INVEST UNTIL THE END? : EXAMINING CAMP COUNSELOR EXPERIENCES OF INEVITABLE EXIT, EMOTIONAL WORK, AND SUPPORT

Katherine Ann Rush

Bachelor of Arts, 2017
Baylor University
Waco, Texas

Submitted to the Faculty
Graduate Division
College of Communication
Texas Christian University
In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

MAY 2019

BOB SCHIEFFER
COLLEGE *of* COMMUNICATION

Invest Until the End? : Examining Camp Counselor Experiences of Inevitable Exit, Emotional Work, and Support

Thesis approved:

4-16-19
Committee Chair Date

4-16-19
Committee Member Date

4-16-19
Committee Member Date

Julie O'Neal 4/22/19
Associate Dean Date

(to be scanned into electronic copy)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to acknowledge Dr. Johny Garner, my advisor and mentor, for his counsel, patience, and insight as I worked on my thesis. Thank you for sharing your expertise in organizational communication with me, coming alongside me in my research endeavors, knowing exactly how to encourage and challenge me, and fostering my love for the field. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Kristen Carr and Dr. Amber Finn, for their support and efforts in seeing this labor to completion. Finally, I would like to thank my graduate director, Dr. Paul Schrodt, and the faculty and staff of the Department of Communication at Texas Christian University for their willingness to mentor graduate students and for their own examples of personal and professional excellence. Thank you for leaving your doors open and offering so many words of wisdom throughout my time in the program.

This thesis is written in recognition of those who invest their lives in camp ministry and other helping professions. Thank you for tirelessly working toward the welfare of other people, even when it costs you yourself. In lieu of this, I would like to express my appreciation for each person who participated in my research; it is a gift to hear pieces of your stories and experiences. Finally, thank you to my family for cheering me on and supporting me throughout every step of my life and academic journey. I would not be here without you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements……………………………………………………………………ii

Chapter 1: Introduction………………………………………………………………1

Chapter 2: Review of Extant Literature…………………………………………………4

  Socialization……………………………………………………………………4

  Inevitable Exit…………………………………………………………………9

  Membership……………………………………………………………………12

  Organizational Identification……………………………………………………14

  Emotional Work…………………………………………………………………16

  Organizational Support…………………………………………………………18

Chapter 3: Method…………………………………………………………………23

  Participants……………………………………………………………………23

  Procedures……………………………………………………………………24

  Data Analysis…………………………………………………………………25

Chapter 4: Results…………………………………………………………………27

Chapter 5: Discussion………………………………………………………………38

References…………………………………………………………………………51

Vita…………………………………………………………………………………61

Abstract……………………………………………………………………………62

Chapter One: Introduction

Socialization—the process of entering, belonging to, and exiting organizations—has significant implications for individual memberships, organizational relationships and networks, group productivity and function, and culture (Jablin, 2001). As individuals assimilate into the larger macrocosm of an organization, the success of their entry and sustained membership often depends upon how well they learn and adapt to new systems, processes, attitudes, and people. Thus, because effective socialization affects all organizational members at some level (Kramer, 2010), it is crucial that new members are well-assimilated and undergo a profitable socialization experience in which the organization successfully influences incoming members to meet their needs (Kramer, 2010).

One of the most understudied contexts in organizational communication research is the final element of the socialization process: exit. Most socialization research focuses on newcomer experiences, probably because of the interest and practical implications of this inquiry on organizational entry, training, and assimilation (Kramer and Miller, 2014). Though the focus on entry and assimilation are warranted, particularly due to the organizational interest in sustained, effective memberships, organizational exit is also incredibly crucial to understand. When members leave an organization, remaining organizational leaders and members may view former members as no longer necessary or profitable to organizational aims. However, perhaps it is upon member exit that organizations can most clearly evaluate the outcomes of their initial socialization processes: did the member grow and develop as intended? Did he/she adapt well to the organization? Were they beneficial to the organizational mission and vision? How did they contribute to the culture in positive and negative ways? Organizations should pay close attention to exiting members because the exit period presents a meaningful opportunity to assess both helpful and unhelpful ways of investing in member development.

In addition, exiting members tell an important story. Their memory and testimony of a membership experience spreads the organization's reputation and influence far beyond the voice of only current members. In fact, members who leave and carry an organization's name to entirely new, perhaps broader, spheres of influence may promote the organization's reputation more than current members even can. Garner and Peterson (2018) found that when organizations handle exit poorly, former members often tell outsiders about their negative exit experiences. If organizations begin the socialization process well in training newcomers, but do not finish with excellence in transitioning them out, members may feel dropped, ignored, or unappreciated. Negative attitudes toward the exit process may not only affect organizational reputation but also its culture if exiting members vocalize negative attitudes, causing current members to anticipate a rocky exit process. Organizational exit involves not only the member[s] who is leaving but also the members who are left behind. Furthermore, alumni networks are a crucial "membership" in many organizations, as already-exited members provide funding, enrich culture, grow retention rates, and expand social networks (David and Coenen, 2014). Exit experiences may greatly affect these alumni pools, thus influencing their continued participation in organizational life.

Finally, the exit stage of socialization is important to consider because of the organization's ethical responsibility to treat members with respect and to uphold their end of the organizational relationship through the end of membership terms. Throughout membership, formal organizations and their members share and exchange a number of benefits and goods. This process should not end immediately prior to exit. Instead, organizations should continue to invest what is appropriate until they have completely transitioned individuals out of the organization. Though a call for organizations to finish relationships with members excellently does not warrant that organizations should necessarily incorporate post-exit follow up procedures, it does suggest that organizations should consider the investment members have made for and as a result of the organization and follow through accordingly. Particularly in the helping professions or in what is known as *people work* (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002), where roles involve relationships and require heavy emotional work or labor, organizations should consider the inherent toll this work takes on members, often after the labor itself, and follow through to care for members. Effective care may serve to prevent or address burnout and enable members to be productive, healthy individuals who are able to transition to new memberships and invest fully there as well (Faw, 2018; Ray, 1993). Further research is needed in examining these exit processes and their role in socialization, as well as in experiences of organizational support for members of the helping professions.

Chapter Two: Review of Extent Literature

This section reviews extant literature regarding the socialization process, organizational membership and identification, and perceived organizational support. First, I survey the current understanding of the stages of socialization and propose that researchers should invest more study in understanding the last piece of the process – exit. I then explain and elaborate upon inevitable exit, a term I coined to describe exits that members anticipate from the start. Then, I outline the ways that organizational members often belong to and identify with organizations, and how exit complicates and shapes membership and investment. Finally, I discuss literature regarding emotion in the workplace and perceived organizational support, suggesting that these professions are a unique context in which to study the aforementioned processes of organizational life.

Socialization

Defining Socialization. Socialization describes the process in which individuals become assimilated into an organization as members and heavily depends on organizational and interpersonal discourse (Ahumada, 2015; Jablin, 2001). As individuals join, participate in, and exit organizations, they enact many processes and behaviors to manage new roles, identities, cultures, and relationships (Kramer and Miller, 2014). By socializing their members, organizations seek to decrease anxiety and uncertainty, facilitate adaptation, and educate on desired practices, attitudes and values within the organization (Allen, 2006). Throughout this process, organizations enable potential and new members to adjust to a new setting by teaching tradition, practice, mission, customs, and perspectives (Ahumada, 2015).

Researchers in organizational communication have examined how individuals use communication as the primary way of navigating the socialization process (Miller and

Kramer, 2014). Jablin (1984) proposed a four-part model of assimilation that outlines the stages of socializing members into organizations. This model includes (1) anticipatory socialization, which encompasses an individual's life experiences before becoming an organizational member; (2) encounter, which describes a new member's experiences during the initial period of membership; (3) metamorphosis, which defines when a member no longer feels like a new member but is established as an organizational member; and (4) exit, which refers to the process by which members leave organizations (Kramer & Miller, 2014). Though Jablin often used the term *assimilation* to describe this overarching process and divided the process further into *socialization* (organizational effort to change newcomers to fit organizational needs) and *individualization* (newcomer effort to meet individual needs and negotiate change in the organization), recent scholars define the overall process as *socialization* and the process of changing members to fit the organization as *assimilation* (Levine, Moreland, & Choi, 2001; Kramer and Miller, 2014). In this thesis, these more recent definitions will be used.

Socialization: Organizational Entry

Entry Importance. Because individuals are heavily influenced during transitional periods, organizational entry is a critical time for organizations to intentionally integrate new members (Ashforth & Saks, 1996). During entry, new members learn critical behaviors, significant values, and normalities within the organization (Ahumada, 2015; Bauer et al., 2007, and Bullis & Bach, 1986). Organizations have practical investment in research that studies member entry, as most organizations desire to more successfully transition outsiders to insiders who remain effective organizational members. Assimilating from the status of outsider to insider is a critical adjustment period that enables members to fully adjust to and embrace the mission, values, and practices of an organization (Bauer, Bodner, Erdogan, Truxillo, & Tucker, 2007; Bullis & Bach, 1986). In turn, this adjustment influences member retention, job satisfaction, goal accomplishment, organizational commitment, role attitudes, efficacy, and performance (Bauer et al., 2007).

Entry Tactics. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) proposed six primary tactics by which organizations socialize new members, whether unintentionally or intentionally: sequential versus random, group versus individual, formal versus informal, serial versus disjunctive, fixed versus variable, and divestiture versus investiture. They suggested that certain tactics direct newcomers to adopt innovative roles and bring change to the organization, while other tactics encouraged them to take custodial roles and adapt to preexisting organizational norms. (Schein, 1968). *Institutional tactics* direct new members to adopt organizational norms and values, and *individual tactics* lead new members to fulfill innovative roles and bring change into the organization (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Schein, 1968; Jones, 1986). However, these tactics are not necessarily experienced as dichotomies (Kramer, 2010). Instead, newcomers may experience them sequentially or simultaneously. In addition, while organizations may utilize these tactics to assimilate new members, newcomers also experience socialization in ways that are beyond the control of the formal organization (Kramer & Miller, 2014). Stories from incumbents, informal rituals, and social activities also influence members as they assimilate into a role.

Entry and Assimilation Processes. As individuals undergo the entry period of socialization, they shift from the encounter phase to the metamorphosis phase in which both organizations and new members hold agency in reducing uncertainty and solidifying memberships; organizations socialize newcomers, and newcomers adjust themselves to their roles and individualize their responsibilities to satisfy personal values (Jablin, 2001). As new members assimilate into the organization, many processes are enacted and negotiated. Amidst disorientation and uncertainty that often accompany new experiences and memberships, newcomers seek to manage expectations, seek information, learn organizational culture, participate in sensemaking, clarify roles, and build relationships with supervisors and peers (Allen, 2006; Kramer & Miller, 2014). As members continue to assimilate, they build relationships with supervisors and coworkers, increasingly individualize their roles, connect to communication networks, grow in shared meaning and culture, and develop communication competence. Peer relationships are newcomers' most available and common sources of information and are especially important to organizational assimilation (Kramer & Miller, 2014; Louis et al., 1983). Friends anchor new members attitudinally, emotionally, and cognitively to work units, as well as contribute to productivity (Kozlowski & Bell, 2003; Zurcher, 1983; Kramer & Miller, 2014). These relationships often provide the support that newcomers need to transition from outsiders to insiders (Kramer & Miller, 2014)

Successful Entry and Integration. Though culture and relationships are crucial to successful socialization, researchers have used a much wider variety of factors to assess what constitutes successful socialization (Kramer and Miller, 2014). Behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive measures have been utilized to assess socialization outcomes, such as job satisfaction, identification, organizational commitment, role ambiguity, and job survival (Ashforth et al., 2007). Successful socialization results in members who have the necessary skills (competency to perform) and knowledge (understanding of the organization) to operate in their roles and who identify with the organization's mission, values, and goals (Ahumada, 2015). Though individuals take on the responsibility of socializing through information seeking and uncertainty reduction, organizations have the ability to cultivate strong or weak socialization experiences for new members (Bauer et al., 2007). Effective socialization may reduce role ambiguity, sustain productive performance, increase commitment, and coordinate group cooperation (Benson et al., 2015). Because socialization facilitates initial member interactions that in turn have significant implications to member experience and performance within the organization as a whole, it is important that organizations consider best practices of socialization to maximize these potentials (Benson et al., 2015).

Socialization: Organizational Exit

While much socialization research focuses on newcomers, organizational entry, and assimilation, organization exit processes and communication are understudied (Jablin, 2001). Organizational exit, particularly when marked by high identification and value-laden membership, is incredibly complex (Garner & Peterson, 2018; Hinderaker & Garner, 2016). Relational ties can also complicate exit as members leave a formal organization but continue to highly identify with individuals and friend groups (Hinderaker, 2015).

Jablin's (2001) model provides a framework through which to examine this important stage of socialization. After entering an organization, reaching metamorphosis, and sustaining a period of membership, members reach the process of organizational disengagement and exit. Pre-announcement, announcement of exit, and exit constitute this latter period of organizational membership, as members negotiate dis-engagement privately and publicly (Jablin, 2001). Similar to the entry stage, uncertainty increases; however, during this phase it does so as a member begins to withdraw and disassociate from the organization in varying capacities. Relationships, networks, and communication behaviors may be disrupted if a member grows in negative affect toward the job or begins to disidentify with the organization. Though non-exiting and exiting members use communication to reduce uncertainty and negotiate change (Jablin, 2001; Kramer & Miller, 2014), communicative content and cues vary based on the type of exit. As people negotiate changing relationships and responsibilities, conflict, and transition, stayers often discuss opportunity for improvement while mourning the loss of a leaver. Leavers' communication, however, often serves to support and justify the exit (Jablin, 2001). During post-exit, leavers must adjust to the stress and emotion of disengagement, disidentification, and perhaps a sense of loss (Jablin, 2001). Communication and interaction during exit processes are important to understand, as exit often influences the leaving member in ways that shapes their identity (Garner & Peterson, 2018) and potentially their future memberships. In addition, exit has understudied impact on the organization and its staying members, as those who remain must adjust to changes in relationship, culture, and work responsibilities, as well as ready themselves to again assimilate new members who will eventually replace the leaver[s].

Inevitable Exit

Though organizational exit is understudied at large, the scholarship on exit to date has primarily examined voluntary organizational exit such as job turnover (Elfenbein & Knott, 2015; Gould, 2015; Jablin, 2001) and involuntary organizational exit such as firing (Dingemans & Henkens, 2013). In these cases, the date of exit is unknown at the start of organizational membership, as most organizational structures have no definitive, universal end date for membership. Thus, typically, members leave the organization on individualized timelines for a variety of reasons. Though members may voluntarily exit an organization under positive circumstances, the communication literature primarily defines exit as a failure to metamorphose (Jablin, 1982, 1984; Myers, 2005), as many exit catalysts are negative (firing, burnout, etc). However, this is not always the case, and further research is needed in understanding exits that are not categorized by a negative, unanticipated transition. This section further outlines one such type of unique exit: inevitable exit.

Some organizational exits are planned in advance and are completely unrelated to the quality of membership experience. Both *planned exits* (Davis & Myers, 2012) and *exits from short-term organizational memberships* (Rush & McNamee, 2018) fit into this category. In some organizations, members know their date of exit and anticipate leaving even before entry. Davis and Myers (2012) conducted initial research on this type of membership, examining how sorority members leave short-term memberships in Greek organizations and terming this unique end to socialization a *planned exit*. While the term *planned exit* captures the certain anticipation of these exits, Rush and McNamee (2018) proposed the term *short-term organizational memberships* to convey both the planned nature of these exits and the potential tension that may exist in members as they approach them. However, this study utilizes the phrase *inevitable exit* to describe an organizational departure that is planned and specified by the organization and known by the member upon entry. In their study of what they deemed "short-term organizational memberships," Rush and McNamee (2018, p. 4) examined member experiences, culture, and exit in and from organizational memberships that lead to a specified, known, and inevitable exit. However, Rush and McNamee did not address how inevitable exit may shape other stages of the socialization process, nor did they examine the organizational support desired by members who are performing and inevitably exiting from a helping-focused role. The term *inevitable exit* captures the lack of control that members have over their own exit experiences, as well as the planned, known nature of their leaving. Instead of having the ability to disengage at will, announce a desired exit, and negotiate roles based on a voluntary leaving, members who approach inevitable exit skip many of Jablin's (2001) phases of dis-engagement and exit. Though firing is similar to inevitable exit in the member's lack of control and will in leaving, fired members do not anticipate or know the date of firing upon entry and assimilation. In addition, firing typically takes place under negative circumstances and carries negative affect, whereas inevitable exit itself is not by definition positive or negative.

Potential Implications of Inevitable Exit

The inevitability of such exits create a unique context for communication and organizational inquiry, as the implications that inevitable exit has on socialization, membership, and identification are unknown. As members undergo all aspects of the socialization process, they negotiate their roles and identity within their organization membership. The interconnectedness of these processes raises questions such as: "How do members begin to identify with an organization? What does it mean to be a member of a specific organization? How do members negotiate roles and identification when exit is inevitably coming? How do members of organizations anticipate and experience an inevitable exit? How could the anticipation of exit impact socialization processes? What implications could inevitable exit have on post-exit experiences if members did not want to leave? How can organizations better encourage their members to assimilate, identify, and exit well when they will inevitably leave at a planned time? Thus, this study posits the following question:

RQ1: How do organizational members anticipate and experience inevitable exit?

Membership

Socialization and Membership. As individuals experience the entry, metamorphosis, and exit stages of the socialization process, they negotiate membership and often deepen in identification with the organization. During anticipatory socialization and entry, membership is clarified as newcomers learn what it means to be a member and transition into their roles. During metamorphosis, membership is enacted and sustained as members participate in organizational culture and perform their role responsibilities. During exit, membership is loosened as individuals disengage from commitment to their role and begin to anticipate a new role as an organizational outsider. Because of the significant intertwining of socialization, membership, and identification processes, it is important to examine them in relationship to one another.

Membership. Before examining inevitable exit in light of membership and identification, it is first important to define what constitutes membership. The term "membership" describes a wide range of individual relationships to organizations. As individuals rely on both informal and formal resources and rules within a social system, they "articulate and act within that system," thus reproducing it as they interact within and in relation to the system at large (Stout, 2002, p. 9). Organizational communication research has examined numerous types of memberships, including voluntary memberships such as church members or volunteers (McNamee & Peterson, 2014), involuntary memberships such as inmates (McNamee & Peterson, 2016), social memberships such as fraternal members (Martin & Pascarella, 2015), educational memberships such as students (Wilkins & Huisman, 2013), and paid memberships such as employees (Stamper, Masterson, and Knapp, 2009). Stamper et al. (2009) defined the basic relationship between employer and employee as "represented through basic levels of social rights (i.e. economic benefits, status, and legal rights) granted to the employee by the organization as well as the assumption of basic levels of responsibilities (i.e. obedience, loyalty, and participation in organizational activities) toward the organization by the employee" (p. 306). In addition, individuals may experience "perceived membership" through the psychological ties, attachment, and relationship built between member and organization (Stamper et al., 2009, p. 304).

Membership by Identification

Stamper et al.'s (2009) definition of an organizational member is specific to the employer-employee relationship, but its tenets can be applied to memberships unrelated to employment. Though organizational membership is often defined by paycheck, there are many instances where member relationship to an organization is grounded in values and commitment (Hinderaker, 2015). These values and commitments contribute to the organization's central identity that in turn influences the organization's decisions and defines its character (Cheney, Christensen, & Dailey, 2014, p. 697). An organization's communication revolves around this focal identity, and members utilize the identity as a primary referent (Balmer, 1995). However, organizational identity can also be understood as more fluid and changeable, the product of narratives that describe the essence and heart of the organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Cheney et al., 2014).

Organizational members hold an important relationship with an organization's identity. As outsiders become insiders in an organization, they as members experience identification as they perceive belongingness to or oneness with an organization (Mael & Ashforth, 1992). A fundamental human desire to belong may stir this propensity to identify, causing individuals to seek membership in organizations as they identify with them.

(Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Cheney et al., 2014). Thus, as individuals grow in identification to the organization, its purpose, and its people, their sense of bond or attachment increases as well. Deep identification with a membership may intensify aspects of the socialization process, making it more difficult for a member to approach inevitable exit and eventually leave the organization.

Organizational Identification

Identification is closely tied to membership, as identity and identification play crucial roles in the organizational experience and to one's sense of belonging (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008; Cheney et al., 2014). In addition, an individual identifying with an organization is a mark of a successful socialization process (Burke, 1969). However, foundational to developing organizational identification is the establishment of a personal self-concept; organizational members must understand who they are before connecting themselves to who a larger entity claims to be (Ashforth et al., 2008). Identification actively develops when individuals perceive unity among or link themselves to a collective (Brown, 2017; Cheney, 1983). An overlap of personal and group identities leads to a feeling of belonging and self-definition that connects with the organization at large (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). Rather than a static state of being, identification constitutes a process in which members continually reevaluate and adjust their relationship to organizations (Brown, 2017). Cheney (1983) noted that organizational identification is linked to a multitude of work behaviors, attitudes, and outcomes—including role orientation, socialization, motivation, satisfaction, and employee interaction. In addition, due to the communicative nature of socialization processes, socialization commonly contributes to members' development of identification, both unintentionally and intentionally (Cheney, 1983). Though identification is often categorized as an outcome of socialization, Bullis and Bach (1986) conceptualized it instead as an "ongoing process related to the mystery and division inherent in organizations" (p. 6). It is therefore relevant to consider the way that members develop in their roles and organizational identification within the context of their entry and exit experiences.

However, traditional understandings of identification and membership are complicated in the context of temporary organizational roles where workers are employed for only a specific period of time and a particular task (Cheney et al., 2014; Gossett, 2006). These short-term roles do not follow the traditional pattern of indefinite periods of role responsibility and belonging; instead, people who fill these positions constantly anticipate inevitable exits from each job they accept. Temporary workers, particularly those who are employed by multiple organizations, often struggle with knowing whose authority and directive they are to report to, as well as with tensions of control, identity, and voice that result from non-traditional structures of communication and membership (Gossett). In addition, when members highly identify with their specific roles and define themselves personally using aspects of their professional responsibilities, they may cross boundaries that they once created and maintained (Ashforth et al, 2000; Tracy, 2005; Cheney et al., 2014). Due the unique complexities that characterize temporary roles and high identification, individuals who hold temporary memberships with which they are also highly identified may have unique experiences in the socialization process, particularly in exit.

Identification and Inevitable Exit

Though exit is a crucial process within the full cycle of organizational socialization (Jablin, 2001), most research focuses on entry and newcomer assimilation (Hinderaker, 2015). In addition, exit is often understood as a failure to fully socialize, or as a voluntary phenomenon in which members retire from an employed role or stop fulfilling voluntary responsibilities (Hinderaker, 2015; Kramer, 2011). However, in considering the inevitable exit structured into many membership experiences (i.e. graduation, short-term internships, summer camp staff, etc.), it becomes clear that, simply structurally, not all exit experiences function identically (Davis & Myers, 2012; Rush & McNamee, 2018). In addition, organizational identification that is embedded into a member's role and experience are important to consider in light of inevitable exit. Particularly if a member's organizational identification and commitment are deeply entrenched with self-concept, identity, and values outside of the organization (Hinderaker, 2015), inevitable exit may be unwanted and difficult to cope with. This study posits the following question:

RQ2: How deeply do members experience identification in short-term roles, and in what ways do they rely on identification to define and enact their membership?

Emotional Work

Just as deep identification ties individuals to organizations and potentially complicates inevitable exit, roles that require intense emotional work (Pisaniello, Winefield, & Delfabbro, 2011), such as people work (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002), may also shape the way members commit to and exit from organizational memberships. Though scholarship on the workplace once focused on for-profit organizations and the rationality, patterns, and instrumental outcomes that constituted them, organizational scholars in recent decades have shifted to consider the emotional and relational aspects of the workplace, as well as to study humanitarian and non-profit organizations (Cameron, Dutton, & Quinn, 2003; Doughtery & Krone, 2002; Fineman, 2000; Miller, 2014; Miller, Considine, & Garner, 2007; Mumby & Putnam, 1992). Though this expanded consideration is relevant and significant for all organizational contexts, it is an especially salient consideration for work roles that involve interaction with others, as the responsibilities of these jobs typically imply that emotion is embedded into the role itself (Miller, 2014).

Though individuals in many interaction-based roles (i.e. customer service representatives) often externally perform or display certain emotions to appropriately connect with others, individuals in roles grounded in humanitarian or service-based interactions often actually feel authentic emotion as a result of role responsibilities and interaction with clients, thus enacting *emotional work* (Miller, 2014). This emotional work stems from interacting with clients or customers and naturally occurs as a result of work-related communication (Miller et al., 2007). In their care for others, these professionals are often empathetic and communicatively responsive toward clients and experience natural emotion tied to their relationship with another (Pisaniello, Winefield, & Delfabbro, 2011). Whereas emotional labor focuses on how members feel the need to exhibit emotion in ways they feel is expected of them by the organization, emotional work emphasizes how organizational members regulate and express emotion beyond organizational requirements to benefit others' wellbeing. For example, counselors may exhibit specific emotions to calm, empathize with, and comfort someone who is distressed (Pisaniello et al., 2011). Emotional work is often prevalent in organizations that care for those who in need or distress, as members seek to meet the emotional needs of those they are working with.

Particularly when their members expend significant emotion and investment toward the organizational mission or experience, organizations may be positioned to provide support for those whose membership is deeply emotional but who face inevitable exit.

Perceived Organizational Support

Membership anticipating inevitable exit may experience support differently than those who do not have a definitive end date for their membership. As members socialize and identify with an organization, they are powerfully influenced by their coworkers and organization-based relational networks (Kramer, 2010). These relationships provide significant communication resources for newcomers and are often associated with beneficial outcomes such as positive work attitudes, shared interpretation of the organization, and social support (Kramer, 2010). Particularly, these relationships can bolster one's perception of organizational support, a factor that is an important aspect of a member's organizational life and often buffers burnout, stress, and emotional exhaustion (Ray, 1993; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). However, those who develop these relationships in roles that inevitably end must also anticipate organizational detachment from the people who have been primary sources of support during emotionally taxing roles.

Though supportive relationships may change or end when inevitable exit occurs, these people are still crucial in providing support to individuals throughout membership. As members develop perceptions of organizational support (POS), or levels of assurance that the organization will provide them with what is needed to handle stress and complete their responsibilities, they come to believe that the organization either disfavors or favors them (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). The higher members' perceived organizational support, the more willing they are to expend effort for the organization, show commitment toward the organization, and identify with the organization (Edwards & Peccei, 2010). In addition, the more members feel cared for, the deeper their attachment grows (Edwards & Peccei, 2010). The care and respect that accompany high POS typically meet members' socioemotional needs, in turn leading them to identify so much with the organization that their role and membership overlap with their social identity (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Related to but distinct from POS, organizational support theory suggests that "employees develop POS to meet socioemotional needs ideas and to determine the organization's readiness to reward increased efforts made on its behalf" (Eder & Eisenberger, 2008, p. 56; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Workplace support describes the interpersonal behaviors in the workplace that aim to provide help and promote wellbeing (Harris, Winskowski, & Engdahl, 2007). Such support may come from the organization itself, coworkers, or supervisors (Chiaburu, Lorinkova, & Van Dyne, 2013) and include behaviors such as offering emotional support, helping with responsibilities, and mentoring (Harris et al., 2007). Organizational support behaviors, as well as a high POS, are critical in the development of members' commitment, identification, attachment, and investment in organizational life, mission, and relationship, particularly when work brings significant stress.

Supportive Communication

Organizational members may receive support from a number of relationships in the workplace including peers, work groups, mentors, and supervisors (Kramer, 2010). The sum of nonverbal and verbal behaviors that organizations and individuals use to support others is known as enacted support (Vangelisti, 2009). Though support may be mutually recognized by both the supporter and the supported, support may be also be characterized as available (social networks are ready to offer support when needed), preventative (beneficial support occurs before the stressor and buffers the individual from negative effects of the hardship), or invisible (the recipient of support is unaware of but benefiting from the support enacted towards them). The effectiveness of these support behaviors varies based on source of the support, characteristics of the message, and type of stressor (Vangelisti, 2009).

Certain types support messages are more effective in conveying high quality support than others. Messages that are high in person-centeredness—those that express compassion, acknowledge emotions, and encourage elaboration of feelings—and nonverbal immediacy—behaviors such as warmth, eye contact, forward leaning, proximity—tend to convey higher quality support than those that are not (Jones & Guerrero, 2001; Vangelisti, 2009). Quality support is also perceived when someone recognizes and acknowledges another's expressed feelings, showing their sensitivity and understanding (Bodie, Cannava, & Vickery, 2016). Individuals may offer social support by giving advice, strengthening networks, emotionally comforting, and boosting esteem, each of which promotes coping (High & Buehler, 2017).

The psychosocial benefits of support are numerous, including positive reappraisal, improved affect, and better appraisal of stressors (High & Buehler, 2017). Both available and perceived support have been linked to more satisfying interpersonal relationships, as well as improved mental and physical wellbeing (Vangelisti, 2009, Jones & Guerrero, 2001). High quality emotional support increases intimacy and relieves emotional distress (Jones & Guerrero, 2001).

Supportive communication is interdependent on the messages that precede and follow attempts at support, as well as on the relational context of repeated interaction (Vangelisti, 2009). Given this relationship, it stands to reason that members' experience of perceived organizational support would relate to contextual factors such as their organizational memberships and identification, as well as to the varying stages of socialization. Another factor that may situate members' perceived organizational support is the emotional demands of their roles.

Perceived Organizational Support and Stress

Difficult work environments, high demands, role overload, complex responsibilities, and job dissatisfaction in organizations are tied to numerous negative outcomes for employees, including burnout, powerlessness, anxiety, psychological distress, and depression (Ducharme & Martin, 2000). In addition, newcomers often experience stress during the assimilation period of socialization due to the difficulties that often accompany managing a new role and adjusting to a new environment (Ellis et al., 2015). However, research regarding stress during socialization is limited, causing scholars to call for study that further blends the work stress and organizational socialization literature (Ellis et al., 2015). Memberships that inevitably end present a unique context in which researchers may begin to examine social support during the stress of transition and exit. Ellis et al. (2015) suggested that the social context of an organization is one of the most important factors in the socialization process, as the quality of support provided during these transitions has important implications on work stress and its related outcomes. Social support is one of the most beneficial means of reducing the negative impacts of such organizational stress (Boren, 2014; Ducharme & Martin, 2000). Research has shown that both supervisor and coworker support are significant in buffering stress; however, less research has been done on how social support may be intentionally interwoven into an employee's organizational role to do so (Boren, 2014; Ducharme & Martin, 2000; Ray, 1993). Supervisor support is also important to consider in POS, as employees often associate their relationship with their supervisor as an indicator of the organization's support toward them (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

Considering the stressful nature of emotional work and of many organizational transitions, it is important to understand how organizations effectively support members who are facing the emotional stress that so often accompanies helping others. Perceived organizational support can increase members' job satisfaction, commitment, and identification, as well as buffer the effects of stress and burnout. Though support in all types of organizations is important, short-term organizations that involve inevitable exit present a unique context in which to consider organizational support, membership, and identification. Because the transitional period of entering and exiting organizations is so crucial in negotiating organizational memberships, further research should examine the relationship among membership, identification, and organizational exit, as well as how organizations support their members during exits that are inevitable. Particularly if members are highly identified with the organizational mission and, by requirement of their roles, constantly pouring out emotion to fulfill the needs of others, an inevitable exit may bring with it intensified stress due to the need to cope with exit and with the emotion of such a highly personal role. Understanding effective support in such organizations is crucial to promoting member wellbeing, guiding positive exit experiences, and "supporting the supporters" (Faw, 2018, p. 202) in organizations. This study therefore proposes the following research questions:

RQ3: What types of support do those facing inevitable exit describe as important in their membership and exit processes, particularly when their roles require emotional work?

Chapter Three: Method

This research examined perceived organizational support and socialization processes in organizational roles involving high emotional work and inevitable exit. I used a qualitative-based interview process of data collection in order to capture the richness and nuance of individual experiences in entering and exiting such organizational memberships. In this section, I describe the participants and procedures used in this study and explain the process of data analysis that were utilized.

Participants

This study recruited summer staff members from a large, faith-based Christian camp located in the eastern and southern regions of the United States. This camp (NewSpring Camps) recruits and employs thousands of college students for summer staff, serving families and youth every year in overnight camps and day camps. Participants were paid staff members with commitments ranging from seven weeks to thirteen weeks, all serving at camps with overnight campers. All participants attended 1-2 weeks of staff training and then worked sessions that lasted between 5 and 13 weeks. Though some staffers left camp after staff training and returned to serve second-half terms at the end of the summer (6 weeks), most served first half terms directly after training (5 weeks) or remained for the entirety of the summer (11 weeks). All members lived on site with other staffers and campers during the entirety of terms.

Because of the inevitable exit at the end of summer and the high identification and emotional work that often accompany membership in faith-based, helping-oriented organizations, NewSpring Camp staffers were a fitting sample for the criteria of this study. I conducted semi-structured, informal, in-depth interviews with 25 camp staff members, 14 female and 11 male, ranging from age 19 to 23. To ensure that experiences were fresh in staffers' minds when they interviewed, I only sampled staff members who worked the most recent summer. I interviewed first-half and full-summer staffers within a few weeks of the completion of their term. However, I interviewed second-half staffers in two stages, once immediately after training and again within a few weeks of exit from their staff term. These staffers' break between training and actual role responsibilities provided me the opportunity to split interview questions and gather rich, nuanced data directly after each stage of their experiences.

Procedures

I used snowball sampling (Tracy, 2013) to recruit and personally contact participants for this study. I explained some initial information to participants about the purpose of the research and, upon their expressed interest and consent to participate, sent them consent forms with further information. I then scheduled phone interviews based on participants' preferences and availability and began interviewing. I conducted one interview face-to-face, but conducted all others over the phone, using audio recording to capture the conversations for future transcribing. Before recording each interview, I notified participants of their confidentiality and confirmed their consent.

Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews using a set of questions organized by categories of interest, including entry and training, membership, identification, organizational support, emotional work, and inevitable exit. I asked participants about their socialization experiences, support systems at camp, identification with the mission, investment and emotional challenges of the role, anticipation of exit, and exit experiences. Participants answered questions such as “What kinds of things did the organization do to help you assimilate as a member?” What kinds of things did the organization do to cultivate a commitment to their values and purposes in you?” “At what point did you feel like you belonged?” What aspects of your job were the most emotionally draining?” “Do you feel like your organization cared about you?” “Who provided you with the highest quality of support?” “Did the short-term nature of your role shape your thinking or investment even in the early stages of your involvement?” and “What support was provided as exit approached?”

I asked open-ended questions and posed them to provoke staff members to process their experiences, attitudes, and relationships from camp. In addition, to create a comfortable atmosphere in which staffers could honestly verbalize their experiences, I conducted interviews informally and aimed to cultivate natural, yet directed, dialogue. Recorded interviews resulted in approximately 450 double-spaced pages of text and 16 hours and 18 minutes of conversation. The average interview lasted approximately 45 minutes, with the shortest interview being 33 minutes and the longest 1 hr 13 minutes.

Data Analysis

I took notes during each phone interview, recording general comments and themes, transcribing relevant quotes verbatim, and noting nuanced, rich descriptions of experiences. I then utilized these notes for primary coding purposes, creating a list of themes and trends in participant responses and drawing out how these themes emerged in member experiences throughout the socialization process. This primary coding process included a first round of describing and categorizing participant responses (Tracy, 2013).

I then had all interviews transcribed and began secondary coding to further streamline distinct categories from the data. I then examined the initial list of themes and streamlined them to four primary categories. This round of coding involved more detailed analysis and synthesis of data (Tracy, 2013). After streamlining the list of themes, I pulled particularly exemplary quotes from the data that demonstrated each theme and created a further categorization system of several themes to clearly outline trends in what participants described about each. For example, the importance of supportive relationships throughout the organizational membership emerged in every interview. I created a typology to describe meaningful support as defined by four primary categories: *intentionality*, *individualization, warmth,* and *sharing*. Categorization was also utilized to outline how members dealt with emotional work, anticipated inevitable exit, coped with inevitable exit, and experienced both exit and post-exit. This methodology of coding allowed me to first observe and describe member responses, and then to synthesize rich descriptions in patterned ways through categorization.

Chapter Four: Results

Members' experiences of identification, emotional work, and organizational support throughout the socialization process were analyzed through four primary themes. Through these themes, I first trace the ways that members approached and experienced inevitable exit, then describe the high emotional investment that members felt even in their short-term roles and how they managed deep identification with their lives outside of the organization. I then discuss the way these members framed relationships as integral to their socialization and membership experiences, as well as the value placed on supportive relationships.

Inevitable Exit

Recall that the first research question asked how organizational members anticipate and experience inevitable exit. A variety of responses and communication behaviors regarding inevitable exit emerged in interviews, both on personal levels and organizational levels. Staff discussed how they anticipated and processed inevitable exit, as well as their attitudes throughout the process. Staff also explained how NewSpring Camps supported staff before and after inevitable exit.

Inevitable Exit: Approaching (Pre-Exit). In organizational memberships that have an inevitable exit, all of membership functions as a type of "pre-exit," because exit is anticipated for the entire duration of membership. Inevitable exit shaped organizational membership in two primary ways: members either hyper-invested or detached. A hyper-invested staffer explained, "Looking at our limited time frame, it really pushed me to work harder and leave it all there." Many staffers reported a similar experience; the limited, short-term nature of their roles motivated them to increase their emotional energies, investment, and focus. One such staff member stated, “I’ve only got one week of camp…[I need to] pour in as much as possible,” and another, “I’ve got two more weeks; I’ve got to give it my all.”

This pattern emerged on both a week-to-week basis, as staff experienced mini-inevitable exit every week as their campers came and left, as well as on a holistic basis, as staff experienced the larger inevitable exit in their short-term role at camp. One member explained, “I didn’t hold back any of my investment even though I knew it would end…I didn’t want to walk away and say I hadn’t given it my all.”

While many staffers reported feeling a heightened sense of motivation to invest in their organizational membership as they approached inevitable exit, others reported that as exit approached, they experienced a decrease in desire to invest and a longing for exit to come more quickly. Many who expressed this feeling also described being especially emotionally exhausted or had been in their role for a full summer instead of a half. Some staff reported that inevitable exit played little role in how they did their jobs, and instead remained present in and committed to their day-to-day responsibilities. Others reported feeling both an increased and decreased desire to invest; they felt their motivation heighten with the limited time frame, but also felt relief that the role was coming to an end and an ensuing struggle to continue pouring out when exit was so close.

Inevitable Exit: Processing (Post-Exit). Staff processed exit in various ways. For some, the cost of expending themselves all summer seemed to catch up to them once they exited NewSpring Camps and returned to “real life.” One staff member explained, “Once you stop, you start feeling and processing everything.” Another said, “Even coming back [to college], it’s still a lot trying to – realize I don’t have that position anymore and those people are so far away yet I still feel the burden of it.” Staff described exit as a type of “slamming the door behind you," as well as the ensuing difficulty of abruptly leaving an experience and community that was so tight-knit: "[Leaving] felt like mourning the loss of a normal that we had…felt like being ripped out of it." However, some members began to mentally prepare themselves for exit before it actually happened: "It was kind of like a 'bye,' so for some that's really, really hard. But for me, I was already preparing myself for it." However, an unexpected emotional toll after exit seemed to hit many staffers after their organizational membership was over. One staffer described the abruptness and intensity of her experience after she exited, saying that "[after leaving], it hit me like a train."

Members reported handling the transition by focusing on the aspects of mission, relationships, and purpose that outlasted their membership. In addition, several described elements of "real life" that they were looking forward to after camp ended, and noted that anticipating these helped them transition from a role they loved: "I'm so excited to continue relationships outside of camp…I wasn't…super bummed about leaving because there was just so much I was looking forward to outside of camp, but also wasn't excited to leave because I was very content, just happy where I was." Other staffers focused on the intangible rewards they felt like they gained from serving for their session. One noted, "NewSpring Camps isn't forever, but what you leave behind is and what you get out of it is."

Thus, as they transitioned out of their short-term camp roles, staff invested in relationships and purpose that outlasted camp. However, many also found the quick transition difficult or abrupt, particularly because of the close relationships they were leaving, the processing they had laid aside throughout camp, and the emotional connection they had to their roles and purpose. These findings demonstrated how members anticipated inevitable exit by increasing or decreasing their investment. In addition, responses showed that some staffers considered inevitable exit to be a difficult and abrupt experience, but coped by focusing on aspects of membership and relationship that would remain beyond exit.

Identification

Mission. The second research question considered how deeply members identify with short-term roles, as well how they use identification to enact their membership. Responses revealed that NewSpring Camps staff shared a deep sense of personal investment in the organizational mission, and that this "buy-in" characterized their investment throughout membership. Deep levels of commitment to mission and organizational identification, even before membership began, characterized the staff at NewSpring Camps. Members reported the ease of buying into the organization's mission from a heartfelt, personal level. In addition, 100% of members interviewed articulated deep understanding of NewSpring Camps's central purposes. Many staff that were interviewed had grown up going to NewSpring Camps as campers, and many had wanted to be on staff for years. This may have contributed to such deep levels of familiarity, commitment, and identification. One staff member stated, "I've been on board probably forever."

The faith-based, Christian foundation of NewSpring Camps emerged as another central factor in staff's identification with and commitment to mission. NewSpring Camps hires only professing Christians through an extensive interview process; thus, they only bring people onto staff who have expressed and demonstrated a personal Christian faith and lifestyle. In describing the recruiting process, one leadership staffer explained, "the people they hire wouldn't fundamentally struggle with their mission statement." Another counselor said, "It was so easy to get on board because Scripture is the authority of my life…so when they used Scripture I trusted them." In defining their organization according to the Christian faith and the Bible, NewSpring Camps established a mission and way of organizational life that the majority of their staff members easily align with because they align their personal lives with the same principles. Demonstrating this overlap of values, a staffer said "To glorify the Lord was already my life mission."

Even when staff did not fully buy into NewSpring Camps, the underlying mission seemed so central to their personal values that small variances didn't matter. As a counselor described, "I don't know if I ever fully bought into NewSpring Camps, but I definitely bought into the mission and what they were trying to do; I bought into the ministry rather than the company." Thus, personal commitment to the underlying values and purposes of NewSpring Camps were very prevalent in staff, both individually and collectively.

Put Your "Real" Life Aside. Staff also expressed a felt need to set aside their personal lives for a time in order to fulfill the intense responsibilities of their roles. This pattern suggests that many staff were so identified with the organization that they were willing to put aside personal identities and needs in order to fully enact membership. Though counselors described doing this on an individual basis, one counselor noted that even from an organizational level, NewSpring Camps leadership told staff that they would need to put their real life aside as they did their jobs. Though staff didn't perceive that NewSpring Camps would actually want them to ignore their real lives, their messages communicated otherwise. Though setting aside one's personal life may seem negative and was described as exhausting at times, staffers did not explain the separation of the camp lives and real lives completely negatively. Instead, they acknowledged the challenges and benefits of turning eyes away from self to meet the needs of others. One member said, "pouring out made me take my eyes off myself, in good and bad ways."

Though staffers often served by intentionally not thinking of themselves, other times they refrained from self-reflection because it was nearly impossible to spend time processing their own lives, even if they had wanted to. One staffer expressed, "I never felt like I could take a moment for myself to just sit and be still," while another stated that the role was "so consuming." Counselors described the difficulty of processing their own day-to-day needs at all while at camp, much less their lives outside of camp. Life outside of camp was commonly framed as "real" life, separating life at camp as especially intense, unique, or short-term. The high intensity of emotional work and physical, emotional, spiritual, and relational toll seemed to demand a setting aside of any distractions, even if those distractions were very influential circumstances occurring in the "real" lives of staff members. When asked if she enacted emotional work in her job, a counselor said, "Yes all the time; I mean, that's what camp is." One staffer said, "It's exhausting to sit there and smile and pretend that what's in front of you is the only thing that's happening, so I think balancing that was really draining." The emotional demands of the role were described in language that conveyed emotional heaviness, a dispensing of self, and a long haul of investment. Staff used words like "expending," "walking life with," "carrying burdens," "constant," "invested," "exhausting," and "draining." One staff member said:

> "You feel like an emotional punching bag with the campers…and so loving them no matter what they were going through, like [regardless of] how they were treating me, that was probably the most emotionally draining part of it."

Thus, in dealing with the emotional challenges of supporting others on a day-to-day basis, camp staff often ignored their own needs and personal lives to better focus on and invest in their campers, whose needs often required high amounts of attention, care, and emotional work. This data showed that many camp staffers experienced and enacted identification from a deep, personal level during their membership, even prior to being hired. In addition, many were willing to lay aside their own needs and lives outside of camp in order to fulfill the emotional and relational responsibilities of their jobs.

Supportive Relationships

The third research question addressed what types of support those facing inevitable exit describe as significant to their membership and exit processes, specifically in roles that require emotional work. Crucial to NewSpring Camps members' experiences at camp, relationships emerged as a central element of socialization, membership, support, purpose, and exit. In describing entry and training, staff members primarily mentioned the relational nature of this time period as the most effective, memorable, and meaningful aspect of assimilation. Close interpersonal relationships seemed to contribute to feelings of belonging and family, as well as to building a sense of teamwork, emotional connectedness, and common purpose. One staffer stated, "NewSpring Camps is the people that are there. I don't even think about it as an organization but as the people." Another explained, "the people make the organization." As NewSpring Camps socializes new and returning staffers, the organization prioritizes relationship-building time in addition to technical training. This initial period of fostering friendships plays an important role in building a close, networked support system that provides pivotal support for the rest of the summer. When training ends and camp begins, members' jobs are typically so consumed by building relationships with campers that they have little time to build a network of support from nothing. One staffer stated:

"It can be really hard stuff that you're dealing with; having that support system of the staff was very, very crucial. And I think it really has to start at training because there really is no time to get to know somebody [once camp starts]."

Beyond the initial socialization period, relationships were integral to member experiences throughout the duration of their roles, particularly in providing social support. Staffers described feeling supported and cared for by both coworkers and leadership in a number of ways, but often tied effectiveness of support to four subthemes: *intentionality*, *individualization*, *warmth,* and *sharing.*

Intentionality. This subtheme emerged as staff members talked about feeling supported when others initiated conversations to check on them, asked questions that opened deeper levels of conversation about self and wellbeing, "poured into" their lives, and noticed their needs. One counselor described it simply: "she noticed me." Another stated, "I truly cherish every relationship that was built at camp…how much the friendships and relationships poured into me." Another counselor described an individual on leadership who supported her well, saying: "I've never seen anybody with the gift of making people feel loved and feeling like they belonged…she constantly was reaffirming me and even spiritually she would challenge us everyday, which was sweet, and constantly check in on me. And even throughout the rest of the summer, she was constantly writing me letters in my box." Effective support was also characterized by extra effort, described as going "the extra mile," and prioritization. As one staffer said, "I felt like they put us above a lot of other things they had going on."

On an organizational level, there was minimal intentional communication concerning staff exit. NewSpring Camps leadership at some NewSpring Camps camps referenced leaving and at times suggested that staff take intentional time to write out thoughts or process exit. Some provided questions for staff to utilize in reflection. In addition, exit evaluation meetings gave each staff member a short period of time to share thoughts about the summer with upper leadership, and at staff closing meeting, staff shared a brief time of reflection and testimony before leaving site. However, one staffer commented on the amount of time spent at closing ceremony processing, saying: "[Compared] to everything that we did, 30 minutes to process was not proportionate." Another explained, "I know the one thing everyone wants is more time to process…time to transition together." Thus, little communication at an organizational level specifically and thoroughly addressed the anticipation of exit, and little support was offered. The responsibility of processing fell instead on individual members to cope, reflect, and initiate efforts to transition well on their own.

Intentional organizational communication and support toward individual staff members post-exit was also minimal to non-existent. Though NewSpring Camps communicated with staff groups occasionally through social media pages, most post-camp contact occurred through interpersonal relationships between coworkers who had become close friends. Staff reported that their sense of connectedness to camp post-exit often came from these close relationships. A camp staffer explained, "I think the exit work that they do is if you're going to come back…if you're not coming back the next summer there's literally nothing for you." While some staffers were never contacted by camp after their term ended, others felt very supported by the individuals on leadership and on staff who had been meaningful parts of their summers. These communication efforts seemed very organic and natural to the progression of relationships. Though staff mentioned the difficulty of the transition back to the "real" world and the often heightened levels of processing necessary post-exit, few complained about the lack of communicated support from NewSpring Camps after camp and even noted that there was nothing more NewSpring Camps should have done to provide support.

Individualization. Staff often referred to effective support from specific, named individuals who were their close friends and mentors. These interpersonal relationships provided a sense of being known and cared for, not just from the breadth of the organizational level but from a narrowed, personalized level. When explaining how well NewSpring Camps as an organization cared about them, staff described this support as coming from specific individuals they worked closely with over the summer, and named people who individually checked in on them, consistently served them, and deeply knew them. Their sense of perceived organizational support came from specific interpersonal relationships with people who wanted to "go deeper," ask questions, and encourage them. One staffer noted:

> "I think NewSpring Camps did a good job on serving us and being there for us when we needed it, but also we just knew we as counselors needed to be independent and would rely on each other…on the people."

Warmth. Whether communicated nonverbally or verbally, staff members felt supported by coworkers and leadership who conveyed availability and approachability. Individuals commonly described knowing that certain people were there for them or willing to listen to them, whether these individuals verbally affirmed or nonverbally established their readiness to support. One staffer said, "I knew they cared about me because they told me," while another described that she knew her women's director "would drop anything to talk to me." When staffers felt like they could "voice their needs" to someone and when vulnerability was encouraged and welcomed, they perceived helpful support.

Sharing. This theme emerged as staff members repeatedly explained their experience of support and community using phrases like "coming alongside," "walking life with," "relating with," and "feeling with." Particularly due to the shared intensity of the role, staffers often experienced support just by knowing that their coworkers could relate so deeply to one another's experiences and hardships. Effective support was more characterized by relating with an individual than by giving advice. Individuals also said they felt supported when others acknowledged and listened to their feelings instead of ignoring or shaming them. As staff experienced emotional work on a daily basis, being able to relate, share, empathize, and feel with other coworkers was a relief and means of support. Staff seemed to draw on shared experience and suffering for strength; in reference to the demands of the role, one member said, "It was energizing to know you weren't the only one." Support that conveyed a sense of shared emotion or experience was effective in these staffers' experiences.

Relationships thus played a critical role in members' exit, as individual friendships and mentorships were the main source of support once the organizational role ended. Throughout membership, staffers valued intentional, warm, individualized support that conveyed a shared sense of experience and work. In sum, the theme of relationships is central to all aspects of socialization—entry, membership, and exit—as well as to effective support and members' perceived organizational support.

Chapter Five: Discussion

This study examines how camp counselors experience socialization, identification, and emotional work in their roles, how they cope with the demands of their jobs through social support, and how they anticipate and undergo inevitable exit from their organizational membership. Because of the lack of scholarly attention to nuanced exits from organizations, this research aimed to further theoretical inquiry of inevitable exit through the lenses of socialization and identification, as this niche of socialization seems to influence organizational experiences in unexplored ways and thus merits scholarly attention. The research questions focused on several primary aspects of socialization, investment, and support in short-term organizational memberships, particularly when these memberships fit the categorization of the helping professions. Four primary themes emerged in the data pertaining to the communication surrounding inevitable exit, identification, emotional work, and supportive relationships. First, these themes suggest that members experience inevitable exit uniquely, and that they approach inevitable these exits in two primary ways: withdrawal or over-investment. Second, the themes suggest that deep identification intensifies commitment and investment as members socialize and perform their duties; however, this same identification complicates inevitable exit and the emotional detachment that must occur. Finally, the findings demonstrate that members define and enact their roles in the context of meaningful relationships and depend on interpersonal social support as they socialize and cope with emotional work. Considering how members experience identification and socialization is important to further understanding inevitable exit and the role that supportive relationships play along the socialization continuum. This section outlines the theoretical and practical implications of four primary takeaways from the study and concludes with the study's limitations and areas of potential future research.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Exit

Perhaps most poignant to current organizational communication research, it is important to consider the implications of exit on theory. Exit has long been understood as the final stage of socialization, and rightly so (Jablin, 2001). However, the unique nature of inevitable exit causes organizational members to pre-mediate and anticipate the date of exit even before official entry into the short-term membership. Thus, even though exit remains the final aspect of socialization, it plays an active function in the earlier stages of the socializing process. Though communication and investment during organizational membership is typically confined by that stage of socialization (i.e. communication during encounter and metamorphosis may focus on adaptation and uncertainty reduction, and investment may be high because excitement is fresh), inevitable exit shifts these constraints a bit. While the data from this study did not focus on the exact content of member communication throughout each stage of socialization, it did inquire about how inevitable exit shapes earlier stages of socialization in ways that traditional, unknown exit dates may not. Two opposing responses emerged. Some members withdrew and detached themselves because they knew they had so little time left; however, others hyper-invested because of the fleeting time that remained, doubling their efforts and trying to give as much as they could in the little time they had. Thus, inevitable exit shaped membership in the initial stages of Jablin's socialization model, particularly during the metamorphosis phase when staff were established but only getting closer to exiting.

This study also extends Jablin's (2001) original delineation of exit, which he divided into the pre-announcement phase, the announcement phase, and the exit phase. Because inevitably exiting members do not need to ponder the decision to leave or announce exit when they are anticipating the end of their membership, these two stages of Jablin's model do not occur in memberships that have an inevitable exit. Instead, during the period of time that would typically be characterized by pre-announcement and announcement communication, this study suggests that members are instead negotiating how much they will invest in the final stages of anticipating exit. This seems to be the period in which individuals internally decide whether to deepen or lessen in investment; most participants in the study who discussed these trends of investment referenced them during the final metamorphosis period in which members quickly approach exit. As members hyper-invest or withdraw as they near the end, they either continue to "put their real life aside" or to begin to process exit, respectively. Some NewSpring members who focused on the present instead of looking to the real implications of their approaching exit often found it more difficult to process the transition post-exit, whereas those who anticipated it more consciously were less taken aback by the shock.

Identification

Inevitable exit has particular theoretical implications on identification and investment during the exit phase. According to Jablin (2001), organizational members typically negotiate disengagement personally and publicly, experience high uncertainty as they approach a departure from the organization they have known, and dis-identify emotionally from the organization. In addition, communication shifts according to the type of exit the member is experiencing (Jablin, 2001; Kramer & Miller, 2014). In the present study, inevitable exit functioned in several similar yet several distinct ways. Members still experienced uncertainty in leaving and dis-identify; however, dis-identification may function differently because leavers may return to work another session the next year. Like in traditional exits, some members also negotiated disengagement publicly, talking about leaving with one another. However, in most organizational exit, a singular member is leaving an entire body of stayers. In inevitable exit, the entire body of stayers are becoming leavers. Because everyone was sharing in the experience together, communal sentiments characterized the leavers' communication instead of personal detachment. In addition, similarly to traditional exit, members negotiate disengagement privately. However, as discussed previously, they often either decide to intensify investment or to detach from it. This trend seems unique to inevitable exit; while traditional organizational leavers may consider how much they will continue investing, their primary concerns are often different because of the nature of their exit is either voluntary and personally determined (i.e. retiring, transition), or negative (i.e. firing). In inevitable exit, the exit is determined for the employee as a defining part of their membership, so members do not have to spend energy communicating about and announcing exit.

Relationships also emerged as defining to the exit experience; however, instead of describing relationships as pivotal during exit, staffers communicated their felt lack of relational presence during exit. Few staffers mentioned any organizational effort to communicate support post-inevitable exit, though a few individuals did describe interpersonal relationships they had developed throughout membership that continued developing post-exit and proved to be a source of support. However, supportive efforts from the organization as a whole were sparse. Regardless of how staff members experienced relationships during exit, people defined much of the exit process for the staff, as I will discuss further in later sections.

The theoretical implications of this study, particularly relating to socialization and identification, are significant to furthering organizational communication research, as inevitable exits occur in many types of roles yet are understudied by communication scholars. Davis and Myers (2012) were the first to define and give focused attention to *planned exits*, i.e. exits anticipated from the start of membership. Their work laid a foundation for Rush and McNamee (2018) to examine how a family-like culture can develop in short-term organizational memberships situated in study-abroad cohorts, Greek life, and summer camp. However, the present study extended existing research by specifically focusing on how members experience other stages of socialization when anticipating a planned exit. In addition, this study proposed the term *inevitable exit* to better capture the idea of a known, anticipated exit that quickly approaches outside of the member's control, and the tensions that may result. Finally, the study focused on inevitable exit in the specific context of people work (i.e. camp counselors) (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002) to understand the support that members desire when they are inevitably exiting from roles that involve high levels of emotional work.

The communication and interaction that characterize exit not only change the exit itself, but often the earlier stages of socialization, identification, and membership. As organizational leaders structure roles and membership timelines, they would do well to consider the ways their structures will influence the ways members communicate and invest. Particularly in roles that involve inevitable exit, perhaps organizations should place extra emphasis on motivating all members to finish well instead of withdrawing, while also caring for members as they transition from highly emotional or invested roles. Organizations who transition their members well during inevitable exit are preparing staff members who may return again for future transitions, as well as enabling their members to be ready to enter their next organizational membership.

Relationship

Relationships represented another central theme that emerged in the study, shaping every aspect of members' overall experiences—socialization, identification and motivation, belonging, support, and exit. In accordance with a constitutive view of organizations that understands interaction as not only the glue but the very substance of an organized group, members described their relationships with other members as defining to the entirety of their experience, some even explaining that the people *were* NewSpring to them. Meaningful connection with others played a key role in individual assimilation and socialization, as relationships fostered feelings of closeness, unity, and adaptation to the organization as a whole. This workplace support, enacted through interpersonal relationships, fostered wellbeing and supplied help where needed (Harris, Winskowski, & Engdahl, 2007). Success during these periods, according to Jablin (2001), produces members who sustainably function with effectiveness in the organization. In line with the work of Faw (2018) and Ray (1993), this study demonstrated that relationships were also central to perceived organizational support and burnout prevention, as many staffers received the support they needed through individualized, close interpersonal relationships. I further discuss the essential nature of relational support in the next section; however, it is important to note that relationships were the channel through which members received and experienced the support that they valued so much.

The importance of meaningful relationships to the organizational experience, particularly when roles are heavily emotional and relational, has crucial implications for theory and practice (Faw, 2018; Ray, 1993; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Theoretically, many organizational models are very linear and procedural, describing socialization and identification as a continuum along which members move and develop (Jablin, 2001). However, it is important for organizational communication scholars to consider how the complexity of interaction and closeness influence or complicate linear models of organizational membership, particularly when a role terminates in inevitable exit. Inevitable exit challenges a linear perspective of socialization because it can shape membership and investment from the very beginning. Perhaps socialization and identification ebb and flow more than current understanding suggests, deepening and intensifying while simultaneously advancing and developing.

With the shift in recent decades to a broader consideration of emotion, compassion, and relationships in the workplace (Jia, Cheng, & Hale, 2017), it is important for scholars to consider the merge of both pieces of organizational life: how are relationships and linear processes like socialization intertwined? How may emotion and identification intensify a member's productivity and sustained membership, but complicate their exit? Organizational leaders and members also benefit from this line of inquiry: How do organizations create infrastructure that supports relational growth and investment where beneficial, making support available even if it is unnoticed (Vangelisti, 2009)? How might satisfying relationships provide support in emotional professions and motivate members to continue to invest in their roles, even as inevitable exit approaches? As members may receive support from a variety of individuals in the organization (Kramer, 2010), how could strong interpersonal relationships built during a short-term organization membership provide support during an inevitable exit? Do members look for post-exit support from the organization at large, or from individual relationships? Though this study does not suggest that meaningful relationships increase productivity or that all organizations should pursue a culture of connection and relationship, it does demonstrate the importance of relationships to NewSpring camps and implies that the interpersonal side of an organization is often significant, particularly in helping roles. These findings build upon existing research that shows the psychological benefits of support, such as improved appraisal of stress, positive affect, improved wellbeing, and more satisfying relationships (High & Buehler, 2017; Jones & Guerrero, 2001; Vangelisti, 2009). In addition, this study calls for further research in communal exit; as members leave an organization together, how do they cohesively communicate about their experience? Future theory, research, and practice should continue exploring meaningful relationship in organizations from qualitative and quantitative perspectives.

Support

Building off of Faw's (2018) research regarding a need for supporters in organizations to themselves be supported, this study contributes to the warrant for members of the helping professions to receive support as they care for others. There is an immense emotional burden that helping professionals often carry and learn to handle. In this particular study, individuals described the need to "put their real lives aside" for the duration of their session so that they could adequately meet the pressing relational, emotional, and tangible needs of their campers. Unable to address both their own needs and the needs to be met through their role, staff members coped by setting aside their own lives for a time and focusing on others. This behavior demonstrates the ethicality and morality that is often missing in organizations, as individuals lay down their lives for others. However, to sustain this kind of work, organizational members also need support and resources to draw on (Boren, 2014; Ducharme & Martin, 2000; Faw, 2018). With the widespread nature of burnout and exhaustion in jobs that require high emotional work and emotional labor (Ducharme & Martin, 2000), helping professionals often feel like they are giving themselves to others day after day while receiving little to nothing from the organization to recharge them. This issue warrants that organizations prioritize support for their members from either personal or organizational sources.

Not only does the need to "set one's real life aside" warrant support for supporters, the high identification and purpose often involved in helping roles, and reported in this study, warrant support. Though a deep valuing of and commitment to an organization's purpose often heightens productivity, loyalty, and effectiveness (Brown, 2017; Cheney, 1983; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004), these ties can emotionally exhaust individuals because they continually give of their emotional resources instead of merely going through the motions to complete a task. NewSpring staff connected the difficulty of exit to their deep love for, investment in, and identification with their jobs. Thus, while organizations may benefit from cultivating identification and from recruiting individuals who already believe in their mission (Burke, 1969), they should consider how to steward highly invested employees well and provide support for them when they leave. Burnout during membership or strain during exit may produce individuals who are unwilling to invest themselves as deeply in their next organizational membership. This particularly influences organizations if their terms are recurring and staff members repeatedly exit and enter, such as NewSpring's staffers do every summer.

Though many helping organizations structure rest, care, and support into their organizational life, many do not. NewSpring members continually reported feeling supported by other staff and by leadership, not through structures that enabled them to rest, but through individual relationships build over time. Just as Kramer (2010) and Ray (1993) noted, this study reinforces the deep influence of interpersonal networks in organizational life. Through relationships, people demonstrated intentional care, individualized attention, and warm interpersonal expression that caused members to feel valued and recharged. In addition, interview data revealed that supportive communication at NewSpring often consisted of interaction—both verbal and nonverbal—that conveyed mutual sharing in the burden or emotional weight that staff members carried on behalf of their campers. These support behaviors align with the descriptions that current literature offer on high quality support, particularly related to the work done on support conveyed by noticing and acknowledging others' feelings (Bodie, Cannava, & Vickery, 2016) In this study, the ability to deeply relate to others in their jobs enabled members to feel known and understood themselves, so that they could continue to know and understand their campers who needed their emotional investment in them.

The supportive communication patterns that emerged in the study are important to consider. Communication scholars should continue to apply interpersonal communication theories to organizations in order to understand how relationships develop in organizations and what characterizes these interactions as supportive in various helping roles. In addition, coping and resilience research, though it typically focuses on interpersonal relationships, would be helpfully applied to organizational contexts in which relationships are crucial to membership and practice. Finally, current organizational theory may be utilized to pinpoint at which points along the membership continuum people need support or typically experience burnout. An overlay of current organizational and interpersonal inquiry could help scholars utilize both interpersonal and organizational expertise to address this specific context. On a practical level, organizational leaders would benefit from considering the trainings, relational structures, and staff care systems they have in place, as well as how to foster organic mentorship and support in their staff. Helping professionals would also benefit from a careful consideration of where they personally find support and refreshment in the daily emotional responsibilities of their roles.

Limitations

Like any study, this research found important insights despite limitations. First, this research examined memberships in only one organization in order to gather rich, thick descriptions and narratives of individual experiences pertaining to investment, emotion, and organizational relationships. Potentially due to the faith-based nature of the organization, most members reported highly identifying with the mission long before becoming staff, a factor that probably influenced how quickly and deeply members identified and formed relationships. Thus, one limitation of the study is that the sample population and size are not largely representative of organizations at large. However, the sample does lend rich insight into NewSpring camps, as well as insight into organizations in which members identify prior to membership and are motivated by personal beliefs and values instead of just those communicated by the organization.

It is also noteworthy to consider personal bias as a potential limitation to the study because I was, at one point, a member of the organization sampled and thus interviewed several individuals that I had known prior to the interview. However, my involvement with NewSpring camps only deepens my ability to relate to and understand the experiences described in the interviews, as well as to ask nuanced, individualized questions to press for deeper description. A fully detached researcher does not have this benefit. In addition, though some relationships existed prior to the study, I asked almost an identical set of questions in each interview and instructed each participant to answer as if I had no knowledge of NewSpring camps. Little room for bias from personal relationship existed in the nature of questions.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study focused on theoretically developing organizational communication research of inevitable exit and on better understanding member experiences of socialization, identification, and support in short-term organizational memberships requiring high emotional work. Meaningful relationships are central to organizational memberships, shaping the ways that individuals adapt, belong, invest, and leave organizations and often providing the support necessary for employees to thrive in emotionally draining work situations. Though current models of socialization and membership shape current scholarly work on inevitable exit, this type of exit is unique in that its anticipated nature has implications on earlier stages of socialization, particularly pertaining to how member often hyper-invest or withdraw as they anticipate leaving. There exists much theoretical and practical potential for future research in furthering theoretical understanding of inevitable exit, as well as in helping organizations develop best practices for socializing and supporting their staff members. These efforts are necessary and profitable for organizations even when their members' involvement will inevitably end.

References

Adams, C. J., Hough, H., Proeschold-Bell, R. J., Yao, J., & Kolkin, M. (2017). Clergy burnout: A comparison study with other helping professions. *Pastoral Psychology, 66*, 147-175. doi:10.1007/s11089-016-0722-4

Ahumada, J. I. (2015). *Show me what democracy looks like: Socialization tactics in a nonprofit activism organization*

Albert, S., & Whetten, D. A. (1985). Organizational identity. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 7,* 263-295.

Allen, D. G. (2006). Do organizational socialization tactics influence newcomer embeddedness and turnover? *Journal of Management, 32*, 237-256. doi:10.1177/0149206305280103

Ashforth, B. E., & Saks, A. M. (1996). Socialization tactics: Longitudinal effects on newcomer adjustment. *The Academy of Management Journal, 39*, 149-178. doi:10.2307/256634

Ashforth, B. E., Harrison, S. H., & Corley, K. G. (2008). Identification in organizations: An examination of four fundamental questions. *Journal of Management, 34*, 325-374. doi:10.1177/0149206308316059

Ashforth, B.E., & Mael, F. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *The Acadamy of Management Review, 14,* 20-39.

Ashforth, B.E., Kreiner, G.E., & Fugate, M. (2000). All in a day's work: Boundaries and micro role transitions. *Academy of Management Review, 25,* 472-491.

Ashforth, B.E., Sluss, D.M., & Harrison, S.H. (2007). Socialization in organizational contexts. In G.P. Hodgkinson & J.K. Ford (Eds.), *International review of industrial and organizational psychology* (vol. 22, pp. 1-70). Sussex, England: Wiley.

Balmer, J. M. T. (1995). Corporate branding and connoisseurship. *Journal of General*

Management, 21, 24-46.

Bauer, T. N., Bodner, T., Erdogan, B., Truxillo, D. M., & Tucker, J. S. (2007). Newcomer adjustment during organizational socialization: A meta-analytic review of antecedents, outcomes, and methods. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*, 707-721. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.92.3.707

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin, 117,* 497-529.

Benson, A. J., Evans, M. B., & Eys, M. A. (2016). Organizational socialization in team sport environments: Socialization in team sport. *Scandinavian Journal of Medicine & Science in Sports, 26*, 463-473. doi:10.1111/sms.12460

Boren, J. P. (2014; 2013). The relationships between co-rumination, social support, stress, and burnout among working adults. *Management Communication Quarterly, 28*, 3-25. doi:10.1177/0893318913509283

Brotheridge, Céleste M. & Grandey, Alicia A. (2002). Emotional labor and burnout: Comparing two perspectives of "people work". *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 60*, 17-39. doi:10.1006/jvbe.2001.1815

Brown, A. D. (2017). Identity work and organizational identification. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 19*, 296-317. doi:10.1111/ijmr.12152

Bullis, C., & Bach, B. W. (1989). Socialization turning points: An examination of change in organizational identification. *Western Journal of Speech Communication, 53*, 273-293. doi:10.1080/10570318909374307

Burke, K. (1969). *A rhetoric of motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Cheney, G., Christensen, L.T., & Dailey, S. L. (2014). Communicating identity and identification in and around organizations. In L. L. Putnam & D. K. Mumby (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational communication* (pp. 695-716). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Cameron, K. S., Dutton, J. E., & Quinn, R. E. (2003). Foundations of positive organizational scholarship. In K. S. Camperon, J. E. Dutton, & R. E. Quinn (Eds.), *Positive organizational scholarship: Foundations of a new discipline* (pp. 3-13). San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.

Cheney, G. (1983). On the various and changing meanings of organizational membership: A field study of organizational identification. *Communication Monographs, 50*, 342-362. doi:10.1080/03637758309390174

Cheney, G., Christensen, L.T., & Dailey, S. L. (2014). Communicating identity and identification in and around organizations. In L. L. Putnam & D. K. Mumby (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational communication* (pp. 695-716). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Chiaburu, D. S., Lorinkova, N. M., & Van Dyne, L. (2013). Employees' social context and change-oriented citizenship: A meta-analysis of leader, coworker, and organizational influences. *Group & Organization Management, 38*, 291-333. doi:10.1177/1059601113476736

Clarke, E. W. (2017). *Self-care, coping self-efficacy and stress among graduate students in the helping professions*

David, A., & Coenen, F. (2014). Alumni networks--"an untapped potential to gain and retain highly-skilled workers?". *Higher Education Studies, 4*, 1.

Davis, C. W., & Myers, K. K. (2012). Communication and member disengagement in planned organizational exit. *Western Journal of Communication, 76*, 194-216.

doi:10.1080/10570314.2011.651250

Dingemans, E., & Henkens, K. (2014). Involuntary retirement, bridge employment, and satisfaction with life: A longitudinal investigation. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 35*, 575-591. doi:10.1002/job.1914

Dougherty, D. S., & Krone, K. J. (2002). Emotional intelligence as organizational communication: An examination of the construct. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Communication yearbook* (Vol. 26, pp. 202-229). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Ducharme, L. J., & Martin, J. K. (2000). Unrewarding work, coworker support, and job satisfaction: A test of the buffering hypothesis. *Work and Occupations, 27*, 223-243. doi:10.1177/0730888400027002005

Eder, P., & Eisenberger, R. (2008;2007). Perceived organizational support: Reducing the negative influence of coworker withdrawal behavior. *Journal of Management, 34*, 55-68. doi:10.1177/0149206307309259

Edwards, M. R., & Peccei, R. (2010). Perceived organizational support, organizational identification, and employee outcomes: Testing a simultaneous multifoci model. *Journal of Personnel Psychology, 9*, 17-26. doi:10.1027/1866-5888/a000007

Elfenbein, D. W., & Knott, A. M. (2015). Time to exit: Rational, behavioral, and organizational delays: Rational, behavioral, and organizational exit delays. *Strategic Management Journal, 36*, 957-975. doi:10.1002/smj.2262

Ellis, A. M., Bauer, T. N., Mansfield, L. R., Erdogan, B., Truxillo, D. M., & Simon, L. S. (2015). Navigating uncharted waters: Newcomer socialization through the lens of stress theory.*Journal of Management, 41*(1), 203-235. doi:10.1177/0149206314557525

Englund, A. D., Rydström, I., Dellve, L., Ahlstrom, L., Akademin för vård, arbetsliv och välfärd,

& Högskolan i Borås. (2016). Social support outside work and return to work among women on long-term sick leave working within human service organizations. *Applied Nursing Research, 30*, 187-193. doi:10.1016/j.apnr.2015.06.007

Faw, M. H. (2018;2016). Supporting the supporter: Social support and physiological stress among caregivers of children with severe disabilities. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 35*, 202-223. doi:10.1177/0265407516680500

Fineman, S. (2000). Commodifying the emotionally intelligent. In S. Fineman (Ed.), *Emotion in organizations* (2nd ed., pp. 101-114). London, England: SAGE.

G.P. Hodgkinson & J.K. Ford (Eds.), *International review of industrial and organizational psychology* (vol. 22, pp. 1-70). Sussex, England: Wiley.

Garner, J. T., & Peterson, B. L. (2018). Untangling the processes of leaving a member-abusive organization. *Management Communication Quarterly, 32*, 143-171. doi:10.1177/0893318917717816

Gossett, L. M. (2006). Falling between the cracks: Control and communication challenges of a temporary workforce. *Management Communication Quarterly, 19*, 376-415. doi:10.1177/0893318905280327

Gould, K. K. (2015). *International missionaries' sensemaking during organizational exit*

Hinderaker, A. (2015). Severing primary ties: Exit from totalistic organizations. *Western Journal of Communication, 79*, 92-115. doi:10.1080/10570314.2014.943422

Harris, J., Winskowski, A., & Engdahl, B. (2007). Types of workplace social support in the prediction of job satisfaction. *Career Development Quarterly, 56*, 150-156. doi:10.1002/j.2161-0045.2007.tb00027.x

High, A. C., & Buehler, E. M. (2017). Receiving supportive communication from facebook friends: A model of social ties and supportive communication in social network sites. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships,* , 26540751774297. doi:10.1177/0265407517742978

Hinderaker, A., & Garner, J. T. (2016). Speaking up on my way out the door: A close examination of church exit and members' dissent. *Journal of Communication and Religion, 39*, 21-40.

Jablin, F. M. (1984). Organizational communication: An assimilation approach. In R.N. Bostrom (Ed.), *Communication yearbook* (Vol. 8, pp. 594-626). Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.

Jablin, Frederic. (2001). Organizational entry, assimilation, and disengagement/exit. (pp. 732). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi:10.4135/9781412986243.n19

Jia, M., Cheng, J., & Hale, C. L. (2017). Workplace emotion and communication: Supervisor nonverbal immediacy, employees' emotion experience, and their communication motives.*Management Communication Quarterly, 31*, 69-87. doi:10.1177/0893318916650519

Jones, G. R. (1986). Socialization tactics, self-efficacy, and newcomers' adjustments to organizations. *Academy of Management Journal, 29*, 262-279.

Jones, S., & Guerrero, L. (2001). The effects of nonverbal immediacy and verbal person centeredness in the emotional support process. *Human Communication Research, 27*, 567-596. doi:10.1093/hcr/27.4.567

Kim, K. Y., Eisenberger, R., & Baik, K. (2016). Perceived organizational support and affective organizational commitment: Moderating influence of perceived organizational competence. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 37*, 558-583. doi:10.1002/job.2081

Kozlowski, S. W. J., & Bell, B. S. (2003). Work groups and teams in organizations. In W.C. Borman, D.R. Ilgen, & R. J. Klimoski (Eds.), *Handbook of psychology* (pp. 333-375). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Kramer, M. W. (2010). *Organizational socialization: Joining and leaving organizations.* Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Kramer, M. W. (2011). A study of voluntary organizational membership: The assimilation process in a community choir. *Western Journal of Communication, 75*, 52-74. doi:10.1080/10570314.2010.536962

Kramer, M. W., & Vernon, D. M. (2014). Socialization and assimilation: Theories, processes, and outcomes. In L. L. Putnam & D. K. Mumby (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational communication* (pp. 525-547). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Kreiner, G. E., & Ashforth, B. E. (2004). Evidence toward an expanded model of organizational identification. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 25*, 1-27. doi:10.1002/job.234

Kurtessis, J. N., Eisenberger, R., Ford, M. T., Buffardi, L. C., Stewart, K. A., & Adis, C. S. (2017). Perceived organizational support: A meta-analytic evaluation of organizational support theory. *Journal of Management, 43*, 1854-1884. doi:10.1177/0149206315575554

Mael, F., & Ashforth, B. E. (1992). Alumni and their alma mater: A partial test of the reformulated model of organizational identification. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 13,* 103-123. Doi: 10.1002/job.4030130202

Marique, G., Stinglhamber, F., Desmette, D., Caesens, G., & De Zanet, F. (2013). The relationship between perceived organizational support and affective commitment: A social identity perspective. *Group & Organization Management, 38*, 68-100. doi:10.1177/1059601112457200

Martin, G. L., & Pascarella, E. T. (2015). The effects of fraternity and sorority membership in the fourth year of college: A detrimental or value-added component of undergraduate education? *Journal of College Student Development, 56*, 456-470. doi:10.1353/csd.2015.0046

Miller, K. (2014). Organizational emotions and compassion at work. In L. L. Putnam & D. K. Mumby (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational communication* (pp. 569-587). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Miller, K., Considine, J., & Garner, J. (2007). "let me tell you about my job" - exploring the terrain of emotion in the workplace. *Management Communication Quarterly, 20*(3), 231-260. doi:10.1177/0893318906293589

Levine, J. M., Moreland, R. L., & Choi, A. H. (2008;2001). *Group socialization and newcomer innovation*. (pp. 86-106). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. doi:10.1002/9780470998458.ch4

Mumby, D. K., & Putnam, L. L. (1992). The politics of emotion: A feminist reading of bounded rationality. *Academy of Management Review, 17*, 465-486.

Myers, K. K. (2005). A burning desire: Assimilation into a fire department. *Management Communication Quarterly, 18*(3), 344-384. doi:10.1177/0893318904270742

Peterson, B. L., & McNamee, L. G. (2017;2016). The communicative construction of involuntary membership. *Communication Quarterly, 65*, 192-22. doi:10.1080/01463373.2016.1216870

Pisaniello, S., Winefield, H., & Delfabbro, P. (2012). The influence of emotional labour and emotional work on the occupational health and wellbeing of south australian hospital nurses.*Journal of Vocational Behavior, 80*, 579-591. doi:10.1016/j.jvb.2012.01.015

Ray, E. (1993). When the links become chains - considering dysfunctions of supportive communication in the workplace. *Communication Monographs, 60*, 106-111. doi:10.1080/03637759309376301

Rhoades, L., & Eisenberger, R. (2002). Perceived organizational support: A review of the literature. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*, 698-714. doi:10.1037//0021-9010.87.4.698

Rush, Katherine Ann and McNamee, Lacy G. (2018). *The Family Metaphor in Short-Term Organizational Experiences.* Unpublished manuscript.

Schein, E.H. (1968). Organizational socialization and the profession of management. *Industrial Management Review, 9,* 1-16.

Stamper, C., Masterson, S., & Knapp, J. (2009). A typology of organizational membership: Understanding different membership relationships through the lens of social exchange. *Management and Organization Review, 5*, 303-328. doi:10.1111/j.1740-8784.2009.00147.x

Stout, K. L. R. (2002). *The reconceptualization of organizational socialization: The multiple levels of inclusion and exclusion in sorority membership*

Tracy, S. J. (2005). Locking up emotion: Moving beyond dissonance for understanding emotion labor discomfort. *Communication Monographs, 72,* 261-283.

Tracy, S. J. (2013). *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Van Maanen, J., & Schein, E.G. (1979). Toward a theory of organizational socialization. In B.M. Staw (Ed.), *Research in organizational behavior* (pp. 209-264). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Vangelisti, A. L. (2009). Challenges in conceptualizing social support. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 26*, 39-51. doi:10.1177/0265407509105520

Wilkins, S., & Huisman, J. (2013). The components of student-university identification and their impacts on the behavioural intentions of prospective students. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management, 35*, 586-598. doi:10.1080/1360080X.2013.844672

Zurcher, A.I. (1983). *Social roles: Conformity, conflict and creativity.* Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.

VITA

Personal Background	Katherine Ann Rush Houston, Texas Daughter of Hank and Elisabeth Rush
Education	Diploma, Second Baptist High School, 2013 Bachelor of Arts, Communication Studies, Baylor University, Waco, 2017 Master of Science, Communication Studies, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, 2019
Experience	Teaching Assistantship, Texas Christian University, Forth Worth, 2017-2019
Professional Memberships	National Communication Association

ABSTRACT

INVEST UNTIL THE END? : EXAMINING CAMP COUNSELOR EXPERIENCES OF INEVITABLE EXIT, EMOTIONAL WORK, AND SUPPORT

Katherine Ann Rush, M.S., 2019
Department of Communication Studies
Texas Christian University

Advisor: Johny Garner, Professor of Communication Studies

This research examined how camp counselors anticipate and experience *inevitable exit* from roles centrally characterized as people work. In addition, this study considered the unique aspects of inevitable exit and the way it shapes other aspects of organizational life in helping professions; namely, socialization, identification, and social support. This study extends previous inquiry on anticipated exit from organizations, utilizing a qualitative approach to conduct in-depth interviews with camp counselors who had recently experienced inevitable exit from emotionally intense, helping-focused roles. Member experiences were analyzed through four primary themes: *inevitable exit, mission, "put your real life aside," and supportive relationships.* This study theoretically contributes to current scholarship on organizational exit and offers practical insight regarding member care and support in the workplace, specifically in people work that inevitably ends.

Keywords: *inevitable exit, identification, emotional work, support*