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Invisible Work: A Qualitative Study of the Emotional Labor of Professors

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INVISIBLE WORK: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF
THE EMOTIONAL LABOR OF PROFESSORS

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

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Indiana University of Pennsylvania
August 2019
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Professors often perform emotional labor as part of their jobs. Emotional labor is the work done to manage your own and other people’s emotions. It is important work but is often invisible and uncompensated. Emotional labor is also often gendered, with women performing more than men. Through eight semi-structured interviews, this study explores the emotional labor performed by professors in a one college at Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP). I found that professors did perform emotional labor especially when it came to teaching, advising, grading, and working with colleagues. Professors often enjoyed student-focused emotional labor. They also often felt that their emotional labor was invisible. The findings of this study add complexity to current definitions of emotional labor and could possibly be useful for creating ways for professors’ emotional labor to be recognized by their departments and IUP as a whole.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

I first learned about the concept of emotional labor in a sociology course I took my sophomore year of college. The thing that struck me most about the concept was that it was something I had done often and felt frustrated by, but I never knew it had a name. I remember thinking that emotional labor was why it was exhausting to greet customers with a smile when I worked at a grocery store and why, at the time, it was difficult to deal with complaints from residents who lived on my floor when I was their resident assistant. From that time on, I became very interested in emotional labor and its consequences.

In this study, I look at the emotional labor of professors. Specifically, I want to learn what kinds of emotional labor faculty do and try to understand their lived experiences. My research questions are: How does emotional labor affect the lives of professors? Are there differences between the emotional labor of men and women faculty?

I investigated these questions by interviewing eight faculty member who worked in one college at Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP). The results of this study show that professors perform a lot of emotional labor in their work, especially when teaching, advising, grading, and working with colleagues. The professors I spoke to sometimes enjoyed this emotional labor because they saw it as having benefit for students; however, many wish that the labor was more visible to their departments and the university as a whole. In this chapter, I review some relevant background for my research, discuss the purpose and objectives of my study, and review my problem statement. I then go over the significance of the study as well as my own positionality regarding the research. Finally, I lay out the structure of the remaining chapters of my thesis.
Background

Emotional labor is a concept that sociologist Arlie Hochschild identified and conceptualized in the 1970’s. It refers to “the act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling” (Hochschild, 1979, p. 561). Emotional labor can be draining and tiring because it requires one to mask their true feelings and act in a way that they deem is most appropriate for the situation (Hochschild, 1979). Since Hochschild articulated this concept, emotional labor has been studied, separated, and categorized into various types of emotional labor (Adeniji, Akanni, & Ekundayo, 2015; Pugliesi, 1999). Emotional labor is very valuable to the employers, but it can cause harm to employees (Pugliesi, 1999). I go into further detail about the different types of emotional labor in my literature review section.

Emotional labor is expected in the workplace but is often uncompensated. Women bear the burden of emotional labor because contemporary ideas about gender say that women are more skilled than men at dealing with emotions (Fine, 2011). Currently, the general public and media are focused on the issue of emotional labor. News sources like the New York Times and the Huffington Post have published articles on emotional labor and its effects since the mid-2010s; often these articles focus on the effects on women (Grant & Sandberg, 2018; Hutchison, 2017). This issue is important for academia as well as the general public to be knowledgeable about because of how it affects people, especially women. My study will add to the growing and popular literature on women’s treatment in the workplace.

Many jobs require the people that perform them do emotional labor, including professors. Professors perform emotional labor in their jobs when teaching, advising students, and performing service (Bellas, 1999; Guarino & Borden, 2017; Mahoney et. al., 2011). There is also evidence that there are emotional labor differences between men and women professors (Bellas,
These studies show that women often perform more tasks that require emotional labor than men. Additionally, emotional labor is difficult to properly document and is undervalued, which leads to these tasks disadvantaging women when it comes to hiring or personnel decisions being made by the universities that employ them (Guarino & Borden, 2017).

**Purpose and Objectives of the Study**

Emotional labor is the effort someone puts in to manage his or her emotions while in the workplace. Studies show that women professors are more likely to perform job responsibilities that require emotional labor than men, which can affect their careers (Bellas, 1999; Guarino & Borden, 2017). The purpose of my study is to look at how faculty at IUP view their own emotional labor and answer the questions: How does emotional labor affect the lives of professors? Are there differences between the emotional labor of men and women professors? Specifically, I want to learn what kinds of emotional labor professors do and try to understand their lived experiences with this labor. Through interviews with eight professors, I investigated the work that professors do, how emotional labor plays into different aspects of the job, and what professors thought about the emotional labor that they performed.

**Problem Statement**

Emotional labor is an important but often overlooked aspect of many professions (Hochschild, 1983). Because it is overlooked, many people do not realize the harm it can cause people as well as the benefits it adds to any workplace environment. Emotional labor can be emotionally exhausting for those who perform it and can have negative impacts on employees (Pugliesi, 1999). Even though this labor is a difficult part of any job, it is often overlooked when employers are making personnel decisions, including decisions about promotion and pay (Guarino & Borden, 2017). The under-compensation of emotional labor is an issue at IUP where,
according to the campus climate study done by Hildebrandt and Swauger (2016), service work and emotional labor are not properly recognized. In general, and at IUP specifically, emotional labor is performed disproportionately by women (Hildebrandt & Swauger, 2016; Guarino & Borden, 2017). In this study, I explore professors’ lived experiences with emotional labor to better understand how much emotional labor professors perform, the types of emotional labor that are most common, and how their emotional labor affects them, and if there are any gendered differences in the emotional labor that professors perform.

**Significance of the Study**

This study is significant for several reasons. The first is that the results from my study have the potential to be used when developing new policies about hiring decisions for IUP and other universities. Understanding the benefits that the emotional labor of professors affords institutions will hopefully lead to hiring and promotion policies that reward professors who perform emotional labor. Additionally, this study is significant because it adds to the growing literature on emotional labor. This study builds on existing research but also takes a qualitative look at the work professors do; there is little existing qualitative work on the emotional labor of this population. It is a particular contribution because so many people who study emotional labor are themselves faculty members in academia who perform emotional labor in their own jobs. This study is significant because it complicates popular notions about emotional labor by addresses the ideas that emotional labor is not always viewed negatively by the person who performs it and that emotional labor is contextualized by whom it is being performed for. I discuss this more in Chapter Five.
Researcher Positionality

According to Patton (2001), “researchers should strive to neither overestimate nor underestimate their effects but to take seriously their responsibility to describe and study what those effects are” (p. 568). As this project’s researcher, it is important that I discuss my background and discuss and potential biases that could have affected the way I handled this project.

I am a twenty-two-year-old woman who was raised in a small conservative town but within a more liberally-minded family. As mentioned before, I became interested in the concept of emotional labor because I heavily identified with that kind of work; it was something I felt I had been doing all my life in both professional and personal contexts. In the early stages of thinking about my thesis, I wanted to look at the emotional labor that resident assistants performed at IUP. I decided against this, however, because I did not want to potentially risk the jobs of people who relied on the compensation package of being a resident assistant to be in college. Additionally, I was friendly with most other resident assistants on campus and did not want my relationship with participants to get in the way of the research.

I decided on interviewing professors for a few reasons. The first was that I recognized that many of the professors I had classes with performed a lot of emotional labor along with the various other aspects of their job. My goal, ultimately, is to become a professor, so I thought that studying a concept I was fascinated by in a population that was doing the kind of work I wanted to be doing would be valuable. As I researched more into the emotional labor professors do, I realized that there is a paucity of qualitative research done on the subject. Many studies of the emotional labor of professors are quantitative and discuss the amount of time and ways that professors perform emotional labor, but often do not go into detail on these matters. The study
will allow for thick, rich description of the emotional labor that professors do as part of their professional lives.

**Organization of Thesis**

The purpose of this study is to explore the ways professors perform emotional labor in their professional lives. In Chapter Two, I discuss relevant literature to my research interests. Specifically, I look at how emotional labor is conceptualized both academically and by laypeople as well as theories of gender socialization. I also look at gender differences in the emotional labor of work in general as well as the literature that exists on the emotional labor of professors.

Chapter Three reviews my methods for conducting research. I first describe the study and then discuss my sampling procedures. I also provide an overview of the demographics of my sample and review my analysis strategy. Finally, I end with discussing possible ethical consideration for my study.

In Chapter Four, I review the findings of my research. The findings are separated into three broad themes. The first, the work that professors do, discusses various aspects of the role of a professor. The second, the emotional labor that professors do, explores how emotional labor is tied to various aspects of the job. Finally, I discuss how professors felt about the emotional labor that they perform.

In Chapter Five, I analyze and synthesize my overall findings. I discuss the answers to my research questions as well as what my study contributes to the existing literature. I also discuss the implications of my research as well as possible areas for future research.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, I review relevant studies that relate to my research questions: How does emotional labor affect the lives of professors? Are there differences between the emotional labor of men and women professors? I begin by exploring the concept of emotional labor and contemporary conceptualizations of emotional labor, followed by the leading theories of gender socialization. Then, I discuss gendered differences in the emotional labor of other jobs. Finally, I review literature on emotion work in the job of a professor.

Academic Conceptualizations of Emotional Labor

Emotional labor is a concept developed by Arlie Hochschild in the 1970’s. In her initial paper on the subject, Hochschild explains that her theory is derived in part from works by Erving Goffman and Sigmund Freud. Goffman and Freud understood that people often fake emotion, but Hochschild showed that performing emotion took a lot of energy and practice, which is why it is a type of labor (Hochschild, 1979). Hochschild argues that emotional labor is apparent in many aspects of life, but her research focuses especially on emotional labor in the workplace and family.

Since Hochschild conceptualized emotional labor, researchers have parsed out different types of emotional labor. For example, Hochschild distinguished between surface and deep level emotional labor. Surface level emotional labor is superficial; it involves a person trying to appear happy/sad/angry, while not actually feeling the emotion (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000). Deep level emotional labor involves actually attempting to feel an emotion you are not currently feeling (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000). Both types of emotional labor come with different costs. For surface level emotional labor, the cost is that the person performing the labor can feel
inauthentic while for deep level emotional labor the cost is that it can obscure the person performing the labor’s true feelings and self from themselves (Hochschild, 1983).

Another way authors categorize emotional labor is into self-focused versus others-focused emotional labor. Self-focused emotional labor involves the labor that one does to manage their own emotions (Pugliesi, 1999). An example of this might be a worker getting angry at a customer but instead of yelling at them, the worker smiles and helps the customer to the best of their ability. Others-focused emotional labor is emotional labor that one does in order to manage someone else’s emotions (Pugliesi, 1999). A good example of others-focused emotional labor is a nurse comforting the family of a person who just passed away.

Many different jobs have been studied for their use of emotional labor. Two classic examples are flight attendants and nurses. Flight attendants do a lot of emotional labor to keep customers happy during the flight (Hochschild, 1982). Even though they are well trained to handle emergency situations, a large part of their job demands that they keep smiling and help people cheerily. Nurses are similarly expected to be kind and nurturing to people, even though nurses face many hardships in their jobs including dealing with unruly patients, helping families through the loss of their loved ones, and experiencing loss themselves when a patient dies in their care (Adeniji, Akanni, & Ekundayo, 2015). While most jobs involve aspects of emotional labor, these two have gotten a lot of attention from academics.

Emotional labor has also been studied in the context of the family. This research has often focused on the emotional labor imbalance of families, particularly between men and women (DeVault, 1999; Hochschild 1983). Emotional labor done in families is often called emotion work (Hochschild, 1983). Research shows that women do much more emotion work in families, and in general, than men (Hochschild, 1983; Strazdins & Broom, 2004). A prevailing
idea is that traditional gender roles support the idea of women being natural caretakers, which in turn makes them more inclined to do emotional labor than men, who are not expected to be as aware of both their own emotions or the emotions of others (Hochschild, 1983).

**Contemporary Conceptualizations of Emotional Labor**

I also considered contemporary, non-academic conceptualizations of emotional labor. As mentioned in Chapter One, recently there has been a rise in the coverage of emotional labor in non-academic sources. Because there has been a contemporary focus on emotional labor in the media, it is important to understand what conceptualizations of emotional labor my participants may hold. In order to understand these more contemporary views, I looked at articles published on various websites as well as went through comment sections to see what laypeople thought of emotional labor. In addition to influencing participants, it is also to look at contemporary non-academic sources concerning emotional labor because the discussion of emotional labor is not just happening in academic settings; it is also happening in our popular media and culture.

**Mental Load**

Many of the non-academic articles on this topic combine the idea of the mental load with emotional labor. Although many articles discussed the mental load by either explicitly mentioning the term or alluding to it, there were not many great definitions for the term. The one I found the most encompassing was from Ruppanner (2017) which defined the mental load as “all the mental work, the organizing, list-making and planning, that you do to manage your life, and that of those dependent on you.” Many articles discussed the mental load in gendered terms, especially in the context of running a household or family (Danovich, 2018; Hackman 2015; Hartley, 2017; Moore, 2015). For example, women are often the ones making sure the grocery list is up to date, that everyone attends their dentist appointments, and that the bills get paid on
time. This uneven distribution of effort means that women spend more time and energy on household labor, while men have more time and mental energy to pursue other things, like work or hobbies.

One example of this is Hartley’s (2017) article “Women Aren’t Nags - We’re Just Fed Up”. In this article, Hartley remembered a time when she and her husband got into a disagreement over some household chores. Her husband told her that she did not need to do everything herself, all she needed to do was ask. She replied “That’s the point … I don’t want to have to ask.” This idea of the woman being in charge of household tasks while men simply do what they are asked was repeated in several articles (Emma, 2017; Wilding, 2018). Although some articles framed the mental load as a workplace issue (Hustle, 2013, Shayne, 2017; Swenson, 2017; Wingfield, 2018), most articles conflating emotional labor with the mental load focused on emotional labor within the home.

**Emotional Labor at Home**

While Hochschild conceptualized emotional labor as a part of the workplace, many contemporary colloquial conceptualizations focus on emotional labor at home and in the context of familial relationships. Many articles did not mention workplace emotional labor at all and were devoted entirely to home-based or relationship-based emotional labor (Bartz, 2017; Danovich, 2018; Hartley, 2017; Hutchison, 2017; Zimmerman, 2015). Hartley’s (2017) article is a great example of the contemporary focus on familial emotional labor. Hartley discussed how she attempts to keep her emotions in check as well as keep her husband emotionally happy in addition to the mental load labor discussed previously. In an article titled “I'm a Single Woman and I'm Fed Up with Emotional Labor Too”, Bartz (2017) discussed how emotional labor can also be found in relationships that are not romantic. She discusses how many men friends treat
her like a therapist and how she’s worried that the care of her elderly parents will one day fall exclusively on her. The conceptualization of emotional labor has expanded beyond the workplace and into most aspects of everyday life.

**Retaining Hochschild’s Definition**

Some people do not agree with this new, expanded definition. Some articles stuck to Hochschild’s original definition of emotional labor in the workplace (Hustle, 2013, Shayne, 2017; Swenson, 2017; Wingfield, 2018). For example, Hustle (2013) used Hochschild’s definition when discussing the emotional labor she performed as a waitress, nanny, sex worker, and nurse.

Swenson (2017) directly pushed back against new definitions of emotional labor in an article titled “Please Stop Calling Everything That Frustrates You Emotional Labor”. This was in response to the popularity of newer, looser definitions of emotional labor. Swenson argued that expanding the definition of emotional labor dilutes its meaning and that situations involving things like arranging office happy hour or speaking up for a colleague in a meeting should be called by their proper names, which she defines as clerical labor and activism respectively. These articles show that some people who are not in academia still find the original definition of emotional labor to be useful.

**Gender Socialization**

In our society, common knowledge dictates that sex and gender are the same and that there are biological and fundamental differences between men and women, although sociologically we do not accept this theory (Fine, 2011; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004). Many studies show that the differences between men and women are just as much, if not more so, influenced by socialization (Fine, 2011; Lorber & Farrell, 1991; Ritzer & Goodman; 2004; West &
Socialization is “the ways in which the norms and values of a system are transferred to actors within the system” (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004, p. 100). In other words, socialization is the process by which people learn how to be part of society. The socialization of gender teaches that certain things are ‘masculine’ while others are ‘feminine’ and that men should do masculine things and women should do feminine things (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Gender socialization begins very early in life (Fine, 2011; Lorber & Farrell, 1991). Children are assigned their gender at birth and immediately have gender roles thrust upon them (Fine, 2011; Lorber & Farrell, 1991). Children are taught what colors and toys to like, activities to pursue, and how to behave based on their assigned gender (Fine, 2011; Lorber & Farrell, 1991; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Little girls are taught to “act like ladies” and play with dolls, which teaches girls to be more aware of their emotions. Little boys are often told that “boys don’t cry” and taught to play games that do not help develop emotional intelligence but rather focus on creating and building (Fine, 2011). By the time children become toddlers, they are very aware of gender roles and are able to tell what things are for boys and what things are for girls; in fact, they think certain activities, clothing items, colors, and other things are specifically for one gender or the other (Fine, 2011).

As people age, they often take on a more nuanced view of gender, but many people have a hard time truly breaking out of the gendered expectations that they are taught (Fine, 2011). Our social institutions constantly reinforce differences between men and women and reward those who follow the structure while punishing those that do not (Lorber & Farrell, 1991; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004). Women are expected to be gentle and others-focused while men are expected to be strong and emotionally clueless. These gendered expectations are why women often are the ones expected to perform emotional labor.
Gender stratification is an important aspect of gender socialization. Gender stratification means that one gender is thought of as more valuable than the other gender, and in a patriarchal society like ours, men are seen as better than women (Lorber & Farrell, 1991; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004). Since the Industrial Revolution, men and masculinity have been associated with life in the public sphere, including paid employment outside the home, while women and femininity has been associated with the private sphere of family, household, and children (Lorber & Farrell, 1991; Ritzer & Goodman, 2004). Although gender roles are not as rigid as they once were, women and their labor are still not valued as much as men’s (Lorber & Farrell, 1991). These differences are not due to any biological differences between the genders, rather society is organized in such a way that men and their work are seen as more valuable (Ritzer & Goodman, 2004). Because emotional labor is associated with women and women’s work is devalued, it is easy to understand why studies find emotional labor to be devalued (Bellas, 1999; Guy & Newman, 2004).

Additionally, gender stratification helps explain why men are not expected to do emotional labor. Gender stratification causes hegemonic masculinity and androcentrism to be prevalent in society. Hegemonic masculinity is “the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allow[s] men’s domination over women to continue” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). Hegemonic masculinity explains why women can do masculine things without being sanctioned while men who do feminine things are often laughed at and ridiculed (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

The idea of hegemonic masculinity is often socialized into us at a young age and it makes it difficult for boys to feel that they can do feminine things (Fine, 2011). The idea of hegemonic masculinity can be connected to emotional labor because anything that has to do with emotions
or caring for people is often seen as women’s work. Since emotional labor is seen as feminine, it can be difficult for men to feel comfortable performing that labor.

**Gendered Differences in Emotional Labor**

The non-academic articles I read agreed that women are often socialized into performing emotional labor from an early age (Hackman, 2015; Hartley, 2017; Hutchison, 2017; Moore, 2015). In an article by Moore (2015), these ideas are discussed in detail. Moore points to how our cultural norms are gendered and socialized into us at a young age; women are not biologically better at emotions, but they are taught to pay attention to them from a very young age. She goes on to say that it is no wonder women do more emotional labor than men; women and men are simply following the patterns that have been shown to them their entire lives. As a result of this socialization, many authors reported hearing that women are naturally better at emotional labor (Hackman, 2015; Moore, 2015; Wilding, 2018). Some articles even claimed that people thought women enjoyed emotional labor; therefore, it was not seen as something that should be compensated or necessary of acknowledgement (Grant & Sandberg, 2015; Hackman, 2015; Moore, 2015).

One of the aspects of contemporary discussions, particularly those that occurred online, is that women from diverse backgrounds shared their own perspectives and experiences with emotional labor. In many of the comments sections, women were talking about how integral emotional labor was to keeping their families running smoothly and how exhausting it was to perform every day (Feckless Fecal Fear Mongering, 2015; Grant & Sandberg, 2018, Hackman, 2015; Lyn Never, 2015; Moore, 2015). Many women told their own stories about emotional labor and how it has caused them stress.
The Metafilter Thread (2015) is a string of around 1,000 comments concerning Zimmerman’s (2015) article on emotional labor. Many of the comments involved people explaining their definitions of emotional labor and describing how they perform it in everyday life. One woman talked about how she manages both her own and her husband’s diets. She lost weight several years ago without any help or much moral support from her husband, but now that her husband wants to lose weight, she has become heavily involved in his weight loss at a detriment to herself (Skybluepink, 2015). She discussed how planning their meals, figuring out exercise routines, and just generally thinking about her husband’s health is exhausting her. Another woman with the username MissySedai (2015a) discusses how vacations were anything but relaxing for her. Her husband often refused to help with childcare or plan anything because it was his vacation, which left her to shoulder the mental load and make sure everything was going according to plan. These types of stories about giving emotional labor for little or nothing in return were common in the comment threads.

A work-related example comes from A Fiendish Thingy (2015). She spoke about how, at a performance review, her boss said she was amazing at her job and was very helpful to others. However, she was told that another higher-up told her boss that A Fiendish Thingy needed to smile more. This example shows that emotional labor is expected from women in the workplace, even when they are excelling at their jobs otherwise.

Another common theme was the challenge of getting men to understand the burden of emotional labor. Throughout the articles, men were described as being oblivious to emotional labor in everyday life; they acted confused and sometimes angry or sad when the concept was explained to them. They also underestimated the importance of emotional labor in everyday life.
Men often seem disconnected from emotional labor, and do not realize it is being done in everyday life. Several authors and commenters talked about the invisibility of their emotion work to partners, friends, and coworkers who are men (Bartz, 2017; Hackman, 2015; Hartley, 2017; Hutchison, 2017). In Hutchison’s (2017) article “Why Women Are Tired: The Price of Unpaid Emotional Labor” Hutchison, a therapist, discussed how men are often unaware of the emotional labor done by their partners. She considers how men are often socialized to not pay attention to emotions; after all, being emotional is stereotypically feminine and therefore cannot be done by men. Since men are not required to do emotional labor and have never been socialized into performing it, they can easily ignore it.

Explaining emotional labor to men can be difficult according to these articles and comments. Partly this is because it is so invisible to them; they have never needed to pay attention to it before, so making them see it at any particular moment can be difficult (Bilabial, 2015; Hackman, 2015; Hartley, 2017;). In Hartley’s (2017) article, she discussed a time when she tried to explain emotional labor to her husband. No matter how she phrased it, he was not able to fully grasp the concept. He offered to help out more around the house; all she needed to do was tell him to help out and he would. This interaction shows that he did not grasp the concept of the mental load. Even when men do understand, they may be upset about the concept of emotional labor in general (Desjardins, 2015; Grant & Sandberg, 2018). Hackman (2015) recounted a story from a time she talked with a man friend about emotional labor. After Hackman explained the concept, he said “Why do you feminists always have to make normal things into issues to be debated?” He got the concept but thought that advocating for its importance and compensation was silly. He thought that women were just better at emotional
labor naturally, even though the author doubted he would say women were better at cooking, cleaning, or raising children. He thought the gendered imbalance should be left alone.

Sometimes when men are aware of what emotional labor is, they assume that it is unimportant and unnecessary in everyday life. Many comments from men told women to just stop doing this labor. In a comment on the article by Hackman (2015), a man with the username Pipotchi stated “That was my first thought, lots of this emotional work only gets done by women because Men don't care if it gets done at all? Example is Christmas cards, I'd quite happily not even send the things, if my wife refused to do them then no one would do them. Which is fine with me, but I don't think that counts as me making her do the ‘emotional work’?” Comments on other articles and the Metafilter thread carried the same sentiments. Men simply did not see the importance of emotional labor, even though many women would probably agree with user Feckless Fecal Fear Mongering (2015) on the Metafilter thread that emotional labor is akin to “social glue” that keeps society functioning.

According to these articles, often men become aware of emotional labor and its importance when women stop performing it for them. In Hutchison’s (2017) article, she discussed a letter a client received from her ex-husband. The ex-husband reached out to this client, even when she explicitly asked him not to, because he seemed to be missing the emotional support he had gotten out of the marriage. Comment sections often told similar tales. A woman with the username MissySedai discussed an argument she and her husband had about him never seeing his family. Even though these people were his kin, he expected MissySedai to be the one making sure that relationships stayed intact. In fact, his grandmother had given her an address book in order to do so. After he told her that he and others in his family were upset that they never got together, she finally told him that contact with his family was his responsibility and she
was not his personal secretary. He had not realized “that it was HIS responsibility to maintain relationships with HIS siblings!” (MissySedai, 2015a). Men often only understand how valuable emotional labor is when they are suddenly put into a situation where a woman refuses to do it for them.

**Why these imbalances matter.** Contemporary conceptualizations of emotional labor point out the importance of emotional labor in everyday life. They also show that women often end up doing more emotional labor than the men in their lives, creating a gender imbalance. Common problems identified in these articles include that men and women benefit differently from performing emotional labor, emotional labor takes time away from other tasks, and emotional labor is often uncompensated. This imbalance is difficult to combat; men and women who consider themselves feminists often perpetuate the inequality. I will also discuss why this imbalance matters and then apply this to the case of professors.

When men perform emotional labor, they often benefit more than women. Both articles and comments shared this sentiment (Drewis, 2018; Grant & Sandberg, 2018; Hartley, 2017). Hartley (2017) discussed how her husband expects praise for doing the same things that Hartley does unnoticed. An example she points out in their daily lives is doing her daughters hair: “When I brush my daughter’s hair and elaborately braid it round the side of her scalp, I am doing the thing that is expected of me. When my husband brushes out tangles before bedtime, he needs his efforts noticed and congratulated — saying aloud in front of both me and her that it took him a whole 15 minutes.”

This can also be seen in workplace emotional labor. Men who perform emotional labor like helping to plan parties or being sure to extend greetings to secretaries are viewed as going above and beyond. The same tasks done by women are simply expected and women can be
penalized if they do not perform this additional emotional labor. In Grant and Sandberg’s (2015) article “Madam C.E.O., Get Me a Coffee”, they examined what happens when men and women both agree to perform emotional labor: “When a man offers to help, we shower him with praise and rewards. But when a woman helps, we feel less indebted.” However, when they do not offer emotional labor, the results are very different: “When a woman declines to help a colleague, people like her less and her career suffers. But when a man says no, he faces no backlash. A man who doesn’t help is ‘busy’; a woman is ‘selfish’.”

Emotional labor also takes time and energy away from other tasks (Emma, 2015; Hartley, 2017; Hustle, 2013). Often articles talked about this in relation to working outside the home. A burden of emotional labor at home or in relationships meant that women had less mental capacity to focus on their work (Emma, 2017). Emotional labor done at the workplace had a different consequence than the emotional labor done at home. Emotional labor at work often made women less likely to be promoted: it stunted their professional growth (Drewis, 2018; Grant & Sandberg, 2015; Shayne, 2017). An example of this was a woman who did plenty of emotional labor at her job such as meeting with mentees, planning office parties, and helping struggling coworkers. This employee’s promotion was delayed for a year (Grant & Sandberg, 2015). The coworker who got the promotion did work that was more visible and more traditionally valuable. The emotional labor that women put into work, home life, and relationships take away from their ability to do other things that may benefit her. The problem is not that the emotional labor is getting done, it is that there are no real professional benefits for women when they perform the labor. When they do perform the labor, that labor is invisible and so they are not seen as ready for a promotion. If they do not perform that labor, they are seen in a negative light and do not get the promotion anyways.
Emotional labor is also uncompensated. Several articles discussed how jobs that expected emotional labor never expressly stated that they needed emotional labor (Hustle, 2013; Shayne, 2017). A particularly revealing anecdote comes from Robin Hustle (2013). In her article, she discussed how she used emotional labor while working as a waitress, a sex worker, a nanny, and a nurse. Most people would consider those jobs to be very different from one another, but Hustle discusses the common thread of how much emotional labor each of those jobs entailed. She was paid to do something, and the emotional labor was necessary for her to perform well. Another article half-seriously joked about charging people for the emotional labor that women put into their relationships: “Acknowledge your thirsty posturing, $50. Pretend to find you fascinating, $100. Soothe your ego so you don’t get angry, $150” (Zimmerman, 2013). Zimmerman’s point was not to actually charge people, but rather to point out that emotional labor has real, monetary value that we simply ignore. When employers expect it from workers for free, businesses make more money (Hochschild, 1983).

Even though we know that gendered differences in emotional labor exist, we have difficulty stopping them. Several articles and comments lamented the fact that while the authors and their partners were good feminists, they could not seem to equalize the emotional labor performed in their relationships (Easter Queen, 2015; Hartley, 2017). For some reason balancing out emotional labor is very difficult to do. Perhaps this difficulty stems from the gender socialization that we are subjected to throughout our lives that tells us women are the ones who do emotional labor. A few people point to this being the reason: they saw their parents acting out the same emotional labor imbalances that they and their partner are now experiencing (Billiebee, 2015; Hartley, 2017).
Gendered Differences in Jobs

Since the mid-1800’s, women and men have been expected to perform different jobs with men in the public sphere and women in the private sphere (Smythe, 2008). Even when women were allowed in public spaces, often the popularity of sex segregation meant that men and women could not inhabit the same physical space (Spain, 1993). Schools, public places, and even homes were split into gendered zones where women and men were kept separate from one another, and because men had the most access to power and knowledge, women were also kept physically separate from power and knowledge (Spain, 1993). This gender segregation did not apply to everyone, only those with the means to be able to support a wife not working. Poor families often had both the husband and wife working outside the home. Even after much of the sex segregation in public areas was dismantled, women were still at a distinct disadvantage.

Today, men and women are often employed in different jobs. Occupational gender segregation can be defined as “disproportional representation of one gender … in the workforce in general and within individual careers in specific” (Stockdale & Nadler, 2013, p. 208). Occupational segregation is one reason why women perform more emotional labor than men; women are often disproportionately in jobs that require a lot of emotional labor (Guy & Newman, 2004). According to the Women’s Bureau (2015), the top three most common occupations for women in 2015 were elementary and middle school teachers, registered nurses, and secretaries and administrative assistants. For men, the three most common occupations were driver/sales workers and truck drivers, managers, and first-line supervisors of retail sales workers. The jobs for women are more typically associated with emotional labor than the jobs for men.
It is important to note that jobs that are perceived as more feminine are also often perceived to have a larger emotional labor component than jobs that are more masculine. Positions of power are often both considered to be masculine as well as low in emotional labor, even when that is not necessarily the case. A great example of this is the role of a physician. While being a medical doctor requires a fair amount of emotional labor, few people associate emotional labor with this job. People also often associated being a physician with masculinity. People often expect all of the brunt of the emotion work in the medical field to be performed by nurses, and nursing is also very feminized (Guy & Newman, 2004). This matters because emotional labor is linked to burnout and compassion fatigue. Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini, & Holz (2001) found that that “emotion work was predictive of all burnout variables” even when controlling for other possible stressors (p. 541). If women are the ones performing the emotional labor, then they are also the ones who are more likely to suffer from compassion fatigue and burnout.

One reason for occupational segregation is that women often have a difficult time in a man-dominated field due to various forms of harassment (Hatchell & Aveling, 2008). Even when applying to jobs in the STEM field, studies have shown that men are given preferential treatment to women, even when their resumes are identical (Cole, Field, & Giles, 2004; Valian, 1998). When women do get the job, they are often judged more critically than men in the same positions (Fine, 2011; Hatchell & Aveling, 2008). Women are often made to feel othered by comments about their appearance, their work, and their attitude (Fine, 2011; Hatchell & Aveling, 2008). The strain put on women in men-dominated positions often causes women to drop out of these fields, which maintains the unbalanced gender ratio in these jobs (Hatchell & Aveling, 2008). Although men can also be discriminated against when applying for feminine jobs, once they are
employed they are much more likely to advance in their careers more quickly than women coworkers. This phenomenon is known as the “glass escalator” (Fine, 2011).

Women, on the other hand, are often passed over for executive positions which results in a “glass ceiling” that keeps women out of the most prestigious and well-paying positions (Fine, 2011; Lovoy, 2001). Eagly (2007) showed that, even though women often have a more effective leadership style, people still prefer men bosses to women bosses. A great case study of how women vying for leadership positions are often viewed negatively is Hillary Clinton. Clinton, the Democratic Party presidential nominee in 2016, was often portrayed negatively by the media. Women in these types of leadership positions need to be more masculine, so they are not seen as weak, but are also punished for not being feminine enough (Topic & Gilmer, 2017). This makes it difficult for women to get ahead. The treatment of Hillary Clinton can also be seen as an exaggeration of how many women who desire leadership roles are perceived. Examples like this show how women are punished for not behaving in a feminine way. This matters because women are expected to be the emotional caretakers of others, and when they do not do so, they are punished for it.

The Professor Job

As my population of interest, it is important to know the demographics of the population of professors in the United States. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2017), approximately 53% of professors employed full-time are men. Additionally, when it comes to the rank of full-professor, rather than associate or assistant, the gap jumps to 67% men. It’s important to note that the majority of professors are also white. Academia is not free of gender discrimination: one example is that there is a pay gap between the genders; on average,
women professors are paid $15,000 less than men professors with the same rank (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017).

There are also differences in how men and women are viewed while in the professor role. One example of this is student evaluations of professors. Studies show that women professors are consistently given lower scores by students than men (MacNell, Driscoll, & Hunt, 2015; Mitchell & Martin, 2018). Women professors are often more harshly judged for things like appearance and personality, even when their classes are virtually identical to classes taught by men (MacNell et. al. 2015, Mitchell & Martin, 2018).

There has been some research done on the link between emotional labor and the job responsibilities of a professor. When considering a professors’ responsibilities, there are four main categories of work to look at: teaching, service, research, and administration. Teaching and service are two aspects of the job that require the most emotional labor (Bellas, 1999). Teaching requires a lot of self- and others-focused emotional labor. Professors are expected to act a certain way and can be sanctioned with negative student evaluations when they do not “perform” well (Mahoney et. al., 2011). Service can also require a great deal of emotional labor; professors are expected to interact with students, colleagues, and the community at large in ways that reflect well on the school. Some examples of service include advising, volunteering, and committee work, which each requiring varying levels of emotional labor (Bellas, 1999). Research and administrative duties require the least amount of emotional labor, especially when the research is conducted alone. Studies have shown that emotional labor done by professors can lead to emotional exhaustion and lower job satisfaction (Mahoney et al., 2011). Additionally, research illustrates that women professors do more emotional labor than men (Bellas, 1999; Guarino & Borden, 2017). Women professors tend to do more service than men, and especially tend to do
more service within the school than outside, which leads to fewer professional accolades for the person performing it (Bellas, 1999; Guarino & Borden, 2017). Because aspects of the job that require more emotional labor, such as teaching and service are often not considered as heavily as aspects of the job that require less emotional labor, such as research and publication when it comes to promotion, women are disadvantaged when it comes to the hiring and promotion processes (Guarino & Borden, 2017).

**Conclusion**

In this section, I examined literature pertinent to my research. I talked about the concept development of emotional labor, how emotional labor is commonly conceptualized in academic and non-academic literature, and how emotional labor relates to everyday life. I also discussed the socialization of gender and gendered differences in jobs as well as emotional labor and its relation to the professor job.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

The purpose of this study is to look at the emotional labor that professors perform in their day-to-day lives. This topic is significant because the emotional labor of professors is a field with little research and a better understanding of these experiences may ensure that professors’ emotional labor is recognized and fairly compensated.

In this chapter I describe the study design. I first describe my study design, then provide an overview of the study participants, including some demographic information. Next, I review my data collection and analysis strategies. I end the chapter by discussing the ethical considerations of my study.

Description of the Study Design

This study uses a qualitative methodology. I decided on a qualitative design because “qualitative methods permit inquiry into selected issues in great depth with careful attention to detail, context, and nuance” (Patton, 2001, p. 226). Because I wanted to understand the lived experiences of professors from their own perspectives, using qualitative methods was a good fit for my project. There have been studies conducted on the emotional labor of professors before, but they were nearly all quantitative in nature (Bellas, 1999; Guarino & Borden, 2017; Mahoney et. al., 2011). A qualitative design allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the emotional labor performed by the faculty.

I used semi-structured interviews with faculty members of one college at IUP. I used an interview guide to structure these interviews while having the flexibility to explore any interesting examples or stories that my participants shared. The interview guide is available in Appendix A. Semi-structured interviews were the best option for my research because they kept...
the interviews “focused while allowing individual perspectives and experiences to emerge” (Patton, 2001, p. 344). This approach allowed different themes to come up organically while speaking with my participants. I discuss the details of data collection later in this chapter.

**Study Participants**

For this study, I utilized a homogenous purposeful sample design. This means that I selected participants from a particular group of people who I thought would be able to help me answer my research questions. According to Patton (2001), purposeful sampling is useful because it allows us to look at information-rich cases “from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry” (p. 230). A homogeneous sample is useful “to describe some particular subgroup in depth” (p. 235). Because I chose to focus on a particular college of a university, I got an in-depth look at how professors who work in that college feel in regard to the emotional labor they perform.

My data were collected at IUP, which is a medium-sized public institution in the mid-Atlantic. The faculty there are divided into departments, which are housed within one of six colleges. I decided to collect data from faculty employed in only one specific college. I focused my recruitment efforts on a particular college for several reasons. The first is that by limiting data collection to one college, I eliminated variance that could be caused by different college cultures; because colleges are sorted into what majors and departments are similar to one another, it follows that the work they would do would be more similar to one another. Professors in the theater and dance department, for example, probably have more in common with one another when it comes to their jobs than they would with a professor in the accounting department. To protect the confidentiality of my participants, I will not be naming the departments or college where participant work.
In order to find participants, I sent an email to every faculty member working in the college I had selected. In total, I sent out four waves of my recruitment email, which is located in Appendix B. In all, eight faculty members agreed to be interviewed. I go further into detail of this process later in the chapter.

After conducting the interviews, I transcribed the eight interviews. Both the transcripts and voice recordings were kept confidential. To protect the confidentiality of my participants, they were given pseudonyms and all identifying characteristics have been removed. The code list of participants’ names and pseudonyms were kept in a password-protected file for the duration of transcription and were then destroyed. Additionally, after the recordings were transcribed, I destroyed the audio recordings of the interviews to further protect my participants’ confidentiality.

**Demographic Information**

All eight of the professors I interviewed taught in the same college of IUP. The professors taught in three separate departments with four coming from the same department, two from another, and two from a third department. When it comes to faculty rank, there were five assistant professors, two full professors, and one temporary faculty member. Most of the professors only worked with undergraduate students, although some did work with both undergraduate and graduate students. Only one professor was a man; the rest were women. Additionally, all of the professors I interviewed were white. Table 1 displays selected demographic details.
Table 1

Demographic Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Department (A, B, or C)</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Temporary Faculty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Assistant Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Assistant Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holly</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Full Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Assistant Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Assistant Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Assistant Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandra</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Full Professor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data Collection

I conducted eight face-to-face interviews with my participants in February and March of 2019. After my participants responded to the recruitment email, we planned a mutually agreeable time and place to meet. Every professor wanted to meet in their office. Prior to starting the interview, I gave each professor a copy of the informed consent form (see Appendix C). I had the participants review and sign the informed consent form, and also gave them a copy to keep for their personal files, if they wished. All signed copies of the consent form are stored in a safe and confidential place.

All of the interviews I conducted lasted approximately 30-45 minutes and utilized an interview guide (Appendix A). The interview questions were written so as not to explicitly bring up emotional labor until the last half of the interview. I did this in order to see what the
professors would talk about organically and see if they brought up any themes of emotional labor on their own. My interview questions addressed different aspects of emotional labor, including others-focused and self-focused emotional labor. All of the participants completed the interview and nearly all of them said they were excited about the results of my research. They were glad that someone was shedding light on the emotional labor they were performing.

**Analysis Strategy**

The analysis process began informally while I was conducting interviews. As Patton (2001) writes, “in the course of fieldwork, ideas about directions for analysis will occur. Patterns take shape. Possible themes spring to mind. Hypotheses emerge that inform subsequent fieldwork” (p. 436). As I was interviewing the faculty, I was already identifying possible emerging themes and, as I learned something might be important, was sure to ask about it in subsequent interviews. After all eight interviews, I transcribed them; this allowed me even more time to think about themes and patterns in the data and allowed me to become very familiar with the data.

To analyze the data more formally, I utilized NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software. Coding often takes time and is an ongoing process (Patton, 2001). NVivo allowed me to sort my data into various different categories and subcategories, review my data, and then re-sort into different categories and subcategories. I maintained two different logs of memos which I used to sort my thoughts and ideas about the data as well as work through different possible themes. In the end, re-reading and re-organizing the data allowed me to develop an understanding of professors’ experiences with emotional labor. For this project, I utilized inductive analysis. According to Patton (2001), “inductive analysis involves discovering patterns, themes, and
categories in one’s data” (p. 453). The categories I used to sort my data sprang up organically from the data itself. A codebook of the themes I used to sort my data are located in Appendix D.

**Ethical Considerations**

One important ethical consideration in conducting this study is that emotional labor can be difficult to talk about and make people uncomfortable. To help minimize the risk, I made sure to let the participants know that they could stop the interview at any time or take a short break if they feel the need to. Their consent could be revoked at any time and they could skip questions if they felt uncomfortable answering. I also had a list of community resources to share with participants upon request. None of the professors I spoke to skipped any of the questions. During one interview, we took a short break, but it was because that participant had to answer an important phone call, not because she was upset at any of the questions or topics that came up.

Another important ethical consideration is that the participants in my study talked about their jobs. They brought up things that, if the interviews could be attributed to them, could possibly negatively affect their work life. Because I conducted in-person interviews, I could not promise anonymity for my respondents. However, I am keeping their identities confidential by removing their names from their interviews, using pseudonyms, and removing any details from the transcripts that could identify the participant.
CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The findings in this chapter represent data collected from eight professors who taught in the same college at IUP. My findings suggest that, for the professors I interviewed, emotional labor was a significant part of their job and the emotional labor they performed affected their lives in different ways.

I separated my findings into three broad themes: 1) the work that professors do, 2) the emotional labor that professors do, and 3) the professors’ feelings about the emotional labor that they perform. Each of these broad categories are split into smaller sub-themes. The themes derive from similarities in what the participants brought up during their individual interviews. Looking at the different facets of a professor’s job allowed me to more deeply explore and contextualize the emotional labor that they perform. It is important to understand that emotional labor is not a separate aspect of their job; it is something they perform in all areas of their job.

The Work Professors Do

Literature on professors typically breaks up the work they do into four major components: teaching, service, scholarship, and administration (Bella, 1999). Because only one of the participants I spoke with was heavily involved in administration, I elected to omit the administration component when coding. Additionally, I drew out three other components that, although related to teaching, service, and scholarship, involve different skills and duties. These components are grading, advising students, and working with colleagues. I decided to treat grading as distinct from teaching because my participants tended to separate the two. For example, several participants stated that their favorite part of the job was teaching and their least favorite part was grading. Although the argument can be made that grading is an aspect of
teaching, treating them as separate experiences better reflects my participants’ views. Similarly, many participants viewed advising as being somewhat distinct and different from their other service work. Advising was viewed as a kind of service by some of my participants, but a few of them also thought that advising was a part of teaching as well. Advising was also viewed differently in that most people really enjoyed advising more than other aspects of service, so it makes sense, for this analysis, to split them into two separate categories. I also decided to make working with colleagues its own category because participants worked with colleagues while performing service, research, and other aspects of the job. Making it its own category allows me to take a more in-depth look into how professors view the people they work with and the types of emotional labor they perform when dealing with them as colleagues. In this section, I describe six aspects of the work faculty in my sample do: 1) teaching, 2) grading, 3) service, 4) advising, 5) scholarship, and 6) working with colleagues.

**Teaching**

Nearly all of the professors I spoke to said that teaching took up the largest portion of their time in regard to their job. At this particular university, full-time professors are expected to teach a 4/4 load, which means that professors are required to teach four classes in both the fall and spring semesters. Most of the professors I spoke with did teach at this 4/4 load, although two had course releases due to other assigned work which reduced their teaching load. The classes they taught varied in size and many of my participants indicated that they would prefer smaller class sizes. Anne discussed how sometimes large lectures can have one hundred to one hundred and fifty students; she prefers smaller classes so that she can work more closely with students. Irene also discussed how, when she first started teaching, she might have classes with 120 students or so. Grace also said that bigger classes can make teaching more difficult by stating
“when I came here, they were all capped at twenty-five. Now, they are capped at … some of the caps are at forty, so it’s almost like teaching two extra classes.” More students in class tends to lead to more work, which is one of the reasons why faculty said they preferred smaller class sizes.

The classes my participants taught also varied by level of instruction. Professors pointed out differences between teaching first-year undergraduate students, upper-level undergraduate students, and graduate students. Most of the professors I interviewed seemed to prefer working either with older undergraduate students or with graduate students. Generally, the reason given for this was that first-year students tend to be less serious and less invested in the material. As Sandra said:

I started out teaching this [introductory course], so big classes of freshman, and it's really different because they come in at all different levels. Some of them were well prepared for college and had some interest in their education and some didn't. It’s definitely different teaching freshman because we have a fairly high washout rate for freshman [here] and even from fall to spring the students are different. The ones who actually make it past fall into spring are a little bit better prepared than the ones who washed out in the first semester, and the further along you go the more interested people are in what you're doing and that makes it more enjoyable to teach. They actually know what the application of this stuff is and they know they're going to need to apply it at some point and so they're taking a more active role in classes and the other stuff that we're doing.

Professors also said that they often felt they knew upperclassmen better than underclassmen, and the professors who worked with graduate students felt they formed even closer ties with them. Teaching graduate courses brought its own challenges though: Sandra reported that “teaching
graduate classes is a lot of extra work beyond undergraduate classes because there's so much more written work” and that “the level of feedback you have to provide is a lot more in-depth.”

Even though faculty often enjoyed teaching classes with upper-classmen and graduates, the amount of time spent grading in those courses seems like a bit of a trade-off.

Most of the professors I spoke with reported enjoying the teaching aspect of their job. For example, they stated that they “like working with students” (Anne) and that they “like being with a group of students, challenging them, and watching them grow and learn and develop a deep understanding” (Lisa). Many of the professors said that they viewed themselves as strong teachers and they enjoyed passing on their knowledge to their students. Irene illustrated this point when discussing her classes:

[During] yesterday's [class], the students were great! They just got it really easily and it was a really hard [class], very challenging for them intellectually, and I was able to just lay it out for them in such a way that they just got it. And today's [class] went well as well. So that's just really fun, to feel like you're really developing the intellectual capacity of a whole group of students, you're really helping them learn useful things that they will need to know to become successful [professionals] so that's really fun.

Although one of the professors I spoke with did not share as strong a love for teaching, most people said that they enjoyed having students in class. Some even said that they chose to work at this particular university because they knew they could focus on teaching, which was important to them.

Although most professors said that teaching was their favorite aspect of the job, many of them still felt the teaching load as a burden; the “teaching load can be heavy” (Edward) was a common sentiment. Participants felt that the amount of required teaching made it difficult to
balance all the aspects of the job. Grace stated, “I don’t like teaching so many classes, but that’s what you have to do here.” Participants differed on where they placed the blame for this imbalance. Some of the faculty blamed the administration while others put more of the blame on themselves. Grace discussed how the fault for this imbalance lay with administration:

   All universities want research to be done. They want that. They want that but of course they don't always support it in terms of resources and of course release time and all that, but they do want it. And the same thing with service. All kinds of requests to be on this committee or to be on that committee. So that's something they value. They say they value all of them, but they don't always make a point to make it possible to do all of them.

Other professors also felt the stress of this imbalance, but they felt that a lot of the blame fell on themselves. Lisa felt that because she had a strong love of teaching, she sometimes neglected other areas of her work. Similarly, Karen put the blame on herself stating “if you don’t prepare for a class you show up to your class unprepared … so I tend to push [other aspects of the job] back” She gets upset with herself about this, for example she shared that she has been “trying to get something done all semester” but she keeps moving the meeting date back for it “because I just can.” Generally, the professors I spoke with spent the majority of their time teaching, enjoyed it, but also felt overwhelmed at times by the teaching workload.

**Grading**

Not every professor I spoke with specifically brought up grading, but those that did said grading was one of the parts of their jobs they liked the least. When asked what their least favorite parts of the job were, three professors explicitly stated that grading was their least favorite part of the job. They thought that grading was “really difficult” (Anne), “hard” (Holly),
and that it was an area they “struggle[d] with.” (Karen). When asked why they disliked grading, the most common reasons were figuring out how to be fair and dealing with students who were disappointed in the grades they received.

Being fair when grading was something that a few professors found challenging. They talked about how difficult it can be to grade something objectively or figure out how to grade someone fairly when they missed an important class session. Karen discussed how she “had to develop rubrics and things so that I don’t anguish over how many points I’m taking off of one student and if I’m taking the same amount off of another.” Anne said it is “a hard thing to do to come up with the [exam] questions and to administer it fairly and make sure no one’s cheating.” Karen discussed the amount of work that she put into making sure she was treating students fairly by describing a situation with an international student:

I just had a situation where a student … English isn't her first language, and so she was asking for more time on exams. There's no university policy on that and it's not considered a disability. And so that was kind of tricky because I wanted to be fair to her, but I also wanted to recognize what the university considers fair and the university doesn't really give too much guidance on that. And so, I ended up asking a bunch of faculty members what they did and they all told me different things. And so, I had to kind of pick which one seemed fair to me.

Karen spent a lot of time and energy figuring out how to be fair in this particular situation because there was no policy on how she should proceed. Figuring out how to be fair while grading was something that a few professors I spoke to said they struggled with.

Professors also disliked dealing students who were unhappy with their grades. Anne said sometimes she’ll get emails where “someone has a 67 and needs a 70 and [the student says]
‘What am I supposed to do?’ Well, why didn't you just not get into this position in the first place?” She felt pressure from students to change their grades even though, due to her department’s standards, she doesn’t “get to curve or change things because there's material that they have to know and if they know they pass and if they don't, they don’t.” Giving low grades was also upsetting to some of my respondent because it made them question themselves as a teacher. Holly explained that sometimes, when students do poorly, she thinks about where she might be lacking as a professor:

When you have to mark papers and [it's] minus two, minus two, sometimes that's really hard for me too. When you’re grading papers and you're looking at all these wrong answers and [you’re thinking] “What have I have done wrong?”

The temporary faculty member I spoke with had an interesting perspective on grading. She was keenly aware that the grades she gives students affect the evaluations those students give her. As a temporary faculty member, it is important that she has good evaluations so she is invited back to teach the next semester. She stated “I refuse to make tests easier … student evaluations go up if the tests are easier; everybody likes a professor who gives As, but you have to earn an A. You don't give As to anybody.” She recognized that she could make her own life easier by giving students higher grades than they deserve, but she refused to compromise her principles as a professor to do so.

Grading is certainly seen as a challenge by at least some of the professors I spoke to. They felt that it can be difficult to grade objectively and that they dislike dealing with giving out low grades for a variety of reasons including dealing with unhappy students, feeling inadequate as a teacher, and risking lower student evaluations.
Service

The professors I spoke with also discussed their service work. Service is “a catchall category that typically encompasses everything that is not clearly teaching or research” (Bellas, 1999, p. 101-102). Service can include things like being a club advisor, participating in committee work, and advising students. As mentioned previously, I will discuss student advising separately. Most of the faculty I spoke to thought that, after teaching, service took up the most time. Holly said, “I think 80% of my time is teaching … and then I would say probably 15% is service work.” Similarly, Karen stated that she thought her work consisted of “maybe 60-70% teaching, 15% service … maybe 20% service.” This outlook was typical of the professors I interviewed.

There were also more mixed feelings when it came to service than teaching. Although some people stated they enjoyed service, others disliked at least some aspects of the service component of their job. Lisa was one of the people who enjoyed service: as the advisor of a student club, she felt she helps “future [professionals] go to conferences and do service-oriented things out in the community.” When it came to working on committees, however, the professors I spoke with were less enthused. Many people said that committee work both in their department and throughout the university was one of their least favorite parts of their job, especially meetings. Meetings are “more work” and “end up taking up a big part of the day” (Karen). Holly outright stated: “I hate meetings.” People were particularly unhappy when they felt that the meetings were unproductive; the most disliked meetings were characterized as “circular” or “frustrating” (Karen), and full of “bureaucracy and paperwork” (Sandra).
One particularly interesting case is that of the temporary faculty member, Anne. She spoke a bit about how it was difficult for her to do service work on a committee because of how her contract works. She stated:

It's hard to be on a committee. We [temporary faculty] are hired semester by semester, so we don't know if we're coming back in September. So, to be on a committee that meets all summer while we are not working in the summer … I don't have a contract and may not be back in September.

It was very difficult for her to reach her service goals; while temporary faculty are expected to have a service component to their job they often cannot join various committees and do not advise students.

When it comes to service, most of the professors I spoke with thought it was the second most time-consuming aspect of their job and had various levels of enthusiasm for it. Particularly, many of them disliked committee work. As mentioned in my literature review, oftentimes women perform more service than men. The man I interviewed, however, said that service took up the second biggest portion of his time, after teaching.

**Advising**

Advising was something that nearly every professor specifically discussed during our interview. My respondents spoke about a diverse set of tasks under the category of advising. Advising included academic advising, for example helping students select and schedule classes, as well as helping students in a one-on-one way beyond academic advising. This work included helping a student struggling in the faculty member’s class as well as mentorship where a professor is actively helping the student grow professionally and, sometimes, even as a person. While one professor I spoke with said that she disliked advising outright, most people liked
doing advising work and they often expressed genuine care for the students they were advising. However, some professors disagreed with how their department or the university in general viewed the importance of advising.

The majority of the professors I spoke to said that they enjoyed advising students and expressed genuine care and concern for the students they were helping. They often helped students with things like research, applying to graduate school, and sometimes giving them advice on things going on in their personal life. The professors said they enjoyed helping students and watching them grow as people, professionals, and scholars. The students are often grateful for this help, Lisa said students have “written [her] notes about it, ‘thank you for being our therapist,’ ‘thank you for your advice,’ ‘thank you for caring’. ‘Thank you’ for those kinds of things.” A lot of the professors felt that through advising they were making differences in their students’ lives. Irene shared this story about a student who was thinking of dropping out:

One of my students was going to give up. And he said, “I'm going to drop out of your class.” I emailed him right away and said “Oh geez, don't do that! We all mess up. You're doing really well, you're just having a bad week. I don't even know why you're having a bad week because in my class, you're doing great.” I immediately [went] and calculate[d] his final grade and he had like an 86% or something and that was absolutely fine. Then as soon as I saw him in class again … I connect[ed] with him and said, “You know you're not dropping out.” And then just like two weeks ago in the hallway I said, “You're still [this major] right?” And he said “yes.”

She was very happy that she was able to help this student through a difficult time in his life. Karen shared a similar story about how satisfying it is to help students apply to graduate programs:
I actually do a fair amount of advising and reading statements and that kind of thing and prepping them for interviews and that's been really rewarding too. It's something where at first, it's the deer in headlights: “Oh my gosh, I have to create a CV and I don't even know what that is!” and then they start putting it together and actually seeing them be successful and figure it out a little bit, at least, what's next for them. It feels really good.

Advising was also highly relevant for those faculty members who taught graduate students. The professors who worked with graduate students said that those relationships were often particularly close, and they often helped their advisees not only with their scholarly pursuits but also gave them advice about starting their careers and maintaining their mental well-being during graduate school. Edward said:

I actually do schedule mental check-ins at least once or twice a semester with my students … I invite them out for a cup of coffee my treat and [say] “Let's talk about how things are going as you define that, how things are going program-wise, career search-wise, adjustment-wise whatever it is.” I want to make sure that our students… have a specific opportunity to think about how they can be taking care of themselves outside of work.

The professors thought these relationships were important to their graduate students because they helped them adjust to life in graduate school.

While most professors genuinely enjoyed doing this work, they often felt that both their departments and the university as a whole did not really value the importance of the advising work they were doing. A few professors said specifically that advising work is “invisible” when it comes to promotion and tenure. The way that advising is measured also leaves a lot to be desired according to the professors I interviewed. They felt that it is not enough that they have a
certain number of office hours in a particular week or that they met with their assigned advisees during a semester, which is required for students scheduling classes. Some were frustrated by perceived differences in the advising load between themselves and other professors; many of the professors I spoke to took extra students on as advisees while other professors in their department did not seem to worry about mentoring. Holly said “a lot of advisors don’t even show up for the meetings that they plan. I know professors who aren’t even here to be able to meet with students if they do need to come in.” Similarly, Sandra said she was supervising six students on research projects while “other faculty aren’t supervising any student research.” There was certainly some resentment about the perceived unequal distribution of advising work and the lack of recognition for the work of advising.

When it came to advising, the professors I interviewed mostly said they enjoyed working one-on-one with students and wanted to help them in whatever ways they could. At the same time, they also felt that advising work can be invisible and unequally distributed.

**Scholarship**

When it came to scholarship, most professors said that it was the part of the job they spent the least time doing. Scholarship has always “brought up the rear” (Sandra) of their work responsibilities and it sometimes “takes up the backburner” (Karen). The reasons given for this varied. One reason was that, for some of the professors I spoke with, they simply did not like scholarship as much as they liked another aspect of the job. Holly, who estimated she spent about 5% of her time focused on scholarship, explained:

I came here specifically because I wanted to teach and that’s what I like about IUP; it allows us to choose our area of love. And mine’s teaching and so we can do that; focus on whatever area we wanted to.
Lisa felt similarly, “I enjoy research, enjoy scholarship … I like it, I don't love it. I don't love it like I love teaching.”

While some professors did less scholarship because they chose to do so, other professors said they wanted to do more research, but the constraints on their time made it very difficult to do so. After fulfilling teaching and service requirements, these faculty felt they had little time and energy left to do as much scholarship as they wanted. For example, Sandra felt the particular courses she taught, which had “a lot more written work” than some of the classes she taught previously, meant that “[her] own scholarship has been really difficult to carve out time for.” Edward also saw his teaching load as limiting his ability to do research:

Sometimes with the teaching demands, if I want to spend a little bit more time on my research or my [service] that comes at a cost either with my teaching or, you know, the [teaching] load does occasionally restrain at times how much I can spend on my research and [service] when I want to.

He then went on to say he felt that “In general, the faculty here don’t have as much active research going on as we would all like to.” Along the same line, Grace stated that “Most of my time is teaching. And then I try to do my scholarship as much as I can.” Overall, my respondents had some difference in their views about research. All agreed it was the lowest priority among their work responsibilities; however, some did not mind this and actively chose to not engage in much research while others wanted to do research but felt they could not due to time constraints.

Despite agreeing that research was the lowest priority, many professors thought that there was a lot of pressure to do research, especially when it came to things like tenure, promotion, and recognition from their department or university. Lisa stated that when she was applying for tenure, “I bumped up my scholarship because the tenure and evaluation committee said that I
needed to … that my service and my teaching were great. I need to work on my scholarship.”
She said she was happy to do so, but the extra scholarship came at the expense of the service
work she was doing that she enjoyed. Anne said that, for temporary faculty, there was a lot of
pressure to do scholarship because they are “evaluated on scholarship” but without access to
resources like funding or space, scholarship is “not easy … I want to say it's impossible.” Many
professors also felt that scholarship was recognized by their departments and the university more
than teaching or service. Holly stated, “If somebody publishes or if somebody gets a grant, those
are the two things that are most recognized here.” When it comes to scholarship, generally
people felt as if they had less time to perform this aspect of the job for a variety of reasons. Many
of the professors I spoke to also felt that scholarship was given an unusually high priority
compared to the teaching and service aspects of the job.

Working With Colleagues

As with most jobs, professors deal with coworkers and colleagues almost daily. The
professors I spoke to have a wide range of opinions on their colleagues. Some of the professors I
spoke with said they got along with everyone in their departments while others stated that they
preferred certain colleagues over others. Most professors were generally happy with their
colleagues; however, and some wished that they were able to work more closely with colleagues
on occasion. There were also comments about performing emotional labor with colleagues,
which I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

A few of the professors I spoke to said that they liked their colleagues and had good
relationships with them. Irene said “In [my] department we get along pretty well. So, I like my
colleagues; the other faculty are really interesting and exciting people to interact with.” Edward
also expressed that he was “comfortable” with his relationships with faculty in his department
and that “the relationships are solid.” Similarly, Lisa described her relationships with colleagues as positive:

I think that my relationships are good. Anytime I go down the hallway, people say hello to me, they're very friendly towards me. People stop by my office, they come in here and they say hello, chit chat with me. So, I think that I have strong relationships with people in my department that are positive and good.

While some professors were happy with their coworkers and enjoy working with them, others stated that they had better relationships with some of their colleagues than others. Grace said “I think I get along with most people … I have some [colleagues] I like better or I think I have more in common with … I mean, I’m not going to get along with everyone.” Holly mentioned that she “doesn’t like everybody and not everybody likes [her].” Karen, a bit diplomatically stated:

I have like a handful of colleagues that I feel really close with and I like more than others.

But I respect everyone in the department and I think … there are probably a couple of people whose philosophies I don’t quite agree with.

None of the professors I spoke to said they disliked all of their coworkers; everyone said they got along with at least some of their colleagues.

Several respondents saw connections between their relationships with colleagues and research. Edward said that, if there was more of an opportunity to do active research “there would be more of that work-collaborative relationship.” Similarly, Anne thought that there could be closer relationships if there was more collaborative research going on. Lisa, also saw the connection between research and collegiality; however, she focused on how collaboration with colleagues made research easier for her. She said, “through working with colleagues on projects
together I’ve been able to get more accomplished, which is awesome.” Some professors said they would like to have a more collaborative research-oriented relationship with colleagues and the one professor who said she did a lot of collaborative work with her colleagues said she really enjoyed it.

**The Emotional Labor of Professors**

Throughout nearly every aspect of their jobs, the professors I spoke to said that they performed emotional labor. The emotional labor they performed involved both masking their emotions and emotionally supporting their students and colleagues. The professors I spoke with often dealt with challenging or frustrating circumstances and utilized emotional labor to deal with them in ways that were professional. This section is split into two sections: emotional labor with students and emotional labor with colleagues.

**Emotional Labor With Students**

The majority of the emotional labor professors did centered on dealing with students. Whether in the classroom or one-on-one; professors were constantly trying to both manage their own emotions and manage the emotions of their students. Professors engaged in both self- and others-focused emotional labor. Most of the emotional labor that professors did concerning students lay in the teaching, grading, and advising parts of their job.

**Emotional labor of teaching.** All of the professors I spoke to said that they performed emotional labor while teaching. Much of this emotional labor was self-focused emotional labor; this means that the professors were spending time dealing with their own emotions. Professors expressed the importance of staying calm when students were doing things that were against the rules. Common complaints included about their students included skipping class, being on their phones, and distracting others. Grace discussed her self-focused emotional labor in this example:
I just did some of that emotional labor in class because the student asked me a question that probably I'd answered 5 minutes before and it had come up before or whatever. It's one of those kinds of situations that I have to work hard to not show, you know, what I am [feeling].

This is an excellent example of Hochschild’s classic definition of emotional labor. Something is frustrating Grace and she is working to not show that emotion in order to fulfill her work requirements. Anne also expressed frustration with students who “cut class” or “put their heads down in class” and said that she worked hard to not let it show while she was teaching. This self-focused emotional labor was common among the professors I interviewed.

Professors also talked a lot about how trying to engage students in their classes took emotional labor. Karen discussed the struggle of dealing with students who were disengaged:

There are days when you go into a classroom and students are just kind of looking at you and you can tell that they’re not engaged. And then on those days I try a little harder to get them to be engaged so that I'm not just talking to an empty room, I'm talking to people.

Some professors seemed to enjoy the challenge of teaching students new things. Irene expressed happiness at being able to teach students a relatively difficult concept easily while Holly said that she “get[s] excited about teaching … being excited about a cool activity and then you go in and you do it and either it doesn’t work, or it does work.” This kind of work is both self- and others-focused because the professors are changing their emotions by showing excitement and passion for their fields in order to engage the students to change their emotions of boredom or apathy. Professors wanted their students to be engaged so they would better learn the material, and to get them engaged, the professors had to work hard in class emotionally. Grace expressed some anger
about students not participating in class and even said “it’s getting me all worked up now”
talking about when her efforts to engage students do not work. Faculty thought it was a challenge
to engage their classes and could be frustrated when their efforts did not work.

Self-focused emotional labor also came about when faculty members were dealing with
stresses outside of the classroom. For example, Lisa had recently experienced a family tragedy.
In our interview, she spent some time talking about how she was managing her emotions about
the incident while still doing her job. She said she did tell her students that she was going
through a difficult period, but she still had to manage her emotions in a professional way:

So immediately, like fresh after it, I was crying … you know I [would] just start tearing
up and I would be in class. And they just needed to know why I was [upset] and just be
patient with me. I'm here, I can still teach you but I'm going to cry for a second and then
come back. I wasn’t like … I'm not crying in my classes and I'm not crying in my
classroom. But like right before it having to gather everything about me and then
afterwards I would need to cry.

Lisa knew she was going through a difficult and stressful time in her personal life and was still
trying to manage her emotions in her job. She expressed that it was difficult for her to do so but
she did her best to present a “professional” façade. Although this was an extreme situation, this
example shows intense emotional labor. Like most jobs, professors are not supposed to let their
personal life affect their job performance. Although Lisa was the only respondent in my sample
told me an experience like this, it is likely that this type of self-focused emotional labor occurs
throughout academia.

**Emotional labor of grading.** Grading was another aspect of the job where respondents
identified emotional labor. The main way emotional labor was required in grading was when
dealing with students who were unhappy with their grades. Several professors said they have had students come to them upset about their grades or send them email after email about changing a low grade to a higher grade. Grace said that she has dealt with “students who … don't know if they're going to graduate or not [or] if they're not doing well in class [and] they're upset [and] distraught.” She seeks to deal with those students in a way that calms them down and keeps them happy because she worried that being more assertive “could set them off and something terrible would happen.” Karen also said that sometimes students are “not so happy … because they’ve missed a lot of class and don’t like that I have an attendance policy.” This quote shows that relationships with students can depend on the grades they receive, even if a low grade is fully justified. A few students would even ask for grade changes over and over, even when they had already been told no by their professors. Anne said she “had one student once who emailed me like twenty times about raising his grade and I said no the first time and he just wouldn't stop.”

There is also emotional labor in grading that can involve dealing with students who are genuinely upset about grades and comforting them about those grades. Holly talked about the emotional labor involved in evaluating advanced students:

That's hard for me because I have to do a write up and I have to give lots of feedback to the students and I have to do it in a nice way … I have to word it in a positive way to try to give them suggestions to make them better and … fifty percent of the time they’ll end up in tears because … not necessarily because they did a terrible job, but just because it's so emotional for them. They’re nervous when I come in … they do get that emotional support from me and they know that they can too.
Some students also worry about how one less-than-stellar assignment or skipped class might affect their grade. Irene told the following story about a student who was worried about missing a class:

She emailed me three times, but she wasn't sure if the email came through because I didn't reply; she didn't know that I was teaching … She sent a lot of emails so I looked at them and the first one she had sent around 7:00 in the morning and that she was worried about not making my [class]

In this particular case, Irene had the student come in at a later time and work something out, but she stressed that sometimes it is impossible for the students to make up work, in which case students often complain or get upset.

As mentioned before, student evaluations matter for professors, especially before they have received tenure. Professors need to enforce the rules but do so in a way that keeps their students happy, which requires a lot of emotional labor.

**Emotional labor of advising.** Advising was another area where respondents identified emotional labor. Many of the professors I spoke with wanted to have close relationships with the students they advised and performed a lot of emotional labor to do so. Irene captured what most people seemed to feel about their students in the following quote:

I basically treat them like my own kids … I just try to learn their names and treat them like a real person who's independent and I make decisions that value their time. I help them progress in their career wherever they are, you know some students are higher some are lower level who are just trying to move along. Being able to recognize everybody is going to make mistakes and so to not be overcome with emotion when they make mistakes but to try to encourage them.
This is very similar to how flight attendants in the 1970’s were instructed to treat airline passengers the same way that they would treat a guest in their own home (Hochschild, 1983). Of course, the flight attendants were explicitly told to do so; while none of the professors said that they were told to interact with students that way.

Many professors said they wanted students to come to them with problems and that they wanted the students to feel comfortable with them. Sandra discussed how she worked to help some of her advisees deal with uncertainty about the future:

I know that they’re anxious. I was anxious when I was a student, and I try to calm them down because generally, you know, you'll get through it because everybody gets through it. We all have to go through a period, we all had to do it. It’s an anxiety provoking process, but don't get too far in your head about it and just do what you have to do. So, in general, I'm just trying to keep them calm and remind them that they'll get through it. It's not … none of this is the end of the world.

This is an example of others-focused emotional labor - Sandra is trying to manage the anxiety of her advisees by helping them calm down and telling them not to worry and that everyone goes through something similar. Lisa also discussed some emotional labor she performed with a student over a health scare:

I got a [student] in here the other day that just found out she had [a disorder] and with that her whole life is changing. She was in my office crying “I just wanted to let you know I'm a good student, I don't want to do bad in your class, I'm just struggling with this” and I'm like “That's OK, it's OK, I'm here to help you. Let's make a plan.” And so I did, I just gave her some tissues and we did what we needed to do, let her cry, let her talk
about it, and then tried to empathize and come up with a plan for how she can be successful and how I can support her with that.

The emotional labor that these professors do is not part of the job requirements, but the professors do feel like they should be helping students in this way and expressed that they were happy to do so.

The reasons why faculty said they performed emotional labor varied slightly. Many of them said that they performed emotional labor because it made them feel good to be helpful to their students; that they enjoyed performing this emotional labor. Edward said he “really liked overseeing and helping students” while Karen said she “liked doing that” in regard to advising students about their next professional steps. On the other hand, Grace said that emotional labor was certainly expected of professors but “it’s not something that is explicitly spelled out … I wouldn’t say it’s in the job description.” Sandra thought that expectations of emotional labor could possibly vary across departments and that in her department, and others that are similar, “we’re just more aware of the things that affect students.” In general, professors said that they performed emotional labor because they enjoyed doing so but some people felt that it was an unspoken expectation of the job.

**Emotional Labor With Colleagues**

A majority of the professors I interviewed also spoke about the emotional labor that they performed when dealing with their colleagues. This emotional labor was primarily self-focused and often involved covering up negative feelings for the sake of group harmony. Grace said she “[doesn’t] always show how annoyed [she] might be with what somebody does or what somebody says in a department meeting.” Holly shared that that sometimes “somebody might
say something nasty to you and just kind of either turn around and walk away or you hold your breath or say things under your breath or in your mind, so you don't explode.”

While there may be different reasons for not showing that you are unhappy with a coworker, the reason that came up often in the interviews was that people wanted to avoid conflict. Karen said, “I don't tend to ruffle a lot of feathers because I don't want to do that.” In regard to dealing with coworkers she might disagree with Lisa expressed a similar desire to avoid conflict:

I don't like having conflict with anybody that I'm working with. I’m a people pleaser so I don't like having to stand up for myself in situations where I might be getting taken advantage of and just having those hard conversations with people.

Irene also says that sometimes she purposefully decides to avoid conflict in her department by going along with the decisions that other people feel strongly about, “I care more about the maintenance of long-term relationships than one decision about curriculum.” Interestingly, the one man I interviewed did not bring up any similar thoughts or feelings about masking his own emotions in order to avoid conflict with others. It is unsurprising that women feel the need to manage relationships in their departments because women are socialized, beginning at a very early age, to care about the feelings of others (Fine, 2011). Many of the women in my study also said that they would volunteer for different projects so that they would come across as a “team player” (Karen) and “get along with everyone” (Lisa). This supports the idea that women professors seek to maintain positive relationships in their department.

**Feelings Concerning Emotional Labor**

When the professors discussed emotional labor, they had different reactions to what performing it meant to them and how it affects their day-to-day lives. Most of the professors
found performing at least some emotional labor satisfying. For example, many expressed
enjoyment about being able to help students with their emotional labor. At the same time, most
professors felt like the emotional labor they were doing was invisible and unsupported by their
environment. Professors also had different opinions about which group of people performed the
most emotional labor in their department.

**Enjoying Emotional Labor**

Many of the faculty I spoke with shared that they enjoy helping their students and being
able to support them. The aspects of the job that were most commonly mentioned positively,
teaching and service (especially advising), are the aspects most likely to require emotional labor
(Bellas, 1999). The professors stated that they really enjoyed teaching because it allowed them to
share their passion and love for their subjects with their students. They enjoyed being able to
interact with students in smaller groups while teaching and said that they loved being there when
students grasp a concept. In these ways the enjoyment of teaching was closely connected with
emotional labor. For example, Anne said:

> I know I like teaching … because I like being able to interact with students and groups of
> four or one-on-one. And I like their “eureka!” moments when they figure things out and
> stuff; it's fun. And it's fun sharing that with people, students will say that I'm very
> enthusiastic because I like what I teach.

Similarly, Lisa stated:

> I like being with a group of students, challenging them, and watching them grow and
> learn and develop a deep understanding of [this subject]. I like being a part of that, it's
> very fulfilling. I feel like I'm accomplishing something and fulfilling my purpose.
The idea of wanting to make a difference was also very prevalent, both when professors talked about teaching and when they discussed advising students one-on-one. Most of the professors seemed to view their students in a very positive light and wanted to do everything they could to help them. They were happy that, through emotionally supporting their students and being dedicated teachers, they were able to make the impact they wanted to on their students’ lives. For example, Karen said she thought “students benefit” from the emotional labor that she does. Similarly, Edward said that he had received “feedback that did highlight appreciation for [his] relationship with students. Other professors said they have gotten great reviews as well as thank you notes and emails for the emotional labor they have done supporting students.

Professors also said they enjoyed performing emotional labor for students through advising. They enjoyed giving students advice and helping them realize their potential. The professors discussed mentoring students at both the undergraduate and graduate level, and while there were some differences in how they approached those relationships, professors expressed that they enjoyed these relationships. Karen said she really enjoys helping undergraduates apply to graduate programs while Edward, who works more closely with graduate students, said he strives to have “close professional relationship[s]” with the students he mentors so they feel comfortable coming to him with any problem. While building these relationships required an investment of emotional labor, for many of my respondents this was seen as worthwhile. They hoped that the emotional labor they did supporting students helped the students. Because they valued student success, they expressed an enjoyment of the emotional labor they saw as necessary to achieve that success.
One of the things professors disliked about emotional labor was that they felt that the work they did supporting students was often unrecognized or seen as not important by colleagues, their departments, and the university as a whole. Professors sometimes felt unsupported in their efforts to support and engage students and expressed frustration about this. They expressed a desire for more emphasis to be put on recognizing emotional labor at both a department and university level. A few professors also spoke about how changes that the university is making around advising would be ineffective both for students and advisors because they ignored the emotional labor aspect.

The professors I spoke with said that emotional labor was not something that was talked about in their jobs. For the majority, the first time they heard the term “emotional labor” was when I sent out the recruitment email for the interviews. When they looked up the term, however, they identified with it and saw it as something they did in their job every day. Anne stated, “I don't think [emotional labor] a term that most people have heard honestly.” while Grace said “when I looked up the definition I knew right away I could identify with it right away. I imagine others would too.” Even people who during the interviews said they performed a lot of emotional labor did not have a name for that kind of work previously.

Some professors thought that the invisibility of emotional labor in general was a big part of why their own emotional labor went unnoticed. If their colleagues or other people in the university did not understand that emotional labor existed, then they could not recognize it. Irene said this about how her department’s views of emotional labor:
I don't think they even realize it. I don't think they devalue it; I think they don't even know about it. They can't even imagine it. It's something that they don't even recognize exists, so how can they pay attention to it?

Karen expressed a similar thought:

I don't know that, at least among certain people, I don't know if they would even be able to listen to a conversation about this [emotional labor] because they'd sort of be like “Why do you even think about this? Just continue what you're doing and put that at the side.”

There was definitely a perception among the people I spoke with that their emotional labor is ignored by the people they work with. They found this frustrating. They felt that the work they were doing supporting students was both worthwhile and important, but they felt they never got any recognition for that kind of work. Holly said, “the emotional support and the help and the compassion that I give is never never recognized.” This sentiment was echoed by other professors I spoke with; they felt underappreciated for the work they do.

Some of the professors I spoke with thought that there should be an emphasis on emotional labor, both helping people deal with performing so much emotional labor as well as spreading awareness about what emotional labor is. Edward said that he wished there were “different advertisements, different workshops, [and] different discussions about emotional labor” so that he and other faculty “can help our students help themselves.” Karen said that when there were programs about topics similar to emotional labor there’s “sort of a self-selecting group of people going to those things” so not everybody is getting training on how to better relate to students. The faculty I spoke to felt that their university could do a better job at
supporting the emotional labor they were doing and providing more resources to support faculty performing emotional labor.

Many professors also brought up recruitment and retention efforts at the university level. They thought that if the university would focus more on supporting faculty who supported students, this would have a positive effect on retention. They recognized that the university was in the process of attempting to change how advising is done, but several expressed skepticism about whether the proposed solutions would work because the solutions failed to consider the importance of emotional labor. Irene said that the new method of advising was “missing out on some of the most important components about why students are retained and why students are successful and how students feel that this is an appropriate place for them and they're learning a lot.” Similarly, Karen thought “the bigger message that I've seen from the university is more about student retention and how we keep the numbers [of enrolled students] up. It's more about the bottom line financially and not so much anything else.” Holly expressed a sentiment shared by most of the people I interviewed when she “I think we need to be more compassionate with kids about advising and helping them and meeting with them.” She believes that the work she does to be caring and compassionate is effective and feels like the university would be more successful retaining students if other professors did the same. The general consensus seemed to be that the best change for advising on the university-level would be to find a way to recognize and reward professors who perform exceptional emotional labor for their students.

**Who Performs Emotional Labor**

There were some disagreements between participants on who performs the most emotional labor. All of the professors I spoke to thought they either did more or the same amount of emotional labor as their colleagues. None felt that they did less than their colleagues.
Holly said that she thought that she would be in the “top five” in her large department when it came to emotional labor while Irene said “I absolutely do way more. I don't know anybody who does as much as I do.” Other professors thought that people probably did about the same amount; for example, Sandra said “I know from what I’ve heard and talking with colleagues about stuff is that I'm probably doing about as much [emotional labor] as everybody else or most everybody else is doing. I think a lot of us are doing that stuff.” Karen was a bit unsure, but of the colleagues she’s close with she thinks they are “equally invested.” Interestingly, even the people who said they did the same amount of emotional labor as their colleagues thought that there were definitely some people who were doing less than others. Although Karen thought that she could not really gauge her whole department, she did have this to say on emotional labor:

I think that everybody probably has a different understanding or philosophy about the job beyond what is written in the contract … I don't think that there’s a place where they say here is the amount of emotional labor you're supposed to put into it. So, I do think that, for better or for worse, it does vary.

When asked more generally about what groups of people performed the most emotional labor, there were mixed responses: some common answers were that time at the university, gender, personality differences, or a mixture of the three explained who did emotional labor on campus. The majority of the professors I spoke with did think that gender played a role in who did more emotional labor. Grace said that typically “women are the ones taking care of other people’s emotions” while Anne thought that “women on average [do] more emotional labor just because that's the way society is constructed.” Irene said this about why women might do more emotional labor than men:
I just think that, you know, emotional stuff is just something women are more naturally genetically attuned to, but I also think it's probably more developed socially. I don't know what the balance is, I think it's way more environmental.

She then went on to speak a bit about how little girls are socialized into doing this type of labor from a young age, which has been supported by research (Fine, 2011).

Some professors pointed to years in the department or personality differences as to why different professors performed different amount of emotional labor. Karen said she thought newer faculty perhaps did more because “it's harder to say no to things when you're newer and you want to be a good colleague, so you do what you can.” Anne, the temporary faculty, thought that she had more pressure on her to perform emotional labor because “if [she has] a negative interaction with a student or faculty member then maybe [she doesn’t] come back in September. Where if a tenured faculty has negative interactions, it doesn't really matter as much.” These kinds of statements reveal that professors with different ranks are perceived to perform their jobs differently by a few of the professors I spoke with. Lastly, a few professors thought that different emotional labor loads were caused by personality differences: Lisa said she thought that

If the students perceive [a professor] as being open and trustworthy and caring, then they’ll go seek that individual out whether it be a guy or girl. So, I’m a female, I have students here in my office all the time. [Ben] is male and I see students in his office all the time. [Megan] is female and I see students in her office all the time.

Karen also said that she thought differences were “more personality” and the people she was thinking were “equal if not more so emotionally [are] one female and one male.” Some professors thought that personality is what played the largest piece in who performed emotional labor.
Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the findings of my research. I divided the responsibilities of a professor into six different components: teaching, grading, service, advising, scholarship, and working with colleagues. Professors both enjoyed and disliked aspects of their job. Generally, people seemed to enjoy teaching and advising, a subtype of service, the most. In general, they disliked working with their colleagues and grading the most. The aspects most commonly mentioned as things they enjoyed about their jobs were also the parts of the job that perhaps required the most emotional labor. Interestingly, two of the things they liked the least, grading and working with colleagues, also required a lot of emotional labor. Generally, the professors enjoyed student-focused emotional labor but felt that their efforts were often underappreciated, and rarely recognized.
CHAPTER FIVE 

DISCUSSION

The purpose of my study was to examine faculty’s day-to-day experiences with emotional labor. The research questions I focused on for my study were: How does emotional labor affect the lives of professors? Are there differences between the emotional labor of men and women faculty? This chapter contains my analysis of my data. First, I explore the answers to my research question. I then move on to discuss my contributions to the literature. I also examine some implications of my research as well as the limitation of my research. Finally, I discuss area for future research.

My Research Questions

I started this project hoping to learn how the emotional labor professors perform as part of their jobs affects themselves as well as exploring any gendered differences between the work men and women faculty perform. I do think that this project allows me to know, to an extent, how the professors I interviewed feel about the emotional labor they perform every day. Most of the professors said that the emotional labor they performed centered around four main categories: teaching, advising, grading, and working with colleagues. Out of those four aspects of the job, they enjoyed the emotional labor they performed teaching and advising but disliked the emotional labor involved in grading and working with colleagues. Generally, they felt that doing emotional labor on behalf of their students was rewarding and liked building close relationships with their students. They disliked emotional labor concerning their coworkers, however, and sometimes felt like they had to keep the peace and be likable to their colleagues. Many of them disliked that they felt they received little to no recognition for their emotional
labor and wished that the work they do supporting students was acknowledged both by their colleagues and the university as a whole.

I am not able to answer my second research question about gender differences in emotional labor among faculty because I only had one man participate in my study. It is not possible to identify any patterns about gender difference from this sample. I do think it is important to point out that the composition of the college where I was doing my interviews is majority men professors, so it is unlikely random that I recruited so few men to my study. I believe that part of the reason for this may be the fact that I included the term ‘emotional labor’ in my recruitment email (Appendix B). As discussed in Chapter Two, emotionality is often equated with femininity. I think it is possible that some of the men who received my recruitment email saw the term ‘emotional labor’ and decided that the term did not apply to them or any of the work they do as a professor. In fact, this came up in one of my interviews. Anne and I were discussing how emotional labor is a term people are unfamiliar with, and she said this:

If I really wanted to go out on a limb some people might still equate emotionality with women and rationality with men and that's a problem as well. So, people might think “Oh emotional labor that’s … some woman came up with that and it's not real.” And I don't know if anyone would actually say that, but I think that you could get that reaction from people.

She then went on to suggest that I use the term “mental load” instead so that I would not scare off people with the word “emotion.” The fact that I used terms related to emotions might be why I got only one man respondent.

Another possible reason only one man participated could be that, in general, men in this college are less likely to agree to be interviewed for a student project than women professors.
Agreeing to be interviewed in the first place suggests that a person is more likely to perform emotional labor, so I do think that the lack of men respondents might point to a gender imbalance in the emotional labor performed in this college. A majority of the participants I spoke with believed this to be true within their own departments. Further study would need to be done to discover why only one man agreed to be interviewed for my thesis project.

**Contributions**

My research contributes to the growing literature on emotional labor in a variety of ways. The first is that this project extends the existing literature on emotional labor to professors. Although there have been quantitative studies on the emotional labor of professors, few studies have used qualitative methods (Bellas, 1999; Guarino & Borden, 2017; Mahoney et. al., 2011). This qualitative study explored how professors themselves viewed the emotional labor they performed and how they felt about it, which is useful because it allowed for more descriptive data, rich detail, and for new themes to emerge in ways that quantitative analysis is unable to do. Hearing their thoughts in their own words is a meaningful contribution to the literature.

The findings of my study confirm existing literature on the subject of emotional labor, specifically that emotional labor is often invisible and that it often is an unspoken job requirement (Hochschild, 1979). The faculty I spoke to said that the emotional labor they do is often invisible to their peers and supervisors. As Irene said:

> I don't think they even realize [emotional labor]. I don't think they devalue it, I think they don't even know about it. They can't even imagine it. It's something that they don't even recognize exists, so how can they pay attention to it?

This invisibility is part of why emotional labor is so undervalued, and the professors I interviewed were also unhappy about not being recognized for the emotional labor that they do.
My findings also challenge some of the conceptualizations of emotional labor in the current literature. My findings suggest that conceptualizations of emotional labor that frame emotional labor in almost exclusively negative terms are a bit simplistic and need to be further developed. Research on the topic of emotional labor tends to focus on the negative aspects of emotional labor: how it can cause job dissatisfaction and higher job stress (Hochschild, 1983; Pugliesi, 1999). My research shows that there are at least some types of emotional labor that professors perform that they find rewarding and that they report actively enjoying. Many of the participants in my study said that helping students learn and grow were their favorite parts of their jobs. They enjoyed doing the work to console students when they were upset and inspire their students to do great things in their professional lives. Based on these findings, I think it is worth considering that emotional labor is not inherently negative and that ‘positive emotional labor exists. It is inaccurate to say that emotional labor has no benefits for the person performing it; according to the faculty I interviewed, there can be benefits to performing emotional labor for the person performing it beyond simply being good at their job.

I also think it may be important to examine on whose behalf a person is performing emotional labor. When it came to the faculty I interviewed, they mostly enjoyed the emotional labor of helping students and mostly disliked performing emotional labor for their colleagues. The way a person feels about the emotional labor that they perform may vary situationally by whom they are performing the labor for. It seems that the feelings behind emotional labor changed when that labor was focused at a student versus a colleague. Hochschild (1983) discussed how airline attendants were “were encouraged to think of passengers as guests or as children” (p. 141) when they were receiving their training. Although never receiving any training herself, Irene said she the treats her students “like my own kids.” She and the other faculty I
spoke to liked performing emotional labor for their students and did so without being explicitly taught to. It may be that professors do not mind the emotional labor with students because they feel responsible for them, almost viewing themselves as a mentor whose purpose is to help their students. Colleagues, on the other hand, are typically viewed to be on the same level as oneself. It may be less satisfying for professors to perform emotional labor for their colleagues because, as someone on the same level as themselves, their colleagues should not need a professor’s emotional labor. This also relates back to more contemporary conceptualizations of emotional labor where people dislike performing emotional labor for their spouse or partner. Because people often feel they are on the same level as their partners, it may be more frustrating to feel like you need to take care of him or her while taking care of children is seen as a more reasonable, valuable, and even enjoyable task. Differences in whom the emotional labor provider is performing for may affect how they feel about the work they do.

**Implications**

My research has several implications. The first is that emotional labor at IUP both has positive effects and is often unrecognized. The professors I spoke with expressed that they felt the emotional labor they were performing on behalf of their students was useful. They shared stories about how they supported students and also told me that received feedback from students that their emotional labor was useful to them. Some examples included formal evaluations given by the university, but professors also got thank you notes and told in person that their emotional labor was important to the students they helped. If emotional labor is helping to retain students, it might be useful to use emotional labor as one aspect of promotion and tenure. Several of the professors I spoke with said that, while the work they were doing was worthwhile for the students, it was not something that was particularly useful for themselves when it came to
promotion in their careers. It would be useful to determine the amount of emotional labor that professors are doing and include this in performance reviews.

There are many ways to accomplish this. One would be interviewing the professors themselves and asking them questions about the emotional labor they perform. Another way might be to ask students themselves about which professors they find to be most helpful and provide them with the most emotional labor. There are, of course, benefits and drawbacks to both of these measures, so it would need to be well thought out. Nevertheless, I do think it is important that professors at IUP have their emotional labor fairly compensated and acknowledged.

One important reason that IUP should start considering the importance emotional labor is so that professors who are performing it do not burn out or feel unappreciated. As mentioned in Chapter Two, studies show that higher amounts emotional labor can lead to higher levels of job dissatisfaction, higher job stress, and lower wages (Pugliesi, 1999; Guy & Newman, 2004). Pugliesi (1999) in particular highlighted how emotional labor can negatively affect employees, and that higher levels of stress can lead to worse health outcomes. If emotional labor is recognized, then some of those negative effects can be addressed and hopefully remedied.

One field that has looked at how to properly measure emotional labor is nursing. The Nursing Interventions Classification system (NIC) is one way that the nursing profession has tried to record the amount of emotional labor nurses do (Bowker & Star, 2000). The system allows nurses to track things like giving a patient an IV or stopping a nose bleed, but it also has categories for things like hope installation and humor. NIC attempts to break down what constitutes humor and allows nurses to track their use of humor with various subcategories. This system gives monetary worth to the emotional labor that a nurse performs. Some sort of model
like this that measures both what a professor is doing for a student but also how they are performing emotional labor could be useful to measure how much emotional labor a professor is performing.

**Limitations**

My project had a few limitations. The first limitation is that, out of eight participants, seven were women. The college I chose to interview had a majority of men faculty, but only one responded to my interview request. This means it was impossible for me to examine the gendered differences between men and women in a way that would give me any kind of definitive information.

A second limitation to my study is that eight participants is a rather small sample size, which means I did not achieve saturation on all of my themes. Although I sent out several rounds of emails, very few faculty members agreed to be interviewed. I do believe that I achieved saturation when it came to several of my themes including teaching, emotional labor with students, and the invisibility of emotional labor, I think there are also a few areas where I did not reach saturation including what groups faculty feel perform the most emotional labor as well as how professors feel about emotional labor with colleagues. As a master’s thesis project, I collected data under strict time constraints. Because of this, I was not able to use saturation as the driving force on when to close data collection.

Another limitation is the likelihood of sample bias. The nature of this research design makes it likely that people who agreed to participate are systematically different from those who did not. It is likely that the people who responded to my request had stronger opinions about emotional labor than those who chose not to respond. It is also important to note that agreeing to this interview was a kind of emotional labor for the professors; in order for me to learn about
their emotional labor, they needed to perform it for me by talking about aspects of their jobs that might have been difficult for them. It also stands to reason that, because the professors I interviewed agreed to perform emotional labor with no compensation or reward for themselves, they may be more willing to perform emotional labor in other aspects of their jobs compared to colleagues who did not agree to be interviewed.

Future Research

The findings of this project open many directions for future research on professors’ experiences with emotional labor. One important area for future research is looking more closely at gender differences. Because only one man participated in this study, I was not able to say that there were any gender differences between men and women. Knowing more about how men and women feel about the emotional labor they perform, and the similarities and differences between the two, would be useful to see if there is a gender gap in emotional labor.

I also think that it would be useful to further research what I refer to as ‘positive’ emotional labor’ and how relationships may affect the way a person feels about the emotional labor that they are performing. It would be illuminating to see if people working in other professions enjoy any type of emotional labor, especially helping professionals like nurses and counselors. We could also then see if they feel differently about the emotional labor they perform with coworkers versus the labor they perform with their patients. Knowing more about this may complexify conceptualizations of emotional labor, but I think it is important to parse out how people feel about the emotional labor they perform as well as if there are differences in how a person feels about performing emotional labor depending on who it is being performed for.

This study could also be expanded by looking at other colleges. This would potentially provide useful information about differences and similarities in experiences with emotional labor.
between colleges. This would be especially valuable in combination with policy analyses around the consideration of emotional labor in hiring, tenure, and promotion decisions.

Another possible direction is exploring the connections between emotional labor and race. Studies have shown that professors of color often have to perform more emotional labor than their white counterparts (Attewell, 2015; Evans & Moore, 2015; Harlow, 2003). It would be useful to see how race and gender interact to see if women of color professors are performing even more emotional labor than their white or men counterparts, especially considering that black women instructors make up just three percent of full-time faculty in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017).

Lastly, it would also be valuable to compare the emotional labor of professors at various different higher education institutions. IUP is a medium-sized public institution located in a rural area of Western Pennsylvania. Faculty members belong to a union which also shapes the culture and job expectations. It would be valuable to extend similar qualitative studies to other types of institution including: community colleges, larger and small schools, private institutions, and non-unionized institutions.

**Conclusion**

Emotional labor is an important, but often invisible, aspect of many jobs, including being a professor. In order to examine the emotional labor that professors perform, I interviewed eight professors at IUP. Generally, they said they did a lot of emotional labor concerning their students as well as their colleagues. They generally disliked doing emotional labor for their colleagues, but when it came to emotionally supporting students, the professors I spoke with said they enjoyed doing that. They often wished that the emotional labor they did to support students was recognized both by their colleagues as well as the university as a whole.
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Appendix A

Interview Guide

1. Why did you decide to become a professor? What events in your life led you here?

2. What are some of your favorite parts of the job? Follow up: Why do you like them?

3. What are some of your least favorite parts of the job? Follow up: Why do you dislike them?

4. What are your relationships like with the other faculty in your department? Can you give me some examples?

5. What are your relationships like with your students? Can you give me some examples?

6. How do you divide your time between teaching, service, and scholarship? How similar or different do you think you are to other faculty in your department?

7. Are you familiar with the term “emotional labor”? *If yes* Can you define it in your own words for me? *If no* Emotional labor means different things to different people. I personally think of emotional labor as the work you do managing your own and other people’s emotions. Some examples might be consoling a distraught student during office hours or putting a smile on to teach even if you’re having a bad day.

8. In a typical week, how much emotional labor do you think you do?
   a. Can you tell me the most recent example?
   b. What kind of emotional labor do you do most often?

9. How do you think your department views the importance of emotional labor in relation to your job? How about your college?

10. Compared to other faculty in your department, do you feel that you do more, the same, or less emotional labor than they do? Why do you think so?
11. Do you think that there are gendered differences in how much emotional labor professors in your department do?

12. If you could see any changes in regard to emotional labor when it comes to your job, what would you like to see?
Appendix B

Recruitment Email

Dear Faculty Member,

My name is Kylie Smith and I am a master’s student in the sociology department at IUP. I am working on a study about the emotional labor that professors perform. I am writing to ask if you would be willing to participate in an interview in which you will be asked to share your insights about the emotional labor that you perform as a professor.

The interview will take approximately 45 minutes. Your participation is completely voluntary, and your responses will remain confidential. Nothing you say during the interview will be linked to your identity or department.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at mjtt@iup.edu or 570-956-5675.

Any questions can be directed to myself or my faculty advisor, Dr. Michelle Sandhoff (sandhoff@iup.edu).

I hope to speak with you soon!

Thank you for your time,

Kylie Smith

MA Candidate, Sociology

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

mjtt@iup.edu

570-956-5675
THIS PROJECT HAS BEEN APPROVED BY THE INDIANA UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS (PHONE 724.357.7730).
Appendix C

Informed Consent Form

You are invited to participate in this research study. The following information is provided in order to help you make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask. You are eligible to participate because you are a faculty member in the [REDACTED] College at Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP).

The purpose of this study is to explore the emotional labor that professors perform at work. The information gained from this study may help to identify different types of emotional labor that professors do and how emotional labor might differ between professors. The [REDACTED] College was selected for recruitment for this study as a matter of convenience and because the researcher is not affiliated with this College.

Participation in this study will require approximately 45-60 minutes of your time. Participation in this study involves being voice recorded during an interview. The interview will include questions about your experiences as a professor.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying the interviewer. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed.

If you choose to participate, all information will be confidential. That means that we will not disclose your identity or any identifying characteristics to others. Recorded interviews will be transcribed by the Principal Investigator and any identifying details will be removed. All names will be replaced with pseudonyms. All electronic files with identifying information will be held in password-protected devices and physical copies will be held under lock and key by the Principal Investigator.

The information obtained in the study may be published in scientific journals or presented at scientific meetings, but your identity will be kept confidential.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below.
This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for
the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724-357-7730).

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study.
I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I
have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PRINT):

Signature:

Date:
Appendix D
Code List

- Emotional Labor Professors Do
  - Emotional labor concerning students
  - Emotional labor with coworkers
  - Other emotional labor

- Feelings of Professors about Emotional Labor
  - Negative feelings
  - Neutral or other feelings
  - Positive feelings

- Perceptions of Others
  - Perception of colleagues
  - Perceptions of IUP
  - Perceptions of other departments

- Work Professors Do
  - Advising
  - Grading
  - Scholarship
  - Service
  - Teaching
  - Working with Colleagues
  - Other work