constitute entire studies in themselves.

Labels and Emotions

Thomas Scheff (1984) noted that "coarse" emotions such as fear, anger, and shame are inadmissible in our society. Faculty were unwilling to profess these emotions in the present study, which tends to support Scheff's observation. Further, he considered the use of an all-purpose label like "frustration" one technique to avoid recognition of tabooed emotion. Such avoidance temporarily relieves stress and embarrassment, but postpones or even prevents the resolution of the underlying problem.

This self-censorship may prepare the way for more elaborated defensive routines (Argyris, 1985), protected by self-sealing processes. The inability to label emotion accurately and confront it poses a degree of risk to individuals.

The Meaning of the Dual-loading Sorts (The "Mixed Types")

The meaning of a dual-loading sort needs to be established. The qualitative evidence from this study suggests that mixed sorts could be the outcome of developmental or contextual factors. There are many possibilities to be investigated.

- As faculty mature professionally, they gravitate to more complex apprehensions of others' needs, and respond more holistically to students.

- Earlier viewpoints persist as an academic's career unfolds and the observable outcome at any time is contingent on the situation.
- Academics can hold mixed views as a result of internalizing institutional demands, or attempting to do so.

It would seem likely that there are typical emotional trajectories for academics who succeed in various quadrants of the space defined in Figure 7. The professional and institutional implications of these need to be delineated.

The Cycle of Failure

In answering the initial question ("Recall an incident in which you experienced strong emotion"), P12 suggested a cycle which may explain why a proportion of academics fail comprehensively in their first teaching encounter, whether at the graduate student or assistant professor level. P12 appeared to be a somewhat shy but caring individual, whose empathetic approach to students reflects an affectionate involvement with the education of his children. (He saw a strong connection between parenting and teaching.) He described how—in his first tenure track appointment—he felt nervous and uncertain when approaching his class. He was also unlucky in that it included a clique of "students with attitude." The nervousness, from his account, clearly communicated itself to the students, who became demoralized. They resented being uncertain about what to think, study, and value. They fed their discontent back to P12 with a variety of nonverbals, further destabilizing his teaching ("I got quite flustered"), until matters reached the complaint-to-authority stage. As is frequently the case, the complaint was made at a high level in the first instance—the chairman of the

department. This was unexpected by P12, who became deeply upset, feeling rejected and personally compromised.

In the case of P12, there was a happy ending. His chairman not only spoke with P12 and endorsed his approach, but also provided direct and unembarrassed emotional support. An upperclass student in P12's course also sought him with reassurances, and indicated his belief that the problems lay with students who couldn't adjust to a new professor, and not with P12. "I did feel very strongly, I was so grateful to that guy because you feel very insecure even though you are twice the kids' age, so I feel very emotional still to get that sort of support. I was really very happy about that."

When the academic is not supported, and no one intervenes to break the cycle, a situation could be created in which the deteriorating class gradually affects all the others the person may be teaching at the time, and perhaps even her or his allied (service) activities. There is usually a campus publication which critiques classes, or failing that, a grapevine which ensures that incoming classes know of any problems. The 'cycle of failure' may repeat, until either the academic resigns or external help is supplied. When the teaching load is three to five classes per term, as it is in community colleges and low-status state schools, and there is an economic incentive to take on too many classes, coupled with no mechanism for oversight of teaching, the cycle could be fast and very destructive.

The cycle could lead to particularly high turnover among adjuncts, who are seldom paid enough to prepare classes adequately, frequently engaged at short notice, and may have degrees of subject-matter expertise which mismatch class needs (either too knowledgeable or not knowledgeable enough, both as to subject matter and pedagogical technique). Since most

adjuncts are women, this is another way in which women's academic careers can be damaged.

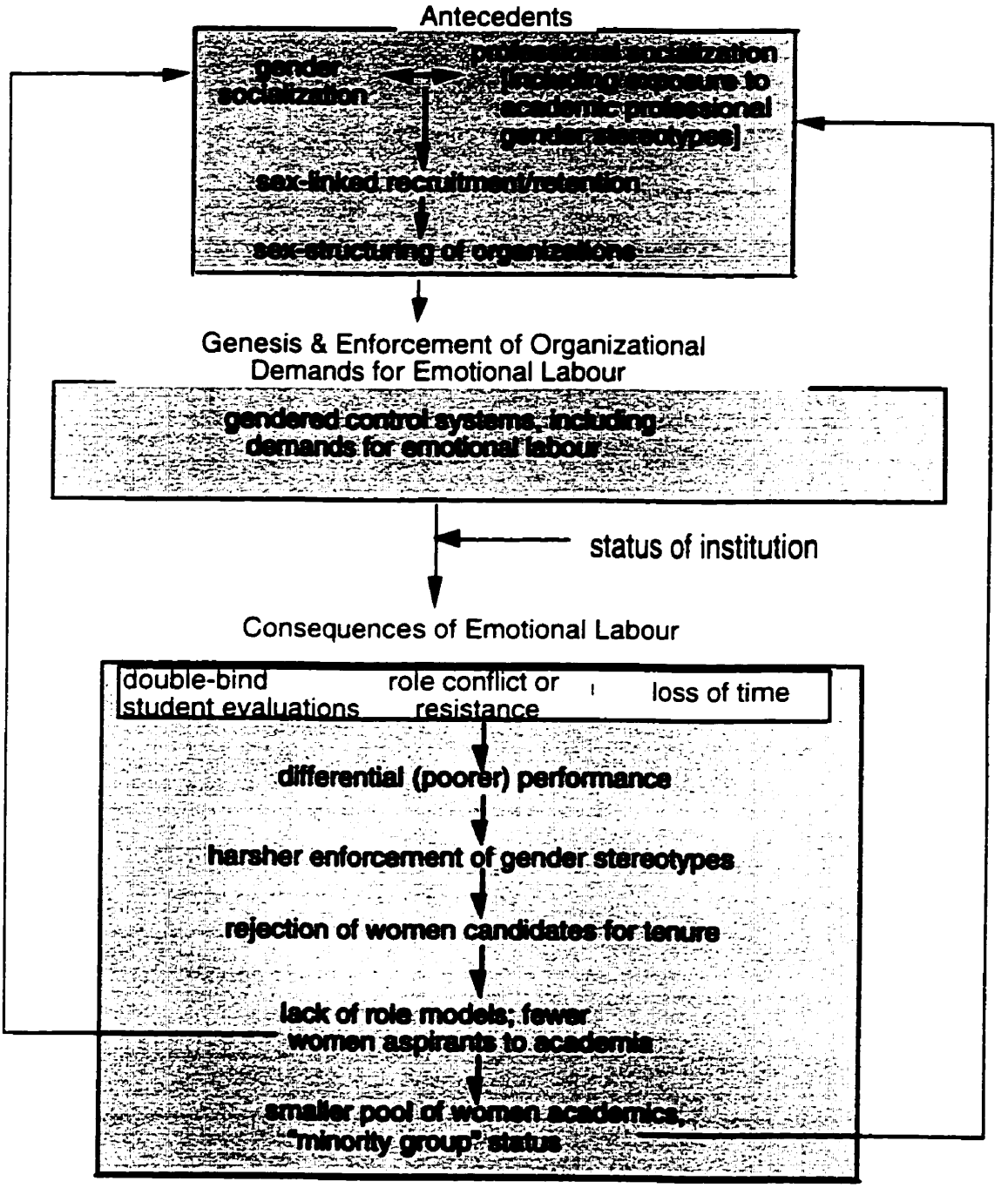
Women in this situation may adopt dysfunctional repair strategies, taking decisions which build on one another to achieve a quite unintended effect (March, 1994, pp. 64 et seq.). Two common strategies are attempts to placate students by adopting overly solicitous teaching styles and performing excessive amounts of emotional labour, and positioning themselves away from the feminine stereotype—abruptly distancing themselves from emotional labour (Baker, 1976; Izraeli, 1983; Larwood, 1991; Patterson, 1973). This could take many forms—being a tough grader, or keeping minimal office hours, for example. Distancing strategies in all probability counter students' (and colleagues') gendered expectations. This is a high-risk strategy, because when women faculty disappoint gender-based expectations, there is typically an overreaction on the part of students and colleagues.

This research topic leads to a consideration of emotional labour and control of women academics.

Emotional Labour as a Control Mechanism

As previously discussed, the methods employed in this study could not produce evidence relating type, as determined by Q sort, to the quantity of emotional labour performed. In interviews, however, participants made the familiar claims for differential emotional labour burdens. A longitudinal, intensive Q study would help to resolve this issue. Figure 8 builds on the general model of emotional labour in academia, to suggest how emotional labour could adversely affect women academics. In the figure, gender and professional socialization processes are shown as reinforcing and potentiating

Figure 8. Model of Effects of Emotional Labour on Women Academics



one another, leading to a sex role *system*—a sex-based division of labour, combined with stereotypical assignment of personality/behavioral traits and valorization of male characteristics (Chetwynd & Hartnett, 1978; Deaux, 1985). This system links recruitment to academia with biological sex, perpetuating the historic sex structuring of academic organizations. Women in academia, because of this sex structuring, experience the effects of sex role spillover (Gutek & Morasch, 1982). It is very possible that a race-based division of labour acts in the same way to structure the self-image and prospects of minority academics.

The present study provided inferential support for this model, and suggests that it is worth investigation. There is nothing in the current statistical picture to invalidate the underlying arguments. The growth in the numbers of doctorates awarded to women (16,600 in 1995) and in their representation in academia are reversible and meretricious gains, when examined in light of department, institution type, and appointment type.

Propositions for Further Research

The following paragraphs present the propositions informally, with a brief discussion of the degree to which they were supported in the study. See Table 16 for a formal recapitulation.

(1) *Emotional labour constitutes an additional role demand*, over and above the normal demands for teaching, research, and service.

A number of participants, including minority participants, strongly believed that the pattern is gendered and racialized. One recurrent example was inordinate demands for committee membership. In the case of

Table 16 *Propositions for Further Research*

(1) Emotional labour constitutes an extra role demand
  (a) which may go unrecognized by the academic, and
  (b) unrecognized by the institution (unmonitored, unrewarded).
(2) The extent of institutional demands for emotional labour is related to institutional prestige, as proxied by Carnegie Classification.
(3) Academic women perform more emotional labour than academic men, and
  (a) academic women's careers are damaged by performance of emotional labour, particularly
    (i) if they do emotional labour at the expense of research, or
    (ii) they are in "unreconstructed" departments.
  (b) The more emotional labour they perform,
    (i) the "worse" their perceived performance as academics, and
    (ii) the "worse" their actual (research) performance as academics.
  (c) The "worse" the perception of/actual research record of academic women,
    (i) the more gender stereotypes are enforced on them, and
    (ii) the more emotional labour they will be asked to perform.
  (d) Emotional demands contribute to the revolving door phenomenon, and thereby
    (i) sustain the sex structure of academia.
(4) All of the above can be extended to minority faculty.

Camden's college-*wide* committees, this contention was tested by examining the membership over the last five years, and at five-year intervals before that. Even when the proportions available for service were taken into account, there appeared to be no gender difference in participation. An attempt to determine whether departmental committees showed any difference in sex composition was frustrated by a lack of data. Falkirk is too small to mount many committees, and such as existed prior to the college's recent governance troubles tended to be small. Even the larger departments within Camden proved not to keep records for more than one year. The participants' flat statements cannot be reconciled with this data, unless the answer lies in differing time commitments and career benefits associated with various committees, which is quite probable.

This lack of records tends to support the assertions of some senior Camden faculty that institutional service is not actually factored into tenure decisions, whether at 20% or any other percentage.

Studies of committee and other service responsibilities, in a stratified random sample of institutions, are needed to resolve the question of gender-differential service loads. Institutional service might be something for the NCES or the National Survey of Post-secondary Faculty to record.

(a) *which may go unrecognized by the academic.* It seems likely that certain categories of academics, and academics at certain phases of their careers, may be less able or willing to recognize demands for emotional labour, or even be invested in not perceiving them (recall that P9 mentioned how *pleased* she was to be exploited, early in her career). If there is insufficient awareness of emotional labour as a part of the workload, it may happen that it is pushed down to the most junior members of a department, which may handicap them by limiting the

time available for research, creating a "Matthew effect" (Merton, 1968)[35].

The term "tenured deadwood" enshrines the popular belief that as soon as they have gained tenure, some faculty stop producing... carrying their share of service responsibilities...responding to students. This study found evidence for a change of *research emphasis* following tenuring, including a changeover to longer time frames. However, the less attractive implications were also supported: Several participants indicated a belief that some faculty were "retired on the job." Faculty members retired-on-the-job are "not recognizing" demands for emotional labour in a different sense, and would be increasing its inequitable distribution in a way which is particularly harmful. Given the demands which producing tenure-quality research imposes on junior faculty, they are least able to support additional demands, and may lose their chance of tenure if overworked.

(b) *and unrecognized by the institution—unmonitored and unrewarded.* Some institutions use faculty's emotional labour as a "free enhancement" of the educational "product." Camden students are recruited with this suggestion, as are Falkirk students, to a lesser extent and with a different twist. If emotional labour is assumed to be a trivial demand (a minor extension of the teaching role), then it will neither be monitored nor reflected in the reward system. Reward systems are notoriously unable to respond to intangibles, and emotional labour, inequitably shared, may affect junior faculty, non-tenure track faculty, and others who are already undercompensated. It

[35] Merton was referring to the gospel of St. Matthew, which offers an early formulation of the principle that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

may also inhibit their production of organizationally valued performances.

(2) *The extent of institutional demands for emotional labour is correlated with institutional prestige, as proxied by Carnegie Classification.* The Carnegie Classification is an imperfect ranking by prestige, but its wide awareness rating may make it useful in this context. The relationship might well be U-shaped, with high demands in the two-year and community colleges (simply as a function of numbers of students, each needing *something*), and in very selective institutions like Falkirk and Camden, where individual students' expectations are for sustained and intensive personal attention, extending past graduation. In large state schools, with a secured in-state enrollment and a degree of public support, there may well be more moderate expectations.

The demand is likely to vary over the individual's career. The limited information gathered from this study suggested that Camden demanded more in the early years, and shifted to demands for research productivity after tenure, while maintaining a lowered but still high level of demand. This varies greatly by department, in all probability. Faculty perceptions were that Falkirk's demands for research productivity never competed with demands for emotional labour and full engagement with the student. One would expect substantial variation by institutional type and market exposure.

(3) *Academic women perform more emotional labour than academic men.* Quantification is far away, but Q is perfectly appropriate to establish the nature of academics' *perceptions* of this proposition.

(a) *and academic women's careers are damaged by performance of emotional labour, particularly if they choose to do emotional labour at the expense of research.* Many studies, from Caplan and McGee (1958) to Roos and Jones (1990) have established that women academics do

not have the same prospects as male academics. Qualitative and Q methodologies can help establish whether emotional labour actually serves to explain the differential, and define the mechanism. No mechanism was suggested by this study, other than women being "suckered" into the extra mentoring, committee work, etc. This would not seem to be enough to explain the pervasive difference in men's and women's prospects in academia.

(b) *The more emotional labour they perform, the "worse" their research performance.* Again, the facts and the mechanism need to be established. Is it direct time competition, the intrinsic nature of emotional labour, the result of deskilling during graduate socialization, or the sense of being exploited by the students/system? This problem is not confined to women : It is a general problem throughout academia, for academics who perform emotional labour.

(c) *The "worse" the research record of academic women (i.e., the lower in volume or prestige of publication outlet), the more gender stereotypes are enforced on them, and the more emotional labour they will be asked to perform.* This is likely to be related to institutional prestige. In Camden, failure to meet the criteria for scholarship will prevent faculty gaining tenure, with no possibility of compensatory performances in teaching and service. This may not be so rigidly enforced in lower Carnegie categories. This study encountered instances of straight gender prejudice, however, and it is likely that perceived failure to meet standards for scholarship will result in a variety of social and economic penalties, even if the woman is tenured and/or retained on the faculty.

(d) *Emotional demands contribute to the revolving door phenomenon, and thereby sustain the sex structure of academia:* The existence of the revolving door is well documented, e.g., by The Chilly Collective[36]. The question is, to what extent do demands for emotional labour power the rotor?

Two additional areas for research include:

(4) *Dual loading sorts.* Table 9 summarizes the dual loading sorts. The demographic characteristics of these academics suggest a number of propositions for longitudinal research,. The double caret (>>) means that the loading on the first factor "strongly dominates" the loading on the second.

- As they age, men and "social males" (women using male behavioral strategies) move from a protoypical to a student-centred orientation to emotional labour (Factor B>>Factor A), as the pressures of gaining tenure relax their grip and the status shield strengthens.
- A dominant rational orientation to emotional labour characterizes women who are successful in conventional terms—tenuring early, obtaining jobs in male-dominated areas, all the while discharging heavy service roles (Factor A>>Factor C).
- A student-centred (relational) orientation to emotional labour characterizes women who focus on the rewards of service in academic employment (Factor B>>Factor C).
- the reflective academic orientation, coupled with the student-centred orientation, makes for resilience and high levels of job satisfaction (Factor C>>Factor B).

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[36] The Chilly Collective is a group of Canadian women academics who are monitoring the status of academic women there. The term chilly comes from the work of Bernice Sandler (1986 and updated since).

CONCLUSION

This study examined a sample of academics from two private northern New England colleges, with three purposes. The first purpose was to describe and interpret the academics' emotional labour and its implications. Q methodology, amplified by unstructured interviews, revealed the existence of three patterns of emotional labour, which balanced rational, instrumental approaches against relational approaches and demonstrated the possibility of an integrated pattern. The integrated and multiple patterns raised intriguing possibilities—life cycles of emotional labour, disciplinary biases, self-monitoring and diagnostic uses of Q sort, as well as suggesting the need for longitudinal studies.

The second aim was to describe the enactment of emotional labour. In so short a study, there was not enough scope to address academia's feeling and display rules fully. It was clear that elaborate codes existed, governed by frequently inconsistent sources of guidance embedded in academia's multilayered culture. Scheff's theory about coarse emotions found echoes in academics' globalizing use of "enthusiasm" and "frustration." The anticipated gendered and racist distribution of the burdensome aspects of emotional labour found anecdotal support.

The third purpose was to assess the influence of emotional labour on the careers of women academics. While longitudinal studies are essential to establish the functions of emotional labour, the career payoffs and pitfalls, and its relationship with reproductive life, the present investigation showed suggestive gender differences. These call for further study, particularly in light of societal aspirations toward workplace diversity.

Models of emotional labour, general and pertaining to women academics, were proposed at the outset of the study and revised. A context for further study of emotional labour in academic settings has been broadly specified. It relates emotional orientation, type of service organization, and institutional type as proxied by Carnegie class, with the intention of connecting patterns of emotional labour with career prospects.

Q methodology should be employed in an intensive fashion, in combination with longitudinal designs, to test the ideas generated by the present study. Subsequently, act frequency methodology should be used as a bridge to introduce more conventional quantitative treatments to the field.

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Appendix 1: Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education

Type of Institution	Enrollment (thousands)	Number of Institutions
Total	**15,263**	**3,595**
Doctorate-Granting Institutions	3,981	236
Research Universities I	2,030	88
Research Universities II	641	37
Doctoral Universities I	658	51
Doctoral Universities II	651	60
Master's Colleges and Universities	3,139	529
Master's Colleges and Universities I	2,896	435
Master's Colleges and Universities II	243	94
Baccalaureate Colleges	1,053	637
Baccalaureate Colleges I	268	166
Baccalaureate Colleges II	784	471
Associate of Arts Colleges	6,527	1,471
Specialized Institutions	548	693
Tribal Colleges and Universities	15	29

Definition of Categories

The 1994 Carnegie Classification includes all colleges and universities in the United States that are degree-granting and accredited by an agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education.

Research Universities I: These institutions offer a full range of baccalaureate programs, are committed to graduate education through the doctorate, and give high priority to research. They award 50 or more doctoral degrees' each year. In addition, they receive annually $40 million or more in federal support.

Research Universities II: These institutions offer a full range of baccalaureate programs, are committed to graduate education through the doctorate, and give high priority to research. They award 50 or more doctoral degrees each year. In addition, they receive annually between $15.5 million and $40 million in federal support.

Doctoral Universities I: These institutions offer a full range of baccalaureate programs and are committed to graduate education through the doctorate. They award at least 40 doctoral degrees annually in five or more disciplines.

Doctoral Universities II: These institutions offer a full range of baccalaureate programs and are committed to graduate education through the doctorate. They award annually at least ten doctoral degrees—in three or more disciplines—or 20 or more doctoral degrees in one or more disciplines.

Master's (Comprehensive) Colleges and Universities I: These institutions offer a full range of baccalaureate programs and are committed to graduate education through the master's degree. They award 40 or more master's degrees annually in three or more disciplines.

Master's (Comprehensive) Colleges and Universities II: These institutions offer a full range of baccalaureate programs and are committed to graduate education through the master's degree. They award 20 or more master's degrees annually in one or more disciplines.

Baccalaureate (Liberal Arts) Colleges I: These institutions are primarily undergraduate colleges with major emphasis on baccalaureate degree programs. They award 40 percent or more of their baccalaureate degrees in liberal arts fields and are restrictive in admissions.

Baccalaureate Colleges II: These institutions are primarily undergraduate colleges with major emphasis on baccalaureate degree programs. They award less than 40 percent of their baccalaureate degrees in liberal arts fields or are less restrictive in admissions.

Associate of Arts Colleges: These institutions offer associate of arts certificate or degree programs and, with few exceptions, offer no baccalaureate degrees.

Specialized Institutions: These institutions offer degrees ranging from the bachelor's to the doctorate. At least 50 percent of the degrees awarded by these institutions are in a single discipline. Specialized institutions include:

> *Theological seminaries, Bible colleges, and other institutions offering degrees in religion*: This category includes institutions at which the primary purpose is to offer religious instruction or train members of the clergy.

Medical schools and medical centers: These institutions award most of their professional degrees in medicine. In some instances, their programs include other health professional schools, such as dentistry, pharmacy, or nursing.

Other separate health profession schools: Institutions in this category award most of their degrees in such fields as chiropractic, nursing, pharmacy, or podiatry.

Schools of engineering and technology: The institutions in this category award at least a bachelor's degree in programs limited almost exclusively to technical fields of study.

Schools of business and management: The schools in this category award most of their bachelor's or graduate degrees in business or business-related programs.

Schools of art, music, and design: Institutions in this category award most of their bachelor's or graduate degrees in art, music, design, architecture, or some combination of such fields.

Schools of law: The schools included in this category award most of their degrees in law. The list includes only institutions that are listed as separate campuses in the *1994 Higher Education Directory*.

Teachers colleges: Institutions in this category award most of their bachelor's or graduate degrees in education or education-related fields.

Other specialized institutions: Institutions in this category include graduate centers, maritime academies, military institutes, and institutions that do not fit any other classification category.

Tribal colleges and universities: These colleges are, with few exceptions, tribally controlled and located on reservations. They are all members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium.

Notes on Definitions

1. Doctoral degrees include Doctor of Education, Doctor of Juridical Science, Doctor of Public Health, and the Ph.D. in any field.
2. Total federal obligation figures are available from the National Science Foundation's annual report called *Federal Support to Universities, Colleges, and Nonprofit Institutions*. The years used in averaging total federal obligations are 1989, 1990, and 1991.
3. Distinct disciplines are determined by the U.S. Department of Education's *Classification of Instructional Programs* 4-digit series.
4. The liberal arts disciplines include English language and literature, foreign languages, letters, liberal and general studies, life sciences, mathematics, philosophy and religion, physical sciences, psychology, social sciences, the visual and performing arts, area and ethnic studies, and multi- and interdisciplinary studies. The occupational and technical disciplines include agriculture, allied health, architecture, business and management, communications, conservation and natural resources, education, engineering, health sciences, home economics,

law and legal studies, library and archival sciences, marketing and distribution, military sciences, protective services, public administration and services, and theology.

5. This group includes community, junior, and technical colleges.

The Carnegie Classification utilizes survey data from the United States Department of Education's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data system (IPEDS), the National Science Foundation, The College Board, and the *1994 Higher Education Directory* published by Higher Education Publications, Inc.

The *1994 Higher Education Directory* provided the universe of postsecondary institutions. This book lists information on over 3,600 accredited, degree-granting colleges and universities and more than 100 central or system offices. In addition, this reference was used to verify information on proper names, state, FICE identification, and affiliation or control.

The HEP directories published since 1987 were used to track institutions that have opened, closed, merged, lost accreditation status, or changed their names.

The U.S. Department of Education's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System Completions survey 1988-89, 1989-90, and 1990-91 provided all data on degree conferral. These data are self-reported and collected annually by the Department of Education. Three-year averages of number of degrees conferred were used to determine each institution's placement. Information on the number and type of disciplines in which degrees were awarded came from the IPEDS Completions 1990-91 survey.

Data on the federal support for institutions of higher education for fiscal years 1989, 1990, and 1991 are available from the National Science Foundation's annual report called *Federal Support to Universities, Colleges, and Nonprofit Institutions*. These figures are reported to NSF by fifteen

federal agencies. Three-year averages of total federal obligations were calculated.

The variables employed in determining selectivity for the Baccalaureate Colleges were: entrance examination scores for fall 1992 first-year students who ranked in e top quarter and top half of their class. Schools that lacked some of the aforementioned data were included if they demonstrated considerable strength in any one category.

The Specialized Institutions are free-standing campuses. They do not represent a comprehensive list of any specific type of institution.

All the Tribal Colleges and Universities are members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. Three of them are not formally under tribal control and are not located on reservations. A few of the Tribal Colleges and Universities are not listed in the HEP *1994 Higher Education Directory.*

The data used to classify institutions can be obtained from the original sources. Total federal obligations figures come from the National Science Foundation; degree-conferral material comes from the U.S. Department of Education's IPEDS, and information on institutional selectivity comes from The College Board. All of these data also can be purchased from John Minter Associates, Inc., of Boulder, Colorado.

While the definitions are intended to establish mutually exclusive categories, some institutions meet the criteria for more than one group. These colleges are denoted with the dagger symbol (†).

Appendix 2: Instructions for Initial Q Sort and Q Deck

(a) Q Sample (in list form)

[1] I have a special persona for the classroom.
[2] I have to manage ambivalent feelings about the impact of student evaluations on my career prospects.
[3] Emotions are resources which I consciously draw upon to achieve my instructional goals.
[4] Having the knowledge base is important, but equally important is the right kind of personality, being open and approachable.
[5] Part of my job is to set the atmosphere for my classes.
[6] I see a relationship between good teaching and good parenting.
[7] Being a role model for my students is part of the job.
[8] I think it would be unprofessional to show emotions which didn't contribute to the learning process.
[9] When interacting with students, I deliberately involve my feelings. This is what academic work entails.
[10] I try to be energetic and positive when dealing with students, regardless of how I feel.
[11] I think that "student services" has grown because we as faculty don't do our job with students.
[12] Faculty who want to be successful here are expected to develop close relationships with students.
[13] I try to find my flakiest self for the students, to diffuse my latent authority.
[14] Any shortcoming in the quality of my teaching violates my contract with my students.
[15] The college wants me to help create a sense of community between faculty and students.
[16] "Giving of myself" in my academic work is tremendously satisfying.
[17] Because of who I am, I mentor a range of students, not merely some from my classes.
[18] The need for an institutional investment in students means that sometimes we have to hear about students' private lives.
[19] The norms here encourage me to overlook students' "academic" misbehaviors, like being unprepared for class.
[20] I respond to students on many levels—as a friend, tutor, critic, co-learner, and professional.
[21] The college wants me to convey by my example the humane values that inform the academic process.
[22] The institutional norms for being a good academic include maximizing student satisfaction.

[23] The college wants me to approach students with the will and desire to respond to them as individuals.
[24] I feel a responsibility for retaining students and helping them to graduate on schedule.
[25] My socialization as an academic prepared me to separate my emotions from my professional self.
[26] My views can be controversial, but I present them in a way which minimizes strong reactions.
[27] To the extent that teaching calls on me to simulate feelings, I experience stress.
[28] A college is people and resources organized to help students develop, express, and refine their values, feelings, and talents.
[29] I accept as normal a degree of tension between my real self and the "on stage" self I show students.
[30] At this college, it's necessary for faculty to deny stress and ambiguity in their work lives.
[31] The college has a culture which shapes faculty interactions with students.
[32] The way I use my emotions serves to reinforce my control of the classroom.
[33] Success goes to academics who get control over their emotions.
[34] It's not my job to supply students with social support.
[35] At some point, you can become so empathetic that you're no longer serving the student.
[36] In choosing among prospective thesis advisees, I choose to work with people as well as topics.

(b) Instructions Given to Participant

In the attached envelope, there are 36 statements of opinion. Your task is to arrange these on the form provided [see (c), below], placing one statement in each space. After you've completed your initial layout, move the statements around if necessary, until the arrangement reflects your considered opinion.

These suggestions will help you, if you've never done a Q sort before:

1. Read all the statements. Sort them into two piles, one containing the statements you agree with—one way or another, for any reason—the other containing the statements you disagree with for any reason. Don't worry if the piles don't contain equal numbers of statements.

2. From the *agree* pile, select the item with which you agree most strongly. Place it in the single space under +5.

3. From the same pile, the *agree* pile, select two more that you agree with to a *greater extent than you agree with any others in the agree pile*. Place these two statements in the spaces under +4, next to the statement already selected. Position in the column doesn't imply anything.

4. Still from the *agree* group, select three more. Place these three in the next column, under +3. Do the same for the +2 and +1 columns.

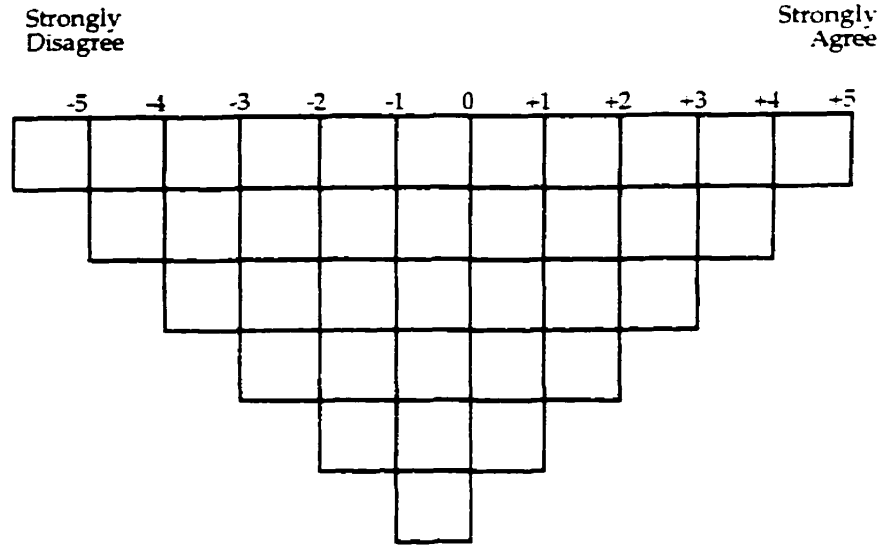
5. If you have extra, unsorted statements when you reach +1, add the unsorted statements to the disagree pile, and go on to the next step. If you run out of statements in the agree group before you reach the zero column, go immediately to Step 7. Don't worry about having exactly enough statements at this point.

6. Now turn to the *disagree* pile. Begin as before, by selecting the statement with which you disagree most strongly. Place it under -5.

7. Repeat the steps with the statements remaining in the *disagree* pile. Always choose those statements with which you disagree *more strongly than you disagree with any of the ones remaining*. Place the specified number of statements in the column under the negative numbers. Every space should be filled with a statement.

8. When the sort is completed, all 36 statements will be distributed in the vertical columns. Now move them around, if necessary, from one column to another to reflect the way you think about the demands of academic work. When you have finished, let me know.

(c) The Sort Outline



Name M / F

Age___

Marital status*: S / M / P / S / D / W Children Y / N

Ethnicity:

Present institution:

Present position/rank:

Participant characterises her/himself as faculty/administration

Institution has tenure system Y / N

Participant is/is not tenured at present.

If tenured, how many years has the participant been tenured altogether?

Participant was tenured in his/her ___first ___(nth) institution.

*Abbreviations stand for single, married, partnered, separated, divorced, widowed. Investigator completed demographic information: This form is reproduced as used in the study.

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule

N.B. As the first interviews were analysed, this began to change, and evolved continuously during the study. The first question remained the same.

Preliminary open-ended question:

Describe a real situation with a student that was important to you—one in which you experienced a strong feeling. (directly from Hochschild, 1983b, p. 13)

After the sort:

Were there particular statements that you found hard to place? (probe)

Elicit display rules, institutional demands

What is the *right way* to be an academic here? Who says so? What do they say?
When you came here, what did ___ communicate to you about the job? Were there "rules"? How were they communicated to you? Were they enforced? How?
Academia is sometimes called a "greedy institution." How do you respond to its demands on you? Do you have a strategy for managing them?

Identify role models for EL

The people who were your role models for academic work. What were they like?
Do you remember some of the interpersonal techniques they used? What are some of the practices you adopted from them?

Relation of EL to job satisfaction

Are you satisfied, on the whole, with being an academic?
What kind of people are suited to be academics?
What aspects of your career have made you feel good?

Appendix 4: Statistical Considerations with respect to Q

Date: Thu, 25 May 1995 13:29:13 EDT
From: Steven R Brown <SBROWN@KENTVM.KENT.EDU>
Subject: Re: Explaining Q-Methodology: The Forced Distribution

On Thu, 25 May 1995 08:39:21 -0700 Jack Block said:
>..... There is one additional point worth making. Generally,
>we correlate Q-sorts with each other. It is not well recognized that the
>size of an obtained correlation is influenced by the shape or form of the
>distributions of scores....
>
True enough, but the effect is typically minimal, especially when the analysis extends beyond correlation and into factor analysis, which is why I indicated that reasonable deviations can easily be tolerated of Q sorters who find the forced distribution objectionable. The point is illustrated in the following table, in which fabricated Q sorts 1 through 8 all contain the same item order (for N=33 statements) and differ only in distribution shape, whereas Q sorts 9 and 10 share an item ordering different from the others. When these 10 Q sorts are intercorrelated and factor analyzed, the resulting two factors can be seen to have arisen almost wholly from the different orderings and not at all from differences in distribution shape. This makes additional sense when we pause to remember that the correlation coefficient can be expressed as the average cross-product of Z-scores -- i.e., r(xy) = (Sum(Zx)(Zy))/N -- where x and y are two variables or two Q sorts. No matter what the initial distribution characteristics of x and y, in Z-score form their means are equal (M=0) and so are their standard deviations (S=1.00). Hence it only stands to reason that differences in central tendency and variability can't have very much impact on the correlations, and even less on the factors to which the correlations give rise.

		Factors										
Distributions		-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	A	B
Same item ordering:												
1	complete rank ordering										.997	.002
2	platykurtic	3	3	4	4	5	4	4	3	3	.986	-.020
3	leptokurtic	1	2	3	5	11	5	3	2	1	.935	-.005
4	inverted	7	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	7	.987	.034
5	negative skew	1	2	2	3	4	4	5	5	7	.971	-.013
6	positive skew	7	5	5	4	4	3	2	2	1	.970	-.010
7	dichotomous	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	.893	.001
8	trichotomous	11	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	11	.941	.007
Different from nos. 1-8:												
9	complete rank ordering										-.006	.994
10	quasi normal	2	3	4	5	5	5	4	3	2	.011	.994

Modified from Brown, Political Subjectivity, p. 289.

Appendix 5: Construction of this Q Sample

In the early stages of the study, senior members of the Q community were asked for their insights on the issue of reconciling factorial (theory-testing) Q samples with respondents' demands for simple statement structure. Their advice is summarized in Chapter 3, and a selection of their comments are reproduced to give a flavour of "Q-Method," the Q community's active email list.

Bob Mrtek, in a long note (4/5/96) on the overall approach of Q, commented specifically on the draft Q sample, saying, "I do not believe you need to adhere rigorously to the construction of factorially-structured Q-items; in fact I don't think you need to conceptualize your study in anything as complex as what you seem to be headed for when you write about structured studies."

Bruce McKeown, of Sage primer fame, wrote:
I don't think there is any way to fully avoid the problem that you identified/had with your Q sample. I.e., no matter how hard one tries to keep the statement items simple, focused, and singular in content there always seems to be some respondents who find them otherwise. Saying that you will see that there are at least two factors involved: statement items and how people respond to them. I'll say a few things first about the second. When I was doing my Ph.D. studies at Kent State, we would frequently raise respondent objections with Steve [Brown, the doyen of Q]. It was not uncommon for [him] to reply that those objections often times signaled "posturing" by the respondent (by which he meant, I think, an attempt by the respondent to assert control over the Q-sorting process in general—thus breaking out of the proposed forced-choice distribution, etc.). In this instance, a respondent's tendency to "read into" statements more than is there, to make things difficult generally, and so on. This, of course, is problematic since any reading into is whatever he or she sees there; to say it is posturing may be denying the subjectivity of the respondent. Steve would agree with this. Yet, my experience has been that linguistic "elites" (academics, students) tend to do this more than others. And I believe they are posturing to some extent; game playing that occurs on questionnaires, too. Not much can be done about this, I guess. If people raise the issue as they do it I simply ask that they do the best they can in placing the item; if there are apparent double meanings in a statement, or more than one issue, as they read them, I ask that they decide nonetheless, which usually can be done after fussing about it. Unfortunately, it does become annoying to them and that is what you want to avoid. What they don't realize and what we need to keep in mind is that one statement is not that significant in the whole context of the Q-sample. Rather, as you know, each is understandable in terms of the others as they are sorted out. This does not answer their questions or necessarily soothe their upset, but....! On the first issue of statement writing, I have more and more attempted to

rephrase statements to keep them simple and singular. Even when the items are near verbatim quotes from someone (i.e., somebody actually said or wrote it, in the form it is there on the card or slip of paper) and make sense to me (that's why I selected it for the sample) they still can come across to others as more complex and doubled-meaning, etc. It does no good to tell a frustrated respondent, "Someone really said just that," because we are now asking that respondent to "say it." It is now his or her statement, and it seems convoluted and so forth, we are back to square one. Often, these result from prefatory phrases--what occurs first in the statement may seem to not fit with what happens in the main body of the statement. You seem to have run across some of those in the example mentioned below. I also try now to keep items to one sentence although those can get long and involved. If I sense several but related things going on in an item, I now attempt to decide what is the point I want to include according to the overall design of the statement sample and cut the rest or rephrase it so that the parts are coherent and focused on the purpose of that item. After all, the point here is to sample what you or I think are the relevant issues, and the items need to correspond with the specific issue of that component of the design. Yet objections will pop up and we live with them. Nevertheless, I think judicious editing/rewriting, etc., can get at most of them. Having several people do a Q sort with a potential statement sample before the full-blown study is done also helps to identify problem phrasing. I do this all the time now.

At the second Q conference, Dan Thomas and I reported our civil religion data (discussed in the book). Stephenson was there and he really took into us for the terrible statement sample—too long statements, double meanings, and so forth. Brown later told Dan that he thought the sample was fine (Dan—"Thanks for not speaking up!"). I wanted to say, "But, Will[iam Stephenson], we got factor structure and it is real clear and interpretable so where is the problem with the statements?" Yet, as I go back to the items, I wish now they were more simple in content.

Appendix 6: Solicitation and Consent Form

(internal address)

1 April 1996

Dear ___ (first name was used),

I am writing to ask for your collaboration in my doctoral research at Concordia University, in Montreal. The thesis concerns understudied aspects of the faculty role. It seems as if demands on our interpersonal and other skills have become greater than ever as the pressure increases for accountability for educational outcomes. My plan is to study the nature of academic work using so-called Q methodology, which focuses on *your* understanding, rather than validating mine.

Q methodology is operationalized by a Q sort, i.e., by asking you to categorize 36 statements according to the degree to which you agree or disagree. I would like to follow this procedure with an interview. This would allow you to comment on the Q sort, and share your ideas for further study. The whole process might take an hour. I will meet with you at any location/time which is convenient for you—over cappuccino, if you like!

The proposal has been submitted to Camden's Internal Review Board to ensure that it poses no risk to you. Details of the aims and methods of the study will be provided at the outset of our meeting. I've made provision for anonymous participation, but those of us who want to have an ongoing discussion have access to a dedicated email list.

Please let me know whether you're able to join me in this investigation. You can reach me at (603) 650 6522 during the day, (603) 643 8442 in the evening. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Patricia Read-Hunter

Consent to be a Research Subject

[1] Purpose & Background of the Study

Patricia Read-Hunter, an instructor at Camden College and doctoral student at Concordia University (Montreal), is conducting a study designed to define and interpret academics' views on the emotional demands of their work. I have been asked to participate in the study because I am an academic working in the NH/VT area.

[2] Participation

If I agree to be in the study, I will read and sign this consent form, provide some demographic information (including a resume), sort a series of statements, and participate in a semistructured interview. This will take about one hour.

[3] Risks/Discomforts

If I participate in this study, I will discuss the nature of my work as an academic. My answers will be recorded, then coded to conceal identifying information and kept on a password-protected Bernoulli disk and in locked files. My individual response will *not* be shared with any institution or researcher without my permission.

[4] Benefits, Costs, Payment

There are no direct benefits to me from participating in the study, but I may obtain some insight into my own feelings. Academics *as a group* should benefit from the findings.

There is *no cost* to me for participation, but I will not be paid for doing so.

[5] Questions

If I have questions or comments about this study, I should first contact Patricia Read-Hunter at DMS, HB 7252, Hanover, NH 03755 [(603) 650 6522 (w), or (603) 643 8442 (h)]. If I still have questions, I may contact Elizabeth Bankert of the Camden Internal Review Board [(603) 646 3053].

[6] Consent

I have read this information and agree to participate in the study. I understand that participation is voluntary, and that I may withdraw at *any* time. I have been provided with a copy of this consent to keep.

Signature_____

Name_____ Date_____

Appendix 7: Nud*Ist Bibliography

Appendix 7: Nud*Ist Bibliography

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Source: This bibliography is adapted from the Nud*Ist workshop manual.

Appendix 8: Sample Transcript, as Entered in Nud*Ist

*p32 FTF June
*
*

%p 32 %F %ag4 %M %cy %C %f %TS %n

[Q sort]

We used to teach Paradise Lost, all the books of Paradise Lost in a ten week writing course.
The whole thing was really preposterous.
The whole job was made much more complicated because the students needed advice, they needed somebody to recognize them more holistically, they needed someone who had some sympathy for them and who believed they were not merely savages, that we were restraining from some kind of revolutionary action.
I was coming down the stairs of that department one day and I met a man who is teaching a freshman course and he said to me, "do you know so and so?" I said, "yes, I saw her once during the first week."
He said, "I think she is going to commit suicide."
And he kept right on walking on down the stairs.
I didn't know whether he thought this was my domain, therefore, that I would do something.
But, I just met him on the stairs.
I wasn't that he had an appointment with me.
They used to tell me, "teach like an animal trainer." They used to tell me, "do not allow the students to get near you, keep a savage distance from the students." I really tried to do it when I first came here and I thought my job was contingent upon developing this sort of attitude.
They tell me, "write on this paper, 'this is the worst paper I ever read.'" I couldn't do it.
I really tried to do it for a while.
I couldn't do it.
So, I would have to disguise things so they wouldn't know that in fact I was allowing students to revise papers or that I was reading every paper twice or I allowed them, encouraged them in fact, to write narrative essays at the beginning about themselves.
It was awful.

It was about four or five years ago, I became very friendly with a woman who teaches here whose name is Dana Meadows.

She is an internationally recognized environmental specialist and she has written a lot of books.
The first book they wrote was called, "Limits to Growth" and of course you cannot put the word limits near the word growth, or else you are unpatriotic and suspect.
She had been talking to me about love as an essential ingredient in doing the science.
She said, "you must love the work that you do and you must love the community with which you share it because science is a collective operation."
So, I said, "Dana, would you say this out loud in a public place?" She said, "not until recently." But she said now she is a syndicated columnist and this is not her primary job and she has become so well known that they will retain her here under any terms that she wants really.
So, a few years later, I ran a course, a big course, I have 95 people in this course, and somebody said, "what is the methodology in this course going to be? What is the pivotal point?" I said, "the pivotal point in the class is love."
I expected them to laugh, but I decided I would say it anyway.
They didn't laugh.
That was true.
Then this guy with whom I teach this feminism and physics course said the same thing in our class about two months ago.
For a male scientist to say such a thing, is no small act of courage.

I teach a course with an astrophysicist, it is called, "Physics, Feminisms, and Literature: Ways of Knowing." It is a very challenging course because I don't know much about physics and I know nothing about mathematics.
This is a lovely man and we begin the course by talking about how everything, we can perceive things in various ways through models, through myths, through what we sometimes call stencils, paradigms, I think the college calls these things epistemes, but they are sort of stencils you can see through.
You don't see everything, some things are admitted and some things are omitted and there is a model or a myth or an image that determines what you admit and what you leave out and how you can figure out what is admitted.
One of the major purposes of this course is to indicate the interface between some feminism's and particularly physics and one of the particulars is the awareness that duality is no longer has much domain of validity and that it is as basic as the stuff
in the other personal and the impersonal nature and civilization, men and women, created and creator, etc.
In the last paper we asked them to relate some personal experience and the criteria for choosing it should be that it aroused some passion, that you felt keenly about and you could tell the truth about it and we promised them that we would be the only ones reading the papers.
In some cases, we had to guarantee the students that it was only I who was going to read the paper because they didn't want a man reading the paper.

We had built up a very good relationship with these kids, we had a sense of collective identity, we had a sense of a common purpose, the discussions were exciting, the people felt free to say things without the fear of being ridiculed.
So, in this final paper, some of the students wrote personal narratives and then analyzed them from the point of view of the various epistemologies that we had been teaching in the course.
There were maybe 50 people in this course, we didn't want so many.
I remember one paper in which this young woman said, the first sentence said, "I am a lesbian." Then it said, "it has taken me 22 years to say this."
Another student who had said very little, or next to nothing in the class, talked about the time (this woman was a Mexican-American, she was an engineer) she had gone for an interview at a company and she went to the receptionist and said she had come for a job interview and could she tell her where to go.
She sent her off and she went to that place and it was the janitor's headquarters.
She had assumed that this woman who was a Mexican must be there to clean the place up.
There were other such papers.
The wonderful thing about them is that the students seem to me had hoped to hang their understanding on that they had addressed in an understanding of themselves as well an understanding of the world, that they had a sense of community.
We had them do collective things too, collaborations.
It was a wonderful moment when these students were able to tell the truth.
Both in the papers and it got to be also in the class.
A lot of papers are just acceptable lies in standard English.
Papers very often lie.
I thought that something wonderful had happened in that class, that we had helped people to acknowledge things about themselves that they needed to acknowledge and to look at them from different points of view and to be trustful, not only of us, but of the class because some of these papers everybody in the class read.
So, I felt very loving towards them.
I felt grateful to them.
I felt it was a blessing to have a career like this wherein you have an opportunity to do something that is of keen interest to you and also at the same time to make some contribution to the lives of other people.
So, it was not only a feeling of love and celebration for the students, it was also an awareness of gratitude that I should have such a job.

*'emotional budget of teaching'
That is nicely put, "an emotional budget." What I think fundamentally is that you have to have an ideal relationship with the students.
That is to say you have to approach them with a sense of empathy, a sense of compassion.

I often tell them at the beginning of the course that my pedagogical inclinations are best expressed by somebody other than myself, namely E. E. Cummings, perhaps as an antidote to something from the old testament. Cummings says, "I should rather teach one bird how to sing than teach 10,000 stars not to dance." I often warn them too, if they need somebody to beat them in order to do their work they had better quickly drop my course, I am not good at beating.
Then I tell them, some people imagine that this means that I give them all an A and I will be stiff in my demands for excellence and so I quote from the old testament, "for whom the lord loveth, the lord chasteneth" and I try very hard to remember this myself.
I don't feel I can teach them well unless I can feel for them, unless I recognize them as sympathetic, well intentioned.
Even if they aren't well intentioned, to regard them as complex people and not to simply put them in some category as they used to do when I taught in the public schools, this is a track one person and this is a track two person and so on.
I think it is also essential in a way to love what you teach.
I taught mathematics once, I didn't like it very much.
I think I was a good teacher though because I kept telling them I didn't understand it either.
They would sometimes instruct me.
I agree that this kind of empathy can be pathological and make so many demands on you that you feel yourself a failure or you feel you have disappointed them.
I used to do that.
I would be here at 7:00 in the morning and I would leave here 8:00 or 9:00 at night on a very regular basis.
I have friends who keep their office hours on Saturdays.
I don't do that anymore, in part simply because I can't.
I don't have the stamina I did when I was young and in part because, the truth is I have realized that to a certain extent I cannot fulfill everything they need and I have to acknowledge that up front.
It is much more difficult to do that when you are teaching in a situation like this where you have got to be publishing all the time and giving speeches all the time and thinking all the time and writing all the time in addition to teaching all the time.
I think it is very important to have some sort of emotional connection with them.
I like this notion that somehow your emotional quotient is more highly correlated with your achievement both in school and elsewhere, that is your intelligent quotient.
When I taught in public schools, I would never look at the intelligence quotients of the incoming students nor did I allow anybody to tell me anything about them because very often they fulfilled whatever expectation I had in them.

Sometimes I feel, one of the men with whom I teach here quite often and I teach a lot of interdisciplinary courses, one of these men thinks that it is probably a good idea to terrorize them.
He told me once that he actually got an electric cattle prod.
But as we continued teaching together over several terms, he began to see my method was more successful in the sense of they were more communicative in class and there had been papers and things like that.
This is, at least in my experience, an engendered issue.
When I first came here they kept warning me not to be maternal and not to be taking them under my wing.
They were afraid that the college's standards would be compromised by women and we didn't have any women here until about 1972, that is with the under graduate women, then when I came here in 1976 there might have been 10 women on the faculty.
It was very clear here.
I get angry with them sometimes and I think that being a professor is a position of incredible power and I think that is one of the major satisfactions that some people get from it.
That you are the truth teller.
It is dangerous for the students, I think, to a certain extent because you become a role model whether you want to or not.
That is to say you can become one, they may despise you, they can find some better model.
I think there is danger for the students in the sense that they may be unduly influenced by somebody else's opinions and may be very disappointed that these opinions don't seem to confirm their own realities.
There is danger in it I think for teachers too.
I remember seeing that picture, "The Dead Poet's Society." I thought to myself, that poor man.
There are probably lots of such men who have had a lot of influence on young men or women, then they do something that seems to be a conditioned response to what you have told them and then the consequences are horrible.
We had a suicide here in the fall, a student whom I had known and had realized was depressed and unhappy.
I had spoken to the deans and I had spoken to him.
The I went away and taught in London for a year and when I came back he was still here, I was really thrilled that he was still here.
I thought he would go home.
He hung himself about three weeks into the term.
Although I don't imagine I could necessarily have saved him, I will always regret that I didn't do more, that I didn't hold the deans to some kind of regular status report on him.
It seems to me there is that kind of danger in it too.

When I came here I was terribly frightened because it was clear that the men were in the majority and they were in positions in very high places.
The men who were essentially the patriarchs who ran the English department for example, were all there when I came here.
Probably many of them were near 60 and in the English department meetings they would say things like, "this used to be a good college before the blacks and the women came here." Then afterwards they would say to me, "I didn't mean anything personal by this." I had no mentor, they didn't assign me to anyone to help me and probably in a lot of ways I knew a good deal more about teaching than many of them did because they were not interested in teaching, the students were an interruption to their work.
I felt very frightened here and I felt I had to be in disguise because I wouldn't write things like, "this is the worst paper I ever read" on the papers.
I was always afraid that somebody in the English department would find out that I was saying, "this is fine" or that I was allowing them to revise the papers.
I remember going over to a meeting one afternoon of all the women who were on the faculty.
I think there were maybe 10 of us.
The woman who had organized it was an assistant to the Dean and she later became a Dean herself.
I immediately felt the difference, there was much more sense of collaboration, much more sense of a common purpose, a much greater sense of unity because all of us were more or less being discriminated against.
So, it began to move.
We used to have a group of women who met down in the Hanover Inn on Friday afternoons and we used to call ourselves the Ladies Aid and Terrorist Society.
A lot of men here are really afraid of us.
They really thought that we were terrorists.
But, I'd say in the last 5 to 10 years I think there are more women in tenured positions in Camden than in any other Ivy league college.
I think once women studies became a program and then became a department, it has taken about 20 years to do that.
None of us knew anything about women's studies.
When I came here everybody was more or less my age.
Most of the women professors were 40-50.
I think we felt a great sense of sisterhood and we worked together very well and we taught our classes collaboratively and we made the students do collaborative projects, all of which was a great deal more work, because the students were accomplished in these ways in that a lot of them would say, "I don't want to do this collaboratively, I would rather do it myself." So, we told them that part of the purpose of this is that you should understand the degree to which you have to be a separate autonomous independent person which has a lot to do with your gender.
It was a very hard job because we had to learn this stuff ourselves.

None of us had ever taken courses in all these studies because there were no courses in all these studies, so we taught each other in a way.
Once I began doing it, I began finding out so much about myself in addition to the affects of gender in the lives of those men and women that it was extremely exciting.
Now, I think the spunk has gone out of some forms of feminism, some women's studies programs, because I think some of the middle class women's agendas have been satisfactorily resolved.
Not a whole lot.
The people who wrote the articles for the most part, the people who spoke on the television, the people who organized women, were often times middle class women, principally American women, principally white women and so forth.
I feel myself in a way, I have rededicated to myself when I see this sense of sisterhood and relatedness slipping slightly.
I think furthermore there is a real reactionary thing happening because there seems to be a lot of hostility about feminism.
In classes I am teaching I bring it up as sort of incidental.
There is always some sort of gasp as if they imagine all feminists were anti-Christ, anti-life, pinko-perverts wearing paratrooper boots and carrying castration machines in their pockets.
It is preposterous, it is even funny.
When I came here there were very few women and has it changed, yes it has changed.
I have forgotten what the percentage is, I think women may now constitute 30% of the faculty.
Some of these women however have managed to do this by simply inverting the patriarchy.
That is to say they exercised the same kind of power in the same kind of ways, which is very disappointing but lots of women are here now who have had formal training in women's studies.
There are even women here with Ph.D.s in women's studies.
There are many women who are devoted to particular aspects of the movement.
We had a conference here on gender and poverty about a month ago.
It was really good and part of what was good about it was we not only had serious in academics we also had grass-roots people and activists who are out in the street.
I think Camden has become a much more friendly place for women.
I think many of the old values obtained, it is still very hierarchic, still quite dualistic, still people here who seem to hold on to the old paradigms with a death grip.
The situation has improved in the sense, number one, we have a women's resource center.
It took 20 years to get that.
We have a day care center now and that took the same 20 years.

Women's studies is now a recognized department, you can now major in women's studies.
There are many more women students here as well.
Although it is true, this remains in a lot of ways, a misogynistic institution particularly among the alumni as well as some of the most powerful, the patriarchs who control decisions here.
But there are so many women here now that there is really a critical mass.
I think we have been quite faithful to each other in the sense of supporting one another in cases where there was going to be some judgment made that would effect the condition of all the women here.

When I first came here, if you had two women in your class it was quite remarkable and very often they were foreign women, I don't know why this is true.
I don't even know that the majority of women who were admitted here in the mid 70s were in fact foreign women.
I think there were no women in most of my classes for the first few years I was here and then I had, I remember a class in which I had a Navajo woman and a Vietnamese woman and then I had another class in which I had a woman from Austria and it was like that.
Next year there will be 48% women here.
Women are now I think 52% of the population here, it is going down.
The enrollment of black students, Asian students, foreign students, has all gone down after the class that is entering in September.
Most people seem to maintain that this is an accident, but it is probably also true that this college is so expensive that unless they are willing to provide lots of moneys to people who are qualified and needy, they will be back into the old elitist assumptions that obtained here for a long time.
What happens when the women began to come in her in real numbers and I can remember this.
I remember the first time I ever had a class in which there were more women than men, I was just astonished.
It sort of proved to me what I knew in theory.
It was like an experiential confirmation of theory.
The men talked louder, they interrupted, they talked with more authority, they were much bolder in their writing, they would act very avuncular or paternalistic towards women.
Very often they would come in and ruffle the hair of this woman and treat her like she was a young person who needed their guidance and approval.
Then I think that over the last ten years or so, it seems to me the women who have been here have been very strong generally speaking, they have been more aggressive, they have been more vocal in the classroom, they don't begin every contribution by saying, "this is only my opinion," or "I hope this is not laughably irrelevant ,"or that kind of demeaning statement they would often make about themselves.

I find also if I say to them, "do you see the pattern in this class? The people that are raising their hand and talking all the time are the men." I will say, "this is not a conscious effort on the part of the men, but I wanted to bring it to your attention." Very often times the women students will then begin to talk and have real opinions instead of just theories they think are probably irrelevant.
But, it is also true that even now, I find that many women think they are here to get a husband and one good way to get a husband is to be quiet and demure and not be too smart and to realize the ambitions that you would presume that their mothers might have had in their generation, or their grandmothers.
Another nice thing that happens though is that now, when you talk about gender, kids are much freer to talk about it, and gender for that matter as well.
I was teaching a course called "Coming of Age" in the fall and we were talking about masturbation and somebody said yes that they were told when they were a child that if they masturbated either their penis would fall off or they would go blind.
A boy sitting in the back of the room raised his hand, I waved to Jordan, he says, "I want you to know that I am living proof, living testimony, to the fact that it is not true." I thought this was terrifically funny.
So did everybody else.
There is a willingness now to talk about gender and gender in a small classroom where you have a sense of community.
I can't do this in courses usually with 50 or 100 people.
It is very hard to create some sense of safety or trust.
That is another thing that is interesting, the teaching style when I first came here was to get out and give dramatic lectures.
I was pretty good at that.
I had been an actress previously, so to a certain extent I could do that.
That was the official style.
If they were going to evaluate you for tenure, that was one of the things they took into consideration.
Of course, women, generally speaking here and research shows that this is not peculiar to here, women generally speaking do better in small intimate groups.
So, I found that I wanted to teach these small classes.
I didn't want to teach American Lit to 150 people.
I would rather teach a writing course to 10 or 20.
Camden is very good in that regard, you never have more than 20 in a writing class.

Until it was called to the attention of the administration by the women.
There are those people that still deny it.
I think more or less, people are aware of the issue and if you were sitting on a tenure case and if you had solicited opinions from a cross section of the students who had taken courses with this person, I think now they would be

willing to concede that this person is much better in this situation and an element to the matter of style is personality.

I would say that what has happened to me is that I am no longer so afraid of them.
When I first came here I was afraid I shouldn't have a job and this was in the 70s and the Ph.D.s were a dime a dozen because so many people had gotten a Ph.D. in order to avoid the draft.
I was old.
I was eager to do what was expected and I quickly knew what was expected and it was clear it was an institutional style, it is clear now that there is an institutional style.
People belittle me when I say that I really care for the students.
People think that is silly, you don't have time to do that, you need to be writing more books.
I would say that the emphasis here now continues to be how much publishing you do and where, that the teaching qualifications, they are interested in them, but not in a serious way.
They don't count as much when you come up for tenure as your research or your books.

We had a woman who had breast cancer a couple of years ago, she came up for tenure.
It was said that her book was at Cornell University Press and they had not agreed to publish it but the reviews they had of it were good.
The English department decided not to give this woman tenure because even though she had breast cancer and had a mastectomy in the interim, because after all if they got involved with considering these kinds of things, sentimental issues, it would set a very bad precedent.
The department doesn't make the final decision on who gets tenure.
It was taken to the COP and the COP extended her a two year period in which to finish her book.
The way teaching is evaluated here is some senior person in the department comes in and watches one class a term.
Some people think this should never be taken into consideration, the students don't know anything, that one person coming in for one hour makes a more accurate portrayal than 30 students for 30 hours can.
This has fallen out of favor, but there are still lots of advocates of this.
The students are not a reliable source of information.
I don't think any women here would tell you that, everything is ducky and everyone is enthusiastic that you are going to be confirmed.
That is clearly not true here.
There are so many politics involved in this, it is so much a matter of who is clubbable.
We had a woman here who has a Ph.D in Chemistry and a Ph.D. in English and she has become a very successful and renowned academic.

She was rather fat and this is never declared officially as having anything to do with [tenure].
But if you knew people who sat on the committee, you would see that in fact this had been part of the consideration.
One woman was going to create a collective action as she had been denied tenure and somebody on the tenure committee had said something about her tits.
They gave her the tenure because of course she would have won in a court. She didn't stay here, she didn't want to stay here, what she wanted was it noted that she had been granted tenured in order that she should get a job somewhere else.